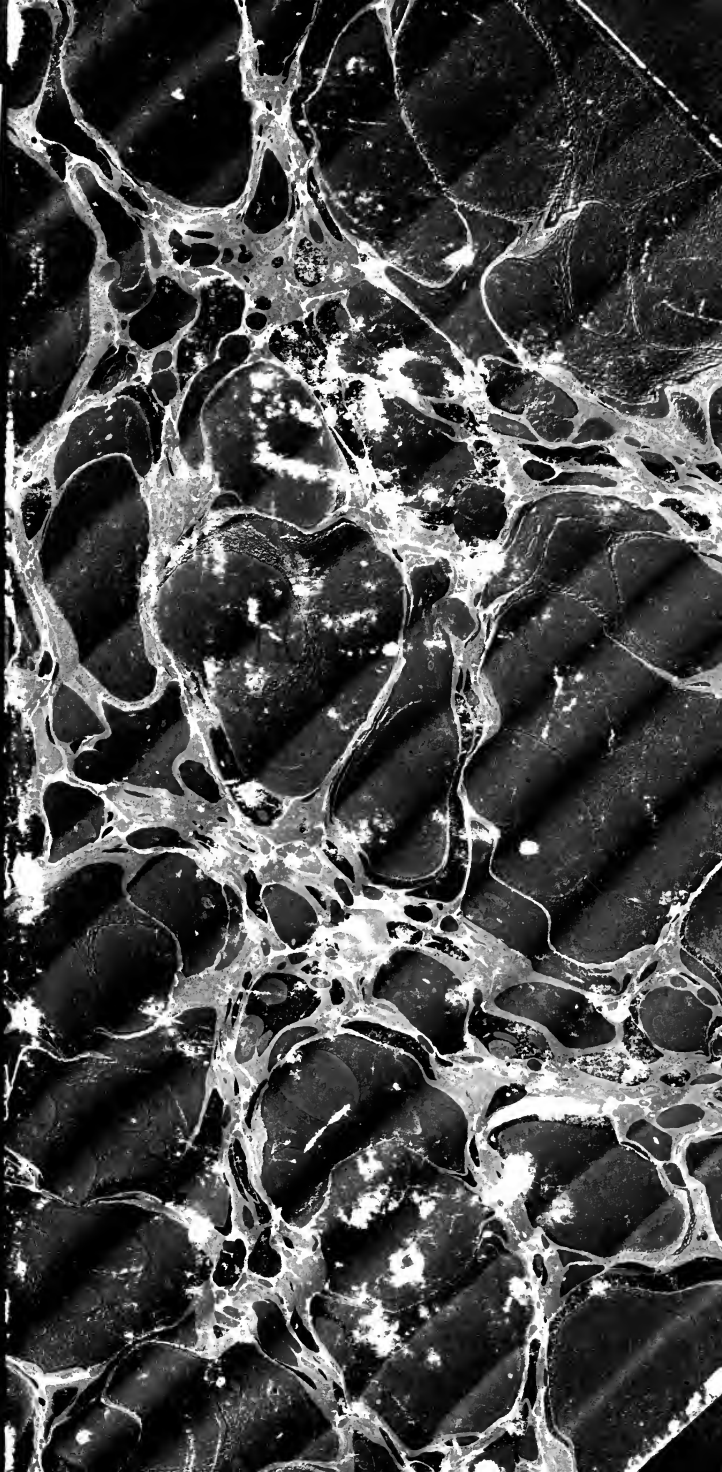


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1882





THE
SCOTS WORTHIES,

VOLUME FIRST,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST EMINENT

NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, MINISTERS, AND OTHERS,

WHO TESTIFIED OR SUFFERED FOR THE CAUSE OF REFORMATION IN
SCOTLAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY, TO THE YEAR 1688.

ORIGINALLY COMPILED

BY JOHN HOWIE OF LOCHGOIN;

NOW REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND:

AND ENRICHED WITH

A PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY WILLIAM M'GAVIN, ESQUIRE,

AUTHOR OF "THE PROTESTANT" AND "PROTESTANT REFORMATION VINDICATED."

GLASGOW:

PUBLISHED BY W. R. M'PHUN, TRONGATE.

M. DCCC. XXIX.

THE

BOOKS WORTHIES

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN originally announcing to the public, the present edition of the SCOTS WORTHIES, it was proposed, “*First*, To give the original text, revised, corrected, and improved throughout. *Secondly*, To enlarge such lives as seemed unnecessarily or improperly curtailed. *Thirdly*, To insert the most important of those which are omitted. *Fourthly*, To accompany the whole with notes, containing such statements or reflections as could not with propriety be introduced, into the body of the work.”

How far, and with what ability, this plan has been fulfilled, it belongs to the public to judge. The Editor can only say, that, with regard to every part of it, it has been his desire and endeavour, fully to realize it.

In his attempt to do so, however, much more difficulty has been experienced than he at first anticipated. In particular with regard to the first object—the improvement of the text—he has frequently found himself puzzled to a degree, which a person unacquainted with the subject would not conceive. With a strong desire, on the one hand, to alter it as little as possible, and on the other to render it more simple and intelligible, he has found himself, in regard to some passages, almost at a stand. This indeed he felt to be altogether a very delicate part of his labours. He can, however, safely aver, that in no instance has he substituted a different reading, where he did not believe himself to be justified by facts, and except with a view of setting in a truer and more favourable light

the history and character of our worthy forefathers. In mere verbal alterations, he has not to his knowledge retrenched a single word which was necessary to the meaning intended to be expressed; and to no extent has he changed the sentiment, but in cases, where either his own enquiries pointed out an error, or where there was evidently implied an inconsistency with the best established principles of philosophy and religion. A few passages, of considerable length, it will be observed, are excluded from the narrative, which were viewed as containing statements and eliciting opinions altogether at variance, with the current and received belief of the present age. And in justification of the course he has pursued in such instances, he refers to the notes, by which his excellent friend Mr. M'Gavin, has enriched the work.

With regard to the enlargements—these are introduced into the current of the narrative without any mark of distinction—sometimes, in his own words, and sometimes in those of the authors from whom they are derived. They are of all sorts and dimensions—in some instances consisting of a line, or a paragraph, and in others extending to a page or pages. He hopes they will be found both numerous and valuable.

In reference to the *new* lives, or sketches, he has proceeded, in a great measure, on the same principle. Some of them he has composed, from a variety of separate and incidental notices, scattered over different volumes. In others he has adopted, generally, both the sentiment and expression of the authors he has had recourse to. But even of these it will appear, on enquiry, that he has not simply copied them, and that in every case they are more or less altered, with a view to the nature and plan of the work.

As to the notes, he begs leave to remark, that for *all* those without a signature he is not responsible; that many of them are inserted from the previous editions, and were composed by the original compiler of the work. In some of these there are

opinions advanced to which he cannot subscribe, though he did not feel warranted to exclude them. The propriety of distinguishing his own, by affixing some mark to them, did not occur to him while the work was in the press.

He has only one topic farther to advert to, the exclusion from the present edition of what constituted the former Supplement and Appendix. As to the treatise entitled "the Judgments of God upon Persecutors," of which the latter is composed, he conceives it to proceed upon a principle, utterly erroneous, and has been induced to relinquish it, by the advice of some of the most enlightened friends to the Worthies of Scotland. And with regard to the few lives which have hitherto been inserted as the Supplement, these have been excluded, partly from necessity as tending to swell the volume to an undue size, and partly from choice, as not falling within that period of history by which it seemed proper that the work should be limited. Indeed, on this point it is sufficient to state, that with the additions to these Memoirs, which it was in his power to make, by the lives of many others equally worthy of such a notice, an entire volume, and not a mere supplement, would have been requisite. Should circumstances seem to favour the design, it is not improbable that such a volume may be forthcoming. He is already possessed of materials for a considerable part of it,—materials which with proper additions will form a very interesting series of Biography, extending, it is anticipated, to about the middle of the last century. Such a work has been suggested to him, by several individuals whose opinion he respects, and will constitute, he hopes, no improper accompaniment to the present publication.

In lieu of the retrenchments now specified, this volume contains a Supplement, including short notices of many sufferers, not enumerated among the preceding Worthies; and an Appendix, containing several interesting articles, referring to subjects mentioned in the Lives.

Upon the whole, the present will be found in a great measure, a new work. It contains upwards of twelve biographical sketches to be found in no previous edition, and with the other enlargements, consists in its present form, of much more letter-press than has ever appeared under the same title.

What errors the Editor has discovered he has noted in the errata. From the very nature of his labours, he is sensible that there must be many instances in which amendment will be necessary. Of important mistakes he is not conscious, and those of a less considerable kind shall be carefully corrected in every future reprint. He commits it, with all its imperfections, to the perusal and patronage of an indulgent public.

DECEMBER, 1826.

P R E F A C E.

THE REFORMATION in Scotland was effected by much humbler means than that of England. In the latter country the king had a principal hand in the work; in the former it was commenced and carried on by the people, against the inclination, and in spite of the powerful opposition made by the sovereign in the persons of James V., his widow, and his daughter Mary. From these circumstances, the churches in the two kingdoms received impressions of a very different character. That of England, while greatly reformed in point of doctrine, and delivered from the bondage of Rome, retained many of the ceremonies, the habits, and almost all the frame-work, of the previous establishment. In Scotland, these were generally swept away; and an order was established, simple and unostentatious, having more of a spiritual kingdom, and much less of the splendour of this world, than our neighbour in the south.

The first of the Worthies whose lives are given in the following work, such as Hamilton, Mill, and Wishart, had to encounter the Man of Sin in the height of his power; and for the sake of the truth, they yielded their bodies to the flames. The consequence, was the opposite of what the ruling party expected. They thought to extirpate heresy, by burning to death all who were infected with it. But by the private circulation of Wickliff's translation of the Scriptures, which the lowland Scotch could read, and by the preaching of such men as the above named, the reformed doctrines had spread more extensively than the popish clergy were aware of: the heroic constancy of the martyrs, even in the midst of the flames, had the effect of awakening the minds of many to reflect on the

cause of such constancy on the one hand, and such cruel persecution on the other; and contrasting the holy lives of the sufferers with the profligacy of their persecutors, they came to the conclusion that the cause of the sufferers was the cause of God, which they found it their duty to espouse; and thus, as of old, "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."

A large proportion, if not a majority, of the people, at least in the lowlands, were Protestants, by the time that Knox began to preach among them; and such was the effect of his labours, that in a few years, almost the whole population of the south and west, including nobility and gentry of the first rank, renounced popery, and joined the Reformation. The Protestant Presbyterian religion was established, not exactly in its present form, but as near it, perhaps, as the state of learning, and the small number of persons properly qualified to be pastors, would admit. This victory over the Beast, was achieved at the expense of some of the best blood in the kingdom. The victors overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death. They obtained the salvation of their own souls by the blood of atonement. They made that the subject of their testimony, or preaching; and the truth prevailed to the overthrow of many a strong-hold of error. The Presbyterian establishment was settled with the consent of the great body of the people, who became devotedly attached to it, as they continue to this day.

It might have been expected that now the church of Scotland would enjoy peace and prosperity; that the power of the Pope and his clergy being completely broken, there would at least be no more persecution, or suffering of any kind, for conscience' sake. But the case was far otherwise. A more severe trial awaited the faithful of the land, in comparison of which, what they suffered from popish rulers appears as nothing. Matters went on pretty well during the minority of James VI., and for a while after he had assumed the reins of government. He professed to be a Presbyterian, thanked God that he was king in the purest kirk in the world, and affected to hold the English service book in contempt. But when he succeeded

to the crown of England, he was so fascinated by the glory of her church ; and his weak head was so affected by the fumes of incense which were presented by the bishops, that he determined to have bishops in Scotland too. With a spirit of manly freedom, the Scots ministers were accustomed to speak their mind, and tell the truth, whether agreeable to him or not. With this he had been sadly annoyed ; but now he had found a race of men more pliable ; an order, whose appointment being vested in himself, he could always make subservient to his purposes of extravagance and ambition, to both of which he was greatly addicted ; and therefore he determined to put the church of Scotland under the dominion of bishops, and otherwise make it conform to that of England. This made the rest of his reign bitter to himself, and horribly oppressive to his subjects in Scotland, some of the most eminent of whom, such as Andrew Melville and John Welch, suffered imprisonment and exile for no crime, but a faithful adherence to their principles. Charles I. followed precisely in the same tract, without relaxing a whit of his father's oppressions.

But still the suffering during these two reigns was little in comparison of what followed. Charles II., rejected by England, was received and crowned by the Presbyterians in Scotland ; but being afterwards defeated by the English at Worcester, he was driven into exile for many years, during all which, the leading Presbyterians in Scotland maintained their loyalty to him with almost absurd tenacity, refusing to submit to Cromwell, though in full and undisputed possession of the country. Many of them would, no doubt, have laid down their lives rather than renounce their king, had the Protector not been a man of too much moderation to put them to that test. Loyalty to Charles was, however, a matter of conscience with them. It was a part of their religion, being included in the covenant which both they and the king had sworn, though by a liberal interpretation of the covenant, they might have inferred, that their obligation ceased, when the king could not protect them, but had fled from them, leaving them to the mercy of the conqueror. Oaths of allegiance bind subjects to stand by their sovereign while he will stand by them ; but if *he chooses* to flee for his personal safety, *they* have a right to

submit for theirs. On this principle both kingdoms acted, when James II. ran away and left the throne to William and Mary. If oaths are so framed as not to admit of this alternative, they are sinful, and ought to be avoided by every man who wishes to maintain a good conscience. I make these remarks in vindication of those who did submit to Cromwell, as well as to show the sturdy integrity of those who did not.

Of the first who suffered death after Charles' restoration, to wit, Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, it is thus recorded by Wodrow,—“ I have it from good hands, that Mr. Guthrie defended the king's right in a public debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit he asserted the king's title in the hearing of the English officers.” There is a tradition, that when Cromwell was in Glasgow, he attended the ministry of the worthy Mr. James Durham, in the High Church, who prayed for the king by name, and for his restoration to his dominions; on which, one of the officers said, “ Please your highness, shall I shoot him?” “ Nay, nay,” said Oliver, “ I will shoot him better than you can.” After sermon he sent for him, and spent the evening with him in prayer and religious conversation, which, no doubt, made a favourable impression on the mind of the minister with regard to Cromwell personally; but it is not said that it affected his loyalty. Indeed the most zealous covenanters were the firmest loyalists during the king's exile, and they were the first to promote his restoration.

These were not the men who were likely to be found in arms against their sovereign. It has been the fashion, down to the present day, to accuse them of rebellion, treason, and every thing that is bad. The thing is not only false; but considering the avowed principles of the men, it is impossible it could be true. It was not till after six years of unparalleled oppression on the one hand and suffering on the other, that there was a manifestation of hostile opposition to the government, as in the rising that was dispersed at Pentland; it was twelve years longer before that at Bothwell; and both may be justified upon the natural principle of self-defence. It was not because the king imposed bishops upon them, that they took up arms. It was not because three hundred and fifty of their

most faithful ministers were cast out of their churches, and forbidden, upon pain of death, to preach in the fields. It was because, when they obeyed God by preaching as they had opportunity, not only they, but all who heard them were liable to military execution. Bands of soldiers were continually scouring the country in search of those who dared to worship God, even in the most sequestered spots, and when such were discovered, they were killed upon the spot, or carried away to a mock trial, often put to the torture to make them accuse themselves or their neighbours, and finally executed in the most ignominious manner. There was no way of escape but by some sinful compliance, which, to their pious honest minds, appeared more dreadful than death.

They knew the gospel and loved it, and found it necessary for the life of their souls. This was the reason why with so much eagerness they followed their faithful pastors to the glens and mountains, to hear the word, and even to the dens and caves of the earth, to enjoy Christian fellowship. In proportion as they prized these privileges, they abhorred the ministry of the curates who were imposed upon them, in the room of the ejected ministers. But it was nearly as great a crime not to attend the ministry of the curates, as it was to attend a conventicle. Nay, though they attended no conventicle, but only went to hear an indulged Presbyterian minister, in another parish, because he preached the gospel, which the curates did not, they were held equally guilty of contemning the bishops and their underlings. Soldiers were sometimes set to watch the dismissing of a congregation, to see who were there who did not belong to the parish. To such, certain ensnaring questions were put, which usually led to a disclosure of their principles; and then, at the discretion of the soldiers, they were shot without trial, or sent to prison, and fined or executed.

The country people finding themselves daily exposed to such murderous treatment, while engaged in the worship of God, particularly in the fields, at first took the precaution of setting a watch on some neighbouring eminence, to give a signal when the soldiers were approaching, that they might have time to escape. Afterwards, they began to carry arms

to defend themselves, their wives and children, against law violence, while peaceably worshipping God, as they would against murderers in other circumstances. Farther than th they did not intend to go; and nothing but a perversion of language can call this rebellion. It was in this situation they were found on Loudon hill, when attacked by Claverhouse and his dragoons, which issued in the battle of Drumclog, where, I dare say, to their own astonishment, they found themselves victorious. It had been better for them to have escaped without fighting, or even to have been dispersed by the dragoons with the loss of a few of their number; for then they would have been spared the overwhelming disaster of Bothwell Bridge. They were by no means prepared for such a rencounter; and, I suppose, they would not have thought of such a thing, if they had not been elated by their success at Drumclog. I do not commend their arming and fighting at all, in connection with their worship,* but whatever may be said on this subject on gospel principles, the civil government had no right to condemn them as rebels, for attempting to repel unprincipled and lawless violence; for when men's lives are attacked without law, and contrary to law, as was the case here, it makes no difference that the murderer bears a commission from the king.

The truth is, the king gave himself little concern about the matter. He hated Presbytery as a religion unfit for a gentleman; and like his grandfather, he had been much annoyed by the plain dealing of the ministers, who, at his coronation and afterwards, told him a great many unpalatable truths. Soon after his restoration, he re-established episcopacy in Scotland, not that he cared for one form of church-government more than another; but to put down the spirit of freedom which characterised the Presbyterians, and prepare the way for popery and arbitrary power; for though not an avowed Papist himself, he was much under the influence of his popish brother, who in a great measure directed the affairs of Scotland, even before he succeeded to the crown. These affairs were committed to the management of a council composed of

* See what is said in a note, p. 293.

ten thousand, armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks, made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns, iron shackles for binding their prisoners, and thumb locks to oblige them to answer the questions that they proposed to them, and discover their concealed treasure. The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti, often without discrimination of conformists from nonconformists, having obliged the government to order them home, the regular troops were sent to replace them, provided with instructions to proceed with the greatest severity against those who attended conventicles, and headed by officers who had shown themselves qualified for carrying these instructions into execution.

“ We cannot give an account of the sufferings which the Presbyterians endured by the execution of these barbarous measures. They suffered, says an author* already quoted, extremities that tongue cannot describe, and which heart can hardly conceive of, from the dismal circumstances of hunger, nakedness and the severity of the climate;—lying in damp caves, and in hollow clefts of the naked rocks, without shelter, covering, fire or food; none durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them upon pain of death. Many, for venturing to receive them, were forced to fly to them, and several put to death for no other offence; fathers were persecuted for supplying their children, and children for nourishing their parents; husbands for harbouring their wives, and wives for assisting their own husbands. The ties and obligations of the laws of nature were no defence, but it was made death to perform natural duties; and many suffered death for acts of piety and charity, in cases where human nature could not resist the thoughts of suffering it. To such an extreme was the rage of these persecutors carried! Nor can we give an account of the murders committed under the cloak of justice; of the inhuman tortures to which the accused were subjected, to constrain them to bear witness against themselves, their relatives and their brethren; and the barbarity of sounding

* or alluded to, we believe, is Defoe, in his “Memoirs of the Church

persons who were seldom sober, and who in their drunken revels, passed those bloody acts which filled the kingdom with desolation. I need not give a detail of the miseries which were suffered for twenty-eight years; but I cannot resist quoting the following comprehensive summary of them by a most able pen.

“To preach at a separate meeting in a private house, subjected the minister to a fine of five thousand merks;” (equal in efficiency to £1000 of our present money) “if he preached in the fields, his punishment was death and confiscation of property. The fines of those who countenanced these meetings were increased, and were proportioned to their wealth. For example, Sir George Maxwell of Newark, and Sir George Maxwell of Nether-Pollock, were fined in a sum amounting to nearly eight thousand pounds sterling each, in the course of three years, for absence from their parish church, attendance on conventicles and disorderly baptisms. Landlords were now obliged to make it an article in their leases, and masters in their indentures, that their tenants and apprentices should regularly attend the established places of worship. Recourse was at last had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. *Letters of intercommuni-* were issued against a great number of the most distinguished Presbyterians, including several ladies of rank, by which they were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price, amounting in some instances to five hundred pounds was fixed on their heads, and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing, from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with meat, drink, or clothes, or of the accommodations or necessaries of life, under the penalty of being punished with rigour as guilty of the same crime with the persons intercommuned. It is to be observed that the highest crime of those who were thus excluded from the pale of society, was preaching at, or attending field conventicles. At the same time, the *Highland host* was broken down upon the western counties. Those who have enjoyed modern Highland hospitality, or been amused with the ancient Highland chivalry, can form no idea of the horrors produced by the irruption of those savages, to the affairs

drums on the scaffold to drown their voices, and of apprehending and punishing those who expressed sympathy for them, or who uttered the prayer, *God comfort you*. The number of prisoners was often so great, that the government could not bring them all to trial. Such of them as escaped execution were transported, or rather sold as slaves, to people desolate, barbarous colonies; the price of a whig was fixed at five pounds; and sometimes they were given away in presents by the judges.”*

All these miseries were inflicted because the ruling powers, having established Episcopacy, were determined to put down Presbytery, that the object of their idolatry might reign without a rival. Many of the curates were active agents of the persecutors, by informing against those who attended conventicles, or who refused to submit to their ministry; and he who presided over the affairs of the Episcopal church, and directed the work of carnage for many years, was the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Hence Episcopacy came to be abhorred in Scotland as much as Popery had been, and continued to be so for nearly a century after Presbytery was re-established. Episcopacy now is as harmless as any other mode of dissent; and it would be most unjust to accuse those of that communion in the present age, as consenting to the deeds of their predecessors, which they condemn as much as we. There is nothing in the nature of Episcopacy more intolerant or bloodthirsty than in that of Presbytery; but, unhappily for the good name of the former, it was considered a stepping-stone to Popery. As such, it was made use of by the house of Stuart, which led to the expulsion of both it and them.

The persecuted Presbyterians have been accused of *fanaticism, superstition, illiberality, and want of learning*. Their guilt or innocence, with respect to some of these things, will depend upon a definition of the terms. In the cant language of those who despise all serious religion, every man is a “fanatic” who studies to please God rather than conform to the corrupt manners of the world. In this respect, the Worthies, whose

* See *Review of the first series of the Tales of My Landlord*, ascribed to Dr. M’Crie, published from the Christian Instructor, in a separate volume, entitled “A Vindication of the Covenanters.” See pp. 31—33.

lives are recorded in this volume, were great fanatics. They chose to be vile in the sight of men, that they might be approved of God. They were men of true piety. They lived much in communion with God, and with one another, as they had opportunity. They remembered the Sabbath day to keep it holy. They would not join with their neighbours in any kind of revelry on that day, or indeed on any other day; but endeavoured to keep themselves unspotted from the world. This, of course, provoked the hostility of their profane neighbours, who thought it strange that they would not run with them to the same excess of riot; and they took their revenge by giving them a bad name. They called them fanatics. I would feel more pleasure in being associated with them under that name, than anxiety about vindicating them from the odium attached to it.

But they were, it is said, "superstitious." I suppose there are many who use this word who do not know what it signifies. Johnson defines superstition, "unnecessary fear or scruples in religion; religion without morality; reverence of beings not proper objects of reverence; over-nicety; exactness too scrupulous." Of superstition as "unnecessary fear or scruples in religion," they were guilty or not guilty, according to the meaning attached to the words. They stood in great fear of offending God. Hence they would not swear, or consent to the breach of any of his commandments. They would not utter a word, or do a deed, that might even seem to approve of what was sinful, though it were to save their lives. In the esteem of the world such fears and scruples were unnecessary. It was an over-nicety; it was exactness too scrupulous. In this sense they were superstitious; which is saying no more than that, like holy Job, they were men that feared God and eschewed evil. If superstition be "religion without morality," they were not guilty; for their strict morality was one reason why they were called superstitious. And if superstition be "reverence for beings not proper objects of reverence," they were not guilty. This did not apply to them, but to their enemies the Papists.

"Illiberal" is a word not yet properly defined. Dr. Johnson, on the authority of King Charles, explains it, "not noble; not ingenuous." Then the covenanters were not illiberal, for

among them were some of the most noble of the land. Witness the two Argyles, who sealed their testimony with their blood. On other authority, Johnson defines it, "not munificent; not generous; sparing." The history of the Scots Presbyterians is full of the most noble acts of munificence and generosity. They were not sparing even of their lives, when called to put them in jeopardy in the service of God, or for the benefit of fellow-creatures. Witness the conduct of the two noble ladies in Loudon Castle, who, at the risk of their own lives, carried food in the skirts of their cloaks to a persecuted boy, in a place of concealment, as related by himself in a manuscript which I have quoted.* But I know, what is now meant by illiberality, better than Dr. Johnson did. The covenanters were not blind to the difference between truth and error. They would not call evil good and good evil. What they believed to be truth they held fast at all hazards; and what they believed to be error they denounced as such, whoever might be offended by it. There was nothing more abhorred and condemned by them, than the sentiment, that one religion, and one form of worship, was as good as another. This is the boasted liberality of many in the present age; and in this sense, most certainly, the Worthies were not liberal. But, it is added, their principles were intolerant. To a certain extent this is freely admitted. They did not understand the subject of religious liberty; and with the exception of Locke, Owen, and one or two more, no man of that age understood it. Their attainments were great in many respects; but in this they were deficient. It is right to acknowledge the fact at once; and if those who now blame them for it, can conjure up any cotemporary sect or party who were blameless, let that sect or party throw the first stone at the covenanters.

As for "learning," I think they had a fair proportion of it. Few men of his time were more learned than Andrew Melville; or than Rutherford and Henderson at a later period. When learning could not be obtained at home, many went to Holland for it, at a vast expense to them and their friends. Nay, I think, they laid too much stress upon the learning of

* See note, page 478—9.

the schools, for they made it indispensable as a qualification for preaching the gospel. I do not recollect an instance of one being ordained, or even licensed to preach, who had not gone through a course of Greek and Roman learning. I am far from depreciating the advantages of this in ordinary circumstances; but in those of the persecuted Presbyterians, at the time referred to, much profit and comfort might have been imparted, by the ministry of plain unlettered Christians of ardent piety and sound common sense, in remote parts of the country, when no learned minister was at hand. Some of the most useful ministers of the present age, both as writers and preachers, such as John Newton, Thomas Scott, and Andrew Fuller, were men of no great learning, or of no College learning at all. And when I read the dying testimonies of some of the Worthies, such as Nisbet of Hardhill, and other laymen, I am sure they must have been qualified both to instruct and edify their suffering brethren, and preach the gospel to sinners; and they might have been set apart by prayer and fasting for that purpose; but nothing of the kind seems ever to have been thought of by them. Indeed, such was their attachment to learning, and a learned ministry, that it was thought profanation for any one, without such qualification, publicly to preach the word, or to lead the worship of a congregation. In this, I think, they erred; but it is an error quite inconsistent with their being inattentive to learning.

The following work was originally compiled by John Howie, who lived at Lochgoin, in the parish of Fenwick, Ayrshire. He was a plain unlettered peasant. His ancestors had occupied the same farm for ages; and some of them suffered much in the persecuting period, particularly his great-grandfather, whose house was robbed and plundered twelve times; but he always escaped with his life, and died in peace, three years after the Revolution. John, the Author of this work, died in 1793, aged fifty-seven. He belonged to the religious body, named, at one time, Cameronians, after Richard Cameron, afterwards M'Millanites, after John M'Millan, one of their most distinguished ministers since the Revolution; but the name by which they choose to be designated is, "The Reformed Presbytery." I thought, at one time, to have given a

short account of John Howie's life ; but I have been informed by a nephew of his, that his family possess ample materials for a volume, to which I could not possibly do justice in a short preface ; and, therefore, I leave the subject untouched ; hoping, that ere long, some member of the ancient Lochgoin family will favour the world with what cannot fail to be interesting.

The present edition appears in a new dress, more suitable to the present taste, without, I hope, disguising the original. It has been thought proper to leave out a few lives of persons who survived the Revolution, and conclude the work with James Renwick, who was the last of the Scots martyrs ; and to omit the Appendix, containing " God's judgments upon persecutors." But in lieu of these a good deal of new matter has been added, containing lives of distinguished persons, witnesses for the truth, not in the original work. But I have no hand in these things. For all the improvements in the text, and all the additions to it, the reader is indebted to the reverend Editor, who has spent no little pains upon the work. I have appended a note here and there, sometimes explanatory, and sometimes corrective, of what appeared to me to require the one or the other, without however affecting the principles of the Worthies, with regard to church government, the covenants, and some matters of controversy among themselves, with which I do not choose to intermeddle. My object is not to defend all that they said and did ; but to recommend their example, upon the whole, as men of sound religious principles, strict integrity, and true patriotism, to whom, as instruments under God, we are indebted for our civil and religious privileges. With regard to the opinions which I have expressed, I am, of course, as liable to error as the Worthies and their biographer ; and all I wish is, that readers will judge for themselves, bring every thing to the test of the divine record, and let them reject what they find not according to that standard, whether it be theirs or mine.

W. M'GAVIN.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

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

But, perhaps, some may be surprised, to find one so obscure, appearing in a work of this nature, especially when there are so many, more fit for such an employment. And if the respect I have for the memories of these worthies, the familiar acquaintance and sweet fellowship which once subsisted between some of them, and some of my ancestors, and above all the love and regard which I have for the cause which they owned and maintained, be not sufficient to apologize for me in this, then I must crave to be heard in a few particulars; and that both anent the reasons for this publication, and its utility.

And *First*, Having for some time had a desire to see something of this kind published, but finding nothing yet in print except a few broken accounts interspersed throughout different publications, I at last took up the resolution to publish a second edition of the life of one of these worthies already published at large.* But upon farther reflection, I considered that to collect into one volume, the most material relations with respect to as many of them as could be obtained from such historical records, biographical accounts, and other authenticated manuscripts, as I could have access to, together with the substance of the lives already in print, would not only prove more useful as giving the reader a view all at once, of that which before was scattered up and down in so many quarters, but also as

* Mr. Renwick's life written by Mr. Shields, and first published anno 1724.

freeing it of the many inconveniences to which small pamphlets are liable. And yet at the same time, I am aware, that some may expect a more full account of these worthies, both as to their number and the matters of fact relating to them, than what is here to be met with. But in this publication, it is not pretended to give an account either of all our Scots worthies, or all their transactions; for that were a task now altogether impracticable, for the following reasons :

1. There have been many, of different ranks and degrees of men, famous in the church of Scotland, of whom little more is mentioned in history than their names, their place of abode, and the age wherein they existed. Again, there are many others, of whom the most that can be stated is only a few hints, which of necessity must render their lives (if they may be so called) very imperfect, from what they might have been, had they been written a century ago, when their actions and memories were fresh and recent, when persons were alive, well acquainted with them, and when they might have been confirmed by many incontestable evidences that cannot now be adverted to; especially as there is a chasm in our history during the time of the usurper, not to mention how many of our national records were during that time altogether lost.*

2. There are others, both in the reforming and suffering periods, of whom somewhat is now recorded, and yet not enough to form a narrative, so that excepting by short relations or marginal notes, their lives cannot be supplied. For it is with regret, the publishers have it to declare, that upon application to several places for farther information concerning these men, they could find little or nothing in the most part of them, excepting a few things by way of oral tradition, the registers being through course of time lost either designedly or through negligence.

3. Some few of the lives already in print being somewhat prolix, it was found necessary to abridge them, but this is done in a manner as comprehensive as possible, so as to omit nothing material, and to be no way injurious to the memory of these worthy men.

Secondly, As to the utility of this undertaking, biography in general, as a historian has observed,† is one of the most

* Of these records belonging to the state, carried away by Cromwel to secure our dependence on England, there were 85 hogsheads lost Dec. 18th, 1660, in a ship belonging to Kirkcaldy, as she was returning with them from London. And as for the church records and registers, a great many of them also (either through the confusion of the then civil wars, or falling into the hands of the prelates while prelacy prevailed in Scotland) are also amissing. Preface to STEVENSON'S HISTORY

† Mr. Wodrow in the preface to his history.

entertaining parts of history; and how much more the lives and transactions of our noble Scots Worthies, in which is contained not only a short detail of the church's wrestlings for nearly two hundred years, indeed from the earliest period of Christianity in Scotland, but also a great variety of other matters, both instructive and entertaining, calculated at once to edify and refresh the serious and understanding reader. For,

1. In these lives we have a short view of the actions, excellencies and failings of our ancestors, as examples both for caution and imitation; and by the experience, and at the expense of former ages, we may thus learn most important lessons for our conduct in life, and for furnishing ourselves with the like Christian armour of faith, zeal, holiness, steadfastness, meekness, patience, humility, and other graces.

2. In them we behold what the wisest of men could not think on without astonishment, that "God does in very deed dwell with men upon earth, displaying his divine power, and the efficacy of his grace through their infirmities, subduing the most hardened sinners to himself, while he, as it were, resigns himself to their prayers, and makes them the subject of his divine care and superintendency."

3. Here we have, as it were in a mirror, set forth, all the virtues and duties of a religious life. Here is the example of a virtuous nobleman, an active statesman, a religious gentleman, a faithful minister "instant in season and out of season," a wise and diligent magistrate, "one fearing God and hating covetousness," a courageous soldier, a good Christian, a loving husband, an indulgent parent, a true friend; and in a word, almost every character worthy of our imitation. And,

4. In them we have the various changes and varieties of soul-exercise, the experiences, savoury expressions and last words of those, who were once living, and are now glorified witnesses of Christ. "And if the last speeches of any men are remarkable, how much more so must be the last words and dying expressions of these noble witnesses and martyrs of Christ." The nearer the dying saint is to heaven, and the more of the presence of Christ he has in his last moments, the more interesting must his conversation be to survivors, and the more acceptable to real Christians, for then all that he says is supported by example, which is always of considerable influence upon the human mind. It is true there is an innate evil in man's nature, which makes him more prone to follow bad than good examples; yet sometimes there is a kind of compulsive energy arising from the examples of such as are eminent either in place or godliness, which powerfully influ-

ences others, to imitate them in their graces and virtues. We find that the children of Israel followed the Lord during all the days of Joshua, and of the elders that outlived him; and Christ's harbinger, John the Baptist, gained as much by his example as by his teaching. His apparel, his diet, his conversation, did all bespeak his holiness. Nazianzen saith of him, "That he cried louder by the holiness of his life, than by the sincerity of his doctrine." And were it not so, the apostles would not have exhorted thus: "Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk, so as ye have us for an ensample;"* "Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example."† There is no question, indeed, that next to the down-pouring of the Spirit from on high, the wonderfully rapid success of the gospel, both in the primitive times, and in the beginning of our Reformation, in a great measure must have been owing to the simple, holy, and exemplary lives of its preachers and professors. A learned expositor observes, "That ministers are likely to preach most to the purpose, when they can press their hearers to follow their example."‡ And without this, the church of Christ is so far from gaining ground, that it loses what it already hath gained, in the world; of which the church of Scotland is a most glaring proof. Yea truth itself suffers by their means, and can gain no credit from the mouths of men whose character is despicable, whose authority is lost, and whose example goes for nothing. So that, I flatter myself, no small advantage, through the divine blessing, may accrue to the public, from this subject in general, and from the lives of our Scots worthies in particular, providing these or the like cautions following be observed. 1. That we are not to sit down or rest ourselves upon the person, principle or practice of any man, yea the best saint we have ever read or heard of, but only to seek those gifts and graces, that most eminently shone forth in him. *Preceptis non exemplis standum*, i. e. "we must not stand by examples but precepts." For it is the peculiar honour of Jesus Christ himself, to be worthy of being imitated by all men absolutely, and for us to idolize any man by making him a pattern in every particular, were nothing else than to pin our faith upon his sleeve. The apostle to the Corinthians gives a very good caveat against this, when he says, "Be ye followers (or as the Dutch annotators translate it, Be ye imitators) of me, as I am of Christ." 2. That we are not, on the other hand, to dwell too much upon the faults, or

* Phil. iii. 17.

† James v. 10.

‡ Mr. Henry on 1 Cor. xi. 1.

failings that have sometimes been discovered in some of God's dear children; but at the same time to consider, that although they were eminent men of God, they were also the sons of Adam. For it is possible, even for good men not only to fall themselves, but also when striking against the errors and enormities of others to overreach the mark, and go beyond the bounds of propriety; for says the apostle, "They are earthen vessels, men of like passions with you.*"

Thirdly, As to the motives prompting to this publication. Was there ever an age, since reformation commenced in Scotland, that stood in more need of useful, holy, and exemplary lives being set before it; both with respect to the memoirs themselves, and with regard to our present circumstances? For with respect to the memoirs of these WORTHIES, it is now long since Bishops Spotswood, Guthrie, and Burnet, not to mention some English historians, in their writings, clothed the actions of these our ancestors, both in the Reformation and Suffering Period, in a most grotesque and foolish dress, whereby their names have been loaded with reproach, sarcasm, and scurrility; but as if this had not been enough to expose them, by rendering them, and their most faithful contendings, odious, some modern writers, under the character of monthly reviewers, † have set again to the work of misrepresenting them, by giving them a character such as even the above-mentioned historians, yea, their most avowed enemies, in their own day, would scarcely have subscribed; ‡ to such a length is poor Scotland arrived! And, is it not high time to follow the wise man's advice, "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction?" §

Again, with regard to our present circumstances there needs little more to prove the necessity of this collection, than to show how many degrees we have descended from the merit of our renowned forefathers, by running a parallel betwixt their attainments and our present defections, in the following particulars.

Our venerable reformers were not only instrumental in the Lord's hand in bringing a people out of gross popish darkness, under which they had for long continued, but they also brought themselves under most solemn and sacred engagements to the Most High, and whenever they intended any

* 2 Cor. iv. 7. Acts xiv. 15.

† It would almost seem that the worthy compiler of this work here spoke by anticipation. His words may undoubtedly be applied in all their meaning to our own day. EDIT.

‡ For confirmation of this, see the Edinburgh Monthly Review for February 1774.

§ Prov. xxxi. 8.

further reformation in their advancing state, they always set about the renovation of these. They strenuously asserted the divine right of Presbytery, the headship of Christ, the intrinsic rights of his church, and in the reign of James VI. suffered much on that account. They lifted arms once and again in the reign of Charles I.; and never ceased till they got an uniformity in doctrine, worship, church-government, and discipline established in the three kingdoms;* and thereby both church and state were enabled to exert themselves in rooting out every error and heresy whatever, until they obtained a complete settlement according to the Word of God, and our covenants established thereon. These covenants were then, by several excellent acts, both civil and ecclesiastic,† made the Magna Charta of these nations, with respect to every civil and religious privilege; none being admitted into any office or employment in church or state without scriptural and covenant qualifications. And then was that part of the ancient prophecy fulfilled, “In the wilderness shall waters break forth, and streams in the desert—and the isles shall wait for his law.” Christ then reigned triumphantly in Scotland. His church appeared “beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem: For from the utmost parts were heard songs, even glory to the righteous.”

And although Charles II. and a set of wicked counsellors overturned the whole fabric of the once-glorious structure of reformation, openly divested the Son of God of his headship in and over the church, burned the solemn covenant by the hands of the hangman, and made it high treason to own them;‡ yet even then, the seed of the church produced a remnant who kept the word of Christ in patience, stood in defence of his persecuted truths, and that to the effusion of their last drop of blood: “Christ’s headship and our covenants, being in the mouths of our late martyrs, when they mounted the bloody theatres.” In the comfort of suffering on such clear grounds, and for such valuable truths, they went triumphing into eternity.

But alas! how have we, their degenerate posterity, copied their example or traced their steps! We have rather served ourselves heirs to those who persecuted and killed them, by

* See the Parliamentary Chronicle, or God on the Mount.

† See Act v. Parl. 1640. Act v. 1644. Act xv. 1649.; Acts of the General Assembly, sess. 26. 1638. sess. 23. 1639. sess. 6. 1642. sess. ult. 1647. sess. 31. 1648. &c.

‡ Act v. sess. 1. Parl. 1. James VII. See James VII. and William and Mary’s Acts of Parliament abridged, page 42.

our long accession to their perjury and apostasy, in a general and avowed denial of our most solemn vows of allegiance to Jesus Christ. To mention nothing more of the total extermination of our ancient and laudable constitution, during the reigns of the two tyrants, with the many grave-stones cast thereon by the acts rescissory, and claim of right at the Revolution, whereby we have, in a national capacity, declared ourselves to be on another footing than the footing of the once-famous covenanted church of Scotland; how many are the defections and encroachments, annually and daily made upon our most valuable privileges! For since the Revolution, the duty of national covenanting has not only been slighted and neglected, yea ridiculed by some; but some, even in their writings,* have had the effrontery to impugn the very obligation of these covenants, asserting that there is no warrant for national covenanting under the New Testament dispensation. And what awful attacks since that time have been made upon the rights of our Redeemer! as witness the civil magistrate's still calling and dissolving the supreme judicatories of the church, yea sometimes to an indefinite time; likewise appointing diets of fasting and thanksgiving to be observed, under fines and other civil pains, and imposing oaths, acts, and statutes upon churchmen, under pain of ecclesiastic censure, and other Erastian penalties. Instead of our covenants, an unhallowed union is gone into with England, whereby our rights and privileges are infringed not a little, lordly patronage is also restored and practised, a toleration† bill is granted,

* Such as Messrs. Currie, Ferguson, and Smith of Newburn, &c. who, in order to palliate and extenuate the evil of the present backsliding courses, seem to have left no stone unturned to expose or blacken the reforming period.

† Although toleration principles be now espoused, boasted of, and gloried in by many, yea by some from whom other things might be expected, yet are they contrary to scripture. See Gen. xxxv. 2. &c. Deut. xiii. 6. Judg. ii. 2. Ezek. xliii. 8. Prov. xvii. 15. Zech. xiii. 2. Rom. xiii. 3. Rev. ii. 14. &c. How far the civil magistrate is to exert his power in punishing heretics, I shall not at present determine, or whether the word *extirpate* in our solemn league and covenant extends to the temporal or spiritual sword only, there are different sentiments and expositions; yet sure I am that according to the very nature of things, that which is morally good (being a commanded duty) needs no toleration; and that which is morally evil, no mortal on earth can lawfully grant an immunity unto: and betwixt these there is no medium in point of truth and duty. It is observable, that where toleration or toleration principles prevail, real religion never prospers much; and besides all, it is of woeful consequence, for as in natural bodies, antipathies of qualities cause destruction, so in bodies politic different religions, or ways of worship in religion, cause many divisions and distractions, whereby the seamless coat of Christ is like to be torn in pieces, and this oftentimes terminates in the ruin of the whole, "For a kingdom, city or house, divided against itself," says Christ, "cannot stand." And yet some will say, that toleration is a good thing, for by it people may live as good as they please. I answer, it is true, but they may also live

whereby almost every error, heresy, and delusion appears triumphant, prelacy is become fashionable, and of popery we are in as much danger as ever. Socinian and Deistical tenets are only in vogue with the wits of the age; *soli rationi cedo*, the old Porphyrian maxim, having so far gained the ascendant at present, that reason (at least pretenders to it who must needs hear with their eyes, and see with their ears, and understand with their elbows, till the order of things be inverted) threatens not a little to banish revealed religion and its most important doctrines out of the world. A latitudinarian scheme prevails among the majority, the greater part, with the Athenians, spending their time only to hear and see something new, “gadding about to change their ways, going in the ways of Egypt and Assyria, to drink the waters of Shichor and the river,”—unstable souls, like so many light combustibles wrapt up by the eddies of a whirlwind and tossed hither and thither till utterly dissipated. The doctrine of original sin* is by some denied, others are pulling down the very hedges of church-government, and refusing all church-standards, “covenants, creeds, and confessions, whether of our own or of other churches, as being all of them carnal, human, or antichristian inventions;” and the old Pelagian and Arminian errors appear again upon the stage, the merit of the creature, free will and good works† being taught from press and pulpit

as bad as they please, and that we have liberty and freedom to serve God in his own appointed way we have him primarily to thank for it, as for all his other mercies and goodness toward us.

* This doctrine of original sin is plainly evinced by scripture, Job xiv. 4. Psalm li. 5. Rom. v. 12. &c. 1 Cor. xv. 21. John iii. 6. asserted in our church standards, illustrated and defended by many able divines, and by our British poets excellently described: thus,

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

PARADISE LOST, lib. ix. line 122.

Conceived in sin (O wretched state!)

Before we draw our breath:

The first young pulse begins to beat

Iniquity and death.

DR. WATTS.

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

1. They are contrary to scripture, which teaches us that we are no less dependant in working than in being, and no less capable to act from a principle of life, than to exist; “the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man that walketh to direct his steps. What hast thou, O man, but what thou hast received! How to perform that which is good I find not,” (Jer. x. 23. 1 Cor. iv.

almost every where, to the utter discarding of free grace, of Christ's imputed righteousness, and of true godliness. All these pernicious errors were expunged, by our reforming forefathers: and is it not highly requisite that their faithful con-

7. Rom. vii. 18.) "A man can do nothing except it be given him from above; and no man can come unto me except the Father draw him," (John iii. 27. vi. 44.) See also the Conf. chap. ix. § 3. Article of the church of England, 10. And for good works, however far they may be acceptable to God in an approbative way, as being conform to his command, and agreeable to the holiness of his nature, yet we are assured from his word that moral rectitude in its very summit, can never render one acceptable in his sight, in a justifying way, "for by the works of the law shall no man be justified: not by works of righteousness that we have done," &c. (Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 5.) For though good works, or gospel obedience, and true holiness be absolutely necessary unto salvation (as being the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith in every believer), the greatest saint being the best moralist, yet these are no ways meritorious of man's salvation; no, this depends upon God's eternal purposes, (Rom. ix. 11. Eph. i. 4.) We find it often said in scripture, that it shall be rendered to every man according to his works, (Rom. iii. 6. Rev. xxii. 12,) but never for their works; yea works, (though otherwise materially good in themselves) in an unregenerate man, become sinful before God, "for whatsoever is not of faith is sin," (Rom. xiv. 23.) although the omitting of them be more dishonouring to him, (Rom. viii. 8. Psalm xxxvi. 5. Matth. xxiii. 23.) Conf. chap. xvi. § 2, 3, 6. And so Luther, Calvin, Diodati, Beza, Perkins, Fisher, Flavel, Owen, Simson, Binning, Dickson, Gray, Rutherford, Durham, Gillespie, Guthrie, Renwick, Pool, Henry, Halyburton, Boston, Marshal and many others.

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

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

From hence observe, that whosoever intends to forsake his sin, in order to come to Christ, or effectually to correct vice, before he believes on him, must needs meet with a miserable disappointment, ("for without faith it is impossible to please God," Heb. xi. 6.) and in the end sink himself into an immense and bottomless chaos of uncertainties, like one lopping off the branches of a tree, to kill the root. "No man cometh to the Father but by me, and without me ye can do nothing," says Christ himself, (John xiv. 6. xv. 5;) the love of God being the *prima causa*, the obedience and meritorious righteousness of Christ the foundation, source and spring of man's salvation and all true happiness, "for by grace ye are saved," (Eph. ii. 8.) Whosoever has been made rightly to know any thing of the depravity of his nature

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

Again, if we run a comparison, betwixt the practice of those

in a lapsed state, or experienced any thing of the free grace of God in Christ, will be made to acknowledge this, "that it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure," Phil. ii. 13. And yet I know it is objected, that it is highly dishonouring to the Author of nature, to argue man, to be such a mean and insufficient creature, and that it can never be supposed that a gracious and merciful God would make such a number of intelligent beings to damn them, or command a sinner to repent, and come to Christ, and condemn him for not doing it, if it were not in his own power upon moral suasion to obey. It is true indeed, that in comparison to the irrational, insect and inanimate creation, man is a noble creature, both as to his formation, "I am wonderfully made," (Psal. cxxxix. 14.) and also in his intellectual parts, but much more in his primeval state and dignity, when all the faculties of the mind and powers of the soul stood entire, being then endued not only with animal, and intelligent, but also with heavenly life, "thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," (Psal. viii. 5.) But then, in what follows, these objectors seem, either inadvertently, or willingly, to have forgot, 1. "That man in honour abideth not," Psalm xlix. 12. or, (as the Rabbins read, and some translate it, as Cartwright, Ainsworth, Leigh and Broughton) "Adam in honour abideth not one night." Adam, by his disobedience, not only introduced a jar into the whole creation, rendered his posterity decrepit and lame, but also lost all power, to any spiritual good; the whole of his intellectual parts concentered with him being either corrupted, darkened, obliterated, or lost. Indeed, Dr. Taylor would have us believe, that what Adam lost, and more, was restored to Noah, (Gen. ix.) and that man's mental capacities are now the same as Adam's in innocence, saving so far, as God sees fit, to set any man above, or below his standard; some are below Adam in rational endowments, and some are above him; of the latter he thinks Sir Isaac Newton was one. (Doctrine of Original Sin, page 235. Supplement, page 85.) The fallacy of which is so obvious and absurd that it deserves no observation, for every man to his dear bought experience may know, that man now assisted by all the dark remains of original, natural, moral and political knowledge he is master of, can acquire no certain knowledge of any part of his duty, as to moral good or evil, but by a gradation of labour, slow and multiplied deductions, and much less is he able, to bind the strong man and cast him out. And yet, all this is no way dishonouring to the great Author of nature, as to the works of his hands, for although he made man at first, he made him not originally a sinful man, so that it is our sin that is dishonouring to him; "Lo! this have I found out (says the wisest of men) that God at first made man upright, but he sought out many inventions." 2. That in a proper sense God neither made man to save nor to damn him, but only for his pleasure, and the manifestation of his own power and glory. (Rev. iv. 11. Conf. chap. ii. § 3.) 3. Although we have lost power to obey, yet he still retains his right to demand obedience, and nothing can be more suitable to the justice, wisdom, and sovereignty of God, than to maintain his right, to perfect obedience from man, whom he originally endued with all power and abilities for what he commanded; neither is he any wise bound, to restore that power again, to man, which he by his disobedience lost. 4. All mankind by the fall stand condemned, by God's judicial act, "in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." (Gen. ii. 17.) And you'll say, a judge does a malefactor no injury in condemning him, when by the law he is found guilty of death, "and cursed is every one who confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them," (Deut. xxvii. 26.) and much less the supreme Judge of all, who can do nothing wrong to any, in condemning man, "for the wages of sin is death," (Rom. vi. 23.) and "hath not the potter power over the clay?" And finally, if the first Adam's posterity be thus naturally endued with a power, to do what is spiritually good, it may

who are the subject matter of this collection, and our present prevailing temper and disposition, we shall find how little they correspond, with one another. How zealous and courageous were *they* for the cause and honour of Christ! How cold and lukewarm are *we*, of whatever sect or denomination! How willing were *they*, to part with all for him! And what an honour did many of them account it, to suffer for his name! How unwilling are *we*, to part with any thing for him, much less to suffer such hardships for his sake! Of that, *we* are ashamed, which *they* regarded as their ornament; accounting that our glory, which they looked on as a disgrace! How easy was it for *them* to choose the greatest suffering rather than the least sin! How hard is it for *us* to refuse the greatest sin, before the least suffering! How active were *they* for the glory of God and the good of souls, and how diligent to have their own evidences clear, for heaven! But how little concern have *we*, for the cause of Christ, his work, and interest, and how dark, for the most part, with respect to our spiritual state and duty!—They were sympathizing Christians; but alas! how little fellow-feeling is to be found among us;—it is rather “Stand by, for I am holier than thou.” Oh! that their Christian virtues, constant fidelity, unfeigned love, and unbiassed loyalty to Zion’s King and Lord, could awaken us, from our supine neutrality; wherein, instead of imitating their goodness and virtuous dispositions, we have, by our defections and vicious courses, invited neglect and contempt on ourselves, being, as a philosopher once observed of passionate people, like men standing on their heads, who see all things the wrong way; giving up with the greater part of the rights and liberties, which were esteemed most valuable by our renowned progenitors. “The treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously.”

And if we add to all these, in our progressive and increasing

be asked, pray what need was there for the second Adam to die to quicken his elect? (Eph. ii. 1.) Indeed we are commanded to repent and turn from our iniquities, “turn ye, turn ye and live,” (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) and “ye will not come unto me that ye might have life.” (John v. 40.) But who excepting a bold Arminian will say, that these texts imply a natural power in man to turn, and to come or not as he pleases? If this were the case, the same Spirit of God would not have said elsewhere, “draw us and we will run after thee, turn thou us, and we shall be turned,” (Cant. i. 4. Jer. xxxi. 18.); “surely after I was turned I repented,” (ver. 19.) It was not *before* I was turned I repented; no, this command and complaint only points out our duty, but the prayers and promises in the word show us our ability for the performance thereof. And yet after all, proud ignorant man must needs be his own saviour, and if God say not so too, Cain will be wroth and his countenance fall. (Gen. iv. 5.) “Let the potsherd strive with the potsherd of the earth; but *we* unto him that striveth with his Maker.”

apostasy, the other heinous land-crying sins which prevail and increase among all ranks of men (few mourning over the low state of our Zion, and the daily decay of the interest, of Christ and religion)—then, we may not only say as the poet once said of the men of Athens and Thebes, * “ That we live only in fable, and nothing remains of ancient Scotland but the name ;” but may also take up this bitter complaint and lamentation—“ Ah, Scotland, Scotland ! ‘ How is the gold become dim, how is the most fine gold changed !’ Ah ! where is the God of Elijah, and where is his glory ! Where is that Scottish zeal which once flamed in the breasts of thy nobility, barons, ministers, and commoners of all sorts ! Ah, where is that true courage and heroic resolution for religion and the liberties of the nation, that did once animate all ranks in the land ! Alas, alas ! true Scots blood now runs cool in our veins ! The cloud is now gone up, in a great measure, from off our assemblies, because we have deserted and relinquished the Lord’s most noble cause and testimony, by a plain, palpable, and continued course of backsliding.” “ The crown is fallen from our head, wo is unto us, for we have sinned.”

And surely we may say of these our times (and with as much propriety) what some of the Worthies said of theirs,—“ How grievously,” said one, † “ would *they* bewail our great slothfulness, could they but behold it, who of old thought no expense of blood and treasure too much, for the defence of the church of Scotland’s liberties.” Or to use the words of another ‡ in the persecuting period, “ Were it possible that our reformers (and we may add our late martyrs) who are entered in among the glorious choristers, in the kingdom of heaven, singing their melodious songs, on harps, about the throne of the Lamb, might have a furlough for a short time, to take a view of their apostatizing children, what may we judge would be their conceptions of these courses of defection, so utterly repugnant to the platform laid down to them in that glorious work of reformation.” For if the innocent Hamilton, the godly Wishart, the apostolic Knox, the eloquent Rollock, the worthy Davidson, the courageous Melvills, the prophetic Welch, the majestic Bruce, the dignified Henderson, the renowned Gillespie, the learned Binning, the pious Gray, the laborious Durham, the heavenly-minded Rutherford, the faithful Guthries, the diligent Blair, the heart-melting Living-

* *Œdipodionæ, quid sunt nisi fabula Thebæ ?*

Quid Pandionæ restant, nisi nomen Athenæ ?

OVID. lib. 15.

† Mr. David Dickson in a letter to the General Assembly, 1601.

‡ Mr. John Dickson in a letter while prisoner in the Bass.

stone, the religious Welwood, the orthodox Brown, the zealous Cameron, the honest-hearted Cargil, the sympathizing M'Ward, the prayer-ful Peden, and the steadfast Renwick, were filed off from the assembly of the first born, and sent "as commissioners down from the mount of God, to behold how quickly their offspring are gone out of the way, piping and dancing after a golden calf: Ah! with what vehemency would their spirits be affected, to see their laborious structure almost razed to the foundation, by those to whom they committed the custody of the word; they, in the mean time sheltering themselves under the shadow of rotten fig-leaf distinctions, which will not sponce against the wrath of an angry God in the cool of the day."

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

* See Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. v. and vi.; and of this destruction Eusebius lib. iii. chap. 6.; and the life of Titus Vespasian.

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

were subjected! "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day."

But, by this time, something might have been said concerning the testimony of the church of Scotland, as it has been handed down to posterity by these witnesses of Christ. But as this has been somewhat controverted in these times, it were too large a subject to enter upon at present, any further than to observe,

1. That the testimony of the church of Scotland is not only a free, full, and faithful testimony, but also sure and costly, confirmed and sealed with blood; "and that of the best of our nobles, ministers, gentry, burgesses, and commons of all sorts;" "who loved not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the word of their testimony."*

2. That although there is no truth whatever, when once controverted, but becomes the word of Christ's patience and so ought to be the word of our testimony; yet the church of Christ in this world, being liable to alteration of circumstances, I suppose no book has been, or can be, written, that will suit the case of any particular church at all periods of its history. This pre-eminency the holy Scriptures only can claim, as being a perfect rule for faith and manners, for principle and practice, in all places, ages and times.

3. That whilst the primitive witnesses had the divinity of the Son of God, and an open confession of him, for their testimony, our reformers from popery had Antichrist to struggle with, and again in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. Christ's Regalia† and the divine right of Presbytery, became the subject of their testimony. Then in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. our Worthies saw it their duty to hold and contend, only, for what they had already attained to. But alas, in the end of this and the subsequent tyrant's reign, they found it their duty to advance a step higher, by casting off their authority altogether, and that both on account of their usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, and of their treachery, tyranny, and bloodshed. And yet, as all these faithful witnesses did agree, in promoting the kingdom and interest of the Messiah, in all his threefold offices, we must take their testimony to be materially the same, only under different circumstances. It may be stated thus, "The primitive martyrs sealed the pro-

* Rev. xii. 11.

† Here Christ's crown rights not only became the word of their testimony, but also the very motto of their civil and military banners, insomuch as when that gallant Scots army lay at Duncce-muir, (anno 1639.) each captain had his colours flying at his tent-door, whereon was this inscription in letters of gold, "CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT."
STEVENSON'S HISTORY Vol. II. page 729.

phetic office of Christ with their blood, in opposition to pagan idolatry.—The reforming martyrs sealed his priestly office with their blood, in opposition to popish idolatry.—And, last of all, our late martyrs, have sealed his kingly office, with their blood, in opposition to regal supremacy and bold erastianism. They have indeed cemented it upon his royal head, so that to the world's end it shall never drop off again."

But, candid reader, to detain thee no longer upon such considerations,—I have put the following sheets into thy hands, wherein if thou findest any thing amiss, either as to matter or method, let it be ascribed unto any thing else, rather than want of honesty or integrity; considering that all mankind are liable to err, and that there is more difficulty in digesting such a great mass of materials, into such a small composition, than in writing many volumes. Indeed, there is but little probability, that a thing of this nature can altogether escape or evade the censure of some carping Momus*, particularly of such as are either altogether ignorant of reformation principles, or of what the Lord hath done for covenanted Scotland. And yet were it possible to anticipate any thing arising here by way of objection, these few things following might be observed.

Some may object, That many things more useful for the present generation might have been published, than the deeds of men, who have stood so long condemned, by the laws of the nation, these being exploded by some, as unfit to be any longer, on record. In answer to this, I shall merely remark, 1. That there have been hundreds of volumes published of things fabulous, fictitious and romantic, fit for little else than to amuse children; while this subject has been in a great

* Here it neither can nor need be expected, that in such a number of lives, they could be all found alike precise on points of public testimony; yet I would fain expect, that what is here recorded of them, might be somewhat equivalent to whatever blemishes they otherwise had, seeing their different sentiments are also recorded: otherwise I presume it were hard to please all parties. For Mr. Wodrow has been charged by some (and that not without some reason) that, in favours of some of his indulged *quondam* brethren, in the last volume of his history, he has not only smothered some matters of fact, relative to the more honest part of our sufferers, but even given the most faithful part of their contendings, the epithets, of unwarrantable heats, heights, flights, extravagancies, extremities. (See History Vol. II. page 133, 298, 584.) Again he and Mr. Currie (in his Essay on Separation, page 160 and 211.) have blamed the publishers of the Cloud of Witnesses (but on very slender grounds) for corrupting, perverting and omitting some testimonies of our late sufferers, whom they say "came not to the same length of principles with themselves, or those they had picked out for that purpose." To avoid both rocks, all possible care has been here taken, and yet it must needs meet with its fate also, according to the various capacities, tempers and dispositions of the readers (and why not censure if blame-worthy): yet it is hoped that the honesty, labour and diligence used therein will counterpoise all other reflections or exceptions.

measure neglected. 2. That it has been the constant practice of the Lord's people in all ages, to hand down and keep on record what the Lord had done, by and for their forefathers, in former times. We find the royal Psalmist, in name of the church, oftener than once at this work, (Psal. xlv. and lxxviii.) "We have heard with our ears, O God; our fathers have told us, what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old; We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord."

3. That it has been the practice of all nations, to publish martial achievements of their most illustrious heroes, who have distinguished themselves, in defence of their native country, for a little worldly honour, or a little temporary subsistence; and shall we be behind in publishing the lives, characters and memorable actions of those Christian champions, who have fought the battles of the Lord against his and their avowed enemies, till in imitation of their princely Master their garments were dyed with blood, and whose names shall be had in everlasting remembrance? 4. That though it must be granted, that in *foro humano*, their actions and attainments cannot now be pled upon, yet in *foro Dei*, that which was lawful from the beginning cannot afterwards be made sinful* or void; and the longer they have been buried under the ashes of neglect, the more need have they to be raised up and revived. It is usual for men to keep that well, which was left them by their fathers, and for us either to oppose or industriously to conceal any part of these their contendings, were not only an addition to the contempt already thrown upon their memories, but also an injury done to posterity. "Your honourable ancestors," said one of these Worthies to a Scots nobleman,† "at the hazard of their lives, brought Christ into our hands, and it will be cruelty to posterity if ye lose him, to them."

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

1. These Worthies did and suffered much for Christ and

* See collection of Acts of Parliament (said to be Andrew Stevenson's) preface to Part II.

† Mr. Rutherford, in a letter to the Earl of Cassils. See his Letters, Part I. Epist. 63.

his cause in their day and generation, and therefore in a peculiar and singular manner were honoured and beloved of him; and although there are some things here narrated of an extraordinary nature, yet as they imply nothing contrary to reason, they do not forfeit a title to any man's belief, since they are otherwise well attested, and obviously referred to a *cause*, whose ways and thoughts surmount the ways and thoughts of men, as far as the heaven is above the earth. The sacred history affords us a store of instances of a more transcendant nature, still; the truth of which we are as little at liberty to question, as the divinity of the book in which they are related.

2. As to the soul-exercises and devotion of these men, they are so far supported by the authority of scripture, that there is mentioned by them, as a ground of their hope, some passage thereof, suited and adapted to their cases and circumstances; by the faith of which they were enabled to lay claim to some particular promise, "as a lamp unto their feet, and a light unto their path;" and this neither hypocrite nor enthusiast can do; "for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus,"†

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

Indeed, it must be regretted, that this collection is not brought out, with more advantage to the cause of Christ and the interest of religion, in commending the mighty acts of the Lord done for and by his servants, in a way, suitable to the merit and dignity of such a subject. In this case it is the greater pity, "That those who have a good will to such a piece of service cannot do it, while those who should and can do it will not do it." But I shall make no other apology,

* 1 Cor. iii. 11.

† Fuller in the preface to his Lives in the 1st state.

than what our Saviour, in another case, said of the woman, "She hath done what she could."

I shall only remark farther, anent the method observed in the following lives, that they are all, in general, ranged in order, according to the time of their exit, and not of their birth; and that in general, the account of their birth, parentage, and memorable transactions, is first inserted. Then follows, their character, which oftentimes is just one's testimony successively of another; and last of all, their works.* That which is given in their own words, generally stands in commas.

I know it is usual, when relating matters of fact, to make remarks and reflections, but as this often subjects an author to the suspicion of party zeal, they are designedly waved in the body of the work. Any thing of this kind is placed in the notes, where the reader is at more freedom to choose or refuse as he pleases, only with this proviso, That truth be always regarded.

The last thing to be noticed is, That as the credit due to this history depends upon the authors from whom it is extracted, the reader will find the most part of them mentioned in the notes; so that if any one doubts of any statement contained in it, he may have recourse to the original authors,† some of whom, though enemies to Reformation principles, serve nevertheless, to illustrate the facts herein detailed.

But to conclude, may the Lord arise and plead his own cause, in putting a final stop to all manner of prevailing wickedness; and hasten that day when the glorious light of the gospel shall shine forth in purity, and with power and success, as in former times; when all these heats, animosities and divisions, that now prevail among Christ's professed friends, shall be healed, and when cemented and knitted to one another, they shall join heart and hand together in the matters of the Lord, and the concerns of his glory; "when Ephraim shall no more envy Judah, and Judah shall no more vex Ephraim, but both shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines;" (Isa. xi. 13.) "when her officers shall be peace, and her exactors righteousness, when the Lord shall bring again the captivity of Zion;" so that, whilst we thus endea

* It is not at all pretended that all and every part of their works is here inserted, but only those most commonly in print, or those come to the knowledge of the publishers.

† The reader is desired to remember, that in so much citing there are different editions; and for what mistakes may have otherwise crept in, in the press, I can not be altogether answerable, as not having the opportunity to compare the manuscript, or all the original papers cited therein, with the copy printed.

† Isa. xi. 13.

vour to perpetuate the memory of these worthies, and to narrate what the Lord did for and by them, in the days of old, we may have somewhat to declare of his goodness and wonderful works done for us, in our own day and generation also.

And if the following sheets should in the least prove useful through divine grace, to the reclaiming of neutrals from backsliding courses, to the confirming of the doubting and to the encouraging of others to the like fortitude and zeal, to contend for their most valuable privileges, then, I shall think my pains compensated, and my object gained. For that many may be found "standing in the way, to see and ask for the good old paths, and walk therein, cleaving to the law and to the testimony," would be the joy, and is the earnest desire, impartial reader, of one who remains thy friend and well-wisher in the truth,

JOHN HOWIE.

LOCHGOIN, }
JULY, 21, 1775. }

THE
LIVES AND CHARACTERS
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

CHRISTIANITY seems to have made its appearance in Scotland at a very early period, having been, according to some writers, introduced into it by the apostles themselves. Some say, that Simon Zelotes, others that Paul, was for some time in this part of the world; but as this opinion is not supported by proper documents, it merits only the regard due to conjecture, not the attention which undoubted history demands. Another, and more probable account, is, that during the persecution raised by Domitian, the twelfth and last of the Cæsars, about A. D. 96, some of the disciples of the Apostle John fled into our island, and there propagated the religion of Jesus. But by whatever means it was originally conveyed hither, certain it is, if an accidental expression of Tertullian is to be relied on as evidence, that this religion was known and received in Scotland, previous to the end of the second century.

It does not seem that Christianity made any very signal progress for a considerable time. The first account of its success that can be depended on, is, that about A. D. 203, King Donald I. with his Queen and several courtiers, were baptized, and continued for a time zealously to promote its interests, in opposition to Pagan idolatry. But the invasion of the Emperor Severus so disturbed this king's measures, that for more than seventy years thereafter, true religion seems to have declined, and the idolatry of the Druids to have prevailed. The Druids were an order of heathen priests, who performed their rites in groves of oak trees, a species of idolatry of great antiquity, being the same with that to which the Jews of old so often revolted, and of which mention is made in the lives of Ahab, Manasseh, and others, contained in the books of Kings. They possessed also a considerable share of civil power, being the ordinary arbitrators in almost all controversies, and highly esteemed by the people. This made it very difficult to establish a religion so opposite to, and subversive of their's: but the difficulties which Christianity has in every age had to encounter, have generally served its interest, and illustrated the power and grace of its Divine Author. About the year 277, these Druids were finally expelled by King Cratilinth, who took care to obliterate every memorial of them; and from this period, we may date the era of Christianity in

Scotland, since from this time forward, until the persecution under the Emperor Diocletian, in the beginning of the fourth century, a gradual increase of the true knowledge of God and religion pervaded the country. That persecution became so hot in the south of Britain, as to drive many, both preachers and professors, into Scotland, where they were kindly received, and had the Isle of Man, then in possession of the Scots, given them for their residence, and a sufficient maintenance assigned them. King Cratilinth, also, built a church for them in Icolumbkill, one of the western isles, which was called the Church of our SAVIOUR, in the Greek, ΣΩΤΗΡ, and now by corruption SODOR. Thus established, therefore, these men were not employed, like the Druidical priests in whose place they had come, in settling the worldly affairs of men, but gave themselves wholly to religious services, instructing the ignorant, comforting the weak, administering the sacraments, and training up disciples to the same office.

Whether these refugees were the ancient Culdees or a distinct set of men, it is not easy nor material, to determine. The Culdees (from *Cultores Dei*, worshippers of God,) certainly flourished at this period, and were called *Μοναχοι*, or Monks, from the recluse lives which they led; and the cells into which they retired, being after their deaths, mostly converted into churches, retain, to this day, their names, as Cell, or Kill, or church of Marnock; Kil-Patrick, Kil-Malcom, &c. They seem to have chosen Superintendents from among themselves, whose office obliged them to go through the country, to see that every one discharged his duty properly: but these persons were utter strangers to the lordly power of the modern prelate; they had no proper diocese, and only a temporary superintendency, with which they were invested by their brethren, to whom they were accountable. This was an institution, in the spirit of it, similar to the private censures of ministers among Presbyterians.

During the reigns of Cratilinth, and Fincormac, his successor, the Culdees continued in a flourishing condition: but after the death of the latter, both the Church and State of Scotland went into great disorder. Maximus, the Roman Præfect, perceiving this, stirred up the Picts to aid him against the Scots, who were totally defeated, and their King, Ewen, with most part of the nobility, slain, in a battle which was fought about the year 380, at the water of Doon in Carrick. This overthrow was immediately succeeded by an edict commanding all the Scots, without exception, under pain of death, to depart the kingdom against a certain day; an edict which drove them entirely into Ireland, and the western isles of Denmark and Norway, with the exception of a few ecclesiastics, who wandered about from place to place.

Such being the political state of the country, the condition of the Church was equally depressed. The Culdees were by degrees constrained to withdraw and to seek shelter and subsistence among their exiled countrymen. After the lapse, however, of forty-four, or, according to Buchanan, twenty-seven years, the Picts became sensible of their error, in assisting the Romans against the Scots, and having strengthened the hands of a few who remained, they invited the fugitives back into their own land. Accordingly joined

by some foreigners, they returned, with Fergus II. then in Denmark, at their head. Their enterprise which happened about the year 404, or, as others will have it, 420, was the more successful, that by this time many of the Roman forces were recalled. Their king was crowned with the usual rites in his own country, and the news of his success drew great numbers to him; insomuch that they recovered all the country out of which they had been expelled. Most of the foreign forces returned home, except the Irish, who received the district of Galloway as a reward for their services.

The Culdees were now called from their banishment, or lurking places, restored to their livings, had their churches repaired, and acquired the people's esteem to a higher degree than ever: but this tranquillity was again interrupted by a more formidable enemy than before. The Pelagian heresy, so called from Pelagius, a monk of Rome, had now gained considerable ground in Britain. Its chief articles are; that original sin is not inherent; that faith is a thing natural; and that good works, done by our own strength, of our own free-will, are agreeable to the law of God, and worthy of heaven. But whether all, or only part of these errors, then infected the Scottish Church, is uncertain; Celestine, however, then Bishop of Rome, embraced the opportunity to send Palladius into England, who, joining with the orthodox, restored peace to the church in that quarter, by suppressing the heresy. And Ewen the Second, desirous that the church in Scotland likewise should be purged of the impure leaven, invited Palladius hither, who obtaining liberty from Celestine, and being enjoined to introduce the hierarchy as opportunity might offer, accordingly came, and succeeded so effectually in his commission, as both to confute Pelagianism and new-model the Church.

Previous to this, the Church of Scotland knew no officers vested with pre-eminence above their brethren, nor had it any connection with the Roman Pontiff, until about the year 450. Bede says, "That unto the Scots, who believed in Christ, Palladius was sent by the Pope as their first bishop." Boetius likewise says, "That Palladius was the first who exercised sacred rule among the Scots, being made bishop by the Pope." And Fordun, in his Chronicle, tells us that, "before the coming of Palladius, the Scots following the customs of the primitive church, had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, only Presbyters, or monks." We know, moreover, from tradition, even the scene of his residence and labours. It is said to have been in that district which now constitutes the Shire of Kincardine. The place where his ashes are said to repose, is still marked by the ruins of a Chapel bearing his name, and for many ages was repaired to by Christians, with the view of expiating their sins and securing his intercession. We may therefore consider him as having primarily opened that commerce and connection, which gradually obtained more and more between Scotland and Rome. From the era of his arrival in this country, the Pope was recognised as head of the Church; was occasionally applied to, for his decision in matters of controversy, and generally regarded with a degree of veneration that gradually prepared the minds of men, for that humiliating subjection to the Roman See, in which they were afterwards so generally involved.

But we are not to fix the era of diocesan bishops even so early as this ; for there were no such office-bearers in the Church of Scotland, until the reign of Malcolm II. in the eleventh century. During the first thousand years after Christ, the Bishops had no separate dioceses, nor superiorities over others, but they governed in the church in common with Presbyters ; so that they were no more than nominal Bishops, possessing little or nothing of that lordly dignity which they now do, and for a long time past have enjoyed. Spottiswood himself testifies, that the Scottish bishops, before the eleventh century, exercised their functions, indifferently, in every place to which they came. Palladius may be said therefore to have rather laid the foundation, than to have built the superstructure of corruption and idolatry, which afterwards existed in the Church of Scotland, for we find she continued for nearly two hundred years in a state quite pure and unspotted, when compared with the following periods of her history.

About the end of the sixth, and the beginning of the seventh century, a number of pious and learned men flourished in the country, among whom was Kentigern, commonly called St. Mungo. Some of these were employed by Oswald, a Northumbrian King, to instruct his people ; and are represented by Bede, as eminent for their love to God, and knowledge of the Scriptures. By their means, the light of the Gospel broke into parts of the Saxon dominions, which long maintained an opposition to the growing usurpation of the Church of Rome ; an usurpation which, after the middle of this century, was strenuously supported by the disciples of Austin. And besides these men, the Church of Scotland at this time sent many other worthy and successful Missionaries into foreign parts, particularly into France and Germany.

Thus was she early privileged, and thus were her privileges improved ; but soon "the gold became dim, and the most fine gold was changed." Popery came by degrees to show her horrid head. The assiduity of Austin and his disciples in England, was also attended with the most melancholy consequences in Scotland ; and through fomenting her divisions, corrupting her princes with Romish principles, and inattention to the lives of her clergy, the Papal power was at length universally acknowledged. Yet this subjection, it must be observed, was neither the effect of one attempt, nor the work of one age, nor was it submitted to tamely, but after several violent struggles, to resist it, on the part of our forefathers. Early in the seventh century, a warm contest arose between Austin and his disciples on the one side, and the Scots and northern Saxons on the other, about the time of keeping Easter, the threefold immersion in baptism, the shaving of priests, &c. ; which the latter would not receive, nor yet acknowledge the authority that imposed them. Each party refused ministerial communion with the other, until an arbitral decision being given at Whitby in Yorkshire, in favour of the Romanists, by Osway king of the Northumbrians, the opinions of the Scots were exploded, and the modish fooleries of the Papal hierarchy established. This decision, however, was far from putting an end to the confusion, which the dissension had occasioned ; the Romanists urged their rites with rigour, the others chose to give us

their places rather than conform. Their discouragements daily increased, as the clerical power was augmented; and during the seventh and eighth centuries, it continued to make advancement by rapid strides. Towards the end of the seventh century, it became customary for men, bent on preferment in the Church, to repair to Rome, and as might be expected, such men, on their return, became active instruments in promoting the papal interests. Nor was the See of Rome idle in employing more direct measures to prosper the work. For by means of Boniface, one of its most distinguished emissaries, and notwithstanding the most avowed and intrepid resistance of some of the native Clergy, we find that some of its worst errors and practices were, about this time, introduced and complied with. During the eighth century indeed, there arose several individuals, whose names shed a lustre over that dark period of the Church's history: and during the first half of the ninth, under the vigorous government of Constantine II. we discover a disposition, and even endeavours, both in prince and people, to resist the encroachments, and correct the disorders of the Clergy. Towards the latter end of this century, however, there seems to have been a reaction in their favour. For we find that in the year 886, they obtained an act, exempting them from taxes and all civil prosecutions before temporal judges, and ordaining that all matters concerning them should be tried by their bishops, who were at this time vested with those powers, which are now in the hands of commissioners on matrimonial causes, testaments, &c. They were likewise by the same statute, empowered to make canons, try heretics, &c.; and all future kings, were bound by it to take an oath at their coronation, for maintaining these privileges to the Church. The convention of Estates which passed this act was held at Forfar, in the reign of that too indulgent prince, Gregory. In the course of the succeeding century, matters gradually became worse. Such was the influence of the Clergy over Constantine III. that they prevailed with him on receiving the news of a battle in which his army was defeated, to relinquish his crown, and become a monk.

In the eleventh and following century, Malcolm III. Alexander I. David I. &c. successively supported and confirmed the papal power, by erecting particular bishoprics, abbeys, and monasteries. The same superstitious zeal seized the nobility of both sexes; some giving a third, others more, and others the whole of their estates, in support of a pontifical pride, and spiritual tyranny, which soon became intolerable, and which at length opened the eyes of the nation to see their error in raising the clerical authority to such a height. Accordingly, we find the nobles appealing from under it to Alexander III., who reigned after the middle of the thirteenth century; but so far was he from being able to afford them redress, that the whole land being excommunicated on account of this complaint, he was obliged to cause them to satisfy both the avarice and arrogance of the clergy, who had resolved upon retiring to Rome; being afraid they might raise such commotions in Scotland, as Thomas Becket had lately made in England. In another instance, indeed, he evinced a more determined spirit in braving the hostility of the Papal See. For the clergy being required by the Pope to pay to King Henry of Eng-

land, a tenth part of their benefices, under pretence of supporting a crusade to the Holy Land, Alexander boldly interposed, and would not permit the money to be given.

But again to refer to the twelfth century, the Pope's power was now generally acknowledged over Christendom, and in our nation also ; and in return, the Church of Scotland was declared free from all foreign spiritual jurisdiction, that of the "Apostolic See only excepted." The Bull in which this declaration was made, was occasioned by an attempt of Roger, Archbishop of York, in the year 1159, to raise himself to the dignity of Metropolitan of Scotland. He having found means to become Legate of this kingdom, lost that office upon the remonstrance of the clergy. This remonstrance likewise procured for them many other favours of a like nature ; by all of which, they were exempted from any other jurisdiction than that of Rome. And hence, we find Pope Boniface VIII. commanding Edward of England to cease hostilities against the Scots, alleging that "the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to the church ;" a claim which seems to have been founded in the Papal appointment for the unction of kings, first used on King Edgar, A. D. 1098, and at that time regarded by the people as a new mark of royalty ; but which, as the appointment of the Pope, was in reality a mark of the beast.

There were now in Scotland all orders of Monks and Friars, Templars, or Red Monks, Trinity Monks of Aberdeen, Cistercian Monks, Carmelite, Black and Grey Friars, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobines, Benedictines, &c. ; a fact which shows to what a height Antichrist had arisen in our land, and how readily his oppressive measures were complied with by all ranks of society.

But the reader must not think, that during the period we have now reviewed, there were none to oppose this torrent of superstition and idolatry ; for from the first appearance of the Romish Antichrist in this kingdom, God wanted not witnesses for the truth, who boldly stood forth in defence of the pure and blessed Gospel. Mention is first made of Clements and Samson, two famous Culdees, who, as we have seen in the seventh century, supported the authority of Christ as the only head of his church, against the usurped power of Rome, and who rejected the superstitious rites of Antichrist, as contrary to the simplicity of Gospel institutions. The succeeding age was still more famous for learned and pious men, to whom Scotland gave birth, and whose praise was in the churches abroad ; particularly Joannes Scotus Ærigena, who wrote a book upon the eucharist, which was condemned by Leo IX. in the year 1030, long after his death. In the ninth century, a Convention of Estates was held at Scone for the reformation of the clergy : their lives and conversations being at that time a reproach to common decency and good manners, not to say piety and religion. The remedies provided at this Convention, discover the nature of the disease. It was ordained, that churchmen should reside upon their charges ; that they should not intermeddle with secular affairs, but instruct the people, and be good examples in their conduct ; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, or horses for pleasure ; that they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders in civil causes. And if they failed in the observance of these injunctions, they were to be fined for the first, and deposed

for the second transgression. These laws, as we have hinted, were made under King Constantine II. though his successor Gregory rendered them abortive by his lenity. The age following, it is true, was not remarkable for witnesses to the truth; but historians are agreed that there were still some of the Culdees who lived and ministered apart from the Romanists, and taught the people that Christ was the only propitiation for sin, and that his blood alone could wash them from the guilt of it, in opposition to the indulgence and pardons of the Pope. Mr. Shields, in his "Hind Let Loose," affirms that the Culdees transmitted their testimony to the Lollards; and Pope John XXII. in his bull for anointing King Robert Bruce, complains that there were many heretics in Scotland; so that we may safely conclude, there never was any very great period of time without witnesses for the truth, and against the gross corruptions of the church of Rome. Some of our kings themselves opposed the Pope's supremacy, and prohibited his Legates from entering their dominions. A striking instance of this occurred in the reign of William, which extended through the latter part of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Bishopric of St. Andrews having become vacant, the king determined to procure the election of Hugh, his own Chaplain, to the office. The chapter, however, asserting their independence of civil authority, chose John, surnamed the Scot. William, by the assistance of the Bishop of Glasgow, having had Hugh nominated, immediately seized the revenues of the See, till a decision favourable to his wishes should be obtained. John having appealed to Rome, the election of his rival was annulled, and the Legate directed to inquire and decide. He accordingly called an assembly of the clergy, declared in favour of John, and actually consecrated him. The king, however, not intimidated by this, banished him, with his most active adherents, from Scotland: and notwithstanding, that the diocese of St. Andrews was laid under an interdict, Hugh excommunicated, and he himself and his kingdom threatened with, and at last actually exposed to the extremest vengeance of the Holy See, he remained inflexible, till, upon the death of the Pope, by a compromise with his successor, he gained his object. The most remarkable instance of this kind, however, was that of Robert Bruce, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. After being defeated at Bannockburn, the English became suppliants to the Pope for his mediation. He accordingly sent a Legate into Scotland, proposing a cessation of arms till he should hear and decide the quarrel betwixt the crowns, and be informed of the right, which Edward had, to the crown of Scotland. To this King Robert replied, "That the Pope could not be ignorant of the business, since it had often been explained to his predecessors, in the hearing of many cardinals then alive: who could tell him, if they pleased, what insolent answers Pope Boniface had received from the English, while desiring them to desist from oppressing the Scots. And now," said he, "when it has pleased God to give us the better of them, in some victories, by which we have not only recovered our own, but can make them live like good neighbours, they have recourse to such treaties, in order to gain time that they may fall upon us again with greater force: But in this, his Holiness must excuse me, for I will

not be so unwise as to let the advantage I now have, slip out of my hand." The Legate regarding this answer as contemptuous, interdicted the kingdom and departed : but King Robert paying little regard to such proceedings, followed hard after the Legate, and entering England, wasted all the adjacent counties with fire and sword.

Great, therefore, and almost boundless as was the influence gradually and at last attained by the See of Rome, over Europe in general, and in particular over Scotland, there were every where, and at all times, to be found a few who discerned, and either secretly or avowedly dissented from, the prevailing errors and corruptions of the church. So early as the twelfth century, the Waldenses, and Albigenses, who held, among other things, that marriage was allowable to all, and that the Old and New Testaments were the only rule of faith, had spread their tenets to a considerable extent over the south of Europe. During the thirteenth century, the minds of men in many places, seem to have been deeply impressed with a sense of the absurdities and abuses inseparable from Popery. And about the middle of the fourteenth, the illustrious Wickliffe, by showing their inconsistency with the word of God, and inculcating the duty of examining and rejecting them, may be said to have begun the Reformation in England. What were all the tenets he promulgated, it is now difficult exactly to ascertain. Certain it is, however, that they struck at the very root of Papal despotism, and were rapidly circulated, and cordially embraced. Nor were the effects of his labours confined to England alone. Among the numerous students who attended him at Oxford, where he had been Rector of a College, there were some who carried his opinions into Germany. There they attracted the attention of John Huss, who, already disgusted by the vices of the clergy, readily embraced such of them as were most hostile to the priesthood; and who, with his friend and associate, Jerome of Prague, was, for his zeal in asserting them, condemned to be burnt, and suffered that horrible death in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The martyrdom of these innocent men, so far from stopping the march of truth, produced a deep impression in its favour throughout Europe. Numbers every where imbibed the doctrines for which they suffered. And the frequent struggles for the Popedom, and the divisions which, from that and other causes, now prevailed in the Church, afforded at once opportunity and incitement for their explicit avowal. About this time, too, the light of reformation, from the same source, seems to have dawned in Scotland. Many encouraged by the circumstances of the times, began to speak openly against the heresy tyranny, and immorality of the clergy. In particular, James Resby, an Englishman by birth, and a scholar of Wickliffe, having come into Scotland so early as 1407, continued to propagate his opinions till 1422, when he was accused of denying the Pope's supremacy, and condemned to the fire; a fate which he endured with great constancy. In like manner, about ten years afterwards, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, and a follower of Huss, was seized in St. Andrews, and cited for heresy, before the Doctors of Theology. The principal articles of accusation against him were, his following Huss and Wickliffe in his opinion of the Sacrament, and denying that the substance of bread and

wine were changed, by virtue of words, and, that auricular confession and praying to departed saints were proper. He was committed to the secular judge, condemned to the flames at St. Andrews, and there suffered; being gagged when led to the stake, that he might not have an opportunity of making his confession. Both the above-mentioned martyrs suffered under Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, who, in 1412, founded the University of that place; an act which might have done him honour, had he not imbrued his hands in innocent blood.

These returnings of Gospel light were not confined to St. Andrews. Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, and other districts in the west of Scotland, were in like manner highly favoured. During the two succeeding reigns, indeed, there was little or no movement in regard to religion: but in the time of James IV. the spirit of reformation seems to have revived. We find, that in 1494, Robert Blackatter, the first Archbishop of Glasgow, caused to be summoned before the King and his great Council held there, about thirty individuals in all, and mostly persons of distinction, accused of reformation principles. Among these, were George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of New-mills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Lady Pokellie, and Lady Stair. They were opprobriously called the Lollards of Kyle, from Lollard, an eminent preacher among the Waldenses, and were charged under thirty-four articles, with maintaining that images ought not to be worshipped, that the relics of saints should not be adored, and such like obnoxious tenets. But to these accusations, they answered with such boldness, constancy, and effect, that the Archbishop and his associates were at length constrained to drop the proceedings; and it was judged most prudent to dismiss them with the simple admonition, to content themselves with the faith of the Church, and to beware of new doctrines.

Thus have we brought down this summary of Church affairs in Scotland, to the period at which it may be regarded as taken up in the following Biography. For, from the conclusion of the above-mentioned diet, till the time of Patrick Hamilton, whose life stands first in this collection, there occurred no sufferer on account of opposition to Romish tyranny and superstition, in this our country.

PATRICK HAMILTON.*

THIS eminent individual was born about the year of our Lord, 1503; was nephew to the Earl of Arran by his father, and to the

* "We have been accustomed," says Dr. M'Crie, "to suppose that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen, previously to his martyrdom. This opinion, requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear, that the opinions of Wickliffe had

Duke of Albany by his mother, and was also related to King James V. of Scotland. He was early educated with a view to future high preferment, and had the abbacy of Ferne given him, for his maintenance whilst prosecuting his studies, which he did with great assiduity.

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

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

The city of St. Andrews was at this time the grand rendezvous of the Romish clergy, and might with no impropriety be called the metropolis of the kingdom of darkness. There were to be found in it, James Beaton the archbishop; Hugh Spence, dean of divinity; John

the most powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards, in Ayrshire, from the time of Wickliffe to the days of George Wishart. And in Fife they were so numerous, as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force, on the day of his execution"—*Life of Melville*, Vol. i. p. 8.

The same judicious writer corrects another pretty common mistake, into which even Dr. Robertson has fallen, that the first who received the reformed doctrines were chiefly in the lower or middle ranks of life. The preachers themselves, such as Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, were men of good family; and they had many of the nobility and gentry among their regular hearers. "The reformation of religion," says Dr. M., "was preceded by the revival of letters throughout Europe: the principal reformers were men of superior talents and education: and their cause was espoused, and essentially promoted by persons who possessed secular authority and influence."—*Ibid*, p. 9.

W. M'G.

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

The day after his imprisonment, he was brought before the Archbishop and his convention, and charged with maintaining and propagating sundry heretical opinions ; and though articles of the utmost importance had been debated betwixt him and them, they restricted their charge to such trifles as *pilgrimage, purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead* ; perhaps because these were the grand pillars upon which Antichrist built his empire, being the most lucrative doctrines ever invented by men. We must, however, take notice, that Spottiswood, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrew's, assigns the following as the tenets for which he suffered : “ that the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism ; that no man by the power of his free-will can do any good ; that no man is without sin as long as he liveth ; that every true Christian may know himself to be in a

state of grace ; that a man is not justified by works, but by faith only ; that good works make not a man good, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works ; yet the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man ; that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one or them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all ; that God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man : and grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin." These articles, with the following, make up the whole charge : " that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation ; that actual penance cannot purchase the remission of sin ; that there is no purgatory, and that the holy Patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion ; that the Pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as he."—And for these articles, and because he refused to abjure them, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power by the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, three bishops, and fourteen underlings, setting their hands to the sentence ; which, that it might have the greater authority, was likewise subscribed by every person of note in the University, and among others by the Earl of Casillis, though then, not exceeding thirteen years of age. The sentence as given by Mr. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, is as follows :—

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

" We have found also that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heretics, after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council : That man hath no free-will ; That man is in sin so long as he liveth ; That children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners ; That all Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace ; That no man is justified by works but by faith only ; That good works

make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works ; That faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth one of them wanteth the rest ; with divers other heresies and detestable opinions : and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

“ All these premises being considered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the Holy Scripture, men of law, and others assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare, the said Mr. Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the foresaid heresies, and his pertinacity, (they being condemned already by the church, by general councils, and most famous universities,) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and define him to be punished by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church ; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished and his goods to be confiscated.

“ This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, the last day of the month of February, *anno* 1527, being present, the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, archbishop of Glasgow ; George, bishop of Dunkeld ; John, bishop of Brechin ; William, bishop of Dunblane ; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews ; David, abbot of Aberbrothoc ; George, abbot of Dunfermline ; Alexander, abbot of Cambuskenneth ; Henry, abbot of Lenders ; John, prior of Pittenweeme ; the dean and subdean of Glasgow ; Mr. Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramsay, Allan Meldrum, &c. in the presence of the clergy and the people.”

The same day on which this doom was pronounced, he was also condemned by the secular power ; and in the afternoon of that day, (for they were afraid of an application to the king on his behalf,) he was hurried to the stake, immediately after dinner ; the fire being prepared, in the area before the gate of St. Salvator's College. Being come to the place of martyrdom, he put off his clothes, and gave them to a servant who had been long with him, saying, “ This stuff will not help me in the fire, yet will do thee some good ; I have no more to leave thee, but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind ; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit who deny Christ before this wicked generation.” Having so said, he commended his soul into the hands of God, having his eyes fixed towards heaven ; and being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, timber and other combustibles, a train of powder was made, with a design to kindle the fire, but did not succeed ; the explosion only scorching his face and one of his hands. In this situation he remained until more powder was brought from the castle, during which time his comfortable and good speeches were often interrupted, particularly by Friar Campbell, calling upon him “ to recant, pray to our Lady,

and say, the *Salve Regina*." Upon being repeatedly disturbed in this manner, by Campbell, Mr. Hamilton said, "Thou wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much didst thou confess unto me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat or Christ." By this time the fire was kindled, and the noble martyr yielded up his soul to God, crying out, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" and ending with the saying of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."*

Friar Campbell soon after became distracted, and died within a year after Mr. Hamilton's martyrdom, under the most awful apprehensions of the Lord's indignation against him.† The Popish clergy abroad congratulated their friends in Scotland, upon their zeal for the Romish faith discovered in the above tragedy. But it rather served than retarded the cause of Reformation, as the following sketches of the principal individuals, who shortly after suffered for that cause, will tend to evince.

* Hamilton had some relatives who were honoured to be sufferers for the same cause, as we read in Spottiswood; "The persecution still proceeding, divers were cited to appear at *Halirudhouse*, by James Hay, Bishop of Ross, who sat as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews; amongst others, James Hamilton of Lavington, brother german to Master Patrick, with Catherine Hamilton his sister. The gentleman was advised by the king secretly, (for he loved the man) not to appear, and was for his own contumacy condemned. His sister appearing, and being questioned upon the point of justification by works, answered simply, that she believed no person could be saved by their works. Mr. John Spence the lawyer, held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were different sorts of works, works of congruity, and works of condignity; in the application whereof, he consumed a long time. The woman thereupon growing into a chafe, cried out, 'Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no works can save me but the work of Christ my Saviour.' The King was present all the time, and laughed heartily at the answer, yet, taking the gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her opinions, and by her example divers others, at the same time, abjured their profession." Probably this lady would have stood the fire as well as her brother, had she been tried in that way; but the blandishments of royalty were too much for her.

W. M'G.

† There are on record many instances of the Divine displeasure being, even in the present life, manifestly displayed against persecutors and apostates, as will appear in the course of this work; but this is not always the case; and we ought not to judge of characters according to what is visible, or not visible, in this respect. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; and the Lord will judge his people," and vindicate their cause. But he does this in his own time, and in his own way. Many of his greatest enemies, and the greatest enemies of his cause, have "no bands in their death;" no visible symptoms of their being more wretched than others; but their condition is not, on that account, the less deplorable. The day of judgment will lay open every thing.

W. M'G.

HENRY FORREST

WHEN the people began to compare the conduct and fate of Hamilton with that of Campbell, they were induced to inquire more narrowly into the truth than before. The fears of the Clergy, accordingly, were soon revived by the open profession of the same obnoxious tenets.—In particular, Alexander Seton, a friar of the order of Dominicans,* and confessor to the King, being appointed to preach at St. Andrews during the lent which immediately succeeded Mr. Hamilton's death, embraced the opportunity of publicly inculcating doctrines, almost literally the same with those for which that martyr had lately suffered. He was consequently denounced as a heretic, removed from the royal presence, and obliged to consult his safety by flying into England. It was not, however, till about five years afterwards, that any instance occurred of persecution unto death. During that season, the attention of the prelates had been engrossed, by the political troubles which distracted the country. But in the year 1533, their measures against heretics were resumed, and that with an increase of ardour, which plainly showed that their forbearance had been occasioned by any thing, but the restraints of wisdom and mercy

* It is worthy of remark, that one of the first converts to the truth for which Hamilton suffered, was one of the order most hostile to the new heresy. St. Dominic will ever be remembered as the founder of the Inquisition. It is related, that before he was born, his mother dreamed that she was delivered of a whelp with a torch in its mouth, which was explained to mean, that her child was destined to enlighten the world; but afterwards, when his character was developed, it was alleged rather that he was made to set the world on fire. He has ever been a great favourite with the high authorities of the Romish church. "One of the most celebrated images in Italy," says Dr. Middleton, "is that of St. Dominic, in Surriano in Calabria, which, as their histories testify, was brought down from heaven, about two centuries ago, by the Virgin Mary in person, accompanied by Mary Magdalen and St. Catharine. Before this glorious picture, as they affirm, great numbers of the dead have been restored to life, and hundreds from the agonies of death; the dumb, the blind, the deaf, the lame, have been cured, and all sorts of diseases and mortal wounds have been healed: all which facts are attested by public notaries, and confirmed by the relations of cardinals, prelates, generals, and priors of that order, and the certainty of them so generally believed, that from the 9th of July, to the 9th of August, the anniversary feast of the saint, they have always counted above a hundred thousand pilgrims, and many of them of the highest quality, who come from different parts of Europe, to pay their devotions, and make their offerings at this picture." (*La vie St. Dominic, as quoted by Middleton.*) Until the rise of the Jesuits, there was no order that could compete with the Dominicans, except the Franciscans; and these two orders hated each other most heartily, and maintained a long and furious controversy about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; the Franciscans stoutly maintaining that she was born immaculate, while the Dominicans asserted that she came into the world under original sin, though its effects were soon removed.

W. M'G.

The first victim and example of their cruelty was Henry Forrest. Of his parentage, descent, and previous history, no memorials have been preserved. At the time when he attracted the fatal notice of his persecutors, he is said to have been young in years, a friar of the order of Benedictines, and resident at Linlithgow. Having said to the effect, that Mr. Hamilton was a good man, and had died a martyr, and that the doctrines for which he suffered might be vindicated, he was, at the instance of the then Archbishop, apprehended for heresy, and committed to the prison at St. Andrews. Anxious, however, as they were to condemn him, the evidence against him, it would appear, even in the estimation of his enemies, was not sufficient. But he was nevertheless still kept in confinement; and, with the view of extorting from himself some declaration which they might employ against him, they caused a friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession. His willingness to engage in this ordinance of the church, may warrant the inference, that he had not departed very far from her acknowledged tenets. He received the friar as a spiritual comforter, and not suspecting the treachery which the cloak of religion concealed, he without hesitation declared upon his conscience, that, in his opinion, Hamilton was a good man, and that the doctrines which he died maintaining were not heretical. The Confessor, regardless of every honourable feeling, revealed what he had heard, and his evidence was held sufficient to establish the crime of heresy.

There was another circumstance, however, which, in the eyes of his persecutors, greatly added to Forrest's guilt. He had been found to be possessed of a New Testament in English, and such was the blindness or the bigotry which in those ages prevailed, that the perusal of that Book, which, the Saviour himself enjoined as a duty, was held to be a crime worthy of death, by those who impiously called themselves his servants. Forrest was accordingly declared to be a heretic, and condemned to be burnt alive. Nor was it long till this sentence was executed in all its rigour.

When the fatal day arrived, and he was brought before the clergy, in a place, between the castle of St. Andrews and Monymel, he complained, with the utmost bitterness, of the villany by which he had been entrapped: "Fie on falsehood!" he cried, "Fie on false friars, revealers of confessions; after this day let no man ever trust false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men." The clergy heard his reproaches with the greatest indifference, and proceeded to degrade him of his friar's orders. Upon this he again exclaimed, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism;" referring to the absurd additions which Popery had made to that simple rite. He was thereafter denounced as "a heretic equal with Patrick Hamilton," and immediately led to the stake, where he suffered death, near the abbey church of St. Andrews.

Thus died Henry Forrest; but his death, far from allaying, seemed only to have increased the fury of persecution. In the following year, 1534, numbers were summoned to appear at Holyroodhouse,

before the Bishop of Ross, who sat as commissioner for the Primate. Of these, there were some who consulted their safety by flight, and others by recantation.* Two, however, viz. Gourlay and Straiton, to their immortal honour, remained inflexible; and of them it may be proper to subjoin a short account.

NORMAN GOURLAY, AND DAVID STRAITON.

OF Norman Gourlay, little is known. It would appear that, like many others of the early reformers, he was of respectable parentage, for we find that he had travelled abroad, a practice at that period thought necessary to complete the education of a Scottish gentleman. It would also seem that he was in secular orders; and Knox has described him as a man of "reasonable erudition, in whom appeared knowledge, although joined with some weaknesses." It is still farther related of him, that on returning from his travels, and notwithstanding his clerical character, he had the boldness to marry, a circumstance which constituted a great part of the crime for which he was called upon to suffer. "For," says Pitscottie, "they would thole no priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him dead; but if he had used ten thousand whores, he had not been burnt."—He was also accused, however, of having asserted that there was no such place as purgatory, and that the Pope was not a Bishop but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

With regard to his fellow-sufferer, David Straiton, history has transmitted some interesting particulars. Fox, in his martyrology, styles him a fisherman; but he was in reality a gentleman of small estate on the sea-coast of Angus, was descended of the ancient family of the Straitons of Laurieston, and according to Dr. M'Crie, was brother to the laird of that ilk. Perhaps the venerable Martyrologist was led into this mistake, from the nature of one of the charges preferred against him. Induced by the local advantages of his situation, it appears he had procured a boat with the view of fishing, chiefly, it is most probable, for the supply of his own family. Out of this the then Bishop of Murray, being prior of St. Andrews, demanded a tithe; a demand to which Straiton answered by saying, that if they would have tithe of what his servants won at sea, it was but reasonable that they should come and receive it, even where the stock was obtained; and, as is affirmed, he thereafter caused them to cast every tenth fish into the sea. A process was accordingly entered against him, which, having contemned, he was forthwith summoned to answer for heresy. This, it appears, deeply affected him, and was the happy mean, under Providence, of rousing him to serious thought. He had hitherto displayed a stubborn disposition, rough manners, and a great contempt for reading, especially of a religious kind. But now he was led to inquiry, and earn-

* See Note, page 16.

estly sought after the acquaintance of those who could either speak or read to him (being unable to read himself) on the subjects which interested his mind. Hence, as Spottiswood observes, "he became another man, through frequenting the company of John Erskine of Dun, by whom it pleased God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his truth, and to kindle in his heart an ardent love of it." Mr. Erskine, by his friendly attention, having gained a considerable influence over him, encouraged him to be often in his company, and warmly exhorted him to a change of life. He also invited him to hear the Scriptures read and explained, at his house, either by himself or some of the reformed teachers whom he frequently entertained. And the following anecdote will serve, by proving the sincerity of his conversion, to show that he profited by the various advantages which he thus enjoyed. One day, having retired with the young Laird of Laurieston to a quiet and solitary place, in the fields, to have the New Testament read to him; it so happened that in the course of reading, these words of our Saviour occurred, "He that denieth me before men, in the midst of this wicked generation, him will I deny in the presence of my Father, and his angels." On hearing them, he became of a sudden as one enraptured or inspired. He threw himself on his knees, extended his hands, and after looking for some time, earnestly, towards heaven, he burst forth in these words, "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercies' sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth, for fear of death and corporal pains."

The issue proved that his prayer was not in vain. For, says Spottiswood, "David Straiton, at his trial and death, behaved most constantly to the defence of the truth, and gave great encouragement to another gentleman, Norman Gourlay, who suffered along with him." Accordingly, when brought before the diet at Holyroodhouse, though strongly urged by the Bishop and others of the clergy, they maintained their innocence, vindicated their principles, and refused to recant. They were of course condemned as obstinate heretics, and sentenced to be hanged and burnt. On receiving this sentence, Straiton applied to the King, who was present, for mercy, and would have obtained it, but for the interposition of the clergy, who declared it to be incompetent for him to pardon those who were already condemned by the law of the church. In the afternoon, therefore, of the same day, the 27th of August 1534, they were led out to Greenside, near Edinburgh, which, with the view of awing the surrounding country, had been appointed as the place of execution. On arriving here, they kneeled down and prayed, for some time, with great fervour. Straiton, addressing himself to the spectators, warmly exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ themselves in seeking after the true light of the Gospel. He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers in attendance. The sentence was then executed in all its horrors: The martyrs cheerfully yielded up their bodies to pain and death, commending their souls into the hands of their heavenly Father, and anticipating a blissful immortality through the merits of Jesus.

THOMAS FORREST AND OTHERS.

For about four years, after the fore-mentioned instance of martyrdom, the sword of persecution was happily sheathed: and it is but candid to suppose that the general horror and indignation which such instances excited, had caused in the minds of their abettors a reluctance to perpetrate them. But if such reluctance did exist, it was at length overcome. A convocation of Bishops met at Edinburgh, who, taking into consideration the decaying influence of the church, have perpetuated their memory, by the increased severity, against heretics, which they recommended and enforced. Several individuals were summoned before them. Of five men, chiefly priests, who, on this account it may be presumed, were the more rigorously treated, and who were tried, condemned and executed together, the most distinguished was, Thomas Forrest or Forret, Vicar of Dollar. Respecting this excellent man, history has transmitted to us the following particulars:—

He was of the house of Forrest or Forret, in Fife, and his father had been master-stabler to James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in Scotland, he was sent abroad by the kindness of a rich lady, and prosecuted his education at Cologne. Returning to his native country, he was admitted a canon regular, in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons, respecting the allowance due to them; and the latter got the book of foundation to examine into their rights. The abbot, with the view of inducing them to part with this book, gave them a volume of the works of Augustine, which happened to be in the monastery. This volume passing into the hands of Forrest, was the happy mean of enlightening his mind. "Oh! happy and blessed was that book to me," did he often say afterwards, "by which I came to the knowledge of the truth." After perusing it, he applied himself to the reading of the Scriptures. He was also the happy instrument of converting a number of the young canons. "But the old bottles," he used to say, meaning the older members of the order, "would not receive the new wine." The abbot frequently advised him to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord," was his answer, "you are a friend to my body, but not to my soul." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, in which situation he rendered himself obnoxious to his brethren, by his diligence in instructing his parishioners, and his benevolence in freeing them from oppressive exactions. When the agents of the Pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he thus addressed his people: "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you: this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from the Pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." It was his custom to rise at six o'clock in the morning, and study till mid-day. He daily committed three chapters of the Bible to

memory, and repeated them to his servant at night. He also composed a short Catechism, probably intended by him for the use of his own people. These facts were communicated by his servant, Andrew Kirkie, in a letter to Mr. John Davidson, Minister of Prestonpans, and inserted by him in his account of Scottish Martyrs, from which, as the book itself is now lost, they have been transmitted to us in Calderwood's history.

Such a man as they describe Forrest to have been, could not long escape the notice and hostility of his clerical superiors. He was successively summoned before the Bishops of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. To the former of these he was accused as "an heretic, and one that shewed the mysteries of the Scriptures, to the vulgar people, in their own language, so as to make the clergy detestable in their sight." And on being called before him, the following conversation took place:—

"My dear, dean Thomas," said the Bishop, "I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself. I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and, therefore, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing, you may make the people think that *we* should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the rights of the holy church, to preach that and let the rest be."

Forrest answered, "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain, that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith, 'it is too much to preach every Sunday,' indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like."

"Nay, nay, dean Thomas," cried the Bishop, "let that be for we are not ordained to preach."

Then said Forrest, "Where your lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle, or good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil."

The Bishop replied, "*I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent when you may not amend it.*"

Forrest said, "I trust my cause is iust in the presence of God;

and, therefore, I heed not much what may follow thereupon ;" and so he departed.

It was not long after this that he was summoned to appear before Archbishop Beaton, and the above-mentioned convocation; and after a short examination, he was condemned to be burnt as a heretic.

A similar doom was pronounced on the four individuals whom we have already referred to, as having suffered along with him. These were, by name, Keilor, Beveridge, Simson, and Forrester; and besides their names and their martyrdom, little is known respecting them. Keilor and Beveridge were friars; and the charge against the former of them was, his having, according to the custom of the times, composed a tragedy on the death of Christ, in which he portrayed, in a lively manner, the character and conduct of the Popish clergy, under that of the Jewish pharisees and high priests. This play was acted publicly at Stirling, the king himself being present, on a Good-friday morning; and so keen and cutting was the sarcasm it contained, that the Popish party gave themselves no rest till they had apprehended and condemned its author. With regard to Sir Duncan Simson, (so titled from his office,) he was, what was called, a secular priest. And as to Robert Forrester, he was a gentleman of respectability. On the 28th of February, 1538, the whole five were consumed in one fire on the Castle hill, at Edinburgh.

JEROME RUSSEL AND ALEXANDER KENNEDY

THE rage for persecution which inflamed the ruling party in Scotland, at this period, was not confined in its effects to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. The year succeeding that to which the preceding sketch refers, is memorable for the trial, condemnation, and death of Jerome Russel and Alexander Kennedy. Of these two individuals some interesting particulars are recorded, which, though not amounting to a history of their lives, are worthy of a place in this collection.

Glasgow has the honour of having been the residence of these martyrs to the truth: at least it was the scene of their constancy and sufferings. Russel was of the order of grey friars, and is described by Knox as "a young man of meek nature, quick spirit, and good learning." Kennedy was a gentleman of liberal education, as it would appear, and of some genius for poetry; and at the time of his being called to account for his opinions, he had not passed the eighteenth year of his age. They had been apprehended and lodged in prison, for their heretical sentiments. At length the Bishop, willing to earn to himself the applause of zeal, and urged on by three individuals, devoted to the cause, who had been sent to assist him, had them brought before him for examination and trial. Many and grievous were the charges which were laid against them: and

impressed by the imposing display of judicial pomp, and by a fear, that was natural, of those dreadful agonies to which at length he was doomed, Kennedy, with a weakness for which his tender years are a sufficient apology, was at first inclined to recant. His indecision, however, was only for a moment. For being on a sudden refreshed, as it would appear, by the strengthening and comforting influences of the Divine Spirit, he felt himself, as it were, a new creature; his mind was changed, his resolution fixed, and falling on his knees, he, with a glowing countenance, and in an animated tone of voice, thus expressed himself:—

“O eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy thou bearest unto mankind, and to me, a miserable wretch, above all others! for even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which has taken from me that ungodly fear wherewith I was before oppressed. Now I defy death.” Then rising, he cried to his persecutors, “Do with me as you please; I praise God I am ready.”

Russel, who had arrived at a more mature age, and whose opinions it may be supposed, from his professional studies, were more the result of deliberation and inquiry, and consequently more firm and decided, behaved during the trial with great intrepidity. For a time he learnedly reasoned against his accusers, defending, by means of argument, the sentiments which he owned; and rebutting, with calmness and with dignity, the false charges preferred against him. But being roused to a higher state of feeling, by the opprobrious and irritating language which was poured forth against him, he at last addressed them in the following words:—“This is your hour and power of darkness; now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocence will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion! Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquity.”

Nor was it without effect that they thus conducted themselves on their trial. Their behaviour and protestations seemed to have made a deep impression on the mind of the Prelate. He frankly declared it to be his opinion, that such executions as had of late taken place, would injure the cause they were designed to promote; and in reference to the present instance he said, “I think it better to spare these men than to put them to death.” It would have been to his immortal honour if he had followed out, this judgment. His assistants, however, interfered. They had extinguished in their own breasts every feeling of mercy, and they threatened to hold him an enemy to the church, if he did not proceed. In a tone of offended dignity they exclaimed, “What will ye do my Lord? Will ye condemn all that my Lord Cardinal, the other Bishops, and we ourselves, have done? If so, ye show yourself an enemy to the church,

and to us, and so we will repute you, be assured." The Bishop had not firmness to despise the threat. He tamely sacrificed his feelings of duty to the love of ease, of affluence, or of reputation; and the two interesting young men were condemned to the flames.

Being immediately given over to the secular power, they were, next day, led out to the place of execution. In their way to it, Russel observing some symptoms of timidity in the appearance of his fellow-sufferer, thus addressed him:—"Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer."

When they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time: after which, being fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, they cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansions.



THE forementioned instance of martyrdom took place in the year 1539. In that year, Cardinal David Beaton having succeeded his uncle in the See of St. Andrews, began carefully to tread in the path which had been marked out to him. His first act was to cite before him, in a splendid convocation of nobles and clergy, assembled on purpose, Sir John Borthwick, accused of having read and circulated heretical books, and of having maintained doctrines subversive of the Romish church. But he being forewarned of his danger, fled out of the country, and took refuge in England, where he was kindly received. About this time also, Andrew Cunningham, son to the master of Glencairn, James Hamilton, brother to Patrick Hamilton, (now returned * from his exile,) and the celebrated George Buchanan, the historian, were severally apprehended and imprisoned on similar accusations; and if they had not found means to escape, must have perished in the flames.

But it was not till the end of the year 1543, according to some historians, or 1545, according to others, that the Cardinal's inveteracy against the reformers was displayed in its strongest colours. Accompanied by the Governor, he made a visitation of different parts of his diocese, and attempted to strike dread into all who were hostile to the Church. At Perth, many persons were apprehended and arraigned, among whom the following six were condemned and executed: William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Rawleson, and Helen Stark. The charges against the five men were as follows: Of the first four, one was accused for interrupting a friar while teaching that a man could

* See Note, p. 16.

not be saved without praying to the saints, the other three for having treated disrespectfully the image of a saint, and eaten flesh upon a day, on which the use of it was forbidden by the Pope. With respect to the fifth person above-named, his crime was adorning his house, in derision, as was supposed, with a wooden representation of the three-crowned diadem of St. Peter. And as to the woman, who was the wife of one of the four, she was condemned for having refused to invoke the Virgin Mary, affirming that she would pray to God alone, through Jesus Christ.

The four men were hanged upon one gibbet: the other, some days after, was burnt alive, and the woman, on the same occasion on which the four men were executed, was tied in a sack and drowned.

The circumstances of her death have been somewhat differently related. Some affirm that her infant perished with her, while others state her parting with it, as one of the most powerfully exciting causes of agitation and agony, in her last hour. The following, which we prefer, is the account of Dr. Cook, in his history of the Reformation. "The circumstances," says he, "attending the last scene of this unfortunate woman's life, must move every heart from which the best feelings of our nature have not been eradicated. Warmly attached to her husband, with whom she had enjoyed some years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, she implored that they might die together. This affecting request having been barbarously refused, she soothed, by the most impressive consolations, his departing moments; and after witnessing his execution, she prepared for her own. The tenderness of a parent agitated her mind. She entreated her neighbours to show humanity to her children; and to complete her anguish, she took from her bosom the infant whom she suckled, and gave it to the nurse whom she had provided. Yet all this did not overpower her fortitude, or shake her faith: she rose superior to her sufferings, and she died with courage and with comfort."*

Nor with these enormities, shocking as they were, which had thus marked the commencement of his progress, was the Cardinal satisfied. He, in addition, caused many individuals to be banished, and then proceeded, with his retinue, to visit the counties of Angus and Mearns. Multitudes in these counties were summoned before him, accused of faults equally trivial, or rather, of practices equally commendable, with those for which the preceding witnesses had testified and suffered. And though it does not appear that any capital punishments were inflicted, numbers had to consult their safety by flight, or were dragged from their families and their occupations to languish out their days in pitiless confinement.

Such are the principal facts which mark the history of persecution in Scotland, previous to the martyrdom of George Wishart. Besides these, there were many instances of arraignment, imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation, of which it were too tedious to relate the particulars.

* See History of the Reformation, Vol. I.

GEORGE WISHART.

THIS gentleman was a brother of the Laird of Pittarrow,* in the County of Mearns, and was educated at the University of Cambridge, where his diligence and progress in useful learning, soon made him respected. From an ardent desire to promote the truth in his own country, he returned to it in the summer of 1544, and began teaching a school in the town of Montrose; which he kept for some time with great applause. He is in particular celebrated for his uncommon eloquence, and agreeable manner of communication. The sequel of this narrative will inform the reader, that he possessed an extraordinary degree of sagacious foresight,† and was at the same time humble, modest, charitable, and patient, even to admiration. One of his own scholars gives the following picture of him:—"He was a man of tall stature, black haired, long bearded, of a graceful personage, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach, and desirous to learn: he ordinarily wore a French cap, a frieze gown, plain black hose, white bands, and handcuffs; he frequently gave away several parts of his apparel to the poor; in his diet he was very moderate, eating only twice a-day, and fasting every fourth

* "John Wishart, the Laird of Pittarrow," says Dr. Cook, "some years after this, took an active part in promoting the Reformation; and it is probable, that the zeal in this cause, which the death of his brother had excited or strengthened, continued to distinguish the descendants of the family. Two or three years ago, when the old mansion-house of Pittarrow was pulled down, upon removing the wainscoat from the great hall, there were discovered on the walls of the room, in a state of complete preservation, several beautiful paintings, of which no tradition remained. One, above the largest fire-place, represented the city of Rome, and a grand procession going to St. Peter's. The Pope, adorned with the Tiara and mounted on horseback, was attended by a large company of Cardinals on foot, richly dressed, but all uncovered. Beyond them was the Cathedral of St. Peter, the doors of which were open, and below the painting were five lines of Latin verse, which were probably, at the time the picture was executed, extensively circulated, and generally current among the Protestants, and which strongly show, that the possessors of the mansion in which it was found, had no partiality for the Pope, and attributed his exaltation to causes disgraceful to the occupiers of St. Peter's."—Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I.

† In this, and similar instances, what we conceive a very proper alteration, is made in the text. The line in the preceding editions, reads thus:—"he possessed the spirit of prophecy in an extraordinary degree."

It was a prevalent opinion among the early reformers, that some of their most distinguished ministers possessed the spirit of prophecy; and the compiler of this work seems to have had no doubt of it. I question, however, if such an opinion can be maintained consistently with the perfection of the revelation, contained in the holy Scriptures. I do not believe that any of the worthies were prophets, farther than as students of the Bible, and observers of providence, they were able to point out beforehand what would be the consequence of some particular line of conduct. In short, I believe, what has been ascribed to the spirit of prophecy, was no more than sagacious foresight.

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day; and his lodging, bedding, and such other circumstances, were correspondent to the things already mentioned." But as these particulars are rather curious, than instructive, we shall proceed.

On leaving Montrose, he came to Dundee, where he acquired still greater fame by public lectures on the Epistle to the Romans; insomuch that the Romish clergy began to think seriously of the consequences which they saw would inevitably ensue, if he was suffered to go on, pulling down that fabric of superstition and idolatry, which they with so much pains had reared. They were especially chagrined at the reception he met with in Dundee, and immediately set about projecting his ruin. They therefore prevailed upon one Robert Mill, formerly a professor of, and a sufferer for the truth, but who had recanted, and was now a man of considerable influence and a Magistrate in that town, to give him a charge in the Queen and Governor's names, to trouble them no more with his preaching there. This commission was executed by Mill, one day, in public, just as Wishart had ended his sermon. Upon hearing it, he kept silence for a little, with his eyes turned towards heaven, and then casting them on the speaker and spectators, with a sorrowful countenance, he said, "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous unto me than it is unto yourselves; but sure I am, to reject the word of God, and drive away his messengers, is not the way to save you from trouble, but to bring you into it: When I am gone, God will send you messengers, who will not be afraid either of burning or banishment. I have, at the hazard of my life, remained among you, preaching the word of salvation: and now, since you yourselves refuse me, I must leave my innocence to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth; and if unexpected trouble come upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful." These words being pronounced, he came down from the pulpit, or preaching place. The Earl Mareschal, and some other noblemen who were present at the sermon, entreated him earnestly to go to the north with them; but he excused himself, and took journey to the west country, where he was gladly received by many.

Having come to the town of Ayr, he began to preach the Gospel, with great freedom and faithfulness. But Dunbar, the then Archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of the great concourse of people who crowded to his sermons, at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton, went to Ayr, with the resolution to apprehend him; but first took possession of the church, to prevent him from preaching in it. The news of this, brought Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, immediately, to town. They wished, and offered to put Wishart into the church, but he would not consent, saying, "that the Bishop's sermon would not do much hurt, and that, if they pleased, he would go to the market-cross;" which he accordingly did, and preached with such success, that several of his hearers, formerly enemies to the truth, were

converted, on the occasion. During the time he was thus employed, the Bishop was haranguing some of his underlings and parasites in the church; and having no sermon to give them, he promised to be better provided against a future occasion, and speedily left the town.

Wishart continued with the gentlemen of Kyle, after the Archbishop's departure; and being desired to preach next Lord's day at the church of Mauchline, he went thither with that design; but the Sheriff of Ayr had, in the night time, put a garrison of soldiers into the church to keep him out. Hugh Campbell of Kinzeanleugh, with others in the parish, were exceedingly offended at this impiety, and would have entered the church by force; but Wishart would not suffer it, saying, "Brethren, it is the word of peace which I preach unto you; the blood of no man shall be shed for it, this day: Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and he himself, while he lived in the flesh, preached often in the desert and upon the sea side, than in the temple of Jerusalem." Upon this, the people were appeased, and went with him to the edge of a moor, on the south-west of Mauchline, where having placed himself upon a ditch-dike, he preached to a great multitude. He continued speaking for more than three hours, God working wondrously by him; insomuch that Laurence Ranken, the Laird of Shield, a very profane person, was converted by his means. The tears ran from his eyes, to the astonishment of all present; and the whole of his after-life, witnessed that his profession was without hypocrisy. After this Wishart also preached with most remarkable success, at the church of Galston, and other places. And at this time, indeed, in this part of the country, it might be truly said, that "the harvest was GREAT, but the labourers were FEW."

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

During all this time his sworn adversary, Cardinal Beaton, had his eye close upon him, and actually bribed Sir John Wighton, a priest, to assassinate him. He was to make the attempt as Wishart

came down from the preaching place, with the expectation of escaping among the crowd, after the deed was done. To effect this, he posted himself at the foot of the steps, with his gown loose, and a dagger under it in his hand. Upon his descent, Wishart looked sternly at the priest, asking him what he intended to do; and instantly seizing him by the hand which held the dagger, he took it from him. Upon this, having openly confessed his design, a tumult instantly ensued, and the sick without the gate rushed in, crying to have the assassin delivered to them. Wishart, however, interposed, and defended him from their violence, telling them he had done no harm, and that such as injured him, he would regard as injuring himself; so the priest escaped with impunity.

The plague was now considerably abated, and he determined to pay a visit to the town of Montrose, intending to go from thence to Edinburgh, and meet the gentlemen of the west. While at Montrose, he administered the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, in both kinds of elements, and preached with success. Here also, and at this time, a very singular incident befell him, which must not be omitted. He received a letter, purporting to be directed to him from his intimate friend the Laird of Kinnier, acquainting him, that he had taken a sudden sickness, and requesting him to come to him with all diligence. Upon this, he immediately set out on his journey, attended by some honest friends in Montrose, who, out of affection, would accompany him part of the way. They had not travelled above a quarter of a mile, however, when all of a sudden he stopped, saying to the company, "I am forbidden by God to go this journey: will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger to a little hill,) and see what you find, for I apprehend there is a plot against my life." He then turned back towards the town, and they, who went forward to the place, found about sixty horsemen ready to intercept him. By this the whole plot came to light; they perceived that the letter had been forged; and upon their telling him what they had seen, he replied, "I know that I shall end my life by the hands of that wicked man, (meaning the Cardinal,) but it will not be after this manner."

The time he had appointed for meeting the west country gentlemen at Edinburgh, drawing near, he undertook that journey, much against the inclination and advice of the Laird of Dun. The first night after his leaving Montrose, he lodged at Innergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with one James Watson, a faithful friend, where, having gone to bed, he was observed to rise a little after midnight, and to go out into an adjacent garden, that he might give vent to his sighs and groans in solitude; and being secretly followed by two men, William Spalding and John Watson, they saw him prostrate himself upon the ground, weeping and making supplication for nearly an hour, and then return to his rest. As they lay in the same apartment with him, they took care to come back before him; and upon his entering into the room, they, as if ignorant of all that had past, asked him where he had been? But he made no answer, and they ceased their interrogatories. In the morning they asked him again, why he rose in the night, and

what was the cause of his sorrow? (for they told him all that they had seen him do). He answered with a dejected countenance, "I wish you had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you, for I was scarcely *well* occupied." But they praying him to satisfy their minds further, and to give them some comfort, he said, "I will tell you; I assuredly know my travail is nigh an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I may not shrink when the battle waxes hottest." —Hearing these words, they burst into tears, saying, that was but small comfort to them. To this he replied, "God will send you comfort after me; this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm ever was since the days of the Apostles; the house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever, enemies shall devise to the contrary) the very coperstone; neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and truth shall once more triumph in despite of the devil; but, alas, if the people become unthankful, the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible." Having thus expressed himself, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived in Leith about the 10th of December. Being disappointed of a meeting with the west country gentlemen, he kept himself retired for some days, and then becoming very uneasy and discouraged, and being asked the reason, he replied, "I have laboured to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to show himself before men." By this they understood that he desired to preach, and told him that they would gladly hear him; but the danger into which he would throw himself thereby prevented them from advising him to it. He answered, "If you and others will hear me next Sabbath I will preach in Leith, let God provide for me as best pleaseth himself:" which he did upon the parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. After sermon, his friends advised him to leave Leith, because the Regent and Cardinal were soon to be in Edinburgh, and his situation would be dangerous on that account. He complied with this advice, and resided with the Lairds of Brunston, Longniddry, and Ormiston, by turns. The following Sabbath, he preached at Inveresk, both fore and afternoon, to a crowded audience. Among others who were present was Sir George Douglas, who after sermon publicly said, "I know that the Governor and Cardinal will hear that I have been at the preaching, (for they were now come to Edinburgh:) Say unto them, that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine which I have heard, but also the person of the teacher, to the uttermost of my power." This open and candid declaration was very grateful to the whole congregation. During the time of this sermon, Wishart, perceiving two grey friars standing in the door of the church, and whispering to every person that entered, called out to the people to make room for them, because said he, "perhaps they come to learn;" and then requested them to come forward and hear the word of truth. But as they still continued to trouble the people, he reproved them in the following manner: "O! ye servants of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion;

God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate."

The two Sabbaths following, he preached at Tranent, intimating, as he had in all his sermons since leaving Montrose, that his ministry was near an end. He next preached at Haddington, where his congregation was at first very throng, but the following day he was attended by very few. This was owing to the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, whose authority in that district of the country, was great, and who, at the instigation of the Cardinal, had inhibited the people from attending him. At this time, he received a letter from the gentlemen of the west, declaring, that they could not keep the diet appointed at Edinburgh. This, with the reflection that so few attended his ministrations at Haddington, grieved him exceedingly. He called upon Mr. Knox, who then was with him, and told him, that he was weary of the world, since he perceived that men were become weary of God. But notwithstanding the anxiety and discouragement under which he laboured, he went immediately to the pulpit; and, sharply rebuking the people for their neglect of the Gospel, he told them, "That sore and fearful should be the plagues that should ensue; that fire and sword should waste them; that strangers should possess their houses, and chase them from their habitations;" a prediction which was verified, when the English took and possessed that town, in the year 1548. This was the last sermon which he preached. In it, as had for some time been usual with him, he spoke of his death as near at hand; and after it was over, he bade his acquaintance farewell, as if it had been for ever. He went to Ormiston, accompanied by the proprietor, by the Laird of Brunston, and by Sir John Sandilands, younger of Calder. Knox also was desirous to have gone with him; but Wishart requested him to return, saying, "One is enough for a sacrifice at this time."

Being come to Ormiston, he entered into some spiritual conversation with the family, particularly concerning the happy state of God's children after death; appointed the 51st psalm, according to an old version then in use, to be sung; and then commended the company to God. He went to bed some time sooner than ordinary. About midnight, the house was completely surrounded; and the Earl of Bothwell calling upon the Laird, declared to him the purpose of their coming, entreated him not to hold out, and told him it would be to no purpose, since the Cardinal and Governor were coming up with all their train; at the same time, promising upon his honour, that if he would deliver Mr. Wishart, no evil should befall him. Being induced by this assurance, and consulting with Wishart, who had already requested that the gates should be opened, saying, "God's will be done," the Laird complied. Bothwell, attended by some gentlemen, then entered, and solemnly protested, that Mr. Wishart should receive no harm; but that he would either carry him to his own house, or restore him again to Ormiston, in safety. Upon this promise, hands were stricken, and Wishart went along with him to Elphinston, where the Cardinal was; after which he was first carried to

Edinburgh, and then, perhaps, upon pretence of fulfilling the engagement which Bothwell had come under, to the Earl's house. Afterwards, he was re-conducted to Edinburgh, where the Cardinal had assembled a convocation of prelates, for reforming abuses.

At Edinburgh, he remained only a few days, until the blood-thirsty Cardinal prevailed with the Governor to deliver him up to his tyranny; and he was accordingly removed to St Andrews. Here, without delay, the Cardinal determined to proceed with the trial; and by advice of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he with this view, demanded the assistance of a civil judge. This demand, however, the Regent refused, or at least delayed, to comply with, at the remonstrance of Hamilton of Preston, one of his counsellors, who boldly represented the cruelty and danger of thus persecuting the servants of God, and putting to death men, who had no other crime laid to their charge, but that of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ.* On receiving this disappointment, which he could ill bear, he broke out into a violent rage, and immediately declared, that he had only sent to the Regent out of mere civility, and without any necessity; for that he, with his clergy, had power sufficient to bring Wishart to condign punishment.†—Thus was this servant of God

* This remonstrance was much to the honour of Hamilton; and the Regent did himself honour by yielding to it. Preaching the gospel of Christ was certainly no crime, in the proper sense of the word: but in the estimation of churchmen at the time, there was no greater crime of which a man could be guilty. The fact is, the church of Rome had made a caricature image of Christianity, under which the gospel of Christ was as effectually concealed as if it had never been promulgated. Implicit belief in what the church was pleased to inculcate was put in the place of faith in Christ. Submission to the church was substituted for submission to the righteousness of God. The doctrine of Christ crucified was supplied by a material image of the cross. Repentance towards God gave place to works of penance and mortification. Purity, or holiness of life, was supplied by a robe of white linen: and poor sinners, instead of being taught to apply to God for pardon and eternal life through the blood of the atonement, were required to confess their sins to a fellow creature of a priest, and confide in his absolution, and ghostly direction, for their eternal salvation. These delusions had a firm hold of the consciences of the people. By means of which the priests ruled over them, and pillaged them at their pleasure. While these priests bare rule in Scotland, it would appear the greatest of all crimes to undeceive the populace. Of such a crime Hamilton and Wishart, and others had been notoriously guilty. There was therefore no security for them. Nothing but their blood would satisfy their adversaries, who belonged to that meretricious mystical personage, who is represented as drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus.

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† Whether this was the case or not according to the laws which then prevailed in Scotland, may be made a question. If we are to judge from the instances of Hamilton and Mill (pp. 15 and 42) we must conclude that the interposition of a secular judge was necessary, and that therefore the cardinal, as such, had *not* power, that is to say, authority to condemn Wishart. But alas! in those days it too often happened that those who had the *power* assumed the *authority*, of their own accord.

left in the hands of that proud and merciless tyrant, the religious part of the nation loudly complaining of the Governor's weakness.

A meeting of the bishops and superior clergy being formally called on the 27th of February, 1546, every thing was arranged for the trial. Next day, Wishart received a summons, to appear on the morrow before his judges, to answer for his heretical doctrine. The morrow being come, the Cardinal proceeded to the place of judgment, in the Abbey church, with a train of armed men, marching in warlike order; and immediately Wishart was sent for from the sea-tower, which was his prison. Being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man asked alms of him, to whom he threw his purse. When he came before the Cardinal, John Winram, the sub-prior, according to appointment, went up into the pulpit, and made a discourse upon the nature of heresy, from Matth. xiii. This he did with great caution, but yet in such a way as applied more justly to the accusers, than the accused; for he was a secret favourer of the truth. After him came up one Lauder, a most virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Wishart's accuser. He pulled out a long roll of maledictory charges, and dealt out the Romish thunder so liberally, that he terrified the ignorant by-standers, but did not in the least discompose this meek servant of Christ. He charged him with disobedience to the Governor's authority; with teaching that man has no free-will; and with contemning fastings; all which charges he absolutely refused. He was then accused of denying that there are seven sacraments; that auricular confession, extreme unction, and the sacrament of the altar, so called, are sacraments; or that we should pray to saints: and of saying, that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism; that the Pope has no more power than another man; that it is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday as upon Sunday; that there is no purgatory; and that it is in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God; and also of having condemned conjuration, the vows of single life, the cursings of the holy church, &c. In reading these accusations, Lauder put himself into a most violent sweat, and was seen frothing at the mouth; at length calling Wishart a runagate traitor, he demanded an answer. This he gave in a short and modest oration; at which they cried out with one consent against him in a most tumultuous manner. Perceiving, therefore, that, in spite of all reason, they were resolved to proceed against him to the uttermost extremity, he appealed to a more equitable and impartial tribunal. This gave Lauder an opportunity of flattering the Cardinal; and after enumerating his several splendid titles, he asked, with an air of triumph, "If my Lord Cardinal was not an equitable judge?" Wishart replied, "I do not refuse him, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the Temporal Estates, with some of you Lordships; because I am my Lord Governor's prisoner." After some scornful language thrown out both against him and the Governor, they proceeded to read the articles a second time, and hear his answers; which he made with great solidity of judgment. They then decided that he should be burnt as a heretic, paying no regard

to his defences, nor to the dictates of their own consciences, but thinking, that "by killing him they should do God service." Upon this resolution, (for the final sentence was not yet pronounced,) Wishart kneeled down and prayed in the following manner: "O, immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage of the ungodly! how long shall they exercise their fury upon thy servants who further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was drowned in blindness and ignorance of thy name! O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles, in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thy prophets and apostles have showed us; but yet we desire, merciful Father, that thou wouldst preserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen from before the foundation of the world, and give them grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

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

All this night, Wishart spent in prayer. Next morning, the captain of the castle gave him notice, that they had denied him the sacrament, and at the same time invited him to breakfast with him. Wishart accepted the invitation, saying, "I will do that very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian, and a man fearing God." All things being ready, and the family assembled to breakfast, Wishart turning himself to the captain, said, "I beseech you, in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while, till I have made a short exhortation, and blessed this bread we are to eat, so that I may bid you farewell." The table being covered, and bread set upon it, he spake about the space of half an hour, of the institution of the supper, and of our Saviour's death and passion, exhorting those who were present to mutual love and holiness of life. Then giving thanks, he brake the bread, distributing a part of it to those of the company who were disposed to communicate, entreating them to remember that Christ died for them, and to feed on it spiritually; then, taking the cup, he bade them remember that

Christ's blood was shed for them, and having tasted it himself, he delivered it unto them. Then, concluding with thanksgiving and prayer, he told them, "that he would neither eat nor drink more in this life," and retired to his chamber.

Soon after, by the appointment of the Cardinal, two executioners came to him, and arraying him in a black linen coat, they fastened some bags of gunpowder about him, put a rope about his neck, and a chain about his waist, and bound his hands behind his back; and in this dress they led him to the stake, near the Cardinal's palace; having placed opposite to it the great guns of the castle, lest any should attempt to rescue him. The fore-tower, which was immediately opposite to the fire, was hung with tapestry, and rich cushions were laid in the windows, for the ease of the Cardinal and prelates, while they beheld the spectacle. As the martyr proceeded to the stake, it is said that two beggars asked alms of him, and that he replied, "I want my hands wherewith I used to give you alms: but the merciful Lord vouchsafe to give you all necessaries both for soul and body." After this, the friars came about him, urging him to *pray to our Lady*, &c. to whom he said, "Cease, tempt me not, I entreat you."

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

nominiouſly as he is now ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf.* But, as he was thus ſpeaking, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck ſo ſtrait, that he ſpoke no more; and thus, like another Elijah, he took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown. This was on the firſt day of March, 1546.

Thus lived, and thus died, this faithful wiſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt. He was early marked out as a ſacrifice by Papal tyranny. Being delated to the Biſhop of Brechin for a heretic, becauſe he taught the Greek New Teſtament to his ſcholars, while he kept ſchool at Montroſe; he was ſummoned to appear before him, but eſcaped into England. Having completed his education at the univerſity of Cambridge, he returned, as we have ſeen, to his native land. During the ſhort period he was permitted to ſurvive, he was hunted like "a partridge on the mountains," in daily alarm and danger from the wiles of his enemies. But amidſt all his ſufferings, his meekneſs and patience never failed him. He ſtill maintained the character and deportment of an eminent ſaint and ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Popiſh clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it without the Governor's order; but the people on the contrary regarded him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was alſo ſaid, that, abſtractly from the grounds of his ſuffering, his execution was no leſs than murder, in that no writ was obtained for it, and the clergy could not burn any without a warrant from the ſecular power.† This roused Norman and John Leſlie, of the family of Rothes, William Kirkaldie of Grange, James Melvill of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael, and others, to avenge his death. Accordingly, upon the 28th of May, 1546, not three months after Wiſhart ſuffered, they ſurpriſed the caſtle early in the morning, and having either ſecured or turned out the perſons that were lodged in it, they came to the Cardinal's door. He was by this time alarmed, and had ſecured it; but upon their threatening to employ force, he opened it, (relying, for ſafety, partly on the ſanctity of his office, and partly on his acquaintance with ſome of them,) crying, "I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt." But this had no effect

* This, I believe, is one of the beſt authenticated inſtances of what has been called prophecy, by any of our Worthies; and yet the words themſelves, ſuppoſing them to be verbatim as uttered by the dying martyr, do not neceſſarily imply more, than that, in a few days, the proud Cardinal ſhould lie a corſe in his own palace; and by a few days, he might mean the remaining period of his life, which, however protracted, would appear but a few days to a man paſſing into eternity. It happened that, about three months thereafter, the Cardinal was murdered; and then, Wiſhart's words were conſidered prophetic of that event. I do not believe, and would by no means inſinuate, that he was privy to the conſpiracy; but this is more probable than that he ſhould be endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy for no conceivable purpoſe. It could not be to confirm the truth for which he died; for that is abundantly confirmed by the teſtimony of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and to look for any new confirmation of it, is to doubt the ſufficiency of the Scriptures.

W. M'G.

† This ſtatement ſeems to accord with the doubt ſuggeſted in a preceding note, (p. 33.) as to the authority of the Cardinal to condemn Wiſhart without the preſence and concurrence of a ſecular judge. We believe that what, in this inſtance, ſeems to have been the popular opinion, was quite correct.

upon them; for James Melvill having exhorted him in a solemn manner to repentance, and having apprised him, that he was now to avenge Wishart's death, stabbed him twice or thrice; which ended his wretched days. These persons, with some others who joined them, being assisted by England, held the castle for nearly two years. They had with them the Governor's eldest son, for he had been put under the Cardinal's care, and was in the castle at the time they surprised it. The castle was at last besieged by the French, and surrendered upon having the lives that were in it, secured.

ADAM WALLACE.

FOR four years after the death of Wishart, the political troubles in which Scotland was involved, served to suspend the rage of persecution. During this period, the death of Beaton, and the events to which it immediately gave rise; and more lately, the danger which threatened, and the loss which accrued, from Somerset's invasion, together with the interest excited, and the measures adopted, in relation to the projected marriage of the young Queen, were sufficient to engage the attention and the industry, of the rulers in Church and State.

In the year 1550, however, the peace which was agreed upon between France and England, in which Scotland also was included, allowed them leisure and opportunity, to prosecute their schemes of domestic policy. The clergy renewed their attack against the reformed doctrines, and had again recourse to that barbarous violence which already had so often triumphed in the blood of martyrs. The Regent gave them his decided support. He was completely under the direction of his natural brother, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was no less rigid as a papist, and zealous as a persecutor, than the Cardinal, whom he succeeded.

He had already signalized himself in this capacity, by the *imprisonment* of many on account of their opinions, some of whom recanted, and others were banished forth of the kingdom. The first against whom his intolerance was prosecuted to a fatal issue, was Adam Wallace, a man of a comparatively humble station in life, belonging to Winton in East Lothian. It might have been expected, indeed, that such an individual would have escaped his notice, especially considering the many more eminent professors of the reformed tenets, who were now every where to be found. Though, however, of simple manners, and without great learning, he is described as having been "zealous in godliness, and of upright life," and as having spent much of his time, in spreading, amongst his fellow-men, the knowledge of the Gospel. And what perhaps, more especially, drew upon him the observation of the clergy, was that he himself frequented the company of Lady Ormiston, and that his wife, being employed as tutoress to some of her children, had instructed them in the principles of the reformed religion. But, however it might be, having attracted

the notice of some popish zealots, an information was laid against him for heresy, on which he was apprehended, and committed to prison. A few days after, he was brought before a diet, consisting of the Archbishop and several other Prelates, the Governor, the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Glencairn, Argyll, and other noblemen, which assembled in the church of the Black Friars, at Edinburgh, when three separate articles were exhibited against him. The following is a short detail of his trial:—

The first accusation against him was, “That he had said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, were not the real body and blood of Christ.” To this he replied, “I never said, or taught any thing but what I found in this book,” (pointing to a bible that hung by his side,) “which contains the word of God. From this I am informed, (as you may likewise be) that after our Lord had eaten the paschal lamb, at his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament, in remembrance of his death, then to come. He took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, ‘Take, eat; this is my body.’ And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, ‘Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many. As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.’”

The Earl of Huntly then addressing him, said, “Thou answerest not to that which is laid against thee; say either yes or no.” To this he replied, “If ye will admit God, and his word, spoken by his blessed Son, ye will admit what I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith, and which ought to be judge to me, and all the world.”

“Why,” said the Earl, “hast thou not a good judge here? And thinkest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to the accusation laid against thee.” “I never taught,” replied Wallace, “more than the writ saith; nor yet more than I have before said. I know well what St. Paul meaneth, when he saith, ‘Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.’ Therefore, when I taught (which was but seldom, and to those only who required it of me) I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered and used, as the Son of the living God instituted it; where that was done, there was God himself, by his Divine power.”

The bishop of Orkney then asked him, “If he believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, were the very body of God, flesh and blood?” To this he replied, “I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; that he had a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and that he walked about in the world preaching to the people: that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; and that, by his Godly power, he raised that same body again the third day; that he afterwards ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead.

He then quoted several texts of Scripture, tending to prove the absurdity of the popish doctrine; which not being agreeable to his judges, they desisted from asking any farther questions relative to the first article; and therefore proceeded to state the second, which was, "That he had said, and openly taught, that the mass was very idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God.

To this he replied, that he had read the Bible in three different tongues, and never met with the word mass in either; therefore he thought it idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God."

The third accusation was, "That he had said, and openly taught, that the God which was worshipped by the members of the holy mother-church, was but bread made from corn growing on the earth, and that it was brought to the form in which it was used by the hands of men." In answer to this, he said, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein. I know of no other God, and him only will I worship so long as I live."

The archbishop, after telling him he had been guilty of many other errors, which he should pass over, asked him whether he granted the articles propounded. To which, he answered in the affirmative.

He then pronounced sentence of death on him as a heretic; and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power, for execution. It is here but right to mention, however, that whilst the other noblemen present acquiesced in, and even abetted these cruel proceedings, the Earl of Glencairn, with an honesty and magnanimity which are worthy of praise, solemnly protested against Wallace's condemnation.

In the evening of the same day, Wallace was visited by several Romish priests, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he kept so stedfastly to the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in its vindication, that they left him with some wrath, saying, "he was too abandoned to receive any impression."

The next morning, he was conducted to the Castle-Hill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he cheerfully resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in full assurance of receiving that "crown of glory which shall never fade away."*

WALTER MILL.

WALTER MILL was born about the year 1476. He was educated in the Popish religion, and became priest of Lunan in the shire

* "He spent the night preceding his execution," says Dr. Cook, "in exercises of piety; and having been prevented from addressing the people who had assembled to witness his death, he submitted to his dismal fate, with a degree of patience and tranquil resignation, which at all times must have made a deep impression upon men not callous to humanity, but which, in the state of opinion at this period, were regarded with an enthusiasm, confirming attachment to the new doctrines and strengthening the horror with which the abettors of such cruelty had long been regarded." See Hist. of Reform. Vol. I.

of Angus. Having left off the practice of saying mass, he was condemned on that account, by Cardinal Beaton, so early as the year 1538; but escaped the flames by flying into Germany. Here he married, remained for some time, and was more perfectly instructed in the true faith. Afterwards he returned home, and keeping himself as retired as possible, during the rest of his life, went about reproving vice, and instructing the people in the grounds of religion. This at length coming to the ears of the clergy, he was, in 1558, by their order, apprehended at Dysart, in the shire of Fife, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Andrews, where, both by threatening and flattery, they laboured with him to recant, offering him a place in the Abbey of Dunfermline all the days of his life, if he would deny what he had taught. Continuing constant, however, in his opinions, he was brought to trial before the bishops of St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, &c. who were assembled in the cathedral of St. Andrews.—When he came to make his defence, he was so old, feeble, and exhausted, that it was feared none would hear him; but as soon as he began to speak, he surprised them all; his voice making the church to ring, and his quickness and courage astonishing his very enemies.

At first he kneeled and prayed for some time; upon which, Sir Andrew Oliphant, a priest, called to him to arise, and answer to the articles of charge; saying, “You keep my Lord of St. Andrews too long here.” But he, nevertheless, continued in prayer: and when he arose, said, “I ought to obey God more than man. I serve a mightier Lord than your Lord is. And whereas *ye* call me *Sir Walter*, my name is *Walter*; I have been too long one of the Pope’s knights.—Now say what you have to say.” The examination then proceeded as follows:—

Oliph. Thou sayest there are not seven sacraments?—*Mill.* Give me the Lord’s Supper and Baptism, and take you, all the rest.—

Oliph. What think you of a priest’s marriage?—*Mill.* I think it a blessed bond ordained by God, and approved by Christ, and free to all sorts of men; but ye abhor it, and in the meanwhile, take other men’s wives and daughters: ye vow chastity, and keep it not.*—

Oliph. How sayest thou that the mass is idolatry?—*Mill.* A lord or king calleth many to dinner, they come and sit down, but the lord himself turneth his back and eateth up all; and so do you.—

Oliph. Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the real body of Christ in flesh and blood?—*Mill.* The Scriptures are to be understood spiritually, and not carnally, and so your mass is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for sin, and will never be offered again, for then he put an end to all sacrifice.—*Oliph.* Thou

* The fact here asserted, is denied by modern Papists, who boast of the spotless purity of their clergy in all ages. In Protestant countries, they cannot be so licentious as they were generally before the Reformation; because the improved state of society would not admit of it. When this aged priest accused them of their wickedness to their faces, they did not attempt to deny it; but instantly changed the subject.

deniest the office of a bishop?—*Mill.* I affirm that those you call bishops, do no bishop's work, but live after sensual pleasure, taking no care of Christ's flock, nor regarding his word.—*Oliph.* Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and sayest, it is a pilgrimage to whoredom?—*Mill.* I say pilgrimage is not commanded in Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, except in brothel-houses.—*Oliph.* You preach privately in houses, and sometimes in the field?—*Mill.* Yea, and on the sea also, when sailing in a ship.

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

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

Oliphant, as the mouth of the court, then pronounced sentence against him, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as a heretic. But they could not procure a temporal judge to condemn him. Learmonth, then provost of the town, and baillie of the bishop's regality, refused to do so; and the people were so moved at the constancy of the sufferer, and offended at the wrong done to him, that they would not supply ropes to bind him, and other materials for his execution, so that his death was retarded a day longer. At last one Sommerville, a domestic of the Archbishop's, undertook to act the part of temporal judge, and the ropes of his master's pavilion were taken to serve the purpose of securing their victim.

All things being thus prepared, he was led forth by Sommerville, with a guard of armed men, to his execution. Being come to the place, some cried out to him to recant, to whom he answered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who do so cruelly pursue the servants of God! As for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred shall rise out of my ashes, who shall scatter you, ye hypocrites, and persecutors of God's people; and such of you as now think yourselves the best, shall not die such an honest death as I now do. I trust in God, I shall be the last who shall suffer death, in this fashion, for this cause, in this land." Thus his constancy increased, as his end drew near. Being ordered by Oliphant to go up to the stake, he refused, and said, "No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God, I am forbidden to put hands to myself; but if thou wilt put to thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly." Then Oliphant putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying, *Introibo ad altare Dei.** Having then requested permission to speak to the people: he was answered by Oliphant, "That he had spoken too much already, and that the bishops were exceedingly displeased with what he had said. But some youths having taken his part, and called to him to say on

* "I will go unto the altar of God."—*Psalms.*

what he pleased, he first went to his knees and prayed; then arose; and standing upon the coals, addressed the people to this effect: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God; but only for the defence of the truths of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments. I praise God that he hath called me, among the rest of his servants, to seal his truth with my life; and as I have received it of him, so I willingly offer it up for his glory. Therefore, as ye would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of bishops, abbots, friars, monks, and the rest of that sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that so ye may be delivered from condemnation."—During this speech, loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude, some admiring the patience, boldness, and constancy of the martyr, others complaining of the hard measures and cruelty of his persecutors. Having spoken as above, he again prayed a little while, and was then drawn up, and bound to the stake. The fire being kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me: Pray, pray, good people, while there is time;" and thus cheerfully yielded up his soul into the hands of his God, on the 28th of April, 1558; being, as he himself said, in the eighty-second year of his age.

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

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

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MORAY.

THIS nobleman was the natural son of King James V. and consequently, natural brother to Mary Queen of Scots. In his infancy, he was placed under the celebrated Buchanan, who instilled such principles into his mind, as, by the divine blessing, made him an honour to the Scottish nation.

He was the principal agent in promoting the work of reformation

from Popery. So early as the year 1555, he attended the preaching of John Knox at Calder, and expressed a wish that his doctrine had been more public; which was an open profession of his love and zeal for the true religion.

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

In the year 1556, he and Argyle wrote to Knox, then at Geneva, to return to Scotland, in order to further the reformation. Accordingly, after having been detained some time at Dieppe, Knox returned in the year 1559, and went to Perth, where the reforming congregation resorted to him. This coming to the ears of the Queen Regent, she sent the Earl of Argyle, and Lord James, (for that was Moray's title at the time,) together with Lord Semple, to know the object of so great an assembly. Knox returned for answer, requesting them to tell her, "That they whom she persecuted were the servants of God, that her enterprise would not prosper in the end, seeing that she intended to fight against God, and that he was a more sure friend to her than they who flattered her." Upon this, she summoned them to depart from the town; but, afterwards, hearing of the daily increase of their numbers, she gave them leave to depart peaceably, with many fair promises that they should meet with no farther molestation. They accordingly obeyed, and left the town; but they had no sooner done so, then she, with her French guards entered it in a most outrageous manner, telling the inhabitants that no faith should be kept with heretics. This flagrant breach of promise provoked Lord James to such a degree, that he left the Queen, and joined the Lords of the congregation, as they were henceforth called. The Queen having got intelligence of this, sent a threatening letter to him and Argyle, (for they stuck together on almost all occasions,) commanding them to return, but to no purpose, for they went to Fife, and there began to throw down and remove the monuments of idolatry: They continued here for some time, together with the forces which flocked to their standard; and after in vain attempting to procure a lasting and honourable peace with the Regent, they conducted the army of the congregation, and laid siege to the town of Perth. At length, having become masters of this important place, and being informed that the Queen intended to go to Stirling, in order to secure it by a garrison, they went off from Perth late in the night, and entering Stirling, with their associates, before her, they immediately demolished the monasteries, and purged the churches of idolatry. Such was the zeal of these worthy noblemen for the interest of the reformed religion in Scotland.

From Stirling they marched to Edinburgh, destroying the superstitious relics of idolatry in Linlithgow, by the way; and by these summary proceedings alarmed the Regent so much, that her zeal for

the Romish faith gave way to her fears about her civil authority. To make the conduct of these reformers odious to the unthinking part of the nation, she gave out that they were in open rebellion against her; that they made a pretence of religion, but that the real design was to set Lord James on the throne, there being, now, no male heir to the crown. But notwithstanding the industry, and even the success with which these reports were propagated, the Lords of the congregation having secured the capital, and having spent some time in fruitless negotiation, towards a peace with the Regent, who had retired to Dunbar, proceeded at length to establish the reformed worship in one of the churches. After this, being somewhat alarmed by her rapid and unexpected approach to Edinburgh, they prepared, with the utmost intrepidity, to oppose her progress; but a treaty being concluded, they forthwith retired to Stirling. Here they entered into a new bond, expressive of the suspicion which, perhaps on just grounds, they entertained of the Regent; a proceeding which again gave currency and colour to the insinuations which had been spread, as to the alleged ambitious and worldly nature of their designs. These insinuations she found means to transmit to Lord James himself, in a letter, said to be forged, in the names of Francis and Mary, the King and Queen of France, in which he was further upbraided with ingratitude for the favours which they pretended they had shown him, and entreated to lay down his arms, and return to his allegiance. To this letter, (notwithstanding there were strong reasons to suspect it was forged,) he returned a resolute answer, declaring that he was not conscious to himself either in word or deed, of any offence either against the Regent or the laws; but seeing the nobility had undertaken the reformation of religion, which had been long delayed, and seeing they aimed at nothing but the glory of God; he was willing to bear the reproach which the enemies of religion would load him with; nor would it be just in him to desert a cause which had Christ himself for its head and defender, seeing, unless they would voluntarily deny Him, they could not give up the enterprise in which they were embarked.

While these transactions were going forward, and the Lords of the Congregation had again come to Edinburgh, there were landed in Leith, at different times, to the number of 3000 French soldiers in support of the Regent; between whom and her opponents there were several skirmishes, though with little success on either side. The Lords, however, having again retired to Stirling, left the French, for a time indeed, masters of the field, but not without apprehensions of danger from the arrival of an English fleet, which was then expected. They accordingly went over to Fife, spreading devastation every where around them, without resistance; in reference to which the Queen Regent thus expressed herself: "Where is John Knox's God now? my God is stronger, even now in Fife." But this impious boast did not last long, for Argyle and Lord James went immediately to the town of Dysart, to stop their career along the coast. The French were 4000 strong, besides the Scots who

adhered to them; the army of the congregation was not more than 600 in number, yet they behaved with such courage and resolution, as for twenty days successively to face their adversaries; and for each man they lost in the skirmish, the French lost four. As an evidence of the uncommon-attention which these two noblemen bestowed on this business, they never put off their clothes during the whole time, and slept but little. These events took place in the year 1559.

In the month of June, the following year, the Queen Regent, and a little after her, Francis King of France, died; and thus, Scotland was delivered from the foreign troops. About this time, also, Lord James went over to France, to visit his sister Mary, after having settled the affairs of Scotland as well as he could. He was attended by a splendid retinue, but appears to have met with but a cold reception. After several conversations with the Queen, she told him, that she intended to return home. During his stay at Paris, he experienced many insults, on account of his known attachment to the reformed faith. A box, containing some valuables, was stolen from him; several persons were hired to assassinate him in the street; of this latter danger he was apprized by an old friend of his own, but not before he was almost involved in it, being surrounded by a rabble calling out, *Huguenot, Huguenot*, and throwing stones; he, however, made his way through them on horseback. Soon after this, he left Paris, and returned in May 1561, with a commission from the Queen, appointing him Regent until her return, which was in August following; when, as Knox expresses it, "Dolour and darkness came along with her;" for though justice and equity were yet administered, and crimes were punished, because the administration of civil affairs was yet in the hands of Lord James, who, for his management of public concerns was beloved by all, yet upon the Queen's arrival, French levity and dissipation soon corrupted the court to a very great degree.

About this time, a band of moss-troopers broke in upon the borders of Scotland, committing very alarming depredations, by robbing and murdering all that came in their way. The Queen sent Lord James with a small force to oppose them, not with the intention that he might have an opportunity of acquiring military reputation, but to expose him to danger, that, if possible, she might get rid of him; his popularity having made her uneasy, and his fidelity and boldness in reproving her faults, and withstanding her tyrannical measures, marking him out still more as the object of her hatred and disgust. But, contrary to the expectations of many, God so prospered him in this expedition, that in a short time, he brought twenty-eight ring-leaders of the band to public execution, and obliged the rest to give hostages for their better behaviour in time to come. Thus, having returned crowned with laurels, he was, immediately after, created Earl of Marr; and in the February following, he was made Earl of Moray, with the universal approbation of all good men. Some thought this act of the Queen was intended by her to conciliate his

affections, and bring him over to her party. But undoubtedly, the honours it conferred, were, on his part, well merited.

About this time, he married a daughter of the Earl of Marischal, according to Knox; according to Buchanan, of the Earl of March. The marriage was celebrated publicly in the Church of Edinburgh. After the marriage was over, the preacher, who was Knox, said to him, "Sir, the Church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; if you prove more faint therein afterward, it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature."

It may be observed, that, hitherto, the nobility appeared very much united in their measures for promoting the interest of religion. This, however, was soon at an end; for the noblemen at Court breaking out into factions; the general interest was, in some degree, lost sight of. The Earl of Bothwell, envying the prosperity of Moray, stirred up a feud between him and the Hamiltons. This increased to such a height, that they laid a plot against his life, which Bothwell took in hand to execute, while Moray was with the Queen, his sister, at Falkland. Meantime the Earl of Arran, detesting such a deed, sent a letter privately to Moray, discovering the whole conspiracy; and thus he escaped the meditated evil. Bothwell fled from justice into France; but his emissaries were not less active in his absence, than they had been, while he headed them in person. Another design was formed against the Earl's life, while he was with the Queen at Dumbarton. But this also proved ineffectual.

Soon after, the Queen received letters from the Pope, and her uncles, the Guises of France, requesting her to put the Earl out of the way, because they found by experience, that their interest in Scotland could not prosper while he was alive. Upon this, the faction against him became more insolent, and appeared in arms. They were at first suppressed, but soon assembled again, to the number of eight hundred men, with the Earl of Huntly at their head. This nobleman, actuated not merely by hatred to Moray, but incensed by the Queen's refusal to pardon his son, who had been guilty of an assault on Lord Ogilvie, rose with his followers into open rebellion. Moray, who was then in the north with the Queen, immediately marched against them, and was obliged to face them, with little more force, in which he could confide, than a hundred cavalry; yet, notwithstanding this disparity, by the Divine blessing, he obtained a complete victory, killing of them a hundred and twenty, and taking a hundred prisoners, including Huntly and his two sons; and that too, it is said, without the loss of a single man! He returned late in the night, with the prisoners to Aberdeen, where he had appointed a minister of the Gospel to meet him, and had thanks returned to God for a deliverance, which exceeded the expectations of all men.

The Earl of Bothwell having returned from France, Moray accused him of his former treasonable practices, and commenced a process at law, against him. Bothwell could not stand an open scrutiny, but confidently relied upon the Queen's favour. This, he was aware, he possessed in a very high degree; and it seemed to in

crease in nearly the same proportion as her enmity to Moray, on account of his popularity, was augmented. This led her to join the more warmly with Bothwell, in the conspiracy against his life. A new plot was the result of their joint deliberations, and was to be executed in the following manner: Moray was to be sent for, with only a few attendants, to meet with the Queen at Perth, where also Lord Darnley, then in suit to her for marriage, was at the time. They knew that Moray would speak his mind freely from this a quarrel was to ensue; and in the heat of it, David Rizzio was to strike a blow, which all the rest were to follow up. But of this design also, he got previous intelligence by a friend at Court; nevertheless, he resolved to go, but being strongly advised to the contrary, he turned aside to his mother's house, and there stayed till the storm was over.

Foreseeing what would be the consequence of the Queen's marriage with Darnley, the Earl set himself resolutely to oppose it; but finding little attention paid to what he urged on the subject in the Convention of Estates, he chose rather to absent himself for some time; and accordingly retired to the border, where he remained until that event was consummated.

The deeply tragical incidents which succeeded, disgusted him more and more, at the Court. With these the public are well acquainted. The murder of Darnley, and Mary's after marriage with the assassin of her husband, has occasioned too much speculation of late years, not to be known to every one in the least acquainted with Scottish history. Moray now found it impossible to live at a Court where his implacable enemy was so highly honoured. Bothwell insulted him openly. He therefore, asked leave of the Queen to travel abroad; and she, being willing to get rid of him at all events, granted his desire, upon his promising not to make any stay in England. He went to France, and remained there, till he heard that she was in custody at Lochleven, and that Bothwell had fled to Denmark. He then returned home; and by the joint consent of the Queen and nobles, in 1567, was made Regent, during the young King's minority.

He entered on the exercise of his office as Regent, in the spring following, and resolved to make a tour through the whole kingdom, to settle the courts of justice, to repair wrongs, and to institute improvements. But his adversaries, the Hamiltons, perceiving that, by his prudence and diligence, the interests of religion would be revived, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to them, being dissipated and licentious to an extreme degree, never ceased crying out against his public administration. They fixed up labels in different places, full of dark insinuations, that his destruction was meditating. It was told him, he would not live beyond a certain day; by which it appeared, there were designs formed against him. All this, however, had no effect upon his resolution; his common reply was, "That he must die one time or other, and that he could not part with his life more nobly, than by procuring the public tranquillity of his native country." Sir James Melvill, in his Memoirs, has in-

deed insinuated, that Moray had reason, from his conduct, while Regent, to expect disaffection; and that though originally of a gentle nature, religiously educated, and wise and good, yet, when advanced to that high station, he became, by means of flatterers, proud and rough in his proceedings;* and that this, together with his remissness in his own preservation, contributed to his death. Knox and Buchanan, however, put a very different gloss upon the matter, and represent his character, both before and during his Regency, in a light the very opposite of this.

Among other measures, towards public improvement, he caused a convention of Estates to meet at Glasgow, for the redress of some grievances, which that part of the country particularly laboured under.† But while thus engaged, he received intelligence that the Queen had escaped from Lochleven castle, and was come to Hamilton, and that there her adherents were assembling with the utmost haste. Upon this, a warm dispute arose in the council, whether he and his attendants should repair to the young King at Stirling, or stay and observe the motions of the Queen and her party. But, in the very midst of these deliberations, being informed that a hundred chosen men had arrived in town from Lothian, and that many more from the adjacent country were approaching, it was resolved they

* Of the truth of this allegation, the reader may be allowed to judge for himself, after he has perused the following Note, which embodies the sentiments of a living author unquestionably of the highest authority on all topics relating to the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.

† Though Moray was distinguished by his skill and bravery as a soldier, he was no less so as a civil magistrate, ever attentive to the municipal affairs of the Kingdom, and studious of what might tend to the comfort and personal security of all the subjects. "He united, in no ordinary degree, those qualities which are rarely combined in the same individual, and which make up the character of an accomplished prince. Excelling equally in the arts of war and peace, he reduced the country to universal obedience to the King's authority, by his military skill and valour, and preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order, by the wise and impartial administration of justice. Successful in all his warlike enterprises, he never once tarnished the laurels of victory, by cruelty or unnecessary rigour to the vanquished. He knew how to maintain the authority of the laws, and bridle the licentious, by salutary severity, and at the same time to temper the rigour of justice by the interposition of mercy. He used to sit personally in the courts of judicature, and exerted himself to obtain for all the subjects an easy and expeditious decision of litigated causes. His uncommon liberality to his friends, to the learned, and to his servants; and his unostentatious charity to the poor, have been celebrated by one who had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with them. (Buchanan, oper. p. 385. Rud.) Nor has the breath of calumny, which has laboured in many ways to blast his reputation, ever insinuated that he oppressed or burdened the public, during his regency, to enrich himself or family." (*M' Crie's Life of Knox.*) This picture, I believe, is strikingly just. The Original belonged to the bigotted, bloody, infatuated house of Stuart, not indeed in the line of lawful marriage; but he was almost the only one belonging to that race, from the days of James the first of Scotland, whom we can regard with respect.

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should stay where they were, refresh themselves for a day, and then march out and face the enemy.

The Queen's army, being 6500 strong, resolved to make their way by Glasgow, to lodge her in the castle of Dumbarton; and afterwards either to fight the Regent or protract the war at pleasure. The Regent, being let into this design of the enemy, drew his army, consisting in all of about 4000 men, out of the town, to observe which way they intended to pass. Having discovered that the Queen's army were passing along the south side of the river Clyde, Moray commanded the foot to pass the bridge, and the horse to ford the river, and marched out to a small village called Langside, upon the river Cart. He there took possession of a rising ground, before the enemy could well observe his intention, and drew up in order of battle. The Earls of Morton, Semple, Hume and Patrick Lindsay, were placed on the right; the Earls of Marr, Glencairn, Monteith, with the citizens of Glasgow, were on the left, and the musqueteers in the valley below. The Queen's army approaching, a brisk but short engagement ensued. The Earl of Argyle, who was commander-in-chief, having fallen from his horse, the Queen's troops, soon began to give way, so that the Regent obtained a complete victory; but by his clement conduct, there was very little blood spilt, in the pursuit. The Queen, who all the while remained with some horse, at about the distance of a mile from the place of action, seeing the rout, escaped, and fled toward England. The Regent returned to Glasgow, and there offered public thanks to God for this happy deliverance from Popery and Papists, who had thus threatened to overturn the work of reformation in the land. The battle was fought upon the 13th of May, 1568.

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

But while matters were thus remaining in suspense at London,

Mary had stirred up a new commotion in Scotland, by means of one of her agents, James Balfour; so that the Regent found himself exceedingly embarrassed, and therefore resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion, as soon as possible. After several interviews with the Queen and Council, in which he and his party supported the ancient rights of their country, and wiped off the aspersions which had been thrown on themselves, a decision was given in their favour; and the Regent returned home loaded with honours by Elizabeth, attended by the most illustrious of the English Court, and escorted by a strong guard to Berwick. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 2d of February, and was received, particularly by the friends of true religion, with acclamations of joy.

During his administration, many salutary laws were enacted, in favour of civil and religious liberty, which rendered him more and more the object of Popish malice. At last they resolved at all events to take away his life: the many unsuccessful attempts formerly made, having only served to render them more bold and daring. Though the Queen was now at a distance, she still found means to encourage her party; and perhaps the hope of at length delivering her, gave strength to their resolution. Accordingly, James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, nephew to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, incited by his uncle and others, undertook to make away with the Regent, when a convenient opportunity should offer. He first lay in wait for him at Glasgow, and then at Stirling; but both opportunities having failed him, he at length determined on Linlithgow, as the most proper place for perpetrating the execrable deed. His uncle had a house near the Regent's, in which he concealed himself, that he might be in readiness. Of this design, also, the Regent had got intelligence, but paid not that regard to the danger he was exposed to, which he ought, and would go no other way than that in which it was suspected the ambush was laid. He trusted to the fleetness of his horse in riding past the suspected place; but the great concourse of people, who crowded together to see him, stopped up the way. This gave time to Hamilton to take his aim, which, from a wooden balcony that concealed him, he took, with fatal effect. The Regent was shot through the belly. The ball afterwards struck and killed the horse of Sir George Douglas beside him. The assassin immediately escaped by a back door. The Regent mentioned to his attendants that he was wounded, and returned to his lodgings. It was at first thought the wound was not mortal; but his pain increasing, he began to think of death. Some about him said, that this was the fruit of his lenity, in sparing so many notorious offenders, and among the rest his own murderer: but he replied, "*Your importunity shall not make me repent my clemency.*"—Having settled his private affairs, he committed the care of the young King to the nobles then present; and without speaking a reproachful word of any individual, he departed this life on the evening of Saturday the 23d of January, 1570, the same day on which he was wounded.

Thus fell the Earl of Moray, after he had escaped so many dan-

gers. He was certainly an able governor, and an estimable man. Both Buchanan and Spottiswood, though they differ in many things, have given him the highest character. "His death," says Buchanan, "was lamented by all good men, who loved him as the common father of his country: even his enemies confessed his merit when dead. They admired his valour in war, his ready disposition for peace, his activity in business, in which he was commonly very successful: the Divine favour seemed to shine on all his actions; he was merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his decisions. When the field did not call for his presence, he was busied in the administration of justice; by which means the poor were not oppressed, and the terms of lawsuits were shortened. His house was like a holy temple: after meals he caused a chapter of the Bible to be read, and asked the opinions of such learned men as were present, upon it; not out of vain curiosity, but from a desire to learn, and reduce to practice what it contained."* In a word, he was, both in his public and private life, a pattern worthy of imitation; and happy would it be for us, that our nobles were more disposed to walk in the paths in which he trode:—for, "above all his virtues," says Spottiswood, "which were not a few, he shone in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such a way, as did more resemble a church than a court; for therein, besides the exercise of devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, nay, not an unseemly or wanton word to be heard. He was a man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongst the best governors that this kingdom has enjoyed, and therefore to this day is honoured with the title of *THE GOOD REGENT*."†

JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in East Lothian, in the year 1505. His father was related to the ancient house of Ranferly, in the shire of Renfrew. On leaving the grammar school of Haddington, he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, to study under John Mair or Major, a man of considerable earning for his age; and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him while very young.‡ He excelled in philosophy and

* Buchanan's Hist. Vol. II. p. 392 † Spottiswood's Hist. p. 234.

‡ In the records of the University of Glasgow, anno 1520, John Knox appears in the list of matriculated students, when, if it was our Reformer, he must have been fifteen years of age, a proper enough time for his appearing in that character; and this was probably an intermediate step, between his leaving the grammar school, and going to St. Andrews, for there is no doubt of his having studied there. His family seems to have come from Renfrewshire, and to have derived the name from the lands of Knock, in the parish of Kilbarchan.

polemical divinity; and was admitted into holy orders before the usual period of life appointed by the canons of the Church. Then laying aside all unnecessary branches of learning, he betook himself to the reading of the Fathers, particularly the writings of Augustine and Jerome, with which he was much pleased. He also profited greatly by the preaching of Thomas Guiliam, a black friar, and a man of sound judgment and doctrine. By his discourses he was led to study the holy Scriptures more closely, and thus his spiritual knowledge was increased, and such a zeal for the interest of religion was begotten in him, that he became the chief instrument in accomplishing the Reformation from Popery.

He was also, as the reader may have seen in the account of Wishart's life, a disciple and friend of that celebrated martyr; a circumstance, that procured him the hatred of the Popish clergy, who could not endure that light which discovered their idolatrous darkness.

Upon the death of Cardinal Beaton, he went into the castle of St. Andrews, which was then held by a number of individuals who favoured the reformed opinions; and, during his confinement there, not only continued publicly to catechise the pupils entrusted to him, and in doing so to expound the Scriptures, to all who chose to attend; but was also, after some time, called to the office of minister, as colleague to Rough, who then stately preached to the garrison. Here his labours were so successful, that, in a few months after, not the garrison only, but a great number of the inhabitants of St. Andrews, renounced Popery, and made a public profession of the Protestant faith, by receiving the Lord's supper, after the mode of the reformed churches. The castle being at length surrendered to the French, he became their prisoner, contrary to the stipulation entered into, and was sent, with the rest of his friends, aboard the galleys. From thence he was set at liberty, or made his escape; in the month of February, 1549; went to England, and preached for several years in Berwick, Newcastle, and London, with great applause. His fame at last reached the ears of King Edward VI. who first offered him the living of All-hallows and then a bishopric; both of which he rejected as inconsistent with his views of church government.

During his stay in England, and on the 14th of April, 1553, he was called before the Council, and required to answer the following questions:

“Why he refused the benefice provided for him at London?—Whether he thought that no Christian could lawfully serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the laws and rites of that realm?—And if kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?”

To the first he answered, that his conscience witnessed to him, he might profit the church more in some other place than in London. To the second, that many things needed reformation in the ministry of England, without which no minister did or could discharge his duty before God; for no minister had authority to prevent the unworthy from partaking of the sacrament, which was a chief part of his office, and that he refused no office which might, in the least,

promote God's glory, and the spread of Christ's gospel. And to the third he replied, that Christ's action, at the communion, was most perfect; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was a human invention. The answer which he gave to this question, occasioned a good deal of altercation betwixt the Council and him. There were present on the occasion, the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Northampton, Shrewsbury, and Bedford, the Lords Chamberlain and Treasurer, and the Secretaries. After long reasoning with him, he was desired to take the matter into further consideration, and dismissed.

After the death of King Edward, he retired to Geneva, and applied himself to write his Admonition to England; but shortly after, he left that place, and went to Frankfort, upon the solicitation of the English congregation there. Their letter to him was dated 24th September 1554. In this situation he had not remained long, when he was involved in troubles and disputes, on account of his opposition to the English liturgy, and his refusing to dispense the communion after the manner it enjoined. Messrs. Isaac and Parry, supported by the English doctors, not only got him discharged from preaching, but accused him before the magistrates of high treason against the Emperor's son Philip, and the Queen of England; and to prove the charge, they had recourse to the above-mentioned Admonition, in which they alleged he had said the one was little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. But the magistrates perceiving the design of his accusers, and fearing lest he should some way or other fall into their hands, gave him secret information of his danger, and requested him to leave the city, for they could not save him if he should be demanded by the Queen of England in the Emperor's name. Accordingly, having taken the hint, he returned to Geneva.

Here he wrote An Admonition to London, Newcastle, and Berwick: A Letter to Mary, Dowager of Scotland; An Appeal to the Nobility; An Admonition to the Commons of his own country; and his First Blast of the Trumpet. This trumpet he intended to have blown three times, if Queen Mary's death had not prevented him; understanding, however, that an answer was to be given to his first blast, he deferred the publication of the second, till he saw what answer was necessary to its vindication.

While he was at Geneva, he contracted a close intimacy with the celebrated John Calvin, with whom he consulted on every emergency. In the end of harvest 1555, he returned home, at the earnest solicitation of some of the Scots nobility, and began privately to instruct, in the true religion, such as resorted to him: among whom were the Laird of Dun, David Forrest, and Elizabeth Adamson, spouse to James Baron, a burghess of Edinburgh.—The idolatry of the mass, in particular, occupied his attention, as he observed that some, otherwise distinguished for zeal and godliness, were drawn aside by it. Both in public and private, he exposed its impiety and danger; and so far succeeded, as to draw off some, and alarm many others. In a conversation upon this subject, at the Laird of Dun's house, in presence

of David Forrest, Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland, younger of Lethington: he gave such satisfactory answers to all the objections which were started by the company, that Maitland ended the conversation, by saying, "I see very well that all our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." From this time forward, the mass was very little revered amongst them.

Knox continued a month, at the Laird of Dun's, preaching every day; the principal gentlemen of the country resorting to his ministry. From thence he went to Calder, where the Earl of Argyle, then Lord Lorn, and Lord James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Moray, heard his doctrine, and highly approved of it. During the winter, he taught in Edinburgh, and, in the beginning of spring, went to Ayrshire, where he preached in different places. The Earl of Glencairn sent for him to Finlayston, where, after sermon, he administered the Lord's supper, and then returned to Calder.

The people being thus instructed, began to refuse all superstition and idolatry, and set themselves to the utmost of their power to support the true preaching of the gospel. This alarmed the Popish clergy so much, that they from all quarters complained to the bishops; and Knox was summoned to appear in the Black Friars' church of Edinburgh, on the 15th of May following. This appointment he resolved to observe; and accordingly came to Edinburgh, in company with the Laird of Dun, and several other gentlemen; but the diet did not hold, because the bishops were afraid to proceed further against him. The consequence was, that, on the same day on which he should have appeared before them, he preached to a greater audience in Edinburgh, than ever he had before. The Earl of Marischal being induced by Lord Glencairn to hear one of his discourses, was so delighted with his doctrine, that he immediately proposed that something should be done, to secure the approbation and protection of the Regent to his ministrations. Knox accordingly addressed her in a letter which was delivered into her own hand by Glencairn. When she had read it, she gave it to Beaton, a nephew of the late cardinal, and then Archbishop of Glasgow, saying in ridicule, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil?"

About this time, [1555], he received a letter from the English congregation at Geneva, who were not in communion with that of Frankfort, in which they intimated their choice of him as pastor, and besought him in the name of God, that he would speedily come to them. In obedience to this call, he resolved to go, and sent his wife and mother-in-law before him to Dieppé; but by the impertinence of some gentlemen, he was prevailed on to stay some time longer in Scotland. This time he spent in going about exhorting the several congregations in which he had preached, to be fervent in prayer, frequent in reading the Scriptures, and in mutual conferences, till God should give them greater liberty. The Earl of Argyle, and others, earnestly solicited him permanently to remain in this country, but without effect. He told them, that, if they continued steadfast in the profession of the faith, God would bless these small

beginnings ; but that he must for once go and visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave ; and being thus resolved, he went to Geneva.

As soon as he was gone, the Bishops caused him to be summoned to their tribunal, and for non-appearance they burnt him in effigy, at the cross of Edinburgh ; from which unjust sentence, when he heard of it, he appealed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

Having remained at Geneva for some time, in the quiet exercise of his duties, and the enjoyment of much agreeable and improving society ; upon receipt of a letter, dated March 16th, 1557, subscribed by the Earls of Glencairn, Erskine, Argyle, and Moray, Knox resolved to return again to Scotland. Committing the care of his flock to Calvin ; and coming to Dieppe, he wrote from thence to Mrs. Anne Locke, a declaration of his opinion of the English service-book, expressing himself thus : “ Our Captain, Christ Jesus, and Satan his adversary, are now at open defiance ; their banners are displayed, and the trumpet is blown on both sides for assembling their armies : our Master calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon, yea, he threateneth death and damnation to such as either in forehead or right hand, have the mark of the beast ; and a portion of this mark are all those dregs of Papistry, which are left in your great book of England, viz. crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord’s table, mumbling or singing of the litany, &c. &c. ; any one jot of which diabolical inventions, will I never counsel any man to use.”

He was detained in this place much longer than he expected, which caused the Scots nobility to renew their solicitations. With these he at length complied ; and arrived in Scotland on the 2d of May, 1559, being then fifty-four years of age. He preached first at Dundee, and afterwards at Perth, with great success. About this time, the Queen put some preachers to the horn, prohibiting all, upon pain of rebellion, to comfort, relieve, or assist them ; which, with other things, so much enraged the multitude who attended him at Perth, that they would be restrained, neither by the preachers nor magistrates, from pulling down the images, and other monuments of idolatry. This being told to the Queen, so incensed her, that she vowed to destroy man, woman, and child, in that town, and burn it to the ground. In execution of this threat, she caused her French army to march towards it ; but being informed that multitudes from the neighbouring country were assembling for its defence, her impetuosity was checked, and she resolved to use stratagem where force could not avail her. Accordingly she sent the Earls of Argyle and Moray, to learn what was their design in such commotions. Knox, in the name of the rest, made answer, “ That they whom she thus persecuted were the servants of God, and faithful and obedient subjects of the realm : that the religion which she would maintain by fire and sword was not of Jesus Christ, but a superstitious device of men, and that her enterprise should not succeed in the end ; for that she fought not against man only, but against the eternal God.” Argyle and Moray delivered this mes-

sage; and, in return, she promised that the reformers should be permitted to leave the town in peace. Knox preached a sermon, exhorting his friends to constancy: adding, "I am persuaded that this promise shall be no longer kept than the Queen and her Frenchmen can get the upper hand;" which accordingly happened; for she immediately took violent possession of the town, and put a garrison of Frenchmen into it. This breach of promise so disgusted the Earls of Argyle and Moray, that they forsook her, joined the Congregation, and withdrew into Fife. Having assembled with the Laird of Dun and others, they sent for Knox; who, in his way to them, preached in Crail and Anstruther, intending to preach next day at St. Andrews.

This design coming to the ears of the archbishop; he raised a hundred spearmen, and sent this message to the Lords, "That if John Knox offered to preach there, he should have a warm military reception." They, in their turn, forewarned him of his danger, and dissuaded him from going. He made answer, "God is my witness, that I never preached Jesus Christ in contempt of any man; neither am I concerned to go thither, either out of respect to my own private interest, or to the worldly hurt of any creature; but I cannot, in conscience, delay preaching to-morrow, if I am not detained by violence. In this town and church, did God first call me to the dignity of a preacher, and in this town, when torn from it by the tyranny of France, I expressed my assurance that I would preach again. Therefore, seeing that God, beyond expectation, has brought me to this place, I beseech your Honours not to stop me from presenting myself to my brethren. As for fear of danger to my person, let no man be solicitous about that, for my life is in the hand of Him whose glory I seek; and therefore, I fear not their threats, so as to cease from doing my duty, when of his mercy God offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me; only I crave audience, which, if denied me here, at this time, I must seek further, where I may have it." The Lords were satisfied that he ought to fulfill his intention, which he did without any interruption, and with such boldness and success, that the magistrates and the people of the town, immediately after sermon, agreed to remove all monuments of idolatry; which they did with great expedition.

Accompanying the forces of the Congregation, he, in like manner, appeared in the churches of Edinburgh. But being soon after obliged to leave that city, in consequence of its occupation by the Regent's army, between which and that of the reformers, several skirmishes had taken place, he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom; and within less than two months, traveled over a great part of Scotland, diffusing the knowledge, and strengthening the interests of the Protestant cause. At this time too, he greatly exerted himself in procuring to that cause the assistance of England. In this great object he was ultimately successful. The management of the correspondence to which it led, chiefly devolved upon his hands. His exertions at this period, indeed, were incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching; by night in writing letters on public business. He was the soul of the Congregation

was always found at the post of danger, and by his presence, his public discourses and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt and divide them.

Such zeal and activity, could not but expose him to the most deadly resentment of the Papists and Queen Regent. A reward was publicly offered to any one who should apprehend or assassinate him; and not a few actuated by hatred or avarice, lay in wait to seize him. But all this did not deter him, from appearing in public, and discharging his duty with his wonted ability.

At length, however, the Queen Regent died, and a general peace, which lasted for some time, was procured; during which, the commissioners of the Scots nobility, in 1560, began to settle ministers in different places. Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where he continued till the day of his death.

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

This advancement, however, which the Reformation was daily making, soon after met with a severe check, by the arrival of Queen Mary from France, in August, 1561. Along with her came Popery, and all manner of profanity, and the mass again was publicly set up. By this latter step, the religious part of the nation were highly offended, and none more so than Knox, who exposing the evil and danger of it on every occasion, by that means greatly exasperated the Queen and Court. On one occasion he was called before them, and charged as guilty of high treason. The Queen being present, produced a letter written by him, in which it was alleged, he had convoked her majesty's lieges against law. Upon which a long argument ensued between him and Secretary Lethington, as to the contents of said letter: in which Knox gave such solid and bold answers, in defence of himself and doctrine, that at last he was acquitted by the Lords of the Council, to the no small displeasure of the Queen and the Popish party.

Some time previous to this, immediately indeed after the Queen's arrival in Scotland, Knox displayed a similar independence and boldness, in a long private conference which he was admitted to hold with her; and at which no other individual was present, but Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews. Being led to the question by what had previously fallen from him, she inquired, "Thinkest thou that subjects having the power, may resist their princes." To this he replied, "If princes exceed their bounds, Madam, no doubt they may be resisted even by power. For there is no greater honour and obedience to be paid to princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be struck with a phrenzy in which he would slay his children. Now if children join together against their father, apprehend him, take his sword, or other weapons from him, bind his hands, and

put him in prison, till his frenzy be over, do they any wrong, or will God be offended with them for hindering their father from committing horrible murder? Even so, Madam, if princes will murder the children of God—their subjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. Therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind them, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a sober mind, is not disobedience, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God.” The Queen hearing this, stood for some time as one amazed, and changed countenance. Her brother spoke to her, and inquired the cause of her uneasiness; but she made no reply. After a little, recovering herself, the conference went on, embracing a number of topics, chiefly theological; till at length the approach of the dinner hour, afforded a pretext for breaking it off.

After the Queen’s marriage with the Earl of Darnley, in 1565, a proclamation was made, signifying, that forasmuch as certain rebels, under the colour of religion, (meaning those who opposed the measures of the Court,) intended nothing but the subversion of the commonwealth, they therefore charged all manner of men, under pain of life, lands and goods, to resort and meet their Majesties at Linlithgow, on the 24th of August. Upon Sabbath, the 19th, the King came to the High Church of Edinburgh, where Knox preached from these words, *O Lord, our Lord, other Lords beside thee, have had the dominion over us, &c.** In his sermon, he took occasion to speak of wicked princes, who, for the sins of a people, were sent to them as scourges; and also said, “That God set in that room boys and women; and that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with the harlot Jezebel.” These things enraged the King to a very high degree. Knox was immediately ordered before the Council, and went thither attended by some of the most respectable citizens. When called in, the Secretary signified that the King was much offended with some words in his sermon, as above mentioned; and ordered him to abstain from preaching, for fifteen or twenty days. To which Knox answered, That he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the *Church* would command him either to speak, or refrain from speaking, he would obey so far as the word of God would permit him. Nevertheless, for this and another sermon which he preached before the Lords, in which he showed the bad consequences that would follow upon the Queen’s being married to a Papist, he was, by her order, prohibited from preaching for a considerable time.

During this interval, he visited his two sons, whom he had sent to reside with their mother’s relations in England; and he endeavoured to render his journey thither, subservient to the interests of religion, by carrying a letter from the Assembly to the English Bishops, interceding for lenity towards those of the clergy who scrupled to use the sacerdotal dress enjoined by law. He returned to his charge about the time of the Queen’s flight with Bothwell to Dunbar; and was delegated by the General Assembly to repair to the west,

* Isa. xxvi. 13.

in order to persuade the Hamiltons to join the confederated Lords in settling the state of the kingdom.

On the 29th of July, 1567, he preached a sermon at the Coronation of James VI. in the parish church of Stirling; and was one of those who strongly urged the trial of Mary, for the alleged murder of her husband, and adulterous connection with Bothwell.

At the meeting of Parliament, towards the end of the same year, he pressed the ratification of all the acts of 1560, in favour of the reformed faith, and was appointed one of the Commissioners for drawing out the particular points pertaining to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which were to be presented at next meeting of Parliament.

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

In the month of October the same year, Knox had a stroke of apoplexy, which, to a considerable degree, affected his speech; and though in a few days he was able to resume the duty of preaching, he never recovered from the debility produced by the attack. But though so much weakened in body, that he never went abroad except on Sabbath days to the pulpit, yet whenever he saw the welfare of the church or commonwealth threatened, he entered into the cause with all the keenness of his most vigorous days.

In April 1571, his situation was rendered very critical. The Popish faction having found that it would be impossible to get their idolatry re-established, while the reformation was making such progress, and while he and his associates had such credit with the people, now began to set other engines to work, than those they had hitherto used. They spared no pains to blast his reputation, by the most malicious calumnies. They tried even to gain their end by making attempts upon his life; for, one night as he was sitting in his own house, he was fired at from the other side of the street. The shot entered at the window; but he being at another side of the table from that at which he usually sat, the assassin

missed his mark; the bullet struck the candlestick before him, and then lodged itself in the roof of the apartment. Thus was *he that was with him, stronger than they that were against him.*

At the earnest entreaties of his friends, who declared their determination, if he should be attacked, to shed their blood in his defence, he reluctantly withdrew to St. Andrews; where he continued with undiminished boldness to denounce the enemies of the reformed faith, and to withstand the encroachments made by its false friends upon the polity and revenues of the Church. Being urged by the Earl of Morton, who was afterwards Regent, to inaugurate the archbishop of that See, he declined to do so, with solemn protestations against it; and denounced an anathema both on the giver and receiver of the office. Though he was then very weak in body, he would not refrain from preaching, and was obliged to be supported by his servant, Richard Bannatyne, in going to church; and, when in the pulpit, he behoved to rest some time before he could proceed to preach; but ere he ended his sermon, he became so vigorous and active, that he was like to have broken the pulpit to pieces.

Here he continued till the end of August, 1572, when the civil broils were a little abated, upon which, receiving a letter from Edinburgh, he returned to his flock. He was now much oppressed with the infirmities of old age, and the extraordinary fatigues he had undergone; the death of the Regent Moray had made a deep impression on him; and when he heard of the massacre at Paris,* and the murder of the good Admiral Coligni, the melancholy news almost deprived him of life. Upon finding his dissolution approaching, he prevailed on the Council and kirk-session of Edinburgh, to concur with him in admitting James Lawson, at that time professor of philosophy in the college of Aberdeen, as his successor. He wrote a letter to Mr. Lawson, entreating him to accept of the charge; adding this postscript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioqui sero venies*; that is, "Make haste, my brother, otherwise you will come too late;" meaning that if he came not speedily, he would find him dead. Mr. Lawson, accordingly, set out immediately, making all possible haste, to Edinburgh; where, after he had preached twice to the full satisfaction of the people, the 9th of November was appointed for his admission. Knox, though then still weaker, preached upon the occasion with much power, and with the greatest comfort to the hearers. In the close of his sermon, he called God to witness, that he had walked in a good conscience among them, not seeking to

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

SCOTS WORTHIES.

please men, nor serving his own or other men's inclinations, but in all sincerity and truth preaching the Gospel of Christ. Then praising God, who had given them one in his room, he exhorted them to stand fast in the faith they had received; and having prayed fervently for the Divine blessing upon them, and the increase of the Spirit upon their new pastor, he gave them his last farewell; at which the congregation were much affected.

Being carried home, that same day he was confined to bed, and on the 13th was so enfeebled, that he was obliged to lay aside his ordinary reading of the Scriptures. The next day, he expressed his determination to rise, and being asked, What he intended by getting out of bed? he replied, that he would go to church, thinking that it had been the Lord's day. He told them, he had been all night meditating on the resurrection, which he should have preached on in order after the death of Christ; having discoursed on this the sabbath before. He had often desired of God that he might end his days in meditating and preaching upon that doctrine; a desire that seems to have been granted to him. Upon the 17th, the elders and deacons having come to him, he said, "The time is approaching, for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved from all cares, and be with my Saviour for ever; and now, God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the Gospel, and that the end which I purposed in all my doctrines was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the hearts of those that were humbled under the sense of sin, and to denounce the threatenings of God's word against such as were rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame me, for too great rigour and severity; but God knoweth that, in my heart, I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins; and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Christ; that I did forbear none of whatsoever condition, and that I did it out of the fear of God, who placed me in this function of the ministry, and will, I know, bring me to an account." He then exhorted them to constancy, and entreated them never to join with the wicked, but rather to choose with David to flee to the mountains, than to remain with such company. After this exhortation to the elders and deacons, he charged David Lindsay and James Lawson to take heed to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. To Mr. Lawson in particular, he said, "Fight the good fight; do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you, and the church whereof you have the charge; against which, the gates of hell shall not prevail." Then, by prayer, he commended the whole company present, to the grace of God, and afterwards desired his wife, or Richard Bannatyne, to read the 17th chapter of John, a chapter of the Ephesians, and the 33d chapter of Isaiah daily, after he was unable to read himself. Sometimes he desired part of Calvin's sermons, in French, to be read to him. One time, when reading these sermons, they supposed him to be

sleeping, and asked him, if he heard what was read : he replied, " I hear, I praise God, and understand far better."

One day after this, Mr. Lindsay, coming to see him, he said unto him, " Well, brother, I thank God I have desired all this day to have you, that I might send you to that man in the castle, the Laird of Grange, whom you know I have loved dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him from me, in the name of God, that unless he leave that evil course whereon he has entered, neither shall that rock (meaning the castle of Edinburgh, which he then kept out against the King) afford him any help, nor the carnal wisdom of that man, whom he counteth half a god, (meaning young Lethington); but he shall be pulled out of that nest, and brought down over the wall with shame, and his carcase shall be hung before the sun : so God hath assured me."* When Lindsay delivered this message, the Captain seemed to be much moved; but after a little conference with Lethington, he returned, and dismissed him with a disdainful countenance and answer. When he reported this to Knox, he said, " Well, I have been earnest with God anent that man : I am sorry that it should so befall his body, yet God assureth me, there is mercy for his soul.† But for the other, (meaning Lethington,) I have no warrant to say that it shall be well with him." The truth of this seemed to appear in a short time thereafter : for it was thought that Lethington poisoned himself, to avoid public punishment. He lay unburied in the steeple of Leith, until his body was quite corrupted; but Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was, on the 3d of August next, executed at the cross of Edinburgh. He caused Lindsay to repeat Knox's words concerning him, a little before his

* There is here something very like a claim to a Divine revelation; and the event seemed to make this assume the character of a prophecy. Kirkaldy of Grange was in a state of rebellion against the existing authority of the realm. He held the castle of Edinburgh for the Queen, while the bulk of the nation had renounced her, and sworn allegiance to her son. It did not require the gift of prophecy to foretell that this would cost him his life, unless he made submission upon condition, when conditions might have been obtained. The words, " So God hath assured me," make it evident that Knox thought he had a Divine communication, in that instance, at least; which must have arisen from the strong impression of the thing which he had on his mind, and which he mistook for a Divine impulse. In Dr. M'Crie's narrative of the same conversation, the words, " so God hath assured me," are not to be found; from which, that truly accurate historian must have considered them apocryphal. W. M'G.

† Knox had been earnest with God anent that man; that is, he had prayed earnestly for his salvation; and having probably had great freedom and enlargement in this exercise, he took it as a favourable answer. This was enough to encourage hope, and perseverance in prayer; but an absolute assurance that his request was granted, was more than he had a right to infer. This led to a very dangerous error on the part of Kirkaldy himself; for he took Knox's words as a Divine revelation concerning him, and was greatly comforted by them, when about to be executed. He had been evidently living in a state of backsliding, or apostacy; and there was no safety for him but by coming directly to Christ for pardon, as he had come at first, supposing that at one time he had given evidence of being a true believer. If he was diverted from this by trusting in what Knox had said, it must have been a fatal delusion. W. M'G.

execution; and was much comforted by them. He said to him, when accompanying him to the scaffold, "I hope when men shall think I am gone, I shall be able to give a token of the assurance of God's mercy to my soul, according to the speech of that man or God." Accordingly, when he was cast over the ladder, with his face towards the east, when all present thought he was dead, he lifted up his hands, which were bound, and let them fall softly down again, as if praising God for his great mercy towards him.*

One of Knox's visitors having desired him to praise God for the good he had done, he answered, "Flesh of itself is too proud, and needs nothing to puff it up," and protested, that he only laid claim to the free mercy of God in Christ. Among others, to the Earl of Morton, who was then about to receive the Regency, (the Earl of Mar having died the preceding month,) he was heard to say, "My Lord, God hath given you many blessings; he hath given you high honour, birth, great riches, many good friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm. In his name, I charge you, that you will use these blessings better in time to come, than you have done in time past: in all your actions seek first the glory of God, the furtherance of his Gospel, the maintenance of his Church and ministry; and then be careful of the King, to procure his good, and the welfare of the kingdom. If you act thus, God will be with you: if otherwise, he shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your end shall be shameful and ignominious." This threatening, Morton, to his melancholy experience, confessed, was literally accomplished: at his execution, in June 1581, he called to mind Knox's words; and acknowledged, that in what he had said to him, he had been a true prophet.†

On Friday, the 21st of November, he desired Richard Bannatyne to order his coffin to be made. During that day, he was much engaged in meditation and prayer. These words were often in his mouth: "Come Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Be merciful, Lord, to thy Church, which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted Commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors who will take charge of thy Church. Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy."

Upon the Lord's day, November 23d, after he had lain for some time very quiet, he said, "If any man be present, let him come and see the work of God;" for he thought, as was supposed, to have then expired. His servant having sent to church for Johnston of Elphinston, he burst forth into these words: "I have been in meditation these two last nights upon the troubled Kirk of God, despised in the world, but precious in his sight. I have called to God for

* See Spottiswood's Hist. pp. 266. 272; and Calderwood's Hist. pp. 62, 63.

† Attention to the history of his country for a few years past, and to the state of parties, might have enabled Morton to prophesy thus of himself, without any supernatural gift.

her, and commended her to Christ her head, I have been fighting against Satan, who is ever ready for the assault; I have fought against spiritual wickednesses, and have prevailed: I have been as it were in heaven, and have tasted of its joys." After sermon several persons came to visit him; one of them, perceiving that he breathed short, asked him, If he had any pain? he answered, "I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven; and I am content, if it please God, to lie here seven years." Many times, when lying as if asleep, he was in meditation, and was heard expressing himself thus: "Lord, grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be troublesome to you. Blessed is the death of those who have part in the death of Jesus."

That night, Dr. Preston having come, and being told by some of the attendants, that he was often very uneasy in his sleep, asked him when he awoke, "How he did, and what made him moan so heavily in his sleep?" To this he answered, "In my lifetime, I have been often assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast my sins in my teeth, to bring me to despair: yet God gave me strength to overcome his temptations, and now that subtle serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me, that all my labours in the ministry, and the fidelity I have shewed in that service, have merited heaven and immortality. But blessed be God, he hath brought to my mind that scripture, *What hast thou that thou hast not received? and not I, but the grace of God which is in me*; with which Satan hath gone away ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my battle is at an end, and that I shall shortly, without pain of body, or trouble of spirit, change this mortal and miserable life, for that happy and immortal life which shall never have an end." During the course of that night his sickness greatly increased.

Monday, the 24th of November, was the last day he spent on earth. He rose out of bed about ten o'clock, put on his hose and doublet, sat up for about half an hour, and then returned to bed again. Being asked by Kinzeanleugh, if he had any pain? he answered, "No pain but such as, I trust, will soon put an end to this battle; yea, I do not esteem that pain to me, which is the beginning of eternal joy." In the afternoon, he caused his wife to read the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. When it was ended, he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A little after, "I commend my soul, spirit, and body, into thy hands, O Lord." About five o'clock at night, he said to his wife, "Go, read where I first cast my anchor." This was the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, which she read, together with part of Calvin's sermons on the Ephesians. They then went to prayer; after which Dr. Preston asked him, "If he heard the prayer?" he answered, "Would to God that you and all men had heard it as I have done; I praise God for that heavenly sound;" adding, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." About eleven o'clock he gave a deep

sigh, and said, "Now, it is come." His servant, Richard Bannatyne, hearing him, drew near and said, "Now, Sir, the time you have long called to God for, doth instantly come; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign, that you live upon the comfortable promises which you have so often shewed to us." Upon this, he lifted up one of his hands; and immediately after, sighing twice, he expired without any struggle, as one falling asleep. Thus finishing his Christian warfare, he entered into the joy of his Lord, to receive a crown of righteousness, prepared for him, and such as him, from before the foundation of the world.

He was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, now that square called the Parliament Close, upon Wednesday the 20th of November. His funeral was attended by the Earl of Morton, then Regent, other Lords, and a great multitude of people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the Earl of Morton said, "There lies a man, who, in his life, never feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but hath ended his days in honour and in peace."

He was low in stature, and of a weakly constitution; which led Principal Smeaton, one of his contemporaries, to say, "I know not if ever God placed a more godly and great spirit in a body so little and frail. I am certain, that there can scarcely be found another, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the comfort of the church of Scotland, did shine. No one spared himself less; no one was more diligent in the charge committed to him; and yet no one was more the object of the hatred of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproach of evil speakers; but this was so far from abating, that it rather strengthened his courage and resolution in the ways of God." Beza calls him "the great apostle of the Scots." His faithfulness in reprov- ing sin, in a manner that shewed he was not to be awed by the fear of man, made up the most remarkable part of his character, and the success with which the Lord blessed his labours, was enough to stop the mouth of every enemy against him.

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

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in the parish of Killearn and county of Stirling, then forming part of Lennoxshire, in a rustic hamlet, situated on the banks of the river Blane about the beginning of

February, 1506. His family was rather ancient than opulent. His father died of stone, in the flower of his age, and his grandfather, who was yet alive, becoming insolvent, the family, which was but poor before, was now reduced almost to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Herriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to men and women's estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle, James Herriot, perceiving his promising talents, evinced even at the country school, took him from thence, and sent him to Paris [1520]. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to Poetry, having partly a natural genius for it, and partly out of necessity, it being one of the tasks propounded to the students. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme want, he was forced to go home to his friends [1522]. After his return to Scotland, he spent almost a year in improving his health; he then went into the army with some French auxiliaries newly arrived in Scotland, [1523] to learn the military art. But that expedition having proved fruitless, and these forces being reduced by the deep snow of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring, he was sent to St. Andrews, to hear the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather, sophistry in that university. The summer after, [1526] he accompanied him into France; and there he imbibed the tenets of the Lutheran sect, which then began to increase. He struggled with the difficulties of fortune almost two years, and at last was admitted into the college of St. Barbe, where he was professor of grammar for almost three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, one of the young Scottish nobles, being in that country, [1527] was much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance; so that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards having a mind to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by the King, and made tutor to James his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy made by him at leisure hours, came into the hands of the Franciscans. In it he represented himself as solicited in a dream, by St. Francis, to enter into his order; and having in one or two passages reflected on them very severely, these ghostly fathers, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, resented more keenly than men having obtained such a character for piety ought to have done, so small an occasion of offence. But finding no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the score of religion; which was their common way of terrifying those who incurred their displeasure. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a still greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him still more partial to the Lutheran cause. In the mean time, [1537] the King, with Magdalene his wife, came from France, not with the good will of the priesthood; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt the queen

of Navarre, should attempt some innovation in religion. But this fear soon vanished upon her death, which followed shortly after.

Next there arose jealousies at Court about some of the nobility, who were thought to have conspired against his Majesty, and in that matter, the King being persuaded that the Franciscans dealt insincerely, commanded Buchanan, who was then at Court, though ignorant of the disgusts between him and that order, to write a satire upon them. He was loath to offend either party; and therefore, though he made a poem, it was but short, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, and thus satisfied neither the King, who would have a sharp and stinging invective, nor yet the fathers, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing said of them in the least degree dishonourable. So that, receiving a second command to write more pungently against them, he began that poem, which now bears the title of the Franciscan, and gave it to the King.* But shortly after, [1539] learning from his friends at Court, that Cardinal Beaton sought his life, and had offered the King a sum of money, as a price for his head, he, on being apprehended, escaped out of prison, and fled to England.† But there

* This is a severe satire against the monks and friars. The following extract is from *The Protestant*, being part of a translation, by the Rev. John Graham, Rector of Magilligan, Ireland:—

“ And now, my faithful brethren, once for all,
 I warn all Catholics against St. Paul;
 The man of Tarsus, though his head lies low,
 Lives in his writings, our eternal foe:—
 Would he had perish'd at an early day,
 Or to Damascus, when he took his way,
 Had dropp'd down dead, before he was baptized,
 And joined the sect he hated and despised.
 Time yet will come, if prophets tell no lie,
 Who all assure us that it now draws nigh,
 When men, convinced by Paul, shall forward stand,
 To purge from superstition all the land—
 From Christian churches, heathen priests expel,
 No longer arbiters of heaven and hell:—
 Then truth victorious, beaming upon man,
 Shall soon display the gospel's holy plan;
 And to the world expose, as clear as day,
 The wiles we practice, and the tricks we play.
 Therefore take heed, nor grant to small or great,
 The liberty these writings to translate;
 And, since we can't destroy them, let them lie,
 Lock'd up in Latin, from the vulgar eye—
 Left to be studied and commented on
 By th' orthodox old doctors of Sorbonne,
 Who, when their hoary heads are warm'd with wine,
 Can best unravel mysteries divine.”

W. M'G.

† “ In the midst of these evils,” says Knox, “ he (the King) caused to put hands on that notable man, Mr. George Buchanan; but by the merciful providence of God he escaped the rage of those that sought his life, although with great difficulty, and remains alive to this day (1566), to the glory of God, the great honour of this na-

also, things were in such confusion, that on the very same day, and almost with one and the same fire, the men of both factions, Protestants and Papists, were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own security, than the purity or reformation of religion. This uncertainty of affairs in England, seconded by his former acquaintance with the French, and the courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

On his arrival in Paris, he found Cardinal Beaton, his bitterest enemy, in the character of ambassador there: so that, to withdraw himself from his fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the schools, which were erected at the public cost, and in that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards published at different times. But that which he wrote first, called the Baptist, was printed last, and next to it the Medea of Euripides. He wrote these in compliance with the custom of the school, which required that a play should be produced annually, that the acting of them might wean the youth from the allegories, then in vogue on the continent, and bring them back, as much as possible, to a just imitation of the ancients. Succeeding in these far beyond his hopes, he took more pains in composing his other two tragedies, Jephthes and Alcestes; for he thought that they would fall under a severer scrutiny by the learned. And yet, during this time, he was, by no means, free from trouble; but was harassed by the menaces of the Cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other. For the Cardinal had wrote letters to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, desiring that he might be apprehended; but providentially these letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends. However, the death of the King of Scots, 1542, and the plague, which then raged over all Guienne, dispelled this fear.

In the meantime, an express came to Govean from the King of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him some men learned in the Greek and Latin tongues; that they might teach the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which, with great care and expense, he was then erecting. Buchanan, being addressed on the subject, readily consented to go for one. For, whilst he saw that the whole of Europe besides, was either actually engaged in foreign or domestic wars, or just upon the point of being so, Portugal, in his opinion, was likely to be free from such tumults and combustions; and besides, his companions in the expedition were such, that they seemed rather his acquaintances and familiar friends, than strangers or aliens to him. There were many of them who had been his intimates for several years, and who are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholas Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Venetus, and for this reason he not only himself be-

came one of their society, but also persuaded his brother Patrick, to do the same. And truly at first the matter succeeded excellently well; but, in the midst of the enterprise, Govean was carried off by a sudden death, a circumstance which proved greatly prejudicial to his companions.

Immediately on his decease [1548], their enemies endeavoured first to ensnare them by treachery, and soon after openly and violently attacked them: and having employed agents and judges who were exceedingly hostile to the accused, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to prison. From thence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were brought out to make their defences, but, after many bitter taunts, were remanded again; no accuser having appeared in court against them. Over Buchanan, in particular, they insulted most bitterly, as being a stranger; and knowing also, that he had few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathize with his sorrows, or revenge the wrongs which were offered to him.

The chief crime laid to his charge, was the writing of his poem against the Franciscans, which, before leaving France, he had taken care to get excused to the King of Portugal, and of which his accusers were almost entirely ignorant, since he had only parted with one copy of it to the King of Scots, by whose command he wrote it. They farther objected "his eating flesh in Lent;" though there is not a man in all Spain but uses the same liberty. And besides, it was urged that he had passed some sharp remarks upon the monks; which, however, nobody but a monk himself could well except against. Moreover, they took it heinously amiss, that in familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention being made of the eucharist, he affirmed, that, in his opinion, Austin was most inclined to the party condemned by the church of Rome. And two other persons, as came to his knowledge some years after, viz. John Talpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius, a Piedmontese, witnessed against him, that they had heard, from several creditable persons, "That he was not orthodox as to the Romish faith and religion." But to return to the narrative:

After having wearied both themselves and him for nearly a year and a half, the inquisitors at last, that they might not seem to have causelessly harassed a man of some name and note in the world, shut him up for some months in a monastery, there to be more strictly disciplined and instructed by the monks; who, to give them their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men, otherwise, neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour. During this time [1551] it was, that he translated the principal part of David's Psalms, into Latin verse.

At length he was set at liberty; and, upon requesting permission and passports to return to France, the King desired him to remain in Portugal, and meantime allotted him a small sum for daily necessaries and expenses, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But, tired with the delay, and being put off to no certain time, nor on any sure grounds of hope, and having got the

opportunity of a passage in a ship then riding in the bay of Lisbon; he went over into England. In that country he made but a short stay, even though fair offers were made him; for he saw that all things were in hurry and tumult, under a very young King; the nobles being at variance with one another; and the minds of the commons yet in a ferment, on account of their recent civil commotions [1552]. He therefore returned into France, and arrived about the time that the siege of Metz was raised [1553], and was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem relating to that siege; which he did with reluctance, being unwilling to interfere with several of his acquaintances, and especially with Melinus Sangelasius, who had just composed a learned and elegant eulogy on the subject. To the French, at this period of his life, Buchanan was much attached, and they, with their characteristic vanity, wished to lay claim to him as their own; his reputation as a poet having now shed a glory around the land of his birth. The warmth of his attachment he expressed in a poem, which he wrote on the occasion of his arrival in France, where he soon after was appointed a regent of the college of Bonconit.

From thence [1553] he was called into Italy, by Charles de Cosse of Brescia, who then, with much reputation and success, governed in the French and Genoese countries about the Po, and lived with him and his son Timoleon, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France: he remained for about five years, till the year 1560. A great part of this time he spent in the study of the Holy Scriptures, that so he might be able to form a more correct judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and occupied the time of most of the men of those days. And these disputes being then a little silenced in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; he at length returned thither, and became a member of the reformed church of Scotland.

The date of his return cannot be exactly ascertained. But it was certainly about the year 1560. Some of his early writings he now, as it were, redeemed from shipwreck, collected and published. The rest, which were scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he committed to the disposal of Providence. Shortly after, he was made choice of by the young Queen, on her arrival from France, to assist and direct her classical studies; and, so much does he seem to have been impressed with her insinuating manners and elegant accomplishments, as to have given vent to his admiration, by dedicating to her the first complete edition of his Psalms. Nor does it appear that she was altogether insensible to his merits, for we find she rewarded him for his services, by conferring upon him [1564] the temporalities of Crossraguell Abbey. His steady attachment, however, to the reformed religion and the liberties of his country, rendered him directly opposed to her favourite designs and her ruling passions, and led him to cultivate the friendship of those who afterwards placed themselves in array against her.

Accordingly, during this same year we find he prepared for the

press a collection of his Satires, in which he employed his keenest irony against the fooleries and impurities of the Popish church, and having finished his *Franciscanus*, dedicated it to his friend and patron, the Earl of Moray. Two years after [1566], a vacancy having occurred, he was presented by that nobleman, as prior of St. Andrews, to the principality of one of the colleges in that city.

He now, of course, gave up his connection with the court, and removed his residence thither; and the chamber which, as principal of St. Leonards, he is said to have occupied, is yet shewn to the curious, and is supposed to have undergone but little transformation. In this office, he delivered occasional prelections in Theology, and gave ample proofs of his acquaintance with the Scriptures; and not only in the university, but throughout the church, his character stood high. Though never either rector or dean of the Faculty of Arts, his name occurs three times in the record of 1567-8-9, as one of the dean's assessors, and, from the year 1563 to 1567, he had the honour of a seat in the General Assembly as a Doctor, was a constant member of its most important committees, and in the last of these years was chosen Moderator.

He was now called from the calm pursuits of the scholar, poet, and theologian, to mingle in the arena of civil politics. After the defeat of the Queen at Langside, and her unhappy flight into England, the Regent was forced by his circumstances to undertake the ungracious task of appearing as the accuser of his sister and sovereign; and in the performance of this painful duty was assisted by Buchanan, who attended him to the conferences at York and Westminster [1568-9], and drew up in Latin, "A Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots." He has also, but erroneously, been supposed to be the author of another Latin treatise on the same subject, "Actio contra Mariam," and on account of it has suffered much undeserved reproach; but this, in reality, was produced by one of the satellites of Elizabeth, and contains sentiments the very reverse of Buchanan's. The Detection, which was strictly an official paper, as originally written by him, was a concise historical deduction of facts, such as was absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, and vindicating the nobles in their proceedings against the Queen.

Upon the death of the Regent, which happened soon after, dreading the prevailing influence and ambitious views of the house of Hamilton, he wrote and printed his "Admonition to the true Lords, maintainers of justice and obedience to the King's Grace;" a tract, having in view to rouse the nobility to repress the disorderly, to punish the abettors of sedition, and to protect the young King from the dangers which threatened his life.

It would also appear, that having, during the Regency of Moray, been for a short period Director of Chancery, he was under that of Lennox, in the year 1570, appointed Lord Privy Seal. In the same year too, he was entrusted with the important charge of educating the young King, now in his fourth year, a charge, which all will acknowledge his fitness to undertake, and his fidelity in executing,

and which he would have fulfilled with much more success, had those who were associated with him been equally faithful. As being Lord Privy Seal, he was entitled to a seat in Parliament, and was appointed a commissioner on several important occasions. In 1578, he formed one of a commission, including many of the most illustrious for rank or talent in Scotland, appointed to examine and digest the laws of the land. He was also included in two commissions respecting Education; and also in one for examining a "Book of the Policy of the Kirk." During the time that Morton was displaced from the office of Regent, he was, moreover, associated with other officers of State, appointed by the Privy Council to advise and direct the young monarch: an office which soon became unnecessary by the Earl's return to power. But amidst all these varied avocations, his whole soul seems to have been intensely bent on forming the mind of his royal pupil to those maxims of government and those principles of character, on which the dignity and happiness of a first Magistrate essentially depend. On this subject, his bold and independent, and almost prophetic address to him in dedicating the Bap- tistes, in 1576, ought not to be passed over. "This circumstance," says he, "may seem to bear a more particular reference to you, that it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them when their prosperity seems at its height. That you should now acquire such knowledge, I consider as not only expedient but even necessary, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought ever to shun. I therefore wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity, that if, impelled by evil counsellors, and suffering the licentiousness of royalty to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed, not to your preceptors, but to you, who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions."

In similar language, and with increasing anxiety, did he, three years afterwards, inscribe to him the most important of all his writings, except his History, the treatise, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*: "I have deemed," says the venerable teacher, "this publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community." Then, after some compliments to his docility, he adds: "Yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, lest evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your still tender mind; especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as an advice, but even as an importunate, and sometimes impudent, exhorter, to direct you, at this critical period of life, safely past the dangerous rocks of adulation; not merely to point out the path, but to keep you in it, and if you should deviate, to reprove and reclaim your wanderings; which monitor if you obey, you will ensure tranquillity to yourself and your family, and transmit your glory to the most remote posterity."

This treatise, originally written as a defence of the friends of freedom in their treatment of the Queen, is not confined to the merely

local and temporary question as to the murder of her husband, and her liability to punishment; but considers, in all its bearings, the broad, but delicate subject of allegiance, and has in view to show, that only a good government has a right to support, and that a bad one ought to be resisted.*

Now advanced to his 74th year, he was induced, in compliance with the solicitations of his friends, to write a short account of his life, which, marked as it is by his characteristic manliness and simplicity, is, so far as it goes, followed throughout in the present memoir.

An instance of his kindness to an humble scholar, who about this time solicited his révisal of a work, and which has been recorded to his honour, seems to fix his residence at Stirling. From a letter, however, still extant, addressed by him to Beza, and the last that he wrote, it would appear he shortly after removed to Edinburgh. It is dated Edinburgh, 15th July, 1581. His history, on which he had employed, for twenty years, what leisure he could command, was now at press, and excited, as might be supposed, a considerable share of interest and attention. Out of a desire to see it, and also to inquire after his health, his cousin, Thomas Buchanan, together with Andrew and James Melville then at St. Andrews, paid him a visit; in his account of which, the latter has related a circumstance which strikingly displays his strength of mind, and decision of character, even to the last. On requesting him to alter a passage, at which they thought the King might be offended, he replied by the question, "Tell me if I have told the truth." "Yes," said his cousin, "I think so." "Then," said he, "I will abide his feud, and all his kin's: pray, pray to God for me, and let Him direct all."

This visit he survived about a twelvemonth, and it would have been gratifying to know, whether he ever received any mark of gratitude or kindness from his royal pupil during the whole of his protracted illness; presumptions are against it. Thaanus informs us, that James required his preceptor to retract what he had written with so much freedom respecting the Queen his mother, and leave to posterity some formal testimony of his compunction. He at first returned an evasive answer, but being afterwards importuned by re-

* This tract, after having long struggled against ignorance and prejudice, has at length obtained the praise which it merits. "The science," says Sir James Macintosh, "which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom, and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period, who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought, was Buchanan; and he, too, seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable tract, *De jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."

peated messages, he made this final declaration :—That he could not recal what he had written in the full conviction of its truth ; but that after his decease, it would be in the King's power to adopt such measures with regard to his writings as he might judge expedient. He, however, admonished him to proceed with mature deliberation ; and to reflect, that although God had intrusted supreme power to kings, yet that truth, which derives its strength from God, is as superior to their control as God is superior to man.

Tradition adds, that about this time, in one of the several messages he sent to him, the King required his presence at court, within twenty days, under pain of his displeasure ; but that he, finding his death approaching, sent him back a letter of admonition relative to the government of his kingdom, and well-being of his people ; and told him, that he could run the hazard of his Majesty's displeasure without danger ; for that “ by the time limited, he would be where few kings or great men should be honoured to enter.” At reading which, it is said, the King wept.

It is uncertain whether he lived to see his great work published ; he was, however, spared the pain of seeing the attempts of his ungrateful pupil to suppress it, and what would have been more galling to his virtuous spirit, the sycophancy of a Scottish Parliament seconding the wishes of an undisguised, but happily a weak despot, in a country, heretofore the land of freedom. He expired on the morning of Friday, the 28th of September, 1582, a little before five o'clock, at the age of seventy-six years, and nearly eight months ; his last moments were tranquil, and when visited by John Davidson, he expressed his sole reliance to be upon the blood of Christ. He was buried on Saturday, in the Grey Friars' church-yard, a great company of the faithful attending his funeral ; and he who had raised an imperishable monument to the name of Scotland, has been allowed to remain without any other than a ‘Through-stone’ to mark his grave, of which the inscription, if it ever had one, was illegible more than a century ago. An obelisk, however, has lately been raised by subscription, to his memory, at the village of Killearn.

His whole property at his death consisted of one hundred pounds, arrears, due upon his pension of Crossraguell ; and it is said he was buried at the expense of the city of Edinburgh, having, before his decease, ordered his servants to distribute to the poor a small sum he had in his house, and which was too trifling for any other purpose.

A skull, so thin as to be transparent, is still shown in the Edinburgh museum, as that of Buchanan, and is usually contrasted with that of an idiot's, which is remarkably thick ; its history, however, is somewhat doubtful.

“Buchanan,” says an eloquent living writer, “shared, with his most eminent compatriots, a fate to which his high talents and exemplary virtues equally entitled him ; he was loved with the fondest enthusiasm by his friends, and followed with the keenest animosity by his enemies ; for his friends were the friends of virtue, and his traducers a crowd of court sycophants, whose hatred is his highest praise.

His countenance and manners were somewhat austere, but his heart was warm and kind; his conversation fascinating. He possessed, in an uncommon degree, the power of attracting around him the most eminent men of the countries in which he resided, and the still more uncommon faculty of retaining their admiration and friendship. His integrity was unbending, and his veracity unimpeachable. He was a patriot in the purest sense of the word. Perceiving early in life the necessity, he shared in the dangers of the Reformation, and having carefully examined, he ardently embraced the doctrines of the Reformed. His piety seems to have been sincere and solid; it accompanied him through life, and supported him in death.

As a Latin poet, he was styled, by his friend Stephanus, the first of the age in which he lived, and all his cotemporaries acknowledged this supremacy, which their posterity have confirmed. As a political writer, he stands distinguished not more for the boldness than the soundness of his opinions, and if he was vehement, the errors which he combated were strongly intrenched behind prejudice and interest, and would have mocked the assault of a puny arm. As a Historian, his eloquence is unequalled among modern, and he rivals rather than imitates the most splendid of ancient, writers. If he had a bias, it was uniformly on the side of virtue and freedom; nor is his indignation ever pointed but against tyranny, irreligion, and vice.

He has been accused of ingratitude to Mary, but it remains to be proved that she ever did more than pay him for his services; and it is certain that, till he believed her guilty of murder and adultery, he remained her friend; and his having been at one time her classical tutor, however this might aggravate the poignancy of his feelings on her fall, could never be a sufficient reason to an honest man for becoming the apologist of conduct, which his duty to his country compelled him to condemn.*

"He was a man," says Sir James Melvil, "of notable endowments, great learning, and an excellent Latin poet; he was much honoured in foreign countries, pleasant in conversation, into which he happily introduced short moral maxims, which his invention readily supplied him with upon any emergency." His works that are now extant make two folio volumes. The pamphlets, going under the title of the Witty Exploits of George Buchanan, seem to be spurious; although it is certain he pronounced many witty sayings, of which a great number never were committed to writing.

* Life of Buchanan, prefixed to a new translation of his History, by James Aikman, Esq. Edin. 1823.

JOHN ERSKINE. BARON OF DUN.

It might well be deemed unpardonable, in a work of this kind, to omit all notice of a man who is only second amongst the laymen by whom the reformation from popery was accomplished or promoted.

JOHN ERSKINE, Baron of Dun, in the shire of Angus, was born at the family seat near Montrose, in the year 1508 or 1509. His father was a descendant of the Earls of Marr; his mother a daughter of William, the first Lord Ruthven. He received his literary education, most probably, in the university of Aberdeen; and, according to custom, completed it by travelling abroad, and attending, for some time, in one or other of the foreign universities. In the opinion of George Buchanan, "he was a man of great learning."

After his father's death, he was employed, as the other barons then were, in administering justice in the county to which he belonged, and occasionally assisting in the meetings of parliament. He was besides almost constantly chosen provost of the neighbouring town of Montrose.

At an early period of his life he became a convert from popery; but the precise manner in which his conversion was accomplished is not now known. Knox says of him, that "he was one whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated." Some time prior to that year, he had been eminently useful in the conversion of David Straiton, who suffered death, as a martyr, at Edinburgh, August 27th, 1534.

The castle of Dun was indeed, as a sanctuary, always open to protestant preachers and professors. While they chose to remain in it, they were protected against their persecuting enemies, and enjoyed Christian fellowship with one another. Mr. Erskine and his protestant associates, in their private meetings, worshipped God, read and expounded the scriptures, and piously exhorted one another. Long before he became a regular minister among the reformers, he was much employed as an exhorter. And, it may be observed, that, even after the reformation of religion was established, there was kept up in the church, for many years, an order of men who were called, "Exhorters." He also acted in a very friendly manner to George Wishart. Being provost of Montrose, he easily procured him the appointment of master of the grammar school in that town.

But while Mr. Erskine was attending to the affairs of religion, he did not neglect the duties which he owed to the public, as a magistrate and military knight. In that war with England, which began in September, 1547, and lasted nearly two years, the English ships infested the east coast of Scotland. Some of them were sent towards the town of Montrose, for the purpose of pillage and devastation. They cast anchor out of sight of the town, intending to ad-

vance after it was dark. But the mariners, imprudently for themselves, but providentially for the safety of the people of the town, put up some lights in their ships as they were advancing nearer, which occasioned an alarm. Mr. Erskine, being provost, immediately attended. He commanded that all the inhabitants who were able, should take arms quickly, and with as little noise as possible. He divided them into three companies. The first he stationed behind an earthen rampart, which had been before raised for the defence of the town. The second, which consisted of such persons as wore light armour, and were expert in the use of bows and arquebuses, he took under his own immediate leading, and advanced with them towards the shore. The third, which was composed of servants, apprentices, and a promiscuous multitude, he ordered to wait behind a neighbouring hill.

When the enemies were descending from their ships, he and his troops sharply assailed them with missile weapons. He found it necessary in the conflict to draw them towards the rampart, where the party stationed behind it suddenly issued forth, and all were engaged in close combat. The invaders, however, did not yet retire. But daylight soon appearing, they beheld a more numerous band, with colours displayed, coming against them from behind the neighbouring hill. Afraid of being surrounded, they fled to their ships; but were so hastily pursued, that, though about eighty men had landed, scarcely a third part of them made their escape.

In the end of harvest 1555, Knox, having arrived from Geneva, found in Edinburgh, Mr. Erskine and one or two ministers, who, with some pious persons in that city, both men and women, were in use to meet in private houses, for the purposes of religious worship and spiritual conversation. It was at supper, in the Laird of Dun's lodgings in Edinburgh, that those who were there present, resolved, that, to whatever danger they might be exposed, they would wholly discontinue their attendance on the popish mass; and, when a protestant minister could be obtained, would have the sacrament of our Lord's supper administered to them in the same plain manner in which it was given in the reformed churches abroad. Mr. Erskine having left Edinburgh for his family seat of Dun, Knox, at his request, followed him thither, and staid with him about a month, where he was daily exercised in preaching the gospel, and was resorted to by the principal men in that part of the country. In the ensuing summer, Knox went again to Dun, and was gratified in dispensing the communion to almost all the gentlemen of the county of Mearns, who promised to oppose idolatry to the utmost of their power.

Though Mr. Erskine's religious principles were well known, it appears that the popish bishops thought him a man too powerful for them to meddle with; and he still proceeded in his endeavours to promote the reformation.

December 3d, 1557, he, along with the Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Glencairn, and some other noble and eminent persons, subscribed a covenant, in which they bound themselves in the presence of God, to advance the protestant religion, and to maintain in safety its mi-

ministers and its professors, who were now, for the first time, called the *congregation*, by all the means in their power, even to the hazard of their lives.

The parliament, which met December 14th, 1557, appointed him to go to the court of France, as one of the commissioners from Scotland, to witness the young queen's marriage with the dauphin, and to settle the terms of the marriage contract. He sailed thither in February, 1558, and, with those of them who survived that fatal embassy, returned and landed at Montrose in October following.

On their arrival, they found that the reformation of religion in Scotland had been unexpectedly forwarded by the cruelty and imprudence of the popish clergy. During their absence, Walter Mill had suffered martyrdom, which had occasioned so great a fermentation in the minds of persons of all ranks, that Spottiswood, who was well informed of these matters, says, "the death of this martyr was the very death of popery in this realm."*

The protestants were now increased in number, and consequently in courage. They were soon afterwards farther encouraged by the death of the English queen, Mary; which happened November 15th, 1558. Her sister and successor, Elizabeth, being a protestant princess, the reformed in Scotland hoped to receive her support; and afterwards they were not disappointed in their expectations.

* This instance seems to verify the saying, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." There were many circumstances, in the case of Mill, calculated to create a more than ordinary sensation in the public mind. His advanced age, his venerable appearance, his apparently feeble and exhausted frame, the unexpected vigour which he displayed in defending, and his unyielding constancy in adhering to, the truth, above all, the revolting and excruciating death, to which he was doomed, in being burnt alive; must of necessity have made a deep impression, on every heart, in which the least humanity or tenderness was still to be found. But yet it is easy to conceive, that all this might have happened, without his death being so influential, in promoting the cause of reformation, as it is said to have been. The extraordinary effects which attended it, are to be accounted for, by a reference not to the character of the event, but rather to the state of matters, at the particular juncture, in which it took place. It was because the principles of the reformed faith, were widely spread, and deeply rooted amongst the inhabitants of Scotland, that the Prelates had recourse to such severities, in attempting to counteract it; and it was just for the same reason, that such severities had the very contrary effect, and instead of counteracting, tended more and more to confirm and to promote it. It is only in such circumstances, indeed, that persecution has a tendency to further a religion. Otherwise, its tendency is decidedly the reverse. Some persons inimical to the Christian faith, have attempted, from the above mentioned axiom, to deny, that its prevalence in spite of persecution forms any test of its truth. It must be plain, on the slightest consideration, however, that the direct influence of persecution, is to crush an incipient faith, and that it is only when against such an influence, it has made a certain progress, or to vary the metaphor, has taken a firm root, that the blood of martyrs can promote its growth, by watering the soil in which it is planted.

The queen regent of Scotland, who had always acted chiefly by the advice of the popish bishops, and other dignified clergy, was now addressed more boldly than before by the protestant lords, and others who favoured the reformation, in behalf of the free exercise of their religion. Mr. Erskine was one of these petitioners, but seems to have been more moderate in his demands than some of his associates. Buchanan tells us, that he expostulated with the queen regent and her council; humbly beseeching, that no harm should be done to their protestant subjects; and that, at least, they should be allowed to pray to God in their religious assemblies, in their own native language. But so far from the toleration requested, being granted, all the protestant ministers being enjoined, by public proclamation, under pain of rebellion, to appear at Stirling on the 10th day of May, 1559, then and there to be tried for their reputed heresy, and schismatical conduct; the lords, and other chief men of the protestant party, seriously consulted with one another; and it was suggested and agreed to, that "the gentlemen of each county should accompany their preachers to the place of trial." The common people also wishing to show their affection to the ministers, and to make an open confession of their faith, met in great numbers at Perth. Mr. Erskine was solicitous that the ministers should be delivered from their impending danger, and solicitous also that peace should be preserved. He proposed to the congregation, that, if they would wait at Perth a few days, he himself would go forward to Stirling, where the queen regent then was, and endeavour to give her better advice than she had received from her popish counsellors. His proposal was readily accepted; and it has also been said, that, by a private messenger, she had signified her desire of having a conference with him.

In the mean time, Knox had so far obeyed the summons in the public proclamation, and complied with the desires of his friends, as to come from Geneva to Scotland. He arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d; and after two days, went to Dundee, and from thence to Perth, determined to share the same treatment with his brethren. The arrival of a man of his bold spirit, and powerful eloquence, was a most favourable circumstance at this critical season.

Letters were brought from Mr. Erskine at Stirling, containing the agreeable intelligence that the queen regent had acceded to his advice; that the ministers were not to be tried, and therefore needed not to come forward; and that the people should be persuaded to retire peaceably to their own habitations. In consequence of this intelligence, many of the people went home, and thus nothing finally decisive of the great cause of religion happened. But it was the will of Providence, that the reformation in Scotland should be effected in a more speedy manner than by gradually gaining the assent of an opposite party.

A suspicion was conceived that Mr. Erskine, who was a man of great integrity, and therefore less apt to suspect the hypocrisy of the queen regent and her council, might possibly have been deceived by false promises. The barons and gentlemen, therefore, resolved to wait at Perth, till the 10th day of May

should be past, and then they would see more clearly what course they ought to take. On the evening of the 10th of May, Mr. Erskine arrived in haste from Stirling, with the bad news that the queen regent had changed her mind; that the ministers were denounced as rebels; and that all persons were forbidden, under pain of treason, to assist, to comfort, or receive them. He had not found it safe to continue any longer at Stirling; and added, in his conference with the chiefs, that it now behoved them wisely to consider what they should do. All blamed the queen regent for breaking her promise. The congregation and their leaders, as might well have been expected, were filled with indignation at the deceit which had been practised. They considered that to obey the injunction of having no communication with the protestant teachers, would be the same as to return to their former ignorance and superstition, and to give up the important cause in which they had long been engaged, the success of which was now demanded by the general voice of the nation.

During the civil war which now commenced, the Laird of Dun occasionally gave his assistance as a temporal baron. But, before the conclusion of it, he piously relinquished his armour, and all military achievements, by becoming a professed preacher, or minister of the gospel. He was probably urged to this choice by Knox, and other protestant ministers, who greatly needed so able an associate in their labours. In the former part of his life, he had earnestly desired to see a protestant church, and now, that it was upon the point of being obtained, he was willing to bear an office in it. His qualifications for the ministry need not be mentioned. It was known that he had already exercised his talents privately as a teacher, and his zealous endeavours in that way, had, in some instances, been blessed with remarkable success. His mildness of temper, and uprightness of conduct, his knowledge of religion, and his personal godliness, are acknowledged by all.

The civil war being ended by the death of the queen regent, which happened, June 10th, 1560, and the French troops, who had assisted her, having been sent out of the kingdom, devout thanksgivings were rendered unto God, July 19th, in the High Church of Edinburgh, by the ministers, noblemen, and other pious Protestants, who were then in that city. A parliament, or convention of the estates, was immediately held, who, at the request of the ministers, and because of the present necessity of the church, began their proceedings by appointing a committee of lords, barons, and burgesses, to distribute the few ministers whom they then had, to the places where their services were most required. The committee nominated some of them to the chief cities; and as the first book of discipline was now produced, they, agreeably to the plan proposed in that book, nominated five who should act in the capacity of ecclesiastical superintendants. Mr. Erskine was one of the five, and the district assigned him were the counties of Angus and Mearns.

The first general assembly met in December following. The num.

ber of ministers was necessarily small, when compared with that of the lay commissioners, whose aid in the beginning was most thankfully accepted. Acting as a supreme court, it ratified the nominations which had been made in the committee of parliament; and in their first session fully sanctioned Mr. Erskine in his clerical character, by declaring, in the sententious manner of those times, "that John Erskine of Dun was apt and able to minister." From this period, his usual designation was, "John Erskine of Dun, knight, superintendant of Angus and Mearns."

The appointment of these superintendants was judged to be necessary from the then infant state of the church. They were endowed with a kind of episcopal authority; were elected for life; but were responsible for their conduct to the general assembly. By their means, it was hoped that vice and idolatry would be more easily suppressed, and the parishes more quickly supplied with well qualified protestant ministers, exhorters, and schoolmasters. From the view given of the office in the first book of discipline, it appears, that the work belonging to it was exceedingly laborious. More was required from a superintendant than what any one man, without the assistance of commissaries, could perform. Hence the good men, when blamed in the assembly, for some matters which were wrong in their extensive provinces, were often under the necessity of saying, that the things complained of, they could not prevent or redress. So far from being ambitious of the honour annexed to their office, or of any pecuniary profit which they derived from it, we find Mr. Erskine, in four several Assemblies, complaining, with others, of the burden it imposed, and desiring to be freed from it.

In addition to his other honours, Mr. Erskine was at least five times moderator of the general assembly. But free from that arrogance of mind and behaviour which is sometimes ascribed to dignified clergymen, his mildness and simplicity of character and manners still remained unchanged. As superintendant of Angus and Mearns, and as having a special commission from the general assembly, he, in June, 1569, performed, what he must have reckoned a very disagreeable work, namely, the deposition from their offices of five members of King's College, Aberdeen, who still adhered to their popish principles. In justice to these men, it may be observed, that they were not charged with any thing immoral or bad in their conduct, further than being bigotted Papists. This fault unfitted them for being employed as teachers of young persons, who might have been led by their influence to favour or embrace wrong principles of religion. It was, therefore, justly esteemed, however exemplary they might have been in other respects, as in itself a sufficient ground for their deprivation.

In some of Wodrow's collections, a circumstance is mentioned, as belonging to this period in Mr. Erskine's life, on the authority of two ministers of the church, which we insert in his own words. It relates to the death of the "good regent," which happened 23d January, 1570: "The regent had been over in Lochlevin with the Earl of Northumberland, whom he had caught, after the rebellion raised by him

and by other persons in England, had been suppressed, and kept him as a prisoner in Lochleven, about the 2d of January, 1570. He came from thence, and was lodging with the superintendant of Angus in the house of Dun; where they yet show a large window at the end of the long hall, which looked out to a pleasant green. The Earl of Moray and the Laird of Dun were standing in that window, conversing closely upon important matters, with their faces looking towards the green. And while the earl was talking, the superintendant suddenly looked about to him, and, with tears in his eyes, after he had been silent for some time, at length interrupted the regent with these words: 'Ah! woes me, my lord, for what I perceive is to befall you shortly; for in a fortnight's time, you will be murdered.' Such hints of future things were not uncommon among our reformers. The regent had several other notices of his hazard, and too little regarded them."

In 1571, Mr. Erskine showed his zeal for the liberties of the Church, in a long letter which he wrote to his chief, the Earl of Mar, who was then regent of the kingdom. Both Calderwood, and Petrie, have given large extracts from it. His concluding words are: "I lament from my very heart, a great disorder used at Stirling, at the last parliament, in creating bishops, placing them, and giving them a vote in parliament as bishops, in despite of the kirk, and in high contempt of God, the kirk opposing itself against that misrule."

Several letters passed betwixt the regent and him upon this subject: at last it was agreed that he should correspond, and hold conferences with some other of the leading persons in the Church, for the purpose of bringing the government of it into a more regular form.

So entirely did he devote himself to his clerical duties, that he desisted, at least in a great measure, from acting in his capacity as a baron. Petrie relates, that "from an act under the privy signet, of date November 21st, 1574, it appears, that, so long as he had been superintendant, he had not been in the sheriff court, though he was a baron. He was indemnified for the time past, and exemption was granted to him for the time to come, during his continuance in the office of superintendant."

It was about this time that the Assembly employed commissioners for compiling what is called the Second Book of Discipline. Mr. Erskine was one of them. Each of them had a point of Church government allotted to him, as the subject of which he was to treat. Their work was carried on with great care and attention, with frequent references to the Assembly, and conferences with one another. In the Assembly, 1577, Mr. Erskine complained that the head assigned to him was, in his judgment, obscure; the Assembly therefore requested him, to confer with the other commissioners the next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, in order that his doubts might be removed. There had been disputes among the commissioners concerning three points, viz. the office and duties of lay deacons; some particulars relating to divorces; and the right of patronage. Per-

haps it was in one or other of these points that he had perceived some obscurity. But in 1579, the book was presented to the Assembly complete, and was approved. It was then, and is still considered, as containing a scriptural model, and true representation, of what should be the government of a presbyterian Church.

Mr. Erskine was not one of those persons of whom no man has spoken evil. Calderwood blames him for having, in his old age, in the year 1585, shewed too great a complaisance to some court measures, which were justly esteemed injurious to the liberties of the Church. But his words in censure of him, are a great deal too harsh. Mr. Erskine required only such a qualified submission as had been before subscribed by many excellent ministers, and which they had published for the information and satisfaction of their brethren. Petrie, when speaking of this affair, says, that he had seen among Erskine's papers a mitigated form of submission, which the king, as he expresses it, "had taken the pains to pen with his own hand," and had declared that a subscription to it would be sufficient. The principal qualifying expression in this mitigated form was, "In as far as is agreeable to the word of God."

Mr. Erskine was yet able to attend, or at least had work assigned to him, in the Assemblies which met, May, 1586, and June, 1587. In the first of these, he was appointed, with the king's consent, to visit, for a special purpose, the counties of Angus and Mearns. In the other, he and four other ministers were commissioned to make a collection of the acts of parliament which favoured the protestant religion, or tended to the abolition of popery and idolatry, with a view to their being more strictly executed; and also a collection of such other acts of parliament as were prejudicial to the privileges of a true presbyterian church, that means might be used for obtaining their repeal. He was, moreover, appointed one of the commissioners who should attend the parliament to settle some matters amicably which related to the church.

In the Assembly which met in February, 1588, he was not present. His infirmities were now increasing with his years, and he died March 12th, 1591, in the eighty-second year of his age; leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his virtues, a memory that shall never be forgotten.

He was the last of the five superintendants. No successors were appointed to them; for presbyteries or elderships, as they were then called, in proportion as they became generally erected, answered all the ecclesiastical purposes for which the superintendants had been originally chosen.

The character given of him by Queen Mary, is not to be disregarded. She had often been desired to hear protestant ministers preach, and to be present at their debates with learned men among the papists. Being in Edinburgh, May 13th, 1565, she sent for three superintendants, who happened to be then in that city, and told them, as Knox relates, "that albeit she was not persuaded of the truth of any religion, but of the one in which she had been brought up, yet she would be content to hear public preaching, out of

the mouths of such preachers as pleased her majesty. And she said, that above all others, she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, Sir John Erskine, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, and of true honesty and uprightness."

Archbishop Spottiswood, in his younger years, both before and after his father's death, had good opportunities of being personally acquainted with Mr. Erskine; I shall, therefore, add his testimony to those already given: "He was a man," says he, "famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the church, which out of the zeal which he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. Before the reformation, his house was to those who in that time were called heretics, a special place of refuge; afterwards, such was the scarcity of ministers, that he took upon him the charge, and was chosen with the first, to have the oversight of the churches in these north parts, which he governed to his death most wisely, and with great authority, giving no way to the novations introduced, nor suffering them to take place within the bounds of his charge whilst he lived. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage; who, for divers resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

PRINCIPAL ROLLOCK, for so he is usually called, was descended from the ancient family of the Livingstons. He was born about the year 1555. His father, David Rollock, sent him to Stirling, to be educated for the university, under Thomas Buchanan; where his genius, modesty, and sweetness of temper, soon procured for him the particular friendship of his master, a friendship which subsisted ever after. From this school, he went to the university of St. Andrews, where he prosecuted his studies for four years; at the end of which, his proficiency was such, that he was chosen professor of philosophy. The duties of this office he discharged with applause for other four years, until, about the year 1585, when he was invited by the magistrates of Edinburgh to a chair in the university of that place, lately founded by King James VI, and complied with their invitation, at the earnest desire of James Lawson, the successor of Knox. His reputation, as a teacher, soon drew a number of students to that college, and it was soon afterwards much enlarged. At first he had the principal weight of academical business laid upon him; but in course of time, other professors were chosen from among the scholars which he educated. After this his chief employment was to exercise the office of Principal, by superintending the several classes, observing the proficiency of the scholars, composing such differences as would arise among them, and keeping every one to his

duty. Thus was the principality of that college, in his time, a useful institution, and not what it is now, little better than a mere sinecure. Every morning, he called the students together, and prayed with them ; and one day in the week, he explained some passage of scripture to them ; in the close of which, he was frequently very warm in his exhortations. This wrought more reformation upon them than all the laws which were made, or the discipline which was exercised besides. After the lecture was over, it was his custom to reprove such as had been guilty of any misdemeanour through the week. He was likewise very attentive to such as were advanced in their studies, and intended for the ministry. His care was productive of much good to the church. He was as diligent in his own studies, as he was careful to promote those of others. Notwithstanding all this business in the university, he preached every Lord's day in the church, with such fervour and demonstration of the Spirit, as to become the instrument of converting many. About this time, he also wrote several commentaries on different portions of scripture. His exposition of the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, coming into the hands of the learned Beza, he, in a letter to a friend, declared it to be an incomparable treasure ; which for its judiciousness, brevity, and elegance of style, had few equals.

He was chosen Moderator of the Assembly held at Dundee in 1567, in which matters were transacted not altogether in favour of presbytery ; but this cannot be imputed to him ; although Calderwood, in his history, calls him " a man simple in church matters." He was one of those commissioned by the Assembly to wait on his Majesty, about seating the churches of Edinburgh ;* but in the mean time, he became ill, and was confined to his house. Afterwards, at the entreaty of his friends, he went to the country for the benefit of the air : at first he seemed as if growing better, but his distemper soon returned upon him with greater violence than before. He was now confined to bed. He committed his wife (for he had no children) to the care of his friends. He desired two noblemen who came to visit him, to go to the King, and entreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, and preserve it to the end ; and to esteem and comfort the pastors of the church ; for that the ministry of Christ, though low and base in the eyes of men, should yet at length shine with great glory. When the ministers of Edinburgh came to him, he spoke of the sincerity of his intentions in every thing he had done, in discharging the duties of the office with which he had been vested. As night drew on his disease increas

* The seating of the churches is a protestant improvement. There was little occasion for seats in them in popish times, because there was little preaching ; and the service, such as it was, required such frequent prostration, that pews would have been an incumbrance. It was a long time after the Reformation before the churches were generally seated ; and persons who found it inconvenient to stand during the sermon, took stools with them. It was one of these stools that was thrown by a woman, in the church of Edinburgh, at the head of the minister who first attempted to read prayers at her *lug*. W. M'G.

ed ; and together with it, his religious fervor was likewise augmented. When the physicians were preparing some medicines, he said, "Thou, Lord, wilt heal me;" and then began praying for the pardon of his sins through Christ ; and professed that he counted all things but loss for the knowledge of Christ. He prayed farther, that he might have the presence of God in his departure, saying, "Hitherto have I seen thee darkly, through the glass of thy word : O Lord, grant that I may have the eternal enjoyment of thy countenance, which I have so much desired and longed for." He then spoke of the resurrection and eternal life ; after which he blessed and exhorted every one present, according as their respective circumstances required.

The day following, when the magistrates of Edinburgh came to see him, he exhorted them to take care of the university, and nominated his successor. He recommended his wife to their patronage, declaring that he had not laid up one half-penny of his stipend, and therefore hoping they would provide for her ; to which request they assented, and promised to see her comfortably supplied. After this he said, "I bless God that I have all my senses entire, but my heart is in heaven ; and, Lord Jesus, why shouldst thou not have it ? It has been my care, all my life to dedicate it to thee, I pray thee, take it, -that I may live with thee for ever." Then, after a little sleep, he awakened, crying, "Come, Lord Jesus, put an end to this miserable life ; haste, Lord, and tarry not, Christ hath redeemed me, not unto a frail and momentary life, but unto a life that is eternal. Come, Lord Jesus, and give me that life to which thou hast redeemed me." Some of the people present bewailing their condition when he should be taken away, he said unto them, "I have gone through all the degrees of this life, and am come to my end, why should I go back again ; help me, O Lord, that I may go through this last degree, with thy assistance." When some told him, that the next day was the Sabbath, he said, "O Lord, shall I begin my eternal Sabbath from thy Sabbath here ?" Next morning, feeling his death approaching, he sent for Mr. Balcanquhal ; who in prayer with him, having desired that the Lord, if he pleased, would spare his life, for the good of the Church : he said, "I am weary of this life ; all my desire is, that I may enjoy the celestial life, that is hid with Christ in God." And, a little after, "Haste, Lord, and do not tarry, I am weary both of nights and days. Come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee : Break these eye-strings, and give me others. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with thee. O Lord Jesus, thrust thy hand into my body, and take my soul to thyself ! O my sweet Lord, set this soul of mine free, that she may enjoy her husband." When one of the bystanders said, "Sir, let nothing trouble you, for now your Lord makes haste," he said, "O welcome message ; would to God my funeral might be to-morrow." And thus he continued in heavenly meditation and prayer, till he resigned up his spirit to God, in the 54th year of his age, anno 1598.

His works are a Commentary on some select Psalms, on the Prophecy of Daniel, and the gospel of John, with its Harmony He

wrote also on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Galatians ; and an Analysis of the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, with respect to effectual calling.

JOHN CRAIG.

JOHN CRAIG was a man of considerable learning and singular abilities. He was born in the year 1512, and soon after lost his father in the battle of Flodden, which proved fatal to so many families in Scotland. After finishing his education at the university of St. Andrews, he went to England, and became tutor to the family of Lord Dacres ; but war having broken out between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and entered into the order of Dominican Friars. The clergy were, at the time, eagerly employed in making inquisition for Lutherans, and owing either to the circumstance of his having been in England, or to his having dropped some expressions respecting religion, which were deemed too free, he fell under the suspicion of heresy, and was thrown into prison. The accusation was found to be groundless, and he was set at liberty. But although he was still attached to the Roman Catholic religion, the ignorance and bigotry of the clergy gave him such a disgust at his native country, that he left it, in 1537, and having remained a short time in England, went to France, and from that to Italy. At the recommendation of the celebrated Cardinal Pole, he was admitted among the Dominicans in the city of Bologna, and was soon raised to an honourable employment in that body. In the library of the Inquisition, which was attached to the monastery, he found Calvin's Institutes. Being fond of books, he determined to read that work, and the consequence was, that he became a complete convert to the reformed opinions. In the warmth of his first impressions, he could not restrain himself from imparting the change of his sentiments to his associates, and he must have soon fallen a sacrifice to the vigilant guardians of the faith, had not the friendship of a father in the monastery saved him. The old man, who was also a native of Scotland, and secretly inclined to the reformed opinions, represented the danger to which he exposed himself, by avowing such tenets in that place, and advised him, if he was fixed in his views, to return immediately to some protestant country. With this prudent advice he complied so far as to procure his discharge from the monastery.

On leaving the monastery of Bologna, Craig entered as a tutor into the family of a neighbouring nobleman, who had embraced the protestant principles ; but he had not resided long in it, when he was delated for heresy, seized by the familiars of the Inquisition, and carried to Rome. After being confined nine months, in a noisome dungeon, he was brought to trial, and condemned to be burned,

along with some others, on the 20th of August, 1559. On the evening previous to their appointed execution, the reigning pontiff, Paul IV, died, and, according to an accustomed practice on such occasions, the prisons in Rome were all thrown open. Those who were confined for debt, and other civil offences, were liberated, but heretics, after being allowed to go without the walls of their prison, were again thrown into confinement. But a tumult having been excited that night in the city, Craig and his companions effected their escape, and took refuge in an inn, at a small distance from Rome. They had not been long there, when they were followed by a company of soldiers, to apprehend them. On entering the house, the captain looked stedfastly on Craig's countenance, and, taking him aside, asked him if he recollected of once relieving a poor wounded soldier, in the vicinity of Bologna. Craig was in too great confusion to remember the circumstance. "But I recollect it," replied the captain, "and I am the man whom you relieved, and providence has now put it into my power to return the kindness which you showed to a distressed stranger—you are at liberty. Your companions I must take along with me, but for your sake I will show them every favour in my power." He then gave him what money he had upon him, with directions how to make his escape.*

"Another accident," says Archbishop Spottiswood, "befel him, which I should scarcely relate, so incredible it seemeth, if to many of good place he had not often repeated it as a singular testimony of God's care of him." In the course of his journey through Italy, while he avoided the public roads, and took a circuitous route to escape from pursuit, the money which he had received from the grateful soldier failed him. Having laid himself down by the side of a wood to ruminate on his condition, he perceived a dog approaching him, with a purse in his teeth. It occurred to him, it had been sent by some evil disposed person, who was in the wood, and wished to pick a quarrel with him. He therefore endeavoured to drive it away, but the animal continuing to fawn upon him, he at last took the purse, and found in it a sum of money, which enabled him to prosecute his journey. Having reached Vienna, and announced himself as a Dominican, he was employed to preach before the Emperor Maximilian. His Majesty was so much pleased that he was desirous of retaining him; but the new Pope, Pius IV, having heard of his reception at the Austrian capital, applied to have him sent back to Rome, as a condemned heretic, upon which the Emperor dismissed him, with a safe conduct. When he arrived in England, in 1560,

* Thus we see Mr. Craig escaped; and by a series of singular interpositions of Providence, he at last got safe to his native country; where, though not an originator, he was singularly useful in helping forward the happy Reformation, of which we at this day are enjoying the benefit. Not to speak of the crown of righteousness which such a faithful servant of Christ, and a martyr in purpose, though saved from a violent death, is now honoured to wear, how nobly does he appear even in the esteem of his fellow-men, in comparison with the poor old cowardly friar, who, though convinced of the truth, was afraid to confess it, and who had not the courag: "to serve his Maker here on earth?" W. M'G.

and was informed of the establishment of the reformed religion in his own country, he immediately repaired to Scotland, and was admitted into the ministry. Having, in a great measure, forgotten his native language during an absence of twenty-four years, he, for a short time, preached in Latin to some of the learned, in Magdalene's chapel. He was afterwards appointed minister of the parish of Canongate, where he had not officiated long, till he was elected colleague to Knox.

Being thus settled minister of Edinburgh, he continued in the office many years, and met with many trials of his fortitude and fidelity. In 1564, having accompanied his illustrious colleague when brought before the council, he was called upon to give his opinion as to the question under dispute, which was the right of subjects to control their rulers, when they have been guilty of violating their oaths of office. This he did with much candour and boldness, relating the issue of a debate he had heard on the subject at Bologna. One of the courtiers having exclaimed, in reference to this, "Ye tell us what was done in Bologna; we are in a kingdom, and they are but a commonwealth," he answered, "My lord, my judgment is, that every kingdom is a commonwealth, or at least should be, albeit that every commonwealth is not a kingdom: and, therefore, I think, that in a kingdom no less diligence should be taken that laws be not violated than in a commonwealth, because the tyranny of princes, who continually reign in a kingdom, is more hurtful to the subjects than the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths." He added that the dispute to which he referred was conducted on general principles, applicable to all kingdoms and commonwealths, and the conclusion adopted was, that although laws contrary to the law of God, and to the true principles of government, had been introduced through the negligence of the people, or the tyranny of princes, yet the same people, or their posterity, had a right to demand that all things should be reformed, according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths.

In 1567, the Earl of Bothwell, having obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, preparatory to his marriage with Queen Mary, he was commanded to publish the banns of matrimony. He referred the order to the session in which he presided, and it was resolved, that intimation of the Sovereign's intention should be made on the three next days of preaching. But the next Sabbath, having declared that he had received such a command, he added, that he could not *in conscience* obey it, the marriage being altogether unlawful: and that he was ready to declare his reasons for saying so to the parties if present. He was immediately sent for by Bothwell, to whom he declared his reasons with great boldness; and the next Lord's day, he told the people what he had said before the council, and took heaven and earth to witness, that he detested that scandalous marriage; and that he had discharged his duty to his conscience, and his God. Upon this, he was again called before the council, and reprov'd, as having exceeded the bounds of his calling;

but he boldly answered, that "the bounds of his commission were the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these offered to prove the said marriage scandalous," at this, however, he was stopped, and put out of the council. Of his whole conduct in regard to the queen's marriage, he gave in a narrative and defence to the assembly of 1567, and by that of 1569, was declared to have done his duty, as a faithful minister. Thus Mr. Craig continued, not only a firm friend to the Reformation, but a bold opposer of every encroachment made on the crown and dignity of the Lord Jesus.

About the year 1571, or 1572, whilst his colleague, on account of the prevalence of the queen's party, was obliged to seek refuge at St. Andrews, Craig seems to have differed with his congregation, who found fault with him, for what they thought temporizing during that period. In consequence of this they mutually agreed to separate. After preaching two years in Montrose, he removed to Aberdeen, where he acted as visitor of the churches in Brechin and Montrose, and was afterwards chosen minister to the royal household, a situation which he held till his death.*

In 1584, an act of parliament was made, that all ministers, masters of colleges, &c. should within forty-eight hours, compare and subscribe the act of parliament, respecting the king's power over all estates spiritual and temporal, and submit themselves to the bishops, &c. Upon this, Craig and some others, were called before the council and interrogated, how he could be so bold as to controvert this act? Craig answered, that they could not but find fault with what was repugnant to God's word: at which the Earl of Arran started upon his feet, and said, that they were too pert, that he would shave their heads, pare their nails, cut their toes, and make them an example unto all who should disobey the king's command, and his council's orders; and forthwith charged them to appear before the king, at Falkland, on the 4th of September following.

Upon their appearance at Falkland, they were again accused of transgressing the foresaid act of parliament, and disobeying the bishop's injunctions; when there arose some hot speeches betwixt Craig and the bishop of St. Andrews; at which the Earl of Arran spoke again most outrageously against him, whilst he coolly replied, that there had been as great men set up higher, that had been brought low. Arran rejoined, "I shall make thee, of a false friar, a true prophet," and sitting down on his knee, he said, "Now I am humbled." "Nay," said Mr. Craig; "mock the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but shall make thee find it in earnest, when thou shall be cast down from the high horse† of thy pride, and

* When informed that his majesty had made choice of Craig, the general assembly, July, 1580, "blessed the Lord, and praised the king for his zeal."—Row's Hist. of the Kirk.

† This is a proverbial expression, in common use to this day. When we see a man elevated in his own esteem, we say, "he is on his *high-horse*;" and it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foretell his fall. The cause of Arran's death

humbled." This was fulfilled a few years after, when he was thrown off his horse with a spear, by James Douglas of Parkhead, killed, and his corpse exposed to dogs and swine before it was buried.

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

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

In 1595, Craig being quite worn out by his labours, and the infirmities of age, the king's commissioner presented some articles to the General Assembly ; in which, amongst other things, he craved, that, seeing he was awaiting the hour when God should please to call him, and was unable to serve any longer, and his Majesty designing to place John Duncanson (who it would appear was Craig's colleague at the time) with the prince, therefore, his highness desired an ordinance to be made, granting any two ministers he should choose. This was accordingly done ; and Craig died some time after, at the advanced age of 88, anno 1600.

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

DAVID BLACK.

PREVIOUS to the year 1570, the religious struggle maintained in Scotland might be said to have been in honour of Christ's prophetic

gave Mr. Craig's words the appearance of a prediction ; but it was no more than one of those coincidences which often occur in the course of providence.

cal and priestly office, against the errors and corruptions of paganism and popery. But from that period downward, it was more especially for the rights and prerogatives of his kingly office, that the zealous defenders of the faith were called upon to testify and suffer. Amongst those who stood forward in this cause, towards the end of the sixteenth century, a conspicuous place is certainly due to David Black. Of his previous history, little, at this distance of time, can now be ascertained. This, however, is of the less importance, as it is chiefly with his public conduct we have presently to do.

At the period in question, and for some time previous, he was colleague to the celebrated Andrew Melvill, as a minister of St. Andrews. He was remarkable for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of his duty, applying his doctrine closely to the corruptions of the age, whether prevailing among the highest or lowest of the people. In consequence of this, he was, in 1596, cited before the council for some expressions uttered in a sermon, alleged to strike against the king and court. But his brethren in the ministry thinking, that by such a procedure against him the spiritual government of the house of God was intended to be subverted, resolved, that he should decline answering the summons, and that, in the mean time, they should be preparing themselves to prove from the holy scriptures, that the judgment of all doctrine, in the first instance, belonged to the Church.

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

The commissioners of the General Assembly then sitting at Edinburgh, knowing that the king was displeased at this proceeding, sent some of their number to speak with his Majesty; to whom he answered, that if Mr. Black would pass from his declinature, he would pass from the summons; but this they would not consent to do. Upon this, therefore, the king caused summon Mr. Black again, on the 27th of November to a council to be held on the 30th. This

summons was given with sound of trumpet, and open proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh: and the same day, the commissioners of the Assembly were ordered to depart thence in twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion.

Before the day of Mr. Black's second appearance at the council, he prepared a still more explicit declinature, especially as it respected the king's supremacy, declaring, "that there are two jurisdictions in the realm, the one spiritual, and the other civil; the one respecting the conscience, and the other concerning external things; the one persuading by the spiritual sword, the other compelling by the temporal sword; the one spiritually procuring the edification of the Church, the other by justice procuring the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, which, being grounded in the light of nature, proceeds from God as he is Creator, and is so termed by an apostle,* but varying according to the constitution of men; the other above nature, grounded upon the grace of redemption, proceeding immediately from the gospel of Christ, the only King and only Head of his Church.† Therefore, in so far as he was one of the spiritual office-bearers, and had discharged his spiritual calling in some measure of grace and sincerity, he should not, and could not, lawfully be judged for preaching and applying the word of God, by any civil power, he being an ambassador and messenger of the Lord Jesus, having his commission from the King of kings, and all his instructions being set down and limited in the word of God, that cannot be extended or abridged by any mortal king, or emperor; and seeing he was sent to all sorts, his commission and discharge of it should not, nor cannot, be lawfully judged by them to whom he was sent, they being sheep, not pastors, and to be judged by the word of God, and not to be the judges thereof, in a judicial way."

A decree of council was forthwith passed against him; upon which his brethren of the commission directed their doctrine against the council. The king sent a message to the commissioners, signifying that he would rest satisfied with Mr. Black's simple declaration of the truth; but Mr. Bruce and the rest replied, that if the affair concerned Mr. Black alone, they should be content, but the liberty of Christ's kingdom had received such a wound by the proclamation of last Saturday, that if Mr. Black's life, and a dozen of others besides, had been taken, it had not grieved the hearts of the godly so much, and that either these things behoved to be retracted, or they would oppose so long as they had breath. But, after a long process, no mitigation of the council's severity could be obtained; for Mr. Black was charged by a macer, to enter his person in ward, on the north of the Tay, there to remain on his own expense, during his Majesty's pleasure; and though he was next year restored to his place at St Andrews, yet he was not allowed to continue; for about the month of July that same year, the king and council again proceeded against him; and he was removed to Angus, where he continued till the day of his death. He had always been a severe check on the

* 1 Pet. ii.

† Eph. i. Col. ii.

negligent and unfaithful part of the clergy, and they now had found means to get rid of him. His situation at St. Andrews was conferred on George Gladstones, minister of Arbirlot, in the shire of Angus, into whose parish Black was in his turn admitted.

After his removal thither, he continued to exercise his ministry, preaching daily to such as resorted to him, with much success, and having intimate communion with God, till the day of his death, which happened six years after.

Towards his last sickness, the Christian temper of his mind was so much improved by large measures of the Spirit, that his conversation had a remarkable effect in humbling the hearts, and comforting the souls of those who attended him, engaging them to take the yoke of Christ upon them.* He found in his own soul also, such a sensible taste of heavenly joys, that he was seized with a fervent desire to depart, and to be with the Lord; longing to have the earthly house of this his tabernacle destroyed, that he might be admitted into the mansions of everlasting rest. In the midst of these earnest breathings after God, the Lord was pleased to condescend to the importunity of his servant, giving him to know that the time of his departure was at hand. On the day, therefore, preceding his death, which happened on a Sabbath, he took a solemn farewell of his family and flock, in a discourse, as Melvill says, † that seemed to

* This affords us an opportunity to remark, that it is not only as a record of their zeal, and faithfulness, and undaunted resolution, in performing their public duties, and in testifying or suffering for the truth, in a public manner, that these memoirs of the Worthies are intended to be useful; but also as presenting signal instances, of piety and patience in the ordinary scenes of life, and under the common sufferings of humanity. It is said of an eminent English author, whose works have been generally admired as models of ease and elegance, but who, with the utmost refinement of taste, and the greatest success in the pursuits of literature, was not ashamed to profess his belief in the gospel, that when laid on his death-bed, and within a few hours of eternity, he sent for a young nobleman, his intimate friend, and taking him by the hand, said, "Come, see with what peace a Christian can die!" And surely, next to the death of the wicked, connected as it sometimes is by the most awful awakenings of conscience, nothing can be more influential, in rousing the careless, in turning the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, or confirming the believer in his most holy faith, than witnessing the last sickness, or the dying moments of a genuine and triumphant Christian. Hence the effect which, in the statement above, is ascribed to those who witnessed this eminent saint in his conflict with the King of terrors. These persons, we will readily allow, were highly privileged. To have looked on his countenance, glowing with celestial rapture; to have listened to his words, telling of heavenly joys and eternal rest; must, one would think, have been a cure for infidelity. Now, in so far as the actual beholding of the scene is concerned, the benefit resulting from it can never be ours. If we credit, however, the details of history, and are at due pains to ponder, and realize them, a similar effect may be produced in our minds; and by perceiving with the eye of fancy, the scene which they describe, we may learn not only with what peace, but with *what triumph*, a Christian may die.

† *Mira et vero relatio de Davidis Black transmigrations in celestem patriam.*

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G

he spoken out of heaven, concerning the misery and grief of this life, and the inconceivable glory which is above.

The night following, after supper, having read and prayed in his family with unusual continuance, strong crying, and fervent supplication, he went to bed, and slept for some time. The next day being appointed for the celebration of the Lord's supper, he went to church; and having brought the communion service near a close, he felt the approaches of death, and all discovering a sudden change in his countenance, some ran to support him; but pressing to be at his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, in the very act of adoration, as in a transport of joy, he was taken away, with scarcely any appearance of pain. Thus this holy man, who had so faithfully maintained the interest of Christ upon earth, breathed forth his soul in this extraordinary manner, that it seemed rather like a translation than a real death. There can be little doubt, that the immediate cause of his death was apoplexy. His death must have happened in the year 1605; and from the universal estimation in which he was held, both by his parishioners and the public, he must have descended to the grave, followed by the regrets of many a pious and affectionate heart.

JOHN DAVIDSON

JOHN DAVIDSON, afterwards minister of Libberton and of Preston pans, was a native of Dumfermline, and was enrolled as a student of St. Leonard's college in the university of St. Andrews, from 1567 to 1570. He was a man of great zeal and boldness in favour of the reformed interests, and began very early to discover uncommon piety and faithfulness in the discharge of his duty. When the regent Morton, in 1573, obtained an order of the privy council for uniting two, three, and even four parishes, an order which, as it sanctioned one of the worst abuses in the popish church, gave great dissatisfaction, Davidson, then a regent in St. Leonard's college, wrote a poem, exposing its object in the strongest terms. The poem being printed without his knowledge, he was summoned to a justice-air at Haddington, and a sentence of imprisonment pronounced against him. He was, however, liberated upon bail, in the hopes that he might be prevailed on to retract what he had written, or that his brethren might be induced to condemn it. Interest was made for him by some of the principal gentlemen of the country, but his prosecutor remained inflexible, so that finding nothing less than a recantation would save him from punishment, he, after lurking for a while in the west of Scotland, retired into England, whence he was not permitted to return during the regent's life time.

He was afterwards involved in the sufferings brought upon

several ministers in consequence of the Raid of Ruthven,* in 1582 and the enterprize at Stirling† in 1584.

Being then minister of Libberton, he was appointed by the presbytery of Edinburgh, to excommunicate Montgomery for reviving his claims to the archbishopric of Glasgow, after having solemnly renounced them in the preceding General Assembly. This appointment he executed with a boldness which not a little surprised the court faction. He afterwards made one of the commission sent by the Assembly to remonstrate with the king at Stirling, on the late unjustifiable measures in favour of Montgomery, and here again displayed his faithfulness by his admonitions to the court. In consequence of the acts passed in May, 1584, giving the king all power in causes both civil and ecclesiastical, and the violent procedure against several of his brethren which immediately followed, he was compelled to fly into England, where he remained a considerable time.

Being returned to Scotland, he, in 1590, signalized himself by his letter in answer to Dr. Bancroft's infamous attack on the Church of Scotland. In 1596, a year memorable in the history of the Church, he, being now minister of Prestonpans, was very active and successful in bringing forward the overture for a general reformation; and when, as a preparatory step to its being carried into effect, the ministers and other commissioners of the General Assembly, met in the Little church of Edinburgh, for confession and prayer, to the number of about four hundred ministers, besides elders and private Christians, Mr. Davidson was chosen to preside amongst them. Having caused the 33d and 34th chapters of Ezekiel to be read, and discoursed upon them in a very affecting manner, he shewed what was the end of their meeting, in confessing sin, and re-

* Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, had made a simoniacal purchase of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, from the earl of Lennox, for which he was to give him £500 sterling of yearly rent. Accordingly, on March, 1582, he came to Glasgow, with a number of soldiers, and pulled the minister in the pulpit by the sleeve, saying, "Come down Sirrah." The minister replied "He was placed there by the Kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themselves without order." Much confusion and bloodshed ensued in the town. The presbytery of Stirling suspended Montgomery; in which the General Assembly supported them. Lennox obtained a commission from the King to try and bring the offenders to justice. Before that commission court met, the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, the Master of Oliphant, young Lochleven, &c. carried the King to Ruthven castle, and there supplicated him to revoke his commission to Lennox. This he did, and ordered him to leave the country; which, after some delays, he did, retiring to Berwick. Afterwards the persons concerned in the affair at Ruthven, were charged to leave the realm upon pain of corporal punishment; because the Council had adjudged it to be treason against the King and government.

† The noblemen concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, assembled an army at Stirling, and took the castle, and from thence sent a supplication to the King to redress their grievances. In the mean time the Earl of Gowrie, lingering about Dundee, was apprehended, and committed to prison; which discouraged the party so much, that they fled in the night, and got to Berwick. The captain of the castle and three others were hanged. Gowrie was likewise executed on the 2d May, 1584.

solving to forsake it, and that they should turn to the Lord, and enter into a new league and covenant with him, that so, by repentance, they might be the more meet to stir up others to the same duty. In this he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with quite another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them to these duties, the whole assembly melted into tears before him.

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

In the General Assembly held at Dundee, 1598, where the king was present, and when it was proposed, Whether ministers should vote in parliament in the name of the Church, Davidson displayed his wonted boldness. He entreated them not to be rash in concluding so weighty a matter, he said, "Brethren, you see not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." Being desired to give his vote, he refused: and protested in his own name, and in the name of those who should adhere to him, and requested that his protest should be inserted in the books of Assembly. Here the king interposed, and said, "That shall not be granted; see if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, Sir," said Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." And then presented his protestation in writing; which was handed from one to another, till it was laid down before the clerk. The king taking it up, and reading it, shewed it to the moderator and others about, and at last put it in his pocket.* This protest and letter, however, was the occasion of farther trouble to him. For, in May following, he was charged to compear before the council on the 26th, and answer for the same, and was by order of the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but, on account of bodily infirmity, this place of confinement was changed to his own dwelling house; after which he obtained liberty to exercise his office in his own parish. Afterwards, in 1603, when the king was on his way to England, as he was passing through Prestonpans, the laird of Ormiston entreated him to relieve Davidson from his confinement to the bounds of his own parish: but this could not be obtained, and he died in the course of the following year.

He was undoubtedly a man of warm and sincere piety, of great boldness and honesty, and possessed no small share of learning for his time. The exertions which he made during his incumbency at Preston to provide for the religious and literary instruction of that parish, entitle him to the most grateful remembrance. At his own expense he built a church and a manse, a school house and dwelling

* See this protest, and a letter sent by him to the Assembly of 1601, in Calderwood, pp. 420 and 450.

house for the master. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, and to its support he destined all his heritable and moveable property. The bodily distress under which he had laboured during the last years of his life was, in no small degree, aggravated by the persecution of government, a persecution which might be said to have been directed against his writings after death. His character has been, it is probable, in some degree misrepresented both by enemies and friends. The calumnies of Spottiswood, in his history, may be justly traced to personal animosity. On the other hand, the prophetic character ascribed to him seems to depend on facts which are either extravagant and incorrect, or may be accounted for as the mere results of his penetration and sagacity.

ANDREW MELVILL.

PERHAPS the most illustrious name which occurs in the history of the reformation in Scotland, after the time of Knox, is that of Andrew Melvill. He was the youngest son of Richard Melvill, proprietor of the state of Baldovy near Montrose. He was born on the 1st of August 1545. When only two years old he was deprived of both his parents, and committed, an orphan, to the care of his elder brother. By his care, and that of his excellent wife, the loss of his parents was in a great measure made up to him. Perceiving in him a taste and capacity for learning, his brother resolved to give him the best education that the country afforded. He accordingly placed him at the grammar school of Montrose, then taught by Thomas Anderson, and to him it may be presumed he was indebted for instruction in religion as well as in secular learning. But he had a more able instructor in his pious and intelligent brother, who had for many years been a convert to the protestant faith.— In the year 1559 he went to the university of St. Andrews, and entered the college of St. Mary, where his great advancement, especially in Greek learning, excited the astonishment of ever his teachers. And having finished the usual course of study, he left it with the character of “the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land.”

Having thus acquired eminence by his learning at home, he resolved to complete his education on the continent. In 1564 he set out for France: and after a protracted voyage being landed at Dieppe, he went to Paris and commenced his studies in its renowned university, an institution which was then in its most flourishing state, and sustained in its celebrity by the most distinguished professors. From thence, after remaining for about two years, he went to that of Poitiers, with the view of studying civil law; and such was the reputation he had already gained, that, though a stranger and only twenty one years of age, he was on his arrival there appointed

a regent in the College of St. Marceon. In this situation he continued three years, and having during the siege of the town in 1568 entered into the family of a counsellor of Parliament as tutor to his son, he met with an incident to which he never after could allude but with tears. Coming into his room one day he found his pupil, a very promising boy, bathed in blood and mortally wounded, by a canon ball from the camp of the besiegers, which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, employing such knowledge of religion as he possessed in comforting his afflicted parent, and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing in Greek, these affecting words, "Master, I have finished my course."

From Poitiers, he now retired to Geneva, and there spent a considerable time in prosecuting his studies, and in cultivating the acquaintance of the many learned and distinguished men of which it was the resort. After passing through various dangers which threatened him, on account of his attachment to the reformed opinions, he returned to Scotland in July 1574, having been absent from his native country for nearly ten years. Upon his return, the learned Beza, in a letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, said, "That the greatest token of affection the kirk of Geneva could show to Scotland, was, that they had suffered themselves to be deprived of Mr. Andrew Melvill."

Soon after, the Assembly appointed him to be Principal of the college of Glasgow, where he continued for some years. In 1576, the Earl of Morton being then Regent, and thinking to bring Melvill over to his party, who were endeavouring to introduce Episcopacy, offered him the parsonage of Govan, a benefice of twenty-four chalders of grain yearly, besides what he enjoyed as Principal, provided he would not insist against the establishment of bishops; but Melvill rejected his offer with scorn.

He was afterwards translated to St. Andrews, where he served in the same situation he had held at Glasgow, and was likewise a minister of that city. Here he taught the divinity class; and, as a minister, continued to testify against the encroachments then making upon the rights of the Church.

When the Assembly sat down at Ediuburgh, in 1582, Melvill inveighed against the absolute authority which was making its way into the church; whereby, he said, they intended to pull the crown from Christ's head, and wrest the sceptre out of his hand; and when several articles, of the same tenor with his speech, were presented by the commission of the Assembly to the King and Council craving redress, the Earl of Arran cried out, "Is there any here that dare subscribe these articles?" Upon which Melvill went forward and said, "We dare, and will render our lives in the cause;" and then took up the pen and subscribed.

We do not find that at this time any disagreeable consequences ensued from his intrepidity. But in the beginning of February 1584, he was summoned to appear before the Privy council, on the 17th of that month, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches said to have been uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which

had been kept during the preceding month. At his first compearance, he made a verbal defence ; but being again called, he gave in a declaration, with a declinature, importing, that he had said nothing, either in that or any other sermon, tending to dishonour the King ; but had regularly prayed for the preservation and prosperity of his Majesty : That, as by acts of parliament and laws of the Church, he should be tried for his doctrine by the Church, he therefore protested for, and craved a trial by them ; and particularly in the place, St. Andrews, where the offence was alleged to have been committed : That as there were special laws in favour of St. Andrews, to the above import, he particularly claimed the privilege of them. He farther protested, that what he had said was warranted by the word of God, that he appealed to the congregation who heard the sermon ; and that he craved to know his accusers ; that, if the calumny was found to be false, the informers might be punished, &c. After which he gave an account of the sermon in question ; alleging that his meaning had been misunderstood, and his words perverted.

Upon hearing this defence, the King and the Earl of Arran, who was then chancellor, raged exceedingly. Melvill however remained undisquieted ; and replied, that they were too bold, in a constituted Christian kirk, to pass by its teachers, and to take upon them to judge the doctrine, and control the administrations of the servants of a King and council greater than themselves. “ And that you may see your rashness, in taking upon you that which you neither ought nor can do, (taking out a small Hebrew Bible, and laying it down before them,) there are,” said he, “ my instructions and warrant,—see if any of you can show me, that I have passed my injunctions.” The Chancellor, opening the book, put it into the King’s hand, saying, “ Sire, he scorns your Majesty and the Council.” “ Nay,” said Melvill, “ I scorn not, but I am in good earnest.” He was, during the time of this debate, frequently removed, but instantly recalled, that he might not have time to consult with his friends. They at last proceeded against him, and admitted his avowed enemies to prove the accusation. Though the whole train of evidence which was led, proved little or nothing against him, yet they resolved to involve him in troubles, because he had declined their authority, as incompetent judges of doctrine, and therefore remitted him to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, during the King’s pleasure.

Being informed, that if he entered into ward he would not be released, unless it should be to the scaffold, that the decree of the Council was altered, and Blackness was appointed for his prison, which was kept by a dependant of the Earl of Arran, he resolved to leave the country. A macer gave him a charge to enter Blackness in twenty-four hours ; and, in the meanwhile, some of Arran’s horsemen were attending at the west-port to convoy him thither : but, by the time he should have entered Blackness, he had reached Berwick. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed earnestly for him in public, and gave him the good character he deserved, which both moved the people, and galled the Court exceedingly.

After a banishment of twenty months, which he spent in London, he returned to Scotland in 1585, and having assisted in reorganizing the college of Glasgow, he in 1586 resumed his place at St. Andrews. Here the Synod of Fife, which met in April, having proceeded to excommunicate Archbishop Adamson for his attempts at overturning the Presbyterian government of the Church, and introducing Episcopacy, Melvill, and also his nephew who had preached the sermon, were in their turn excommunicated by him. This difference with the Archbishop brought them again before the King and Council, who, pretending that there was no other method to end the quarrel, ordained Andrew the uncle to be confined to the counties beyond the Tay, under pretence that he might be useful in that quarter in reclaiming Papists, whilst James the nephew, because of his sickly condition, was sent back to the new college. Shortly after, however, the university having sent the Dean of Faculty and the Masters, with a supplication to the King in Melvill's behalf, he was suffered to return; but was not restored to his place and office until the month of August following.

The next winter, he laboured to give the students in divinity, under his care, a thorough knowledge of the discipline and government of the Church; which was attended with considerable success. The specious arguments of Episcopacy vanished, and the serious part, both of the town and university, repaired to the college to hear him.

After this he was chosen Moderator in some subsequent assemblies of the Church; in which several acts were made in favour of religion, as maintained in that period.

When the King brought home his Queen from Denmark, in 1590, Melvill made an excellent oration upon the occasion, in Latin; which so pleased the King, that he publicly declared he had therein both honoured him and his country, and that he should never be forgotten; yet such was the instability of this prince, that, in a little after this, because Melvill opposed his arbitrary measures in grasping after an absolute authority over the church,* he conceived a hatred against him which lasted ever after.

In the year 1590 he was elected Rector of the university of St. Andrews, and in that office oftener than once displayed his prudence and intrepidity. He also acted in the capacity of ruling elder in that town, and was very active and successful in the plantation of vacant parishes within the bounds of the Presbytery of which he was a member.

In 1594 the General Assembly testified their sense of his important public services in favour of the Church, by placing him for the

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

second time on the Moderator's chair. Shortly after, he appeared for the Church before the Lords of Articles, reasoning powerfully for the forfeiture of the Popish Lords, and still farther, along with his nephew and two other ministers, he accompanied his Majesty, at his express request, in his expedition against them, and contributed not a little to its success.

In the course of the year 1595 he was involved in some degree of trouble through his friendship for David Black, in reference to the processes against that individual detailed in his life.

In the same year he went, with some other ministers, to the Convention of Estates which met at Falkland, to consider the offers of the excommunicated lords who were then in exile, and though he had a commission from last Assembly, to watch against every danger that might threaten the Church, yet, whenever he appeared at the head of the ministers, the King asked him, Who sent for him there? To which he resolutely answered, "Sire, I have a call to come here from Christ and his Church, who have a special concern in what you are doing here, and in direct opposition to whom ye are all here assembled; but, be ye assured, that no counsel taken against him shall prosper; and I charge you, Sire, in his name, that you, and your Estates here convened, favour not God's enemies, whom he hateth;"—After he had said this, turning himself to the rest of the members, he told them, that they were assembled with a traitorous design against Christ, the Church, and their native country. In the midst of this speech, he was commanded by the King to withdraw, upon which he retired thanking God for having enjoyed the opportunity of exonerating his conscience.

The Commission of the General Assembly now met at Cupar in Fife, and understanding how matters were going on at the Convention, they sent some of their members, of whom Melvill was one, to expostulate with the King. When they came, he received them in his closet. James Melvill, being first in the commission, told the King his errand; upon which his Majesty appeared angry, and charged them with sedition. James, being a man of cool passion and genteel behaviour, began to answer the King with great reverence and respect: but Andrew, interrupting him, said, "This is not a time to flatter, but to speak plainly, for our commission is from the living God, to whom the King is subject;" and then, approaching the King, said, "Sire, we will always humbly reverence your Majesty in public, but having opportunity of being with your Majesty in private, we must discharge our duty, or else be enemies to Christ: And now, Sire, I must tell you, that there are two kingdoms, the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church, whose subject King James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they whom Christ hath called, and commanded to watch over his Church, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power from him so to do, which no Christian King nor Prince should control or discharge, but assist and support, otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. And, Sire, when you was in your swaddling clothes, Christ

reigned freely in this land ; in spite of all His enemies, His officers and ministers were convened for ruling His Church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction. And will you now challenge Christ's servants, your best and most faithful subjects, for convening together, and for the care they have of their duty to Christ and you? The wisdom of your Council is, that you may be served with all sorts of men, that you may come to your purpose, and because the ministers and protestants of Scotland are strong, they must be weakened and brought low, by stirring up a party against them : but, Sire, this is not the wisdom of God, and his curse must light upon it ; whereas, in cleaving to God, His servants shall be your true friends, and He shall compel the rest to serve you." It is not difficult to conjecture how this discourse was relished by the King ; however, he kept his temper, and promised fair things to them for the present ; but it was the word of him whose standard maxim was, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, " he who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign." In this sentiment, unworthy of the meanest among men, the King gloried, and made it his constant rule of conduct ; for in the Assembly at Dundee, in 1598, Melvill being present, he discharged him from the Assembly, and would not suffer business to go on till he was removed.

There are other instances of the magnanimity of this faithful witness of Christ, which are worthy of notice. In 1606, he and seven of his brethren, who stood most in the way of having prelacy advanced in Scotland, were called to London, under pretence of having a hearing granted them by the King, on the subject of religion, but rather to be kept out of the way, as the event afterwards proved, until Episcopacy should be better established in this kingdom. Soon after their arrival, they were examined by the King and Council, at Hampton Court, on the 20th of September, concerning the lawfulness of the Assembly at Aberdeen in 1604. The King, in particular, asked Melvill, whether a few clergy, meeting without Moderator or Clerk, could make an Assembly? He replied, there was no number limited by law ; that fewness of number was no argument against the legality of the court ; especially when the promise was, in God's word, given to two or three convened in the name of Christ ; and that the meeting was ordinary, established by his Majesty's laws. The rest of the ministers delivered themselves to the same purpose ; after which Melvill, with his usual freedom of speech, supported the conduct of his brethren at Aberdeen ; recounted the wrongs done them at Linlithgow, whereof he was witness himself : blamed the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was then present, for so favouring Popery, and maltreating the ministers, that even the Accuser of the brethren could not have done more against the saints of God than had been done ; affirmed that the prelatists were encouraged, though some of them were promoting the interests of Popery with all their might ; and that the faithful servants of Christ were shut up in prison : and then addressing the Advocate personally, he added, " Still you think all this is

not enough, but continue to persecute the brethren with the same spirit you did in Scotland." After some conversation betwixt the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, they were dismissed, with the applause of many present, for their bold and steady defence of the cause of God and truth; for they had been much misrepresented to the English. They had scarcely retired from before the King, however, till they received a charge not to return to Scotland, nor come near the King's, Queen's, or Prince's Court, without special license, and being called for. A few days after, they were again called to Court, and examined before a select number of the Scots nobility; where, after his nephew's examination,* Melvill being called, told them plainly, "That they knew not what they were doing; they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lives and lands for the freedom of that country, and that gospel which they were now betraying and overturning." But night drawing on, they were dismissed.

A few days after this, they were required by a message from his Majesty, to be in the Royal chapel next day, being the festival of St. Michael, to which of course they yielded obedience. On entering the chapel, James Melvill whispered to his uncle that he suspected a design to entrap them and to put their patience to the test. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. The King and Queen approached it, and with great ceremony presented their offerings. Upon this solemnity Melvill wrote an Epigram† for which he was called before the Council. He accordingly with his accustomed boldness compeared, avowed the verses, and declared, "He was much moved with indignation at such vanity and superstition in a Christian Church, under a Christian King, born and brought up under the pure light of the gospel, and especially before idolators, to confirm them in idolatry, and grieve the hearts of true professors." The Bishop of Canterbury began to speak, but Melvill charged him with breach of the Lord's day, with imprisoning, silencing, and bearing down of faithful ministers, and with upholding Antichristian hierarchy and Popish ceremonies; and, shaking the white sleeves of his rochet, he called them Romish rags; told him, that he was an avowed enemy to all the reformed Churches in Europe; and therefore he (Melvill) would profess himself an enemy to him in all such proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of his blood; and that he was grieved to the heart to see such a man have the King's ear, and sit so high in that honourable Council. He also

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

† The Epigram is as follows :

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

charged Bishop Barlow with having declared, after the conference at Hampton Court, that the King had said, he was in the Church of Scotland, but not of it: and wondered that he was suffered to go unpunished, for thus making the King of no religion. He then proceeded to refute his sermon, which he had lately preached before the King, and was at last removed; an order being given to Dr. Overwall, Dean of St. Paul's, to receive him into his house, and not to let any have access to him, till his Majesty's pleasure was signified. Next year he was ordered from the Dean's house to the Bishop of Winchester's, where, not being so strictly guarded, he sometimes kept company with his brethren: but was at last committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for four years.

While he was in the Tower, a gentleman of his acquaintance got access to him, and found him very pensive and melancholy on account of the prevailing defections among many of the ministers in Scotland; and, having lately been informed of their proceedings at the General Assembly held at Glasgow, in 1610, where the Earl of Dunbar had an active hand in corrupting many of them with money, the gentleman desired to know what word he had to send to his native country? At first he received no answer, but upon a second inquiry, was told, "I have no word to send, but am heavily grieved, that the glorious government of the Church of Scotland should be so defaced, and a Popish tyrannical one set up; and thou, Manderston, (for out of that family Dunbar had sprung,) hadst thou no other thing to do, but to carry the commissions down to Scotland, whereby the poor Church is wrecked! The Lord shall be avenged on thee; thou shalt never have leave to set thy foot in that kingdom again!" These last words impressed the gentleman so much, that he desired some who attended the Court, to get some business, which was managing through Dunbar's interest, expedited without delay, being persuaded that they would not fall to the ground. This accordingly was the case, for the Earl died at Whitehall a short time after, while he was building an elegant house at Berwick, and making grand preparations for his daughter's marriage to Lord Walden.

The injustice of Melvill's imprisonment was heightened by the unnecessary severity with which he was treated. The indulgence of having a servant confined with him, was withdrawn; and the use of paper, pen, and ink denied him. But his spirit yet remained unbroken, and he even found means of expressing the sense he entertained of his unmerited sufferings, by covering the walls of his apartment with beautiful verses, inscribed upon it with the tongue of his shoe buckle. After ten months passed in this state, his confinement was rendered less severe. Meantime about the end of 1607, the protestants of Rochelle attempted to obtain him to their college, as Professor of Divinity. The negotiation, however, ultimately failed: and at the instance of his friends, he, sometime after this, addressed the King, and also the Privy Council, on the subject of his release, but without effect.

In 1610, an application to the King was made by the Duke of Bouillon, requesting that he might be liberated, and allowed to come as a professor to his University at Sedan in France. This application, after some opposition from the French Queen regent, proved ultimately successful, and in February, 1611, after four years' confinement, Melvill was, by the interest of the Duke, released on condition ~~that~~ he would comply with his invitation. Meantime, however, his health, which had hitherto continued good, began at last to suffer from confinement, and he was seized with a fever. He was in consequence permitted to leave the Tower, that he might enjoy the free air for a few days, within ten miles of London. During this interval, another unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain him liberty to return to Scotland. And having recovered, he in compliance with the Duke's request, sailed for France, where, arrived at Sedan, he continued for the rest of his life enjoying that calm repose denied him in his own country, but maintaining his usual constancy and faithfulness in the service of Christ, which he had done through the whole of his previous history.

About the year 1620 his health began greatly to decline, and it is probable that the distempers, with which he had been occasionally visited ever since he left the Tower, now became more frequent in their attacks, and gradually wasted his constitution. He died at Sedan in the course of the year 1622, at the advanced age of seventy-seven.

It is not necessary to say much by way of drawing his character. The facts recorded in the preceding memoir, speak for themselves. It will readily be observed, that a high degree of fortitude and boldness appeared in all his actions. Where the honour of his Lord and Master was concerned, the fear of man made no part of his character. He is by Spottiswood styled the Principal Agent, or Apostle of the Presbyterians in Scotland.* He did indeed assert the rights of Presbytery to the utmost of his power against Diocesan Episcopacy. He possessed great presence and vigour of mind, and was superior to all the arts of flattery that were sometimes tried with him. He was once blamed as being too fiery in his temper, and replied, "If you see my fire go downward, set your foot upon it; but if it goes upward, let it go to its own place." "Next to her Reformer," (Knox) says his eloquent Biographer, "who under God emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as Andrew Melvill."†

* Spottiswood does not ascribe any thing of the form of Presbyterian church government to Knox, because they admitted of Superintendants in his time, which he thinks was Episcopacy, but says, That Andrew Melvill brought this innovation (as he is pleased to call it) from Geneva, about the year 1575. Hist. p. 275.

† Dr. M'Crie's life of Andrew Melvill, to which, for many interesting particulars of his life, and of his time, the reader is referred. W. M'G.

WILLIAM ROW.

WILLIAM ROW was a son of John Row, minister at Perth, one of the early reformers, who gave him a very liberal education under his own eye. His name is omitted in the parish register, but he must have been born in the year 1563. His first, and, according to some writers, his only ecclesiastical appointment, was to the parish of Forgandenny, in the presbytery of Perth, in which, about the year 1590, he succeeded a person of the same name with his father, and most probably a relation of the family. According to others, he was settled minister at Strathmiglo, in Fife, about the year 1600, and continued there for several years. His character and history are not a little interesting and curious.

He was one of those ministers who refused to give public thanks for the king's deliverance from his danger in Gowrie's conspiracy, until the truth of that conspiracy should be made to appear. This refusal brought upon him the king's displeasure, and he was summoned to appear before the court and council at Stirling, soon after. On the day appointed for his compearance, two noblemen were sent, the one before the other, to meet him on the way, and, under pretence of friendship, to say, that the council had a design upon his life, that so he might be prevailed on to decline appearing. The first met him near his own house, the second a few miles from Stirling; but Mr. Row told them, that he would not, by disobedience to the summons, make himself justly liable to the pains of law; and proceeded to Stirling, to the no small amazement of the king and his court. When challenged for disbelieving the truth of the conspiracy, he told them, as one reason of his hesitation, that one Henderson, who was said to have confessed that Gowrie hired him to kill the king, and to have been found armed in his Majesty's chamber for that purpose, was not only suffered to live, but rewarded: "Whereas," said he, "if I had seen the king's life in hazard, and not ventured my life to rescue him, I think I deserved not to live."

The two following anecdotes will show with what uncommon courage and resolution he defended the liberties of the Church.

Being at Edinburgh, previous to an Assembly there, at which the king wanted to bring in some innovation, and meeting with James Melvill, who was sent for by the king, he accompanied him to Holyroodhouse. While Melvill was with the king, he stood behind a screen, and not getting an opportunity to go out with his brother undiscovered, he overheard the king say to some of his courtiers, "This is a good simple man, I have stroked cream on his mouth, and he will procure me a good number of voters, I warrant you!" This said, Mr. Row got off; and overtaking Melvill, asked him, what had passed? Melvill told him all; and said, "The king is well disposed to the Church, and intends to do her good by all his schemes." Row replied, "The king looks upon you as a fool and a knave; and

wants to use you as a coy-duck to draw in others;" and then told him what he had overheard. Melvill suspecting the truth of his report, he offered to go with him, and avouch it to the king's face. Accordingly, they went back to the palace, when Melvill seeing him as forward to go in as he was to offer, believed his report, and stopped him: and next day, when the Assembly proceeded to voting, Melvill having voted against what the king proposed, his Majesty would not believe that such was his vote, till he, being asked again, repeated it.

Again in 1607, he being to open the synod of Perth, to which the king despatched Lord Scone, captain of his guards, to force them to accept a constant moderator, he was told by his Lordship, that if, in his preaching, he uttered ought against *constant moderators*, he should cause ten or twelve of his guards to discharge their culverins at his nose; and accordingly when he attended the sermon introductory to the synod, he stood up in a menacing posture as if to overawe the preacher. But Row, no way dismayed, knowing what vices Scone was chargeable with, particularly that he was a great glutton, drew his picture so to the life, and condemned what was culpable in it with so much severity, that he felt constrained to sit down, and even to cover his face. Afterwards Row proceeded to prove, that no constant moderator should be suffered in the church; but knowing that Scone understood neither Latin nor Greek, he wisely avoided designating the office in English, but always in Greek or Latin. Sermon being ended, Scone said to some of the nobles attending him, "You see I have scared the preacher from meddling with the constant moderator; but I wonder whom he spoke so much against by the name of *præstes ad vitam*." They told him, that it was the Latin for constant moderator, which so incensed him, that when Row proceeded to constitute the synod in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, he said, "The devil a Jesus is here:" and when calling over the roll to choose their moderator after the ancient form, Scone would have pulled it from him, but he being a strong man, held him off with one hand, and holding the synod-roll in the other, went through the list of members.

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

He was subjected to several other hardships during the remainder of his life, but still maintained that steady courage and fidelity in the discharge of his duty, which is exemplified in the above instances, until the day of his death.

In 1624, by the favour of Alexander Lindsay, bishop of Dunkeld,

and minister of St. Madoes, in the presbytery of Perth, the patron of Forgandenny, he obtained the satisfaction of having his son William ordained his assistant and successor in that parish.

This bishop was an humble and moderate man. He was well acquainted with Row, from the time they had been companions at college, and highly esteemed him for his good qualities, though they now differed in their opinions of church government. He was doing him a kindness with regard to his son, but yet was willing that he should take his own way as far as possible, in acting up to his character as a zealous presbyterian.

The following characteristic anecdote, in reference to this event, is according to what we find in Row's own manuscript. Lindsay said to him, "Mr. William, I do not come to this meeting as a bishop, but as your co-presbyter; and I promise you I shall not ask your son any other questions than those which are contained in the Psalm-Book," that is, in the old form of admission, which together with other forms and prayers, were prefixed to the metrical version of the Psalms. Row was fully sensible of his friendship, but was glad notwithstanding for the safety of his conscience, to employ the latitude of speech which he knew was granted him. He would not give to the bishop the title of "My Lord." And when they went to dinner, to which the bishop came uninvited, he still, in the exact manner of the times, shewed the behaviour of a rigid presbyterian. "Mr. Alexander," said he, "you know you and I were co-disciples at college, and Mr. John Malcolm, now minister of Perth, was our master; it is therefore fit that your master should sit at table above you." "It is exceedingly right," said the bishop; and, with a great deal of good humour, he gave place to Mr. Malcolm. Indeed, Lindsay, who was laird of Evelick, in the Carse of Gowrie, was, in the last years of his life, a conformist to presbytery.

Row died in the beginning of October, 1634. William, his son and successor, distinguished himself in the time of the civil wars, as a zealous covenanter, and attended the Scots army into England, as one of its chaplains. He died in 1660. If he had lived till the re-establishment of episcopacy, in 1661, he would have been *deprived, for non-conformity.*



PATRICK SIMPSON.

PATRICK SIMPSON was the son of Andrew Simpson, Minister of Dunbar, one of the first in the Church of Scotland who resolutely set themselves against popery, and one under whom were educated some of the most illustrious individuals, both of the clergy and laity, in the age which succeeded him. He was also one of five brothers, who, after the example of their worthy father, devoted themselves to the Church, and were more or less distinguished as the zeal

assertors of her purity and rights. After having finished his academical course, he spent a considerable time in retirement, which he employed in reading the Greek and Latin classics, the ancient Christian fathers, and the history of the primitive Church. Being blamed by one of his friends, for wasting so much time in the study of Pagan writers, he replied, that he intended to adorn the house of God with these Egyptian jewels.*

He was first ordained minister of Cramond, but was afterwards transported to Stirling, where he continued till his death. He was a faithful contender against the lordly encroachments of Prelacy. In 1564, when there was an express charge given by the King to the ministers, either to acknowledge Adamson as Archbishop of St. Andrews, or to lose their benefices, Simpson opposed the order with all his power, although Adamson was his uncle by the mother's side and when some of his brethren seemed willing to acquiesce in the King's mandate, and subscribe their submission, "so far as it was agreeable to the word of God," he rebuked them sharply, saying, it would be no salvo to their consciences, seeing it was altogether absurd to subscribe an agreement with any human invention, when it was condemned by the word of God. A bishopric was offered him by the King, and a yearly pension besides, in order to bring him over to his designs, but he positively refused both,† saying, he regarded that preferment and profit as a bribe to enslave his con-

* This answer is worthy of being noted, not merely on account of the smartness and point with which it is expressed, but also as implying in it a doctrine of the very highest practical importance, namely, *the utility*, and consequently to a certain degree, *the necessity* of learning, towards the right fulfilment of the ministerial office. We mean not to enter at large into this topic; indeed our present bounds will not allow us. We cannot fail to remark, however, that the contrary opinion has almost invariably been held by those who, from their own want of education, were least capable of estimating its benefits. Those who, like Mr. Simpson, have cultivated with success, the literature of Greece and Rome, will in general, like him, be found ready to acknowledge its importance, to the public teacher of Christianity. That piety is still *more* necessary we frankly admit, but that the greatest degree of piety may be illustrated, adorned, and even recommended, by a proper attention to the dictates of taste, must also be obvious to every one in the least acquainted with human nature, or in the least experienced in human life.

† This was a noble instance of his devotedness to principle. And with this and many similar facts staring them in the face, it is truly astonishing to think of the wantonness and perversity of some writers, in charging our Worthies with the most selfish and worldly motives. Even the highest proof of a man's sincerity, his death, has by such persons not unfrequently been ascribed, to a feeling of vain glory. To *them*, it is quite inconceivable, that a man from a regard to certain religious tenets, should suffer the pains of martyrdom. This is a feat of virtue to which they can make no pretensions, and to which, therefore, their envy cannot permit that another should lay claim. Here, however, is a sacrifice more level to their apprehensions, and of the amount of which they are more capable of judging. Let them judge then, (for thus far they *can* judge) of the inducement held out to Mr. Simpson to desert his cause, let them estimate its strength by their own feelings, and unless, amongst the domineering prelates and unfeeling statesmen, who are the frequent subjects of their eulogy, they can produce a similar instance, let them for ever refrain from calumniating the Covenanters.

science, which was dearer to him than any thing whatever. He did not stop with this; but having occasion, in 1598, to preach before the King, he publicly exhorted him to beware that he drew not the wrath of God upon himself, by patronizing a manifest breach of the divine laws. Immediately after sermon, the King stood up, and charged him not to intermeddle in these matters.

When the Assembly which was held at Aberdeen in 1604, was condemned by the state, he, in a very solemn manner, denounced the judgment of God against all such as had been concerned in distressing, and imprisoning the ministers who maintained its lawfulness, and justified its proceedings.

When in 1606, the Parliament met at Perth, with the view of repealing the statute which annexed the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown, and to restore the Episcopal order to their ancient privileges, and when no attention was paid to the representations of the ministers on the subject, a protest was prepared, which being refused by the Lords of Articles, was given in to each of the three Estates. This very important paper was prepared with much ability, by Patrick Simpson. It was signed by forty-two Ministers, and delivered by him into the hands of the Earl of Dunbar. And though it failed in either sisting or changing the proceedings in question, it still remains as a vindication to posterity, of the purity of principle and zeal for the Church, which distinguished the men whose sentiments it expressed.

But whilst he thus discharged with diligence and ardour, those public and political engagements which his office, as a member of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, imposed on him, Mr. Simpson did not neglect the more private, but not less important duties of the Gospel Minister. Nor was he more distinguished for zeal and public spirit in the cause of Christianity, than for exemplary piety, and a consistent walk, in private life. His Christian conduct and ministerial diligence, were attended with the happiest effects on the people with whom he stood connected.

He was also in a very eminent degree blessed with the spirit and return of prayer: and the following well attested fact shows at once how much of the divine countenance he had in this duty, and how much comfort it may be productive of to the genuine believer. His wife, Martha Barron, a woman of singular piety, fell sick, and under her indisposition, was strongly assaulted by the common enemy of salvation, suggesting to her, that she should be delivered up to him. This soon brought her into a very melancholy state of mind, which continued for some time increasing; and she broke forth into the most dreadful expressions.—Being in one of these fits of despair, one Sabbath morning, when Mr. Simpson was going to preach; he was exceedingly troubled at her condition, and went to prayer. After he had done, he turned to the company present, and said, that they who had been witnesses to that sad hour, should yet see a gracious work of God on her, and that the devil's malice, against that poor woman, should have a shameful foil. Her distraction, however, continued for some days after. But still persevering in his supplications in her

behalf, he gradually became more confident of their being favourably answered, till at last, on the Tuesday morning previous to her death, on coming from his retirement, he said to the people who attended her, "Be of good comfort, for I am sure, that ere ten hours of the day, that brand shall be plucked out of the fire." After this he again went to prayer, at his wife's bedside; she continued for some time quiet, but, upon his mentioning Jacob, wrestling with God, she sat up in the bed, drew the curtain aside and said, "Thou art this day a Jacob, who hast wrestled and prevailed: and now God hath made good his word, which he spoke this morning to you, for I am plucked out of the hands of Satan, and he shall have no power over me." This interruption made him silent for a little, but afterwards with great melting of heart, he proceeded in prayer, and magnified the riches of grace towards him. From that hour she continued to utter nothing but the language of joy and comfort, until her death, which was on Friday following, August 13th, 1601.

He lived for several years after this event, fervent and faithful in the work of the ministry. In 1608, when the bishops and some commissioners convened in the palace of Falkland, with the view of forming an agreement respecting the discipline and order of the Church, towards the summoning of a general assembly, several ministers also assembled in the kirk of the town, and chose him for their moderator; who, after they had spent some time in prayer, and tasted some of the comfort of their former meetings, agreed upon some articles for concord and peace to be given in to the bishops. This Mr. Simpson and some others did in the name of the rest, but the bishops shifted them off to the next Assembly, and in the mean time took all possible precautions to strengthen their own party.

In 1610, the noblemen and bishops, having come to Stirling, after dissolving the Assembly, Mr. Simpson in preaching before them, openly charged them with perjury and gross defection. They hesitated for some time, whether they should delate him or compound the matter: but, after deliberation, they for the time dropt the affair altogether. There is no reason to doubt but he would have been subjected to the same sufferings with many others of his brethren, had he lived; but before the copestone was laid on Prelacy in Scotland, he had entered into the joy of his Lord. In March 1618, which was about five months before the Assembly at Perth, in which the five famous articles were agreed upon,* towards the establishment of Prelacy, he said, that that month should put an end to all his troubles. He died accordingly about the end of it, blessing the Lord, that he had not been perverted by the sinful courses of the times: and observing, that as the Lord had said to Elijah in the wilderness, so in some respects, he had dealt with him all the days of his life.

He wrote a history of the Church, for about ten centuries, and

* These were, 1. Kneeling at the communion. 2. Private communion. 3. Private baptism. 4. Observation of holidays. 5. Confirmation of children.

also some other small tracts, besides a History of the Councils of the Church, which are nearly out of print. Upon some of the books in his library, he had written these remarkable words, "Remember, O my soul, and never forget the 16th of August, 1601, what consolation the Lord gave thee, and how he performed what he spake according to Zechariah, '*Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?*'"*

ANDREW DUNCAN.

ABOUT the year 1581, after Melvill was appointed to the principality at St. Andrews, he found in Andrew Duncan, the subject of the present Memoir, a keen opponent of what were, then deemed, his unwarrantable strictures on the Aristotelian Philosophy. Duncan was at that time a Regent in St. Leonard's College, and, in common with other members of the university, regarded the novel views of the principal as calculated to destroy the credit of his teaching. But it was not long till his prejudices against that celebrated man subsided, and from being an opponent, he became one of his warmest admirers and steadiest friends.

He was afterwards settled as minister of Crail, in Fife, and became in some measure distinguished by his sufferings in favour of the Presbyterian polity. In 1605 he attended the famous Assembly at Aberdeen, and was one of the six Ministers who, in consequence of having done so, were, the year after, tried and convicted, as guilty of high treason. After having been imprisoned in Blackness Castle for fourteen months, he was with the rest of his brethren, banished to France. From thence, after an exile of about six years, he was allowed to return, on making some submissions and acknowledgments to the King and Council. He did not, however, fail when occasion offered, afterwards to display the same boldness which had formerly characterized him, in the cause of the Church. In 1619, he was summoned before the High Commission Court, at St. Andrews, on account of his faithfulness in opposing the five articles of Perth. At his first compearance he declined their authority; and at the second, adhering to his former declinature, the High Commission Court passed the sentence of deposition against him; and ordained him to enter himself in ward at Dundee. Against this sentence, he gave in a protestation, which was as follows; "Now seeing I have done nothing of this business, whereof I have been accused by you, but have been serving Jesus Christ, my Master, in rebuking vice, in simplicity and righteousness of heart, I protest, seeing ye have done me wrong, for a remedy at God's hand, the

righteous judge; and summon you before his dreadful judgment-seat, to be censured and punished for such unrighteous dealings, at such a time as He shall think expedient; and in the mean time decline this your judgment *simpliciter*, now as before, and appeal to the Ordinary Assembly of the Church, for reasons before produced in writ. Pity yourselves for the Lord's sake; lose not your own dear souls, I beseech you, for Esau's pottage: Remember Balaam, who was cast away by the deceit of the wages of unrighteousness; forget not how miserable Judas was, who lost himself for a trifle of money, which never did him good. Better be pined to death by hunger, than for a little pittance of the earth, perish for ever, and never be recovered, so long as the days of heaven shall last, and the years of eternity shall endure. Why would ye distress your own brethren, sons and servants of the Lord Jesus? This is not the doing of the shepherds of the flock of Christ: if ye will not regard your souls nor consciences, look, I beseech you to your fame: why will ye be miserable both in this life, and in the life to come."

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

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

Upon another occasion, of the same nature, this worthy man was banished out of the kingdom, and went to settle at Berwick; but having several children, and his wife far gone in pregnancy, they were reduced to great hardships, being obliged to part with their

* This was a part of the cruel system practised by authority in those times. Faithful ministers, those who would not preach smooth things to please the court, were banished to some place, at a distance from home, to live upon *their own charges*. This would have been devoting them to starvation, had not Providence, in many instances, made provision for them, by putting it into the hearts, even of strangers to supply their wants.

servant, and having scarcely subsistence sufficient for themselves. One night in particular, the children asking for bread, and there being none to give them, they cried very sore; their mother likewise was much depressed in spirit; as for Mr. Duncan he had recourse sometimes to prayer, and in the intervals endeavoured to cherish his wife's hope, and please the children, and at last got them to bed; but she continued to mourn heavily. He exhorted her to wait patiently upon God, who was now trying them, but would undoubtedly provide for them; and added that if the Lord should rain down bread from heaven, they should not want. This confidence was the more remarkable, because they had neither friend nor acquaintance in that place to whom they could make their case known. And yet before morning, a man brought them a sackful of provision, and went off, without telling them from whence it came, though entreated to do so. When Mr. Duncan opened the sack, he found in it a purse with twenty pounds Scots, two loaves of bread, a small bag of flour, another of barley, and such like provisions; and having brought the whole to his wife, he said, "See what a good Master I serve." After this she hired a servant again, but was soon reduced to a new extremity; the pains of child-bearing came upon her before she could make any provision for her delivery; but Providence interposed on their behalf at this time also. While she travailed in the night season, and the good man knew not where to apply for a midwife, a gentlewoman came riding to the door early in the morning, and having sent her servant back with the horse, with orders when to return, she went in, asked the maid how her mistress was, and desired access to her, which she obtained. She first ordered a good fire to be made, then desired Mrs. Duncan to rise, and without any other assistance than the house afforded, she delivered her; and afterwards accommodated Mrs. Duncan and the child with abundance of fine linen, which she had brought along with her. She gave her likewise a box, containing some necessary cordials, and five pieces of gold, bidding both husband and wife be of good comfort, for they should not want. After which she rode away on the horse, which was by this time returned for her; but would not tell her name, nor from whence she came.

Thus did God take his own servant under the immediate care of his providence, when men had wrongfully excluded him from enjoying his worldly comforts. He continued zealous and stedfast in the faith, and to the end of his life, his conduct was uniform with the circumstances related in this brief narrative. The following is a literal copy of his last will and testament.

I Andrew Duncan, a sinful wight, Christ's unworthy minister in his glorious gospel, being sickly and weak, worn out with years, and heaviness of heart in this pilgrimage; and being now weary o. this loathsome prison, this body of death, because of sin; and having received sundry advertisements and summonses from my Master to flit out of this uncouth country, the region of death, home to my native land; and now sitting upon the prison-door threshold, ready to obey, waiting till the sad messenger be sent to convey me home

to that glorious palace, even the heavenly Jerusalem, that I may enter into possession of my heritage, even that glorious kingdom in eternity, which Christ came down from heaven to conquer for me, and then went up to prepare and possess it in my name, as my attorney, until it pleased his Majesty to take me thither, that I may in my own person possess it; I proceed to set down the declaration of my latter will, concerning those things, which God hath lent me in this world; in manner following:—First, as touching myself, body and soul; my soul I leave to Christ Jesus, who gave it, and when it was lost, redeemed it, that he may send his holy angels to transport it to the bosom of Abraham, there to enjoy all happiness and contentment; and as for this frail body, I commend it to the grave, there to sleep and rest, as in a sweet bed, until the day of refreshment, when it shall be re-united to the soul, and shall be set down at the table with the holy patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; yea, shall be placed on the throne with Christ, and get the crown of glory on my head. As for the children whom God hath given me, (for which I thank Him,) I leave them to his providence, to be governed and cared for by Him, beseeching Him to be their tutor, curator, and agent, in all their adoes, yea, and a father; and that he would lead them by his gracious Spirit, through this evil world: that they may be profitable instruments, both in Kirk and commonwealth, to set out his glory; beseeching them on the other part, (as they would have God's blessing, and mine in all their affairs,) to set him before their eyes, and to walk in his ways, living peaceably in his fear, in all humility and meekness, with all those they have ado with; holding their course to heaven, and comforting themselves with the glorious and fair to-look and heritage, which Christ hath conquered for them, and for all that love him. Under God, I leave John Duncan, my eldest son, to be tutor to my youngest daughter, Bessie Duncan, his youngest sister, to take a care of her, and to see that all turns go right, touching her person and gear. For executors, I leave my three sons, John, William, and David, to do my turns after me, and to put in practice my directions; requesting them to be good and comfortable to their sisters, but chiefly to the two that are at home, as they would have God's blessing and mine. Concerning my temporal goods, the baggage and blathrie of the earth, as I have gotten them in the world from God's liberal hand, so I leave them behind me in the world; giving most humble and hearty thanks unto my heavenly Father for so long and comfortable loan of the same.—*14th April, 1626.*

JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.

WHEN in the year 1590, King James sailed for Denmark to bring home his Queen, the person called upon to attend him as chaplain,

was John Scrimgeour. He was at this time Minister of Kinghorn, in Fife, and was afterwards concerned in several important affairs of the church. In the fatal year of 1618, when the five articles of Perth were agreed on, he attended the Assembly held at that place, and gave in some proposals, upon being along with others of his faithful brethren, excluded by the prevailing party from having a vote.

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

On the day appointed for their next compearance, the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Galloway, the Isles, Dumblane, Mr. Hewison, commissary of Edinburgh, and Dr. Blair, being assembled in the Bishop of St. Andrews' lodging in Edinburgh, Scrimgeour was again called upon to answer, and the Bishop of St. Andrews alleged against him, that he had promised either to conform or quit his ministry, as the act at his last compearance on January 26th reported. He replied, "I am sore straitened, I never saw reason to conform; and as for my ministry, it was not mine, and so I could not quit it." After long reasoning between him and the bishops concerning church policy and the keeping of holidays, he was removed for a little. Being called in again, the Bishop of St. Andrews said to him, "You are deprived of all function within the Kirk, and ordained within six days to enter in ward at Dundee." "It is a very summary and peremptory sentence," said Scrimgeour, "ye might have been advised better, and first have heard what I would have said," "You shall be heard," said the Bishop. This brought on some further reasoning, in the course of which he gave a most faithful testimony against the King's supremacy over the Church,* and,

* This was the great stumbling block of our first Protestant Sovereigns. They were not satisfied with their sovereignty over the state, but they would also be head of the Church; and they claimed more absolute authority in ecclesiastical matters, than was conceded to them in those which were merely civil. The Pope had been for ages recognized as the head of the Church, in what were called Christian kingdoms; and such Kings as James, had no idea of a Church without an earthly head; and then, who should that head be,—who could it be but himself? He had the example of Henry VIII. of England, and even of his daughter, Elizabeth, claiming that headship, and having it almost universally conceded by

among other things, said, I have had opportunity to reason with the King himself on this subject, and have told him, that Christ was the sovereign, and only Director of his own house ; and that to Him his Majesty was subject. I have had occasion to tell other men's matters to the King, and could have truly claimed this great preferment." " I tell you, Mr. John," said the bishop of St. Andrews, " that the King is Pope, and shall be so now." He replied, " That is an evil style you give him." And then gave in his reasons in writ, which they read at leisure. Afterwards the Bishop said to him, " Take up your reasons again ; if you will not conform I cannot help it ; the King must be obeyed, the Lords have given sentence, and will stand to it." " Ye cannot deprive me of my ministry," said Mr Scrimgeour ; " I received it not from you ; I received it from the whole Synod of Fife, and, for any thing ye do, I will never think myself deposed." The Bishop replied, " You are deprived only of the present exercise of it." Then he presented the following protestation : " I protest before the Lord Jesus, that I get manifest wrong ; my reasons and allegations are not considered and answered. I attest you to answer at his glorious appearance ; for this and such dealings, and protest, that my cause should have been heard as I pled, and still plead and challenge. I likewise appeal to the Lord Jesus ; his eternal word, to the King, my dread Sovereign, his law, to the constitution of this Kirk and kingdom, to the Councils and Assemblies of both, and protest, that I stand minister of the evangel, and only by violence I am thrust from the same." " You must obey the sentence," said the Bishop. He answered, That Dundee was far off, and he was not able for long journies, " as physicians can witness." And he added, " Little know ye what is in my purse." " Then where will ye choose the place of your confinement," said the Bishop. He answered, " At a little room of my own, called Bowhill, in the parish of Auchterderran." Then said the Bishop, " Write ' at Bowhill, during the King's pleasure.' " Thus this worthy servant of Christ lived the rest of his days at Auchterderran.

In his old age he was grievously afflicted with the stone. He said to a godly minister, who went to see him a little before his death, " I have been a rude stunkard all my life, and now by this pain the Lord is humbling me, to make me as a lamb before he take me to himself." He was a man somewhat rude in his clothing, and likewise in some of his expressions and behaviour ; and yet was a very loving tender-hearted man ; of a deep natural judgment ; and

English Protestants. But such a thing would not go down in Scotland, among the disciples of John Knox and Melvill. They maintained the sole headship and authority of Christ in his Church. For adherence to this truth, many of them suffered the loss of all things, even of life itself. They were not aware, perhaps, of all the extent and bearing of the principle ; and, therefore, some of them may have made mistakes in the application of it ; but for their stedfast maintenance of the principle itself, we owe them a debt of everlasting gratitude.

very learned, especially in Hebrew. He often wished that most part of books were burnt, except the Bible and some short notes thereon. He had a peculiar talent for comforting the dejected. He used a very familiar, but pressing manner of preaching. He was also an eminent wrestler with God, and had more than ordinary success in that exercise, as appears from the following instances.

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

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

JOHN WELCH.

JOHN WELCH was by birth a gentleman, his father being Laird of

Collieston, an estate in Nithsdale, rather competent than large. He was born about the year 1570, and through life was a rich example of grace and mercy. But with him the night went before the day, for he was a most hopeless extravagant boy. It was not enough for him, when a stripling, frequently to run away from school, and play the truant; but, after he had past his grammar, and was become a youth, he left the school, and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the English border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and remained amongst them till he had worn out his clothes. When he came to be in rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolution, so he resolved to return to his father's house, but durst not adventure till he should interpose a reconciler. In his return homewards he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, and with her spent some days, earnestly entreating her to intercede with his father. While he remained in her house, his father came on a visit to her, and after conversing a while, she asked him, whether he ever heard any word of his son John? To this he replied, with great grief, "O cruel woman, how can you name him to me! The first news I expect to hear of him, is, that he is hanged for a thief." She answered him, "Many a profligate boy has become a virtuous man," attempting to comfort him. He insisted however on his sad complaint; but asked, "Whether she knew if his lost son was yet alive?" She answered, "Yes; and hoped he should prove a better man than he was a boy;" and with that she called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping, and kneeled, beseeching his father for Christ's sake, to pardon his misconduct, and engaging deeply to be a new man. His father reproached and threatened him. Yet at length by his tears, and his aunt's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to send him to college, and there to try his behaviour; and if ever after he should break off, he said, he should be content that his father disclaimed him for ever. His father accordingly took him home, and put him to college, and there he became a diligent student, and showed himself a sincere convert; and so he proceeded to the ministry.

His first settlement was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country very rude. While there, his ministry was rather admired by some, than received by many; for he was always attended with the prophet's shadow, the hatred of the wicked; yea, even the ministers of that country, were more ready to pick a quarrel with his person, than to follow his doctrine, as appears to this day in their synodical records, where we find he had many to censure him, and few to defend him. Yet it was thought his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though it continued but a short time. Being unmarried, he boarded himself in the house of one Mitchelhill, and took a young boy of his to be his companion, who to his dying day retained the highest respect both for Mr. Welch and his ministry, from the strong impression made upon him, though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bedclothes, that when he sat up to his night prayers, he

might cover himself therewith; for from the beginning of his ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent, if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy did not forget even to old age. An old man of the name of Ewart in Selkirk, who remembered his ministry in that place, said "he was a type of Christ," an expression more significant than proper, for his meaning was, that he was one that imitated Christ, as indeed in many things he did. He also said that his custom was to preach publicly once every day, and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises; that some in that place waited well upon his ministry, with great tenderness; but that he was constrained to leave that place, because of the malice of the wicked.

The special cause of his departure was, the enmity of a certain profane gentleman of that country, (Scott of Headschaw, whose family is now extinct) who, either because Welch had reproved him, or merely from hatred, treated him most unworthily. Among the rest of the injuries he did him, one which strongly indicates his inhumanity, was his, either with his own hand, or by that of some of his servants, cutting off the rumps of Mr. Welch's two horses, in consequence of which they both died. Such base usage as this persuaded him to listen to a call to the ministry at Kirkcudbright, which was his next station.

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

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

Mr. Welch was transported to Ayr in 1590, and there continued till banished, with others of his brethren from Scotland, in 1606. In this place he had a very hard beginning but a very sweet end; for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked, and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not one in all the town be found, who would let him a house to dwell in. He was therefore constrained to accommodate himself for the time, the best way he could, in a part of a friend's house. The gentleman who thus hospitably received him, was John Stuart, merchant, and sometime provost of Ayr, an eminent christian, and great assistant of Mr. Welch's.

When he first took up his residence in that town, it was so divided into factions, and bloody conflicts so frequent, that a man could hardly walk the streets with safety; he therefore made it his

first undertaking to remove, if possible, such bloody quarrellings. He found it, indeed, a very difficult work, yet such was his earnestness in pushing his design, that many times he would rush betwixt two parties of men fighting, even in the midst of blood and wounds. He used to cover his head with a helmet when he went, in this way, to separate enemies; but never took a sword, that thus they might see he came for peace, and not for war; and so, by little and little, he rendered the town a peaceable habitation.

His manner was, after he had put an end to a skirmish amongst neighbours, and reconciled bitter enemies, to cause cover a table upon the street, at which he brought the enemies together; and, beginning with prayer, he persuaded them to profess themselves friends, and eat and drink together; then, last of all, he ended the work with singing a psalm. And, after the rude people began to observe his example, and listen to his heavenly doctrine, he rose to such respect amongst them, that he became not only a necessary counsellor, without whose counsel they would do nothing, but also an example to be imitated.

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

Sometimes, before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to the pulpit; because he found himself sore deserted; and having desired one or more of them to pray, he would then venture to the pulpit. But it was observed, this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with an extraordinary assistance: so near neighbours are often such contrary dispositions and frames. He would many times retire to the church, which was at some little distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expression, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes a loud voice.

There was in Ayr, when he came to it, an aged minister called Porterfield who was judged no bad man for his personal dispositions, but so easy in his conduct that he used many times to join with his neighbours in many improper practices; amongst others, he used to go to the bow-butts and archery on the Sabbath afternoon, to Mr. Welch's great dissatisfaction. But the way he used to reclaim him was not by severe but gentle policy. Together with John Stuart, and Hugh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, he used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer; To this exercise they invited Mr. Porterfield, and as he could not refuse to attend, he was by this means not only diverted from his sinful practice, but likewise brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour during the course of his life.

It also happened during his residence at Ayr, that at a gentleman's house about eight miles distant, the Lord's day was greatly profaned, by reason of a great confluence of people playing at the foot-ball, and other pastimes. After writing several times to him, to suppress this profanation, without effect, Mr. Welch came one day to his gate, called him out and said, that he had this message from God to him, that because he had slighted the advice already given him, therefore the Lord would cast him out of his house, and none of his posterity should enjoy it. This accordingly came to pass; for although he was in good external circumstances at the time, yet henceforth every thing went against him, till he was obliged at last to sell his estate; and in giving the purchaser possession thereof, he declared to his wife and children that he had found Mr. Welch a true prophet.*

He married Elizabeth Knox, daughter of John Knox the reformer, and by her had three sons.†

As the duty wherein Mr. Welch abounded and excelled most was in prayer, so his greatest attainments arose from that duty. He used to wonder how a Christian could lie in bed all night, and not rise to pray; and many times he rose from his sleep, and watched. One night he rose and having gone into the next room, he staid so long at secret prayer, that his wife fearing he might catch cold, was constrained to rise and follow him, and, as she hearkened, she heard him speak in broken sentences, "Lord wilt thou not grant me Scotland;" and, after a pause, "Enough, Lord, enough;" and so she returned to bed, and he following, she asked him, What he meant by saying, "Enough, Lord, enough?" He shewed himself dissatisfied with her curiosity: but told her he had been wrestling with the Lord for Scotland, and found there was a sad time at hand, but that the Lord would be gracious to a remnant. This was about the time when the bishops first overspread the land, and corrupted the Church. But though Mr. Welch had, upon account of his holiness, abilities, and success, acquired a very great respect, yet was he never in such admiration as after the great plague which raged in Scotland in his time.

* See Mr. Welch's disputation with Gilbert Brown the Papist, in the Preface.

† The first was Dr. Welch, a doctor of Medicine, who was unhappily killed, by an innocent mistake in the Low Countries.

Another son he lost at sea, under very lamentable circumstances. When the ship in which he was, sunk, he swam to a rock in the sea, but starved there for want of food, and when sometime after his body was recovered, he was found a praying posture, upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out, which was all the satisfaction his friends and the world had upon his lamentable death.

Another named Josias, was heir to his father's graces and blessings, and was minister at Temple-patrick, in the north of Ireland. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, which wrought the extraordinary work in the north of Ireland, about the year 1636, but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts, and would often say, That minister was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself. He died in his youth, and left as his successor, Mr John Welch, who, as minister of Irongray in Galloway, was afterwards so distinguished, during the persecution on account of Episcopacy.

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

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

The reason why King James was so violent for bishops, was neither their divine institution, which he denied, nor yet the profit the church should reap by them, for he knew well both the men and their manners, but merely because he believed they would be useful instruments to turn a limited monarchy into absolute dominion, and subjects into slaves, the design in the world he most minded. Always in the pursuit of this design, he in the first place, resolved to destroy General Assemblies, knowing well that so long as Assemblies might convene in freedom, bishops could never get authority in Scotland; and the dissolution of Assemblies he brought about in this manner.

The General Assembly at Holyroodhouse, in 1602, with the King's consent, appointed a meeting to be held at Aberdeen, the last Tuesday of July 1604: but before that day came, the King, by his commissioner the Laird of Laurieston, and Patrick Galloway, Moderator of the last General Assembly, in a letter directed to the several presbyteries, prorogued the meeting till the first Tuesday of July 1605, and again, in June 1605, the expected meeting was by a new letter from the King's Commissioner, and the commissioners of

the General Assembly, absolutely discharged and prohibited, but without naming any day or place, for any other Assembly. Thus the series of our Assemblies expired, never to be revived again in due form, till the covenant was renewed in 1638. However, a number of the godly ministers of Scotland, knowing well, if once the hedge of the government was broken down, corruption of doctrine would soon follow, resolved not to quit their Assemblies so. They therefore convened at Aberdeen, upon the first Tuesday of July 1605, being the last day that was distinctly appointed by authority; and when they had met, did no more but constitute themselves, and dissolve. Of this number was Mr. Welch, who, though he had not been present upon the precise day, yet because he came to the place, and approved what his brethren had done, was accused as guilty of the treasonable fact committed by them.

Within a month after the meeting, many of the godly men were incarcerated, some in one prison, some in another. Mr. Welch was sent first to Edinburgh tolbooth, and then to Blackness: and so from prison to prison, till he was banished to France, never to see Scotland again. And now the scene of his life begins to alter; but, before his sufferings, he had the following warning.

After the meeting at Aberdeen, he retired immediately to Ayr; and one night having risen from bed and gone into his garden, as his custom was, he staid somewhat longer than ordinary. This in some degree alarmed his wife, who, when he returned, expostulated with him very hard for staying so long to wrong his health. but he bid her be quiet, saying, all should be well with them. He well knew however, he should never preach more at Ayr; and accordingly, before the next Sabbath, he was carried prisoner to Blackness castle. After this, he, with many others who had met at Aberdeen, were brought before the Council at Edinburgh, to answer for their rebellion and contempt, in holding a General Assembly not authorized by the King. And because they declined the Privy Council as competent judges in causes purely spiritual, such as the nature and constitution of a General Assembly, they were remitted to prison at Blackness, and other places. Thereafter, six of the most considerable,* were brought over night to

* It is related of these pious and devoted men, that in travelling from Blackness to Linlithgow early in a winter morning, long before sun-rise, with the view of appearing before an iniquitous tribunal, they comforted their hearts, while they expressed their confidence in God, by chanting the metrical version of the 11th Psalm. As to their trial, it "was conducted in the most illegal and unjust manner. The King's advocate told the Jury, that the only thing which came under their cognizance, was the fact of the declinature, the judges having already found that it was treasonable; and threatened them with an *AZZIZE OF ERROR* if they did not proceed as he directed them. After the Jury were empannelled, the Justice Clerk went in, and threatened them with his Majesty's displeasure if they acquitted the prisoners. The greater part of the Jurors being still reluctant, the Chancellor went out and consulted with the other Judges, who promised, that no punishment would be inflicted on the prisoners, provided the jury brought in a verdict agreeable to the court. By such disgraceful methods, they were induced

Linlithgow, before the criminal judges, to answer to an accusation of high treason, at the instance of the King's advocate, for declining, as he alleged, the King's lawful authority, in refusing to admit the Council as judges competent in the cause; and, after their accusation and answer was read, they were by the verdict of a jury, condemned as guilty, the punishment being deferred till the King's pleasure should be known, which, sometime after was declared to be banishment.*

While he was in Blackness, Welch wrote his famous letter to Lillias² Graham, Countess of Wigton; in which he expresses, in the strongest terms, his consolation in suffering; his desire to be dissolved, and be with the Lord; the judgments he foresaw coming upon Scotland; the true cause of the sufferings, and the true state of the testimony, which he and those along with him exhibited:—

“Who am I, that he should first have called me, and then constituted me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of salvation these years past, and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom! Now let it be so that I have fought my fight, and

at midnight to find by a majority of three, that the prisoners were guilty, upon which they were condemned to suffer the death of traitors.” See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*. Vol. II. pp. 270—1.

* It may perhaps be regarded as a matter of surprise, that the senseless and intolerant despot who had instituted such unwarrantable proceedings, and procured such a condemnatory verdict against them, should have been satisfied with awarding a sentence short of death. And certainly it is difficult to suppose, that in such a decision as is here recorded, he was actuated by any motive but what the most narrow and selfish views of policy, may be expected to suggest. The truth seems therefore to have been, that with all his short-sightedness, even as to his own true interests, and with all the fury of passion, and ungovernable self-will, by which he was characterised, James was sufficiently aware of the strong and decided partiality, which the nation evinced in favour of the sufferers, to be deterred, by a dread of the consequences, from carrying his proceedings against them, to a fatal issue. Instead, therefore, of the punishment of death, which the law awards to traitors, he contented himself by dooming them to banishment in France, and after about fourteen months imprisonment, this sentence was carried into rigorous execution. That even this modified sentence, however, was unjustifiable to the very last degree, is apparent not only from every candid and unbiassed view of the case, but from the deep and universal sympathy which it drew forth, on the part of the public. Nothing could be more striking and impressive than the exhibition of this feeling, on the occasion of their departure, from their native land. The scene which was then presented, on the shore of Leith, must have been one of the most interesting and affecting that can well be conceived. At two o'clock, in a morning of November, they were conducted to the beach in order to embark. There, a vast multitude had already assembled, to bid them a last adieu. At such a moment, and by such men, it was impossible that the consolations and supports of religion should be forgotten or overlooked. Mr. Welch offered up a most pathetic prayer. The company then joined in singing the 23d Psalm, after which the exiled families tore themselves away, followed by the prayers and tears of hundreds of weeping friends.

run my race, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous God, will give, not to me only, but to all that love his appearing, and choose to witness that Jesus Christ is the King of saints; and that his Church is a free kingdom, yea as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, conventions and assemblies; but also to judge all her affairs, in all her meetings and conventions, amongst her members and subjects. These two points, 1. That Christ is the head of the Church, 2. That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except His: These two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment; being now convicted as traitors for maintaining them. We have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favourable, as to honour us with that dignity; yea, I do affirm, that these two points above written, and all other things which belong to Christ's crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject nor cannot be, to any other authority, but His. So that I would be most glad to be offered up as a sacrifice for so glorious a truth: It would be to me the most glorious day, and the gladdest hour I ever saw in this life; but I am in His hand, to do with me whatsoever shall please Him.

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

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

“ As for that instrument, Spottiswood, we are sure the Lord will never bless that man, but a malediction lies upon him, and shall accompany all his doings; and it may be, Sir, your eyes shall see as great confusion covering him, ere he go to his grave, as ever did his predecessors. Now, surely, Sir, I am far from bitterness, but here I denounce the wrath of an everlasting God against him, which assuredly shall fall, except it be prevented. Sir, Dagon shall not stand before the ark of the Lord; and these names of blasphemy that he wears, of Arch and Lord Bishop, will have a fearful end. Not one beck is to be given to Haman, and suppose he were as great a courtier as ever he was, suppose the decree was given out, and sealed with the King's ring, deliverance will come to us elsewhere and not by him, who has been so sore an instrument, not against our persons, that were nothing, (for I protest to you, Sir, in the sight of God, I forgive him all the evil he has done, or can do, to me,) but unto Christ's poor Kirk, in trampling under foot so glorious a kingdom, as was once in this land. He has helped to cut Sampson's hair, and to expose him to mocking; but the Lord will not be mocked. He shall be cast away as a stone out of a

sling ; his name shall rot ; and a malediction shall fall upon his posterity after he is gone. Let this, Sir, be a monument, that it was told before, that when it shall come to pass, it may be seen there was warning given him. And therefore, Sir, seeing I have not access myself, if it would please God to move you, I wish you would deliver this hand-message to him, not as from me, but from the Lord."

Spottiswood, of whom he complains, was at the time Archbishop of Glasgow ; and these sayings were punctually accomplished, though after the period of forty years : For, first, the Bishop, himself died in a strange land, and, as many say, in misery ; next his son Robert Spottiswood, sometime president of the Session, was beheaded by the Parliament of Scotland, at the market cross of St. Andrews, in the winter after the battle of Philiphaugh, and on coming to the scaffold, Blair the minister of the town observed to him ; that now Mr. Welch's prophecy was fulfilled ; to which he replied in anger, that both Mr. Welch and he were false prophets.

But there are other remarkable passages in his behaviour, before leaving Scotland, which deserve to be remembered. And, first, when the dispute about Church government began to grow warm, as he was walking upon the streets of Edinburgh, betwixt two honest citizens, he told them, They had in their town two great ministers, who were no great friends to Christ's cause at present in controversy, but it should be seen, the world should never hear of their repentance. The two men were Patrick Galloway and John Hall ; who both died in solitude without there being an individual to witness or to soothe their parting moments.

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

Another wonderful story they tell of him at the same time :— Lord Ochiltree, the captain of the castle, in consequence of his relationship, was generally very civil to Mr. Welch ; but being for a long time, through the multitude of affairs, kept from visiting him in his chamber, he, as he was one day walking in the court, having observed him at his window, asked him kindly, how he did, and if in any thing he could serve him ? Mr. Welch answered, that he would earnestly entreat his Lordship, being at that time to go to Court, to petition King James in his name, that he might have liberty to preach the gospel ; which my Lord promised to do. He then said, " My Lord, both because you are my kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly entreat and obtest you not to promise, except you faithfully perform." His Lordship answered, he

would faithfully perform his promise; and so went to London. But though, at his first arrival, he really purposed to present the petition, he found the king in such a rage against the condemned ministers, that he durst not present it at that time, so he thought fit to delay, and thereafter entirely forgot it.

The first time Mr. Welch saw him after his return, he asked him what he had done with his petition. His Lordship answered, he had presented it to the King, but that the King was in so great a rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it had been forgotten, for he got no answer. Nay, said Mr. Welch to him, my Lord, you should not lie to God, and to me, for I know you never delivered it, though I warned you to take heed not to undertake the affair except you would perform it; but because you have dealt so unfaithfully, remember God shall take from you both estate and honours, and give them to your neighbour in your own time; which accordingly came to pass, for both his estate and honours were in his own time translated to James Stuart, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lineal heir of the family.

It is also related that, while he was detained prisoner in the castle, his wife, who used for the most part to stay in his company, upon a time fell into a longing to see her family at Ayr, to which with some difficulty he yielded: and that when she was about to take her journey, he strictly charged her not to go the ordinary way to the house, when she came to Ayr, nor to pass by the bridge through the town, but to pass the river above the bridge, and so get to the house, without coming into the town; for, said he, "before you arrive, you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr;" which accordingly was the case.

The plague was at that time very terrible, and it was to him the more grievous, that he was necessarily separate from his people. When the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themselves, he advised, that Hugh Kennedy, a godly gentleman of the town, should pray for them, saying that God would hear him. This counsel they accepted, and the gentleman, convening a number of the honest citizens, prayed earnestly for the town, and the plague decreased.

The time being come, when he must leave Scotland, never to see it again, he on the 7th of November 1606, with his associates took ship at Leith; and though it was at two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell.* After prayer, they sung the 23d psalm, and having, to the great grief of the spectators, set sail for the south of France, they landed in the river of Bourdeaux. Such was the Lord's blessing upon his diligence, that within fourteen weeks after his arrival, he

* With Mr. Welch, other five godly ministers were banished for the same cause, viz. John Forbes, who went to Middleburgh, to the English chapel there; Robert Dury, who went to Holland, and was minister to the Scots congregation in Leyden; John Sharp, who became minister and professor of Divinity at Die in the Dauphinate; and Andrew Duncan and Alexander Strachan, who, some time after, got liberty to return to their former places. *Calderwood's Hist.*

was able to preach in French; and accordingly was soon after called to the ministry; first in a village, called Nerac, and thereafter in St. Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town; where he continued during the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years. When he began to preach, it was observed by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke very correct French, but when he came to his application, and when his affections kindled, his fervour made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the French construction. There were some godly young men who admonished him of this, and so for preventing mistakes of that kind, he desired them, when they perceived him beginning to fall into them, to give him a sign, by standing up; and thereafter he became more exact in his expression through his whole sermon; so desirous was he, not only to deliver good matter, but to recommend it by correct language.

There were often persons of high rank in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scottish village. This led Mr. Boyd of Trochrig once to ask him, after he had preached before the university of Saumur, with as much boldness and authority, as if he had been addressing the meanest congregation; how he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of quality? To which he answered, That he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehensions from man at all, "an answer," said Mr. Boyd, "which did not remove my admiration, but rather increased it."

There was in his house, amongst many others who boarded with him for good education, a young gentleman, heir to Lord Ochiltree, captain of the castle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr. Welch's affections, fell ill of a grievous sickness, and after he had been long wasted with it, he, to the apprehension of all spectators, closed his eyes, and expired. He was therefore taken out of his bed, and laid on a pallet on the floor, that his body might be more conveniently dressed. This was to Mr. Welch a very great grief, and therefore he stayed with the dead body full three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours, the friends brought in a coffin, and desired the corpse might be put into it, as the custom is; but Mr. Welch requested that, for his satisfaction, they would forbear it for a time. This they granted, and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death, and then desired, with great importunity, that the corpse might be coffined and speedily buried, the weather being extremely hot; he still persisted, however, in his request, earnestly begging them to excuse him once more; so they left the corpse upon the pallet for full thirty-six hours; but even after that, though he was urged not only with great earnestness, but with some displeasure, they were constrained to forbear for twelve hours more. After forty-eight hours were past, he still held out against them; and then his friends perceiving that he believed the young man was not really dead, but under some fit; proposed to him, for satisfaction, that trial

should be made upon his body if possibly any spark of life might be found in him ; to which he agreed. The doctors accordingly were set to work ; they pinched him in the fleshy part of his body, and twisted a bow-string about his head with great force ; but no sign of life appearing, they pronounced him dead, and then there was no more delay to be made. Yet Mr. Welch begged of them once more that they would but step into the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth ; and this they granted. He then fell down before the pallet, and cried to the Lord, with all his might, and sometimes looking upon the dead body, he continued to wrestle with the Lord, till at length the youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr. Welch, whom he distinctly knew, " O Sir, I am all whole, but my head and legs ;" and these were the places hurt with the pinching.

When Mr. Welch perceived this, he called his friends, and shewed them the dead young man restored to life again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though he lost the estate of Ochiltree, lived to acquire a great estate in Ireland, became Lord Castlestuart, and was a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the Earl of Stafford to be a counsellor in Ireland. This he refused to be, till the godly silenced Scottish ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the north of Ireland, were restored to the exercise of their ministry. He then engaged, and continued during his whole life, not only in honour and power, but in the profession and practice of godliness, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. This story the nobleman himself communicated to his friends in Ireland.

While Mr. Welch was minister in one of the above named places, upon an evening, a certain Popish friar travelling through the country, because he could not find a lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to his house for a night. The servants acquainted their master, and he was willing to receive him. The family had supped before he came, and so the servants shewed the friar to his chamber ; and after they had made his supper, they left him to his rest. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr. Welch ; and after the friar had slept his first sleep, he was surprised at hearing a constant whispering noise.

The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet with a countryman, who saluting him because of his habit, asked him, where he had lodged that night ? The friar answered, he had lodged with the Hugenot minister. Then the countryman asked him, what entertainment he had ? The friar answered, very bad : for, said he, I always held, that devils haunted these ministers' houses, and am persuaded there was one with me this night, for I heard a continual whisper all the night over, and I believe it was nothing else than the minister and the devil conversing together. The countryman told him he was much mistaken, and that it was nothing else than the minister at his nightly prayers. " O," said the friar, " does the minister pray any ?" " Yes, more than any man in France," answered the countryman ; " and if you please to stay

another night with him, you may be satisfied." The friar accordingly went back to Mr. Welch's, and, pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging, which was granted him.

Before dinner, Mr. Welch came from his chamber, and made his family exercise, according to custom. He first sung a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, and discoursed upon it; thereafter he prayed with great fervour; to all which the friar was an astonished witness. After exercise they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained, Mr. Welch forbearing all question and dispute with him for the time. When the evening came, Mr. Welch made exercise as he had done in the morning, which occasioned more wonder to the friar; and after supper they went to bed. But the friar longed much to know what the night whisper was, and in this he was soon satisfied; for after Mr. Welch's first sleep, the noise began; the friar then resolved to be certain what it was; and to that end he crept silently to Mr. Welch's chamber door, where he heard not only the sound, but the words, distinctly, and had an example of communion betwixt God and man, such as he thought had not been in this world. The next morning, as soon as Mr. Welch was ready, the friar went to him, and said, that he had lived in ignorance the whole of his life, but now was resolved to adventure his soul with him, and thereupon declared himself a Protestant. Mr. Welch welcomed and encouraged him; and he continued a Protestant to his death.

When Louis XIII. King of France, made war upon the Protestants, because of their religion, the city of St. Jean d'Angely was besieged by him with his whole army, and brought into extreme danger. Mr. Welch was minister of the town, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, assuring them God would deliver them. In the time of the siege, a cannon ball pierced the bed where he was lying, upon which he got up: but would not leave the room, till he had by solemn prayer, acknowledged his deliverance. The townsmen made a stout defence, till one of the King's gunners planted a gun so conveniently upon a rising ground, that therewith he could command the whole wall, upon which, they for the most part were stationed. Upon this, they were constrained to forsake the wall, and though they had several guns upon it, no man durst undertake to manage them. This being told to Mr. Welch, he, notwithstanding, encouraged them to hold out, and running to the wall, found the cannonier, who was a Burgundian, near it, and having entreated him to mount, promised to assist him in person. The cannonier told him, that they behoved to dismount the gun upon the rising ground, else they were surely lost. Mr. Welch desired him to aim well, that he would serve, and God would help him. The gunner fell to work, and Mr. Welch ran to fetch powder for a charge; but as he was returning, the King's gunner fired his piece, which carried the ladle with the powder out of his hands. This did not discourage him; for having left the ladle, he filled his hat with powder, wherewith the gunner dismounted the King's gun at the first shot, and the citizens returned to their post of defence.

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

A short time after, in 1621, the war was renewed, and now he told the inhabitants of the city, their cup was full, and they should no more escape. This accordingly came to pass, for the King took the town, but commanded De Vitry, the captain of his guard, to enter and preserve his minister from all danger; and horses and waggons were provided by his order, to transport Mr. Welch and his family to Rochelle, where he sojourned for a time.

His flock in France being thus scattered, he obtained liberty to return to England in the year following, and his friends entreated

* This was demanding too much. It would have been enough that the King by his example, or by his advice, had induced his subjects to hear the gospel preached. But to interpose his authority as King to *make* them do so, would have been antichristian intolerance; and it would have supposed him to have that very authority in the Church, that power over the consciences of his subjects in spiritual matters, which Welch and his brethren so justly condemned. On this branch of the subject, it must be allowed, that our Reformers were but partially vlightened.

that he might be permitted to repair to Scotland, the physicians having declared, there was no other mean to preserve his life, but the enjoyment of his native air. To this, however, King James would never accede, protesting he would be unable to establish episcopacy in Scotland, if Mr. Welch was permitted to return thither.* He continued therefore to languish at London a considerable time; his disease was regarded by some as a sort of leprosy; the physicians declared he had received poison. A distressing languor pervaded his frame, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused by his continual kneeling at prayer, in consequence of which, though he was able to move them and to walk, the flesh of them became hard and insensible almost like a horn. But when, in the time of his weakness, he was desired to remit in some degree his excessive painfulness, his answer was, he had his life from God, and therefore it should be spent in his service.

His friends importuned the King exceedingly, that if he might not return to Scotland, he might at least have liberty to preach in London, but even this he would not grant till he heard all hopes of life for him were past, then not fearing his activity.

As soon, however, as he heard he *might* preach, he greedily embraced the liberty; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently. This proved to be his last

* In reference to this cruel and cowardly refusal on the part of the King, the following interesting narrative is given by Dr. M'Crie. "His own sovereign," says he, "was incapable of treating him (Welch) with that generosity which he had experienced from the French monarch, and dreading the influence of a man who was far gone with a consumption, he absolutely refused to give him permission to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, by means of some of her mother's relations at court, obtained access to James, and petitioned him to grant this liberty to her husband. The following singular conversation took place on that occasion. His Majesty asked her who was her father. She replied 'Mr. Knox.' 'Knox and Welch,' exclaimed he, 'the Devil never made such a match as that.' 'It's right likely, Sir,' said she, 'for we never speired his advice.' He asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. 'God be thanked,' cried the King, lifting up both his hands, 'for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked my three kingdoms in peace.' She again urged her request, that he would give her husband his native air. 'Give him his native air!' replied the King, 'Give him the Devil!'—a morsel which James had often in his mouth. 'Give that to your hungry courtiers,'—said she, offended at his profaneuess. He told her at last, that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the Bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch lifting her apron and holding it towards the King, replied in the true spirit of her father, 'Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep his head there!'" See *Life of Knox*, Vol. II. pp. 273-4.

Indeed the heroism of this woman, who thus showed herself worthy of the intrepid reformer from whom she sprung, had already been displayed in a previous stage of her husband's life. During his imprisonment before trial, she attended him unremittingly, and was present at Linlithgow with the wives of the other prisoners on the eventful occasion. And when informed of the sentence, cruel and iniquitous as it was, far from giving way to useless lamentation over their fate, she, and indeed all of them, praised God, who had given their husbands courage to stand in the cause of their Master, adding, that like Him they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night.

service ; for after he had ended his sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly and without pain, resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands, in the 53d year of his age.

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

Great as his diligence undoubtedly was, it may be doubted whether his labours or his successes were most abundant, for whether his spiritual experiences in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting souls, be considered, they will be found unparalleled in Scotland. Many years after his death, Mr. David Dickson, at that time a highly esteemed minister at Irvine, was frequently heard to say, when people talked to him of his own success in the ministry, that the grape-gleanings at Ayr in Mr. Welch's time, were far above the vintage at Irvine in his own. Mr. Welch, in his preaching, was spiritual and searching, his utterance tender and moving ; he did not much insist upon scholastic topics, and made no show of his learning. One of his hearers, who was afterwards minister at Muirkirk in Kyle, used to say, that no man could hear him, and forbear weeping, his speech was so affecting.

There is a large volume of his sermons yet extant, though only a few of them have been printed. He never himself published any thing, except his dispute with Abbot Brown, in which he shows that his learning was not behind his other virtues ; and his Armageddon, or meditations upon the enemies of the church, and their destruction ; a piece which is rarely to be found.

ROBERT BOYD.

ROBERT BOYD of Trochrig, as he is commonly styled, was first settled as a minister at Vertal, in France, but was afterwards, by the interest of Sieur du Plessis, translated to the professorship of divinity at Saumur, and some time after was invited home by King James, and appointed principal of the college of Glasgow, and minister of Govan.* While he remained in France, the Popish contro-

* It appears from this and other similar appointments, that these two offices were wont at this period of the Church to be united in one and the same person. But certain it is, that in the opinion and experience of Mr. Boyd, neither of them were to be regarded as a *Sinecure*. This he evinced both by the inaugural discourse delivered at his instalment, and by his unremitting labours during his incumbency. He regularly preached as minister of Govan, and as a proof of his diligence, it is related that he wrote out all his Sermons in full, a practice by no means common in those days. In reference to his inaugural oration, which was strongly indicative of his deeply conscientious feelings, as to the discharge of his duties, the following high encomium is left upon record by Mr. Blair, an eminent

versy employed much of his thoughts; but after his return, the Church of Scotland and its interests chiefly engrossed his attention; and he became a zealous friend and supporter of the more faithful part of the ministry, against the usurpations of the bishops and the King.

The prelatists knowing that his eminence, piety, and learning, would influence many to take part with him against them, laboured with great assiduity, by entreaties, threatenings, and persuasions, through some of his friends, to bring him over to their party, inso much that at length he gave in a paper to Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, in which he seemed in part to acknowledge the pre-eminence of bishops; but he was shortly afterwards so troubled for what he had done, that he went and sought it back, even with tears; the Archbishop, however, pretended it was already sent up to the King, so that he could not obtain it.

Mr. Boyd, finding from this time forward he could enjoy no peace in the situations he then held, demitted both, and was chosen principal of the college of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city. The celebrated Dr. Cameron came into his place at Glasgow. This change took place in 1622. But Mr. Boyd was allowed to retain his newly acquired offices, for only a few months. Some of the other ministers of Edinburgh, particularly one Ramsay, envied him on account of his high reputation, both as a preacher, and as a teacher, (the well affected part of the people both in town and country crowding to his church) and gave the King information against him as a non-conformist. The King wrote to the magistrates of the town, rebuking them for admitting him, and commanding him to be removed. The magistrates were not obedient to the command, and by a courtier entreated he might be continued; but the King would not grant their request. Accordingly, on the last day of January 1623, he renewed the order to remove him; and he was, shortly after, turned out of his place and office.*

Minister at Irvine. "At the hearing of that oration," says he, "I was not a little refreshed and stirred up to my duty, with diligence and cheerfulness." On this occasion too, a question was put to him, in answer to which Mr. Boyd gave a very striking declaration of the motives which led him to undertake the offices on which he had entered. It was asked how he, a gentleman of considerable property on which he might live, at least in competence, should have thought of embracing the arduous duties of both professing Divinity (which he did as being principal,) and teaching the people by his ministry? His answer was, that considering the great wrath under which by nature he lay, and the great salvation purchased for him by Jesus Christ, he had resolved to spend himself, and be spent to the uttermost, by giving all diligence to glorify that Lord who had so loved him.

* This was a natural consequence of the supremacy, or headship of the Church, in the hands of a lawless despot, as James was, or, at least, wished to be. No minister could be faithful to God, or to his people, unless it should please the king. It is not, however, so now, even in England, where the supremacy is established; because the affairs of the Church, as well as of the state, are regulated by law. The king has the power of appointing bishops and other ministers to their offices, but he has no power of depriving them, so that he cannot in this way influence their ministry. But hence arises an evil of another kind. It is hardly possible to get

Some short time after this, Archbishop Law was prevailed on to re-admit him into his diocese as minister of Paisley; for though no man was more opposite than he to the Perth articles, having refused conformity to them both at Glasgow and Edinburgh, yet his learning and prudence strongly recommended him to the Archbishop's esteem. Here he remained in security and peace, till the Earl of Abercorn's brother, a zealous Papist, dispossessed him on a Sabbath afternoon, while he was preaching, and threw all his books out of the house where he had his residence. Upon complaining to the Privy Council, the offender was imprisoned, but the Court and baillies of Paisley, having undertaken to repossess him, and the gentleman professing his sorrow for what he had done, the Council, at Mr. Boyd's intercession, passed the matter over. When he went, however, to take possession, he found the church doors secured, so that no access could be had; and though the magistrates would have broken them open, yet the mob (urged on, as was supposed, by the Earl's mother) pressed so hard upon him, both by opprobrious speeches, and throwing stones, that he was forced to fly to Glasgow; and afterwards, seeing no prospect of a peaceable settlement in Paisley, he returned to his own house at Trochrig in Carrick, where he probably continued till his death, which was some years after.

He was a man of great learning and eloquence, for the time, as his Commentary on the Ephesians testifies. He sometimes declared that if he had his choice of languages wherein to deliver his sentiments, it would be in Greek. He was of an austere countenance and carriage, but yet very tender hearted. He had a mean opinion of himself, but a high esteem of others in whom he perceived any signs of grace and ingenuity. In the time of that convincing and converting work of the Lord, (commonly called the Stewarton sickness,) he came from his own house in Carrick, and met with many of the people; and having conversed with them, heartily blessed the Lord, for the grace that was given them.

ROBERT BRUCE.

ROBERT BRUCE was born about the year 1554. He was second son to the Laird of Airth, from whom he inherited the estate of Kinnaird;

quit of an unworthy pastor. The head of the Church has not power to separate the most useless, or even rotten member of the body. In order to the efficient exercise of his power, the head of the Church ought to be absolute. But then he ought to be an absolutely perfect being. Such is the true Head of the Church, whose laws are perfect, and of absolute authority; which make provision for every case that can arise in his Church; and which are easily applied by his servants, who understand them, as enlightened by his Spirit, and depending upon his promised presence with them.

W. M'G

and who being at that time a baron of the best quality in the kingdom, educated him with the view of his becoming a Lord of Session; and for his better accomplishment, sent him to France to study the civil law. After his return, his father enjoined him to wait upon some affairs of his that were then before the Court, as he had got a patent ensured for his being one of these Lords. But He whose thoughts are not as men's thoughts, having other designs with him, began to work mightily upon his conscience, so that he could get no rest, till he was allowed to attend the divinity lectures of Andrew Melvill at St. Andrews. To this step his mother was greatly averse, nor would she agree to it till he gave up some lands and casualties wherein he was infeft. This he most willingly did, and shaking off all impediments, fully resolved upon an employment more fitted to the turn of his mind.

He went to St. Andrews sometime before Melvill left the country, and continued there till his return. Whilst there, he wanted not some sharp conflicts in his mind, on the subject of his future destination, insomuch that upon a certain time, walking in the fields with that holy and excellent man James Melvill, he said to him, "Before I throw myself again into such torment of conscience, as I have had in resisting the call to the ministry, I would rather choose to walk through a fire of brimstone, even though it were half a mile in length." After he was accomplished for the ministry, Andrew Melvill perceiving how the Lord wrought with him, brought him over to the General Assembly in 1587, and moved the church of Edinburgh to call him to a charge in that city.

Although he was moved by some of the brethren to enter upon the ministry in place of James Lawson, yet he could not be prevailed upon to take the charge, although willing for the time, to labour in it, till urged by the joint advice of the ministry of the city, and as it were entrapped into it. For on a time when the sacrament was to be dispensed at Edinburgh, one of the ministers desired him, being to preach in the afternoon, to sit by him; and after having served two or three tables, went out of the church, as if he had been to return in a little; but instead of this, he sent notice to Mr. Bruce, who still sat over against the elements, that unless he served the rest of the tables, the work belov'd to stop. Mr. Bruce not knowing but the minister had been seized of a sudden with sickness, and, the eyes of all being fixed on him, many entreating him to supply the minister's place, proceeded through the remaining services, and that with such assistance to himself, and such effect upon the people, as had never before been seen in that place.

When afterwards urged by his brethren to receive, in the ordinary way, the imposition of hands, he refused, because he already had received the material part of ordination, viz. the call of the people, and the approbation of the ministry; and besides, had already administered the sacrament of the supper, which, by a new ordination would seem to be made void. So having made trial of the work, and found the blessing of God upon his labours, he accepted the

charge,* and was from that time forth, a principal actor in the affairs of the Church, and a constant and strenuous maintainer of its established doctrine and discipline.

While a minister of Edinburgh he shone as a great light through all the neighbouring parts of the country; the power and efficacious energy of the Spirit accompanying the word preached by him, in a most sensible manner, so that he became a terror to evil-doers, and extorted fear and respect even from the greatest in the land. Even the King had such high thoughts of him, that in 1590, when he went to bring home his queen, he, at his departure, nominated him an extraordinary Counsellor, and expressly desired him to acquaint himself with the affairs of the country, and the proceedings of the Council, professing that he reposed more in him than in the rest of his brethren, or even in all his nobles. And in this his hopes were not disappointed. The country during his absence, was more quiet than either before or afterwards: in consequence of which, he wrote Bruce a congratulatory letter, dated February 19th, 1590, saying, "He would be obligated to him all his life, for the pains he had taken in his absence to keep his subjects in good order." Yea, such is said to have been his esteem for Mr. Bruce, that upon a certain occasion, before many witnesses, he declared, that he judged him worthy of the half of his kingdom; but in this as in others of his fair promises, he proved no slave to his word; for not many years after, he obliged this good man, for his faithfulness, to leave the kingdom.†

But still it cannot be doubted, that the respect and esteem which

* Maitland, after mentioning that Bruce "threatened to leave the town" of Edinburgh in 1589, says, the reason "may be easily guessed at," as he agreed to stay "upon the increase of his stipend to a thousand merks." "But if, instead of guessing," observes Dr. M'Crie, "that writer had made himself acquainted with facts, he would have known that Bruce at the period referred to, had not yet consented to settle in Edinburgh, and had a call to St. Andrews which he preferred; that the minister who held the first charge in the metropolis, required a stipend much greater than that of his colleague, inasmuch as the task of keeping up an extensive correspondence on the affairs of the national church, was devolved upon him; and that the independent spirit and scrupulous honour which Bruce evinced through the whole of his life, raised him above the suspicion of being actuated by such mean and mercenary motives."

"With great reluctance, and after a considerable trial," says the same eloquent and accurate writer, "he complied with the joint entreaties of his brethren and the inhabitants of the capital; the nobility respected him for his birth and connections; his eminent gifts as a preacher, gained him the affection of the common people, and those who could not love him, stood in awe of his commanding talents, and his severe and uncorruptible virtue. His station at Edinburgh and his influence with the Chancellor, who paid much deference to his opinions, enabled him to be of greater service to the Church than any other individual." *Life of Melvill. Vol. I. pp. 380—1.*

† "Calderwood has preserved three letters written from Denmark by the chancellor, and four by the King, to Bruce. His Majesty addresses him as his 'trusty and well-beloved Counsellor,' and says, that he was 'worth the quarter of his kingdom,' that he would reckon himself 'beholden to him while he lived,' for the services he had done him, and that he would 'never forget the same.'" *M'Crie's Life of Melvill. Vol. I. p. 382.*

he thus expressed towards him, were at the time perfectly sincere. Accordingly, on his return, he made choice of him to officiate at the Queen's coronation, a ceremony which was performed with great solemnity in the Chapel of Holyrood house, on Sabbath the 17th of May, 1590, in presence of the foreign ambassadors, and a great concourse of Scottish nobility. On the occasion, three Sermons were preached, one in Latin, another in French, and a third in English. And after a short interval, during which the royal party retired, Mr. Bruce proceeded to anoint the Queen, and assisted by the Chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the crown on her head.

Nor was it, indeed, till about three years after this event, in which he bore so distinguished a part, that his Majesty's opinion of our Worthy seems to have been changed. In 1593 the injudicious and unwarrantable lenity shewn by the court to the Popish Earls, men who had been detected in the most treacherous designs against their country, excited universal distrust, suspicion, and alarm. Under the influence of such feelings, the Synod of Fife which met in September of that year, by way of expressing its detestation of their crime, solemnly excommunicated these noblemen and their adherents, ordaining the sentence to be communicated to other synods, by which it was approved, and directed to be published. On this occasion his Majesty sent for Mr. Bruce, and importunately urged him, not to publish it himself, and as far as possible to prevent its being published by his brethren. With every disposition, however, to preserve harmony and to retain the good will of the King, Bruce did not dissemble his sentiments. He resolutely refused to do what was asked of him, and the conversation terminated by an insinuation on the part of James against the discipline and polity under which such measures were tolerated or sanctioned.

Some time after this, being charged by the King, in a conference which he held with the Magistrates and Ministers of Edinburgh, with having favoured certain alleged treasonable designs of the Earl of Bothwell, who then attempted to gain the good will of the Church, he evinced a similar firmness and intrepidity. Whilst his brethren in the ministry against whom the accusation was vague and general, contented themselves with simply appealing to their hearers in proof of their innocence, Bruce, against whom the charge was more specific and serious, insisted on knowing the individuals who had thus slandered him to his Majesty, and declared, that he would not again enter the pulpit until he was legally cleared of the crime imputed to him. James, after some shifting, named the Master of Gray and one Tyrie, a papist, as his informers. But on the day fixed for examining the affair, no person appeared to make good the charge; and Gray having left the Court, denied that he had given the alleged information against Bruce, and offered to fight any person, his Majesty excepted, who should affirm that he had defamed that minister.

Being a man of public spirit and heroic mind, he was always pitched upon to deal in matters of high moment: and amongst other

things, upon the 9th of November, 1596, he, together with Andrew Melvill and John Davidson, was directed by the council of the brethren, to deal with the Queen concerning her religion, and, for want of religious exercises and virtuous occupation amongst her maids, to move her to hear now and then the instructions of godly and discreet men. They went to her; but were refused admittance until another time.

About the same period, he distinguished himself by the part he took in the defence of David Black,* and by the zeal he displayed against the suspected inroads of popery. The commissioners who had been appointed to assist in conducting the case of that worthy minister, being, by an order of the court, removed from Edinburgh, the public mind in some degree agitated by this unusual stretch of prerogative, soon after experienced a new cause of alarm. On the morning of the 17th December, a day memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland, statements were circulated, that Huntly, one of the Popish Earls, had been privately at Court, and had prevailed on the King to issue an order which had just been intimated, that twenty-four of the citizens, best affected towards the ministers, and most distinguished for their zeal, should leave the town, and as some added, that his friends and retainers were at hand, waiting for orders to enter the Capital. This information, which was to a certain degree correct, was, as might be expected, a source of considerable alarm to Bruce and his brethren in the ministry. It being the day of the weekly sermon, they agreed that Balcanquhal, whose turn it was to preach, should desire the barons and burgesses present, to meet in the Little Church,† to advise with them what ought to be done. The meeting took place after sermon, and two persons from each of the estates were appointed to wait on the King, who happened at that time to be in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session. Having obtained an audience, Bruce told his Majesty, that they were sent by the noblemen, barons and citizens, convened in the Little Church, to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you?" said the King. Bruce mentioned their apprehensions as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that?" said his Majesty. "And how durst you convene against my proclamation?" "We dare more than that," said Lord Lindsay, "and will not suffer religion to be overthrown." Upon this, the King retired to another apartment and shut the door. The deputies therefore returned, and reported that they had not been able to obtain a favourable answer to their petitions, and Bruce proposed, that deferring the consideration of their grievances for the present, they should merely pledge themselves to be constant in the profession and defence of religion. This proposal having been received with acclamation, he besought them as they regarded the credit of the cause, to be silent and quiet. As they were thus proceeding, how-

* See page 96.

† One of the churches of Edinburgh, so called.

ever, an unknown person entered exclaiming, "Fly, save yourselves ! the papists are coming to massacre you !" to which another rejoined, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon !" "These are not our weapons," said Bruce, attempting to calm the assembly ; but the cry of "to arms ! to arms !" being raised on the street, they immediately rushed out, and being joined by a crowd already collected without the panic spread, and for about an hour, confusion and riot prevailed throughout the city. The tumult was at length quelled by the joint exertions of the magistrates and ministers ; but the King the day after, hastily left the city and removed to Linlithgow ; from whence he issued a severe proclamation, commanding all judges and officers to repair to him, and forbidding all noblemen and Barons from assembling without his permission.*

Upon the Sabbath following, Bruce, in preaching from the 51st psalm, declared, "The removal of your ministers is at hand, our lives shall be bitterly sought after ; but ye shall see with your eyes, that God shall guard us, and be our buckler and defence," a saying which was soon in part accomplished ; for on the day following, the King sent a charge from Linlithgow against him and the other ministers of Edinburgh, to enter in ward at the castle there, within six hours, under pain of horning. Though conscious of their innocence, yet seeing that the King's anger was kindled against them, they thought proper at the advice of their friends to withdraw, and

* "Such," says Dr. M'Crie, "are the facts connected with the tumult of the *seventeenth of December*, which has been related in so many histories, and magnified into a daring and horrid rebellion. Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred ; and were it not that it has been so much misrepresented to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts. 'No tumult in the world was ever more harmless in the effects nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein.' (Baillie's Hist. Vindication, p. 71.) It never was seriously alleged, that there was the most distant idea of touching the person of the king. Had there been any intention of laying violent hands on the unpopular statesman, there was nothing to have prevented the populace at the commencement of the tumult from forcing the house in which they were assembled. No assault was made upon the meanest creature belonging to the court : no violence was offered to the person or the property of a single individual. So far from partaking of the nature of a rebellion, the affair scarcely deserves the name of a riot. Nor did it assume the appearance of one of those dangerous commotions by which the public peace is liable to be disturbed in large towns, and to which a wise government seldom thinks of giving importance by inquiring narrowly into their origin, or punishing those, who, through thoughtlessness or imprudence may have been led to take part in their excesses." *Life of Melvill*, Vol I. p. 410.

for a time conceal themselves from the effects of his displeasure Bruce and Balcanquhal accordingly went into England, Watson and Balfour concealed themselves in Fife. They wrote apologies for their conduct, in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions thrown upon them, and assigned reasons for their flight.

As soon as it was known that they had fled, they were publicly denounced rebels. Great keenness was shewn to find some evidence of their accession to the tumult; and when this failed, recourse was had to fabrication. A letter, which on the day after, Bruce, at the request of the convened Barons, wrote to Lord Hamilton requesting his countenance and assistance in support of the Church's interests, was altered and vitiated in such a manner, as to make it express an approbation of the riot. Conscious, however, of the fraud, the court did not dare to make any public use of this vitiated document, but it was circulated in private, with the view of blasting the reputation of Bruce and his friends.

But all this was nothing more than the drops before the shower, or as the gathering of waters before an inundation. This, though allowed to return from his concealment, Bruce afterwards experienced to be the case; for the King having for some time laboured to get Prelacy established in Scotland, because he would not comply with his measures, and in particular refused to give praise to God in public for his Majesty's deliverance from the pretended treason in 1600, until he was made certain of the crime, not only discharged him from preaching in Edinburgh, but also obliged him to go into exile.—He embarked at Queensferry, on the 3d of November the same year, and arrived at Dieppe on the 8th of that month.*

And although, by the King's permission, he returned home the year following, yet because he would not acknowledge Gowrie's conspiracy to be treason, purge his Majesty in such places as he should appoint, and crave pardon for his long distrust and disobedience,† &c.; he could not be admitted to his place and office again,

* He embarked about midnight, and it is related, that "there appeared such a great light as served him and the company to sail." This was most probably the Aurora Borealis, which sometimes for years together do not appear, or are of very rare occurrence, and are mistaken by the ignorant for something supernatural.

W. M'G.

† These were conditions to which the unbending rectitude and solid sense by which he was characterized, would not allow him to concede. As a subject, he said he had never refused to do the duty of a subject; but to utter in the pulpit, under the authority of his office, any thing of which he was not fully persuaded, he was not at liberty. "I have a body and some goods," continued he, "let his Majesty use them as God shall direct him; but as to my inward peace, I would pray his Majesty in all humility to suffer me to keep it. Place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as fruitful and wholesome doctrine to the honour of the Magistrates, as God shall give me grace. But to go through the country, and make proclamations here and there, will be counted either a beastly fear or a beastly flattery, and in so doing, I shall raise greater doubts, and do more harm than good to the cause; for people look not to words but to grounds. And as for myself, I should be but a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities: others will be far better heralds of my ignominy." See M'Crie's *Life of Melville*. Vol. II. p. 79.

but was commanded by the King to keep ward in his own house at Kinnaird. After the King's departure to England, he had some respite for about a year or more; but on the 29th of February, 1605, he was summoned to compare before the commission of the General Assembly, to hear and see himself removed from his function at Edinburgh. They had before, in his absence, decerned the place vacant; now they intimated the sentence, and Livingstone had a commission from the King to see it put in execution. Bruce appealed; they prohibited him to preach; but he obeyed not. In July thereafter, Chancellor Seaton advertised him of the King's express order discharging him to preach any more; but said, he would not use his authority in this, and would only request him to desist for nine or ten days; to which he consented, thinking it but of small moment for so short a time. But he quickly knew, how deep the smallest deviation from his Master's cause and interest might go into the devoted heart, for that night, as he himself afterwards declared, his body was cast into a fever, and he felt such terror of conscience, as made him resolve to obey such commands no more.

Upon the 8th of August following, he was charged to enter in ward at Inverness, within the space of ten days, under pain of horn-ing; which order he obeyed upon the 17th following. In this place he remained for the space of four years, teaching every Wednesday and Sabbath forenoon, and reading public prayers every other night. His labours were greatly blessed. By means of his ministry a dark country was wonderfully illuminated, many brought to Christ, and a seed sown which remained and was manifest for many years afterwards.

When he returned from Inverness to his own house, even though his son had procured a license for him, he could find nothing but trouble and vexation, from the ministers of the Presbyteries of Stirling and Linlithgow, and all for his activity in curbing the vices to which some of them were subject. At last he obtained liberty of the Council to transport his family to another house he had at Monkland; but, because of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was again forced to retire to Kinnaird.

Thus the good man was tossed about, and obliged to go from place to place. And, in this state he continued, until by the King's order he was summoned before the Council, in September 19th, 1621, to answer for transgressing the law of his confinement, &c. When he compared, he pleaded the favour expressed towards him by his Majesty when in Denmark, and withal purged himself of the accusation laid against him: "and yet, notwithstanding all these, (said he,) the King hath exhausted both my estate and person, and has left me nothing but my life, and that apparently he is seeking! I am prepared to suffer any punishment, only I am careful not to suffer as a malefactor or evildoer." A charge was then given him to enter in ward in the castle of Edinburgh, where he continued till the 1st of January; on that day though the Bishops, his delators, chose to absent themselves, he was brought before the Council, and the King's will intimated to him, *viz.* that he should return to his own house,

until the 21st of April, and then transport himself again to Inverness, and remain within four miles thereof during the King's pleasure.

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

About this time the parish of Larbert, having neither church nor stipend, he both repaired the church, and discharged all parts of the ministry. Many, besides the inhabitants of the parish, attended upon his preaching with much benefit; and it would appear, that about this time Mr. Henderson, then Minister of Leuchars, and afterwards so famous, was converted by his ministry.

At this place it was his custom, after the first sermon, to retire by himself some time for private prayer, and on one occasion, some noblemen who had far to ride sent the beadle to learn if there were any appearance of his coming in. The man returned, saying, "I think he will not come to day, for I overheard him say to another, 'I protest I will not go unless thou goest with me.'" However in a little time he came, accompanied by no man, but full of the blessing of Christ: for his speech was with much evidence and demonstration of the Spirit. It was easy for his hearers to perceive that he had been in the mount with God, and that indeed he had brought that God whom he had met in private, *into his Mother's house, and into the chambers of her that conceived him!*

He was also thought to have somewhat of the spirit of discerning future events, and seemed prophetically to speak of several things that afterwards came to pass. And it is moreover affirmed, that persons distracted, and those who were past recovery with the falling sickness, were brought to him, and were, after prayer by him in their behalf, fully restored from that malady.*

Some time before his death, being at Edinburgh, where through weakness he often kept his chamber, several godly ministers, who had met anent some matter of church concernment, hearing he was in town, came and gave him an account of the prelates' actings. After this, he prayed, in his prayer adverting to the facts they had stated, and thus giving a very sad representation of the case of the church; and during all the time there was such a powerful emotion felt by all present, and such a sensible down-pouring of the Spirit, that they could hardly contain themselves. Mr. Wemyss of Lathokar, being present, at departing, said, "O how strange a man is this, for he knocketh down the Spirit of God upon us all;" referring to his having divers times knocked with his fingers upon the table in the time of that prayer.

* See Fleming's Fulfilling of Scripture. Seventh edition. pp. 411—414.

About this time, he related that a strange dream occurred to him. He thought he saw a long broad book with black boards, flying in the air, with many black fowls like crows flying about it; and as it touched any of them, they fell down dead; and that he heard an audible voice speak to him, saying, *Hæc est ira Dei contra pastores ecclesie Scoticanæ!* upon which he fell a weeping, and praying that he might be kept faithful, and not be one of those who were thus struck down by the torch of God's wrath, for deserting the truth. He said, when he awakened, he found his pillow drenched with tears. The accomplishment of this dream, I need not insinuate. All acquainted with our Church history know, that soon after Prelacy was introduced into Scotland, Bishops set up, and with them ushered in those Popish and Arminian tenets, those corruptions and that profanity, which continued to prevail for many years afterwards.

"One time," says Livingston in his Memoirs, "I went to Edinburgh to see him, in company with the tutor of Bonnington. When we called on him at eight o'clock in the morning, he told us he was not inclined for company; and on being urged to tell us the cause, he answered, that when he went to bed he had a good measure of the Lord's presence, but that he had wrestled about an hour or two before we came in, and had not yet got access; and so we left him. At another time, I went to his house, but saw him not till very late. When he came out of his closet, his face was foul with weeping; and he told me, that that day he had been thinking on what torture and hardships Dr. Leighton, our countryman, had been put to at London;* and added, if I had been faithful, I might have had the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ, as well as he, but he hath got the crown from us all.'" "I heard him once say," the same writer declares, "'I would desire no more at my first appeal from King James, but one hour's converse with him: I know he has a conscience, I made him once weep bitterly at Holyroodhouse.' And upon another occasion in reference to his death, he said, 'I wonder how I am kept so long here: I have lived two years already

* This was the famous Leighton, Doctor of Divinity in the two universities of St. Andrews and Leyden, who, for writing of Zion's Plea against Prelacy, was apprehended at London by two ruffians, brought before Archbishop Laud, and sentenced, besides a fine of £10,000, to be tied to a stake, and receive thirty-six stripes with a triple cord; and then to stand two hours in the pillory, (which he did in a cold winter night) and then to have his ear cut, his face fired, and his nose slit; and the same to be repeated that day se'ennight, and his other ear cut off, with the slitting of the other side of his nose, and burning his other cheek. All this was executed with the utmost rigour, and then he was sent prisoner to the Fleet, where he continued, till upon a petition to the parliament in 1640, he was released, and got for his reparation a vote of £6000, which it is said was never paid, and made warden of that prison wherein he had been so long confined; but through infirmity and bad treatment he did not long survive, being then seventy-two years of age. See this related more at length in Stevenson's History Vol. III. p. 948.

in violence ; meaning, that he was that much beyond seventy years of age.*

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

In this manner did this bright star set in our horizon. There were none, in his time, who preached with such manifestations of the power of the Spirit; and no man had more seals of his ministry; yea, many of his hearers thought, that no man since the days of the apostles ever spoke with such power. And although he was no Boanerges, as being of a slow but grave delivery, yet he delivered himself with such authority and weight, as became the oracles of the living God. Some of the most stout hearted of his hearers were ordinarily made to tremble, and by thus having the door, which had formerly been shut against Jesus Christ, as by an irresistible power broke open, and the secrets of their hearts made manifest, they oftentimes went away under deep convictions. In prayer he was short, especially in public, but "every word or sentence he spoke was as a bolt shot to heaven." He spent much of his time in private prayer. He had a very notable faculty in searching the scriptures, and explaining the most obscure mysteries therein. He also had much inward exercise of conscience anent his own case, and was sometimes tempted, even anent that grand fundamental truth, the being of a God; insomuch, that it was almost customary to him to

* Livingstone's Memorable Characters. p. 74.

† By the calculation in Livingstone's account, he behaved to be only 75 years of age; but Calderwood makes him 77, and says, he had an honourable burial, being accompanied with four or five thousand people to the grave. See Hist. p. 818.

say, as he did when he first spoke in the pulpit, "I think it a great matter to believe there is a God." By such experience he was the better fitted to deal with others under the like temptations.* Having a very majestic countenance, his appearance in the pulpit was good. His delivery was solemn, impressive, and commanding; and to apply to his sermons the reverse of the figure by which as above, one of his hearers described his prayers, "every word or sentence he spoke was like a bolt shot *from* heaven."

That he was also deeply affected with the public cause and interest of Jesus Christ, and both did and suffered much on account of it, the facts already mentioned, afford abundant evidence. Perhaps no one of his age was more severely treated by the reigning party, on account of his adherence to principle and duty. It appears, indeed, as if they acted with regard to him on a settled plan of annoyance. It seems to have been determined from the first, that he should never resume his place and honours. But yet he was for years tantalized, by having the hope of doing so, frequently held out to him. Either such terms, however, were proposed, as it was known he should reject, or those to which he was about to accede, were of a sudden withdrawn. He was also unceasingly persecuted by the mean jealousy of the Bishops, who set spies on his conduct, sent informations to court against him, and procured orders to change the place of his confinement from time to time. Undoubtedly, the whole of the treatment which he received, was very disgraceful to the then government. Granting that he gave way to scrupulosity—required a degree of evidence as to the guilt of Gowrie, which he needed not towards simply announcing it, and even that there was a mixture of pride in his motives, (concessions which many will not be disposed to make) still the nice and high sense of integrity, which he uniformly displayed, his great talents, and the eminent services which he had performed to Church and state, ought to have secured to him very different treatment. But the court hated him for his fidelity, and dreaded his influence in counteracting its favourite plans. As another consideration which rendered his pardon hopeless, the King himself was conscious of having deeply and privately injured him. This appears from the following facts, which, in addition to those already detailed, cannot but be acceptable to those who feel interested in the fate of this great and good man.

Bruce, when in favour with the court in the year 1589, had obtained a gift for life, out of the lands of the Abbey of Arbroath, which he had enjoyed for a number of years. In 1598, the King privately disposed of this to Lord Hamilton. He at first stirred up the tenants of the Abbey to resist payment, and when this expedient failed he avowed the deed. Bruce signified his willingness to yield up the gift, provided the King retained it in his own hands, or applied it to the use of the Church: but learning that it was to be

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

bestowed on Lord Hamilton, he resolved to defend his right. His Majesty, by threats and persuasions, endeavoured to induce the Lords of Session to give a decision in his favour. They, however, found that Bruce's title was valid and complete. Upon this the King, not content with storming at the judges and his opponent's counsel, and determined to obtain his object, "wakened the process" by means of two ministers in Angus, to whom he transferred part of the annuity. And notwithstanding a private settlement of the dispute, which was sanctioned by the Lords of Session, he afterwards so set aside, and altered the minute of Court, that by it Bruce was deprived of the greater part of his annuity, and made to hold the remainder at the royal pleasure; upon which he threw up the gift in disdain.*

As a writer, Bruce may be regarded as having been, for his time, both substantial and eloquent. The forementioned apology, his Letters to M. Espignol, the Duke of Parma, Col. Semple and others, and above all, his Five Sermons on the Sacrament, together with his Miscellaneous Sermons, entitle him to this character. But it is more especially for his services and sufferings in the cause of civil and religious liberty, that he is entitled to the respect and gratitude of posterity, even as it was by these, especially, that he earned the esteem and admiration of his contemporaries.†

JOSIAS WELCH.

THIS eminent Minister of the Gospel, was a younger son of the famous John Welch of Ayr, and Elizabeth Knox, daughter of the great Reformer. As might be expected from such parents, he received a most liberal and religious education. But what proved more especially the source of his reputation, was, that he was heir to his father's graces and virtues. Although he had received all the branches of useful learning, required for the ministry, yet Prelacy being then prevalent in Scotland, he kept back for some time from the office, not being clear in his own mind about entering into it, by the door of Episcopacy. But some time after, it so fell out, that

* See for this and the preceding paragraph, M'Crie's Life of Melvill. Vol. II. pp. 168—171.

† That he enjoyed the latter in no small degree, the following expressions of that great man Andrew Melvill, will be sufficient to evince. They are from letters written in the years 1613 and 1616. "I cannot but hope," says he, "for all that is good of Bruce. The court rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with regard to *heroes like him, adorned with every virtue.*" And again,—"I thank you for Mr. Robert Bruce, that *constant confessor and almost martyr* of our Lord Jesus. The Lord keep him and his for ever, I never remember him and his without comfort and heart lift up to God." See M'Crie's Life of Melvill. Vol. II. pp. 437, 532

meeting with worthy Mr. Blair, (who was then a minister at Bangor in Ireland,) he was exhorted and solicited to go over with him, under the assurance that there he would find work enough, and he hoped success likewise. This accordingly was the case; for upon his going thither, he was highly honoured of the Lord, to bring the covenant of grace to the people at the Six-mile water, and having also preached sometime at Oldstone, he was afterwards settled at Temple-patrick, where, with great vigilance and diligence, he exercised his office, and by the blessing of God upon his labours gained many seals of his ministry.

But the devil, envying the success of the gospel in that quarter, stirred up the Prelatical clergy against him, and in May 1632, the Bishop of Down caused to cite him, together with Blair, Livingstone, and Dunbar, and on their compearing, urged them to conform, and give their subscription to that effect. But they answered with great boldness, that there was no law in that kingdom requiring this; yet, notwithstanding they were all four deposed by him from the office of the holy ministry.

After this, Welch continued some time preaching in his own house, where he had a large auditory; and such was his desire to gain souls to Christ, that he commonly stood in a door looking towards a garden, that he might be heard by those without as well as within; in consequence of which, being of a weakly constitution, he contracted a cold which occasioned his death in a short time after.

He continued in this way, until May 1634, when by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart with the King in their behalf, he and his brethren received a grant from the Bishop of six months' liberty. This freedom he most gladly embraced; but he had preached only a few weeks in his own pulpit before his illness increased, so as to prevent his continuing his labours. He died very soon afterwards. The short history of his life may be summed up in the words of one who knew him well, who had been his companion in labour and in suffering, and who could well appreciate the virtues by which he was adorned. On the Sabbath afternoon before his death, which was on Monday following, "I heard," says Mr. Livingstone, "of his sickness, and came to him about eleven o'clock at night, and Mr. Blair came about two hours thereafter. He had many gracious discourses, as also some wrestling and exercise of mind. One time he cried out, 'Oh for hypocrisy!' on which Mr. Blair said, 'See how Satan is nibbling at his heels before he enter into glory.' A very little before he died, being at prayer by his bedside, and the word 'victory' coming out of my mouth, he took hold of my hand, and desiring me to forbear a little and clapping his hands, cried out, 'Victory, victory, victory for evermore;' he then desired me to go on, and in a little expired.—His death happened on the 23d of June, 1634."

He died in the flower of his youth, leaving only one son behind him, viz. Mr. John Welch, afterwards minister of Irongray in Gal-

JOHN GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

JOHN GORDON of Lochinvar, (afterwards Viscount Kenmuir,) was born about the year 1599. He received a reasonable share of education; but through the circumstance of his birth, the corruption of the age, and above all, the depravity of nature and want of restraining grace, he became very irreligious and profane. This was in his younger years, and as might be expected, when arrived at manhood he broke out into more gross acts of wickedness. Yet all the while the Lord left him not altogether without a check or witness in his conscience; for sometimes when at ordinances, particularly sacramental occasions, he would be filled with a sense of sin borne powerfully in upon his soul, which he was scarcely able to withstand. But for long he continued a stranger to true and saving conversion. The most part of his life, after he advanced in years, he spent like the rich man in the gospel, casting down barns and building greater ones; for at his houses of Rusco and Kenmuir, he was much employed in building, parking, planting, and seeking worldly honours.

About the year 1628, he was married to the virtuous and pious Lady Jean Campbell, sister to the worthy Marquis of Argyll, by whom he had several children, one of whom it appears died about the beginning of the year 1635; since we find Rutherford, in one of his letters about that time, comforting the noble Lady upon the mournful dispensation.

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

Accordingly, as Viscount, he came to the parliament which sat down at Edinburgh, June 16th, 1633, and was present the first day, but remained only a few days thereafter; for being afraid to displease the King, from whom he had already received some, and still expected more honours, and not having the courage to glorify God by his presence, when His cause was at stake, he deserted the parliament, under pretence of indisposition, and returned home to his house at Kenmuir in Galloway. There he slept securely, for about a year, without check of conscience, till August 1634, that his affairs occasioned his return to Edinburgh, where he again staid a few days, not knowing, however, that with the ending of his business, he was as it were to end his life. He returned home under some alteration of bodily health, and from that day his sickness increased until the 12th of September ensuing, when he died.

But the Lord had other thoughts than that this nobleman should

* About this time the King created one Marquis, ten Earls, two Viscounts, and eight Lords; and while he was in Scotland he dubbed fifty-four Knights on different occasions. See Crawford's Peerage.

die without some sense of his sin, or go out of this world unobserved. —And therefore it pleased him, by his bodily affliction to shake his soul with fears, thus making him sensible of the power of eternal wrath, both for his own good, and for an example to others in after ages, never to wrong their consciences, or be wanting to the cause or interest of God, when he gives them an opportunity to promote it.

Upon Sabbath the 31st of August, being much weakened, he was visited by a religious and learned minister who then lived in Galloway, not far from the house of Kenmuir. His Lordship rejoiced much at his coming, observing the goodness of providence in sending him home (having been absent from Galloway for some time) sooner than he expected.—After supper, his Lordship began a conference with the minister, showing he was much taken up with the fears of death and extremity of pain. “I never dreamt,” said he, “that death had such a terrible, austere, and gloomy countenance. I dare not die; howbeit, I know I must die.—What shall I do? for I dare not venture in grips with death, because I find my sins grievous, and so many, that I fear my account is out of order, and not so as becomes a dying man?”

The minister for some time discoursed to him, anent the weakness of nature, which is in all men, believers not excepted, which makes them afraid of death: but hoped Christ would be his second in the combat, giving him to rely upon His divine strength; but withal said, “My Lord, I fear more the ground of your fear of death, which is (as you say) the consciousness of sin, for there could be no plea betwixt you and your Lord, if your sins were taken away by Christ; and therefore make that sure, and fear not.” His Lordship answered, “I have been too late in coming to God; and have deferred the time of making my account so long, that I fear I have but the foolish virgins’ part of it, who came and knocked at the door of the bridegroom too late, and never got in.”

The minister having hinted at some both of his and his father’s sins, particularly the cares for this world and its honours, and thinking his Lordship designed to extenuate his fault, drew several weighty propositions about the fears of death and his eternal all, as depending upon his being in or out of Christ; and then exhorted him in these words: “Therefore, I entreat you, my Lord, by the mercies of God, by your appearing before Christ as your Judge, and by the salvation of your soul, that you look ere you leap, and enter not into eternity, without a certificate under the Redeemer’s hand, because it is said of the hypocrite, *He lieth down in the grave and his bones are full of the sins of his youth.*”*

Kenmuir replied, “When I begin to look upon my life I think all is wrong in it, and the lateness of my reckoning affrighteth me; therefore stay with me, and show me the marks of a child of God, for you must be my second in this combat, and wait upon me. His

* Job. xx. 11.

lady answered, "You must have Jesus Christ to be your second;" to which he heartily said, "Amen—but," continued he, "how shall I know that I am in the state of grace, for while I would be resolved, my fears will still overburden me." The minister said, "My Lord, scarcely or ever doth a castaway anxiously and carefully ask the question, whether he be a child of God or not." But he excepted against this saying, "I do not think there is a reprobate in hell, but would with all his heart have the kingdom of heaven." The minister having explained the different desires in reprobates, his Lordship said, "You never saw any token of true grace in me: and that is my great and only fear."

The minister said, "I was indeed sorry to see you so fearfully carried away with temptation, and you know, I gave you faithful warning, that it would come to this. I wish your soul was deeply humbled for sin; but in reference to your question I thought you ever had a love to the saints, even to the poorest, who carried Christ's image, although they could never serve nor profit you in any way. Now, *"By this we know we are translated from death unto life, because we love the brethren."** At last, with this mark, after some objections, he seemed convinced. The minister then asked him, "My Lord, dare you now quit your part in Christ, and subscribe an absolute resignation of him?" To this he replied, "O Sir, that is too hard, I hope he and I have more to do together, and I will be advised ere I do that." He then asked, "What mark is it to have judgment to discern a minister called and sent of God from an hireling?" The minister allowed it to be a good mark, and cited the declaration of Christ: *My sheep know my voice.*†

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

At the third conference, he said, "Death bindeth me strait. O how sweet a thing it is to seek God in health, and in time of prosperity to make our accounts, for now I am so distempered, that I cannot get my heart framed to think on my reckoning, and the life to come." The minister told him, "He behoved to fight against sickness, and pain, as well as sin and death, seeing it is a temptation."—He answered, "I have taken the play long, God hath given me

* 1 John iii. 14.

† John x. 4.

‡ Isaiah lxi. 2, 3.

thirty-five years to repent; but, alas! I have mispent them:" and with that he covered his face and wept. The minister assured him, that although his day was far spent, yet he behoved in the afternoon, yea, when near evening, to run fast and not to lie in the field, and miss his lodging; upon which he, with uplifted eyes, said, "Lord, how can I run? Lord, draw me, and I shall run."* The minister hearing this, desired him to pray, but he answered nothing; yet, within an hour after, he prayed before him and his own Lady, very devoutly, and bemoaned his own weakness, both inward and outward, saying, "I dare not knock at thy door, I lie at it scrambling as I may, till thou dost come out and take me in; I dare not speak; I look up to thee, and look for one kiss of Christ's fair face. O when wilt thou come!"

At the fourth conference, he charged the minister to go to a secret place and pray for him, and do it not for the fashion: "I know," said he, "prayer will pull Christ out of heaven." The minister said, "What shall we seek, give us a commission?" He answered, "I charge you to tell my beloved, *that I am sick of love.*" The minister desired if they should seek life or recovery for him, he said, "Yea, if it be God's good pleasure, for I find my fear of death now less, and I think God is now loosening the root of the deep-grown tree of my soul, so firmly fastened to this life." The minister told him, if it were so, he behoved to covenant with God, in dedicating himself and all he had to God and his service; to which he heartily consented and after the minister had recited several scriptures for that purpose, such as Psal. lxxviii. 36, &c; he took the Bible, and said, "mark other scriptures for me," and he marked 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxi, and xxii. Psal. xxxviii. John xv. These places he turned over, and cried often for a saving view of Christ, "O Son of God, for one sight of thy face!"

When the minister told him his prayers were heard, he took hold of his hand, and drew him to him, and said with a sigh, "Good news indeed!" and desired him and others to tell him what access they had got to God in Christ for his soul.—They told him, they had got access; at which he rejoiced, and said, "Then will I believe and wait on, I cannot think but my beloved is coming leaping over the mountains."

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

And yet, after all this, conceiving hopes of recovery, he became for some days, careless, remiss, and dead; and seldom called for the minister, though he would not suffer him to go home to his

* Cant. i. 4.

flock. This his lady and others perceiving, went to the physician, and asked his judgment anent him. He plainly told them, there was nothing but death for him if his flux returned, as it did. This made the minister go to him, and gave him faithful warning of his approaching danger, telling him his glass was shorter than he was aware of, and that Satan would be glad to steal his soul out of the world sleeping. This being seconded by the physician, he took the minister by the hand, thanked him for his faithful and plain dealing, and acknowledged the folly of his deceiving heart, in looking over his affection to this life, when he was so fairly once on his journey toward heaven. He then ordered them all to leave the chamber except the minister, and causing him to shut the door, conferred with him anent the state of his soul.

After prayer, the minister told him, he feared that his former joy had not been well grounded, nor his humiliation deep enough; and therefore desired him to dig deeper, representing his offences both against the first and second table of the law; whereupon his Lordship reckoned out a number of great sins, and, amongst the rest, his deserting the last parliament, saying, "God knoweth I did it with fearful wrestling of conscience, my light paying me home within, when I seemed to be glad and joyful before men." The minister being struck with astonishment at this reckoning, after such fair appearances of grace in his soul, stood up and read the first eight verses in the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, and discoursed thereon; then cited these awful words of the Faithful and true witness, *But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death;** and then told him he had not one word of mercy from the Lord to him, and so turned away from him. At this he cried out bitterly and with many tears, so that they heard him at some distance, saying, "God armed with justice is coming against me; I would die; I dare not die: I would live; I dare not live: O what a burden is the hand of an angry God? Oh! what shall I do? Is there no hope of mercy?" In this agony he lay for some time. Some exclaimed against the minister that he would kill him,—others, that he would drive him to despair. But he bore with them, retired to a secret place, and sought words from God to speak to him still farther.

After this another minister came to visit him, to whom he said, "He hath slain me;" but before the minister could answer for himself, added, "Not he, but the Spirit of God in him." The minister said, "Not I, but the law hath slain you:" telling him withal, that the Lord had a process against the house of Kenmuir. The other minister read the history of Manasseh, his wicked life, and how the Lord was entreated of him. But the former minister† still spoke

* Rev. xxi. 8.

† This minister is supposed to have been Mr. Rutherford, who was said by some, to be the author of the pamphlet, entitled, "The Last and Heavenly Speech, &c. of John Viscount of Kenmuir."

of wrath, saying, he knew he was extremely pained both in body and mind, but what would he think of the lake of fire and brimstone, of everlasting burning, and of utter darkness, with the devil and his angels! His Lordship answered, "Woe is me! if I should suffer my thoughts to dwell upon it, it were enough to cause me to go out of my senses; but I pray you, what shall I do?" The minister told him he was even now in the same situation, only the sentence was not given out, and therefore, desired him to mourn for offending God: and said farther, "What, my Lord, if Christ had given out the sentence of condemnation against you, and come to your bedside and told you of it, would you not still love him, trust in him and hang upon him?" He answered, "God knoweth, I durst not challenge him: although he should slay me, I would still love him; yea, though the Lord should slay me, yet will I trust in him: I will lie down at God's feet, let him trample upon me; if I die, I will die at Christ's feet." The minister finding him claiming kindness to Christ, and hearing him often cry, "O Son of God where art thou, when wilt thou come to me; Oh! for a love-look!" said, "Is it possible, my Lord, that you can love and long for Christ, and he not love and long for you? Can love and kindness stand only on your side? Is your poor love more than infinite love, seeing he hath said, *Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.** My Lord, be persuaded, you are graven upon the palms of his hands." Upon this, he, with a hearty smile, looked about to a gentleman, (one of his attendants) and said, "I am written, man, upon the palms of Christ's hands, he will not forget me; is not this brave talking?"

Afterwards, the minister finding him weaker, said, "My Lord, the marriage day is drawing near; make ready; set aside all care of your estate and the world, and give yourself to meditation, and prayer, and spiritual conference." After that, he was observed to be still in exercise; and when none were near him, he was found praying; yea, when to appearance, sleeping, he was overheard to be engaged in that duty. After some sleep, he called for one of his kinsmen, with whom he was not as yet reconciled, and also for a minister, who had before offended him, that they might be friends again; which was done quickly. To the minister he said, "I have ground of offence against you, as a natural man, and now I do to you that which all men breathing could not have moved me to do; but now, because the Holy Spirit commands me, I must obey, and therefore freely forgive you, as I would wish you to forgive me.— You are in an eminent station, walk before God and be faithful to your calling; take heed to your steps; walk in the right road; hold your eye right: for all the world, decline not from holiness; and take example by me." To his kinsman he said, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the footsteps of your father-in-law," for he had

* Isaiah xlix. 15.

married the Bishop of Galloway's daughter; "learn to know that you have a soul, for I say unto you, not the thousandth part of the world know that they have a soul! The world liveth without any sense of God."

He desired the minister to sleep in a bed made in a chamber by him, and urged him to take sleep, saying, "You and I have a far journey to go; make ready for it." Four nights before his death, he would drink a cup of wine to the minister, who said, "Receive it, my Lord, in the hope that you shall drink of the pure river of the water of life, proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb." And when the cup was in his hand, with a smiling countenance, he said, "I think I have good cause to drink with a good will to you." After some heaviness, the minister said, "My Lord, I have good news to tell you. Be not afraid of death and judgment, because the process that your Judge had against you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Christ hath trampled it under his feet." To this he answered with a smile, "Oh! that is good news, I will then believe and rejoice, for sure I am, that Christ and I once met, and will he not come again?" The minister said, "You have gotten the first fruit of the Spirit, the earnest thereof, and Christ will not lose his earnest; therefore the bargain betwixt him and you holdeth." Then he asked, "What is Christ like, that I may know him?" The minister answered, "He is like love, the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely."*

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

At another time, being asked his judgment anent the ceremonies then used in the Church, he answered, "I think, and am persuaded

* Cant. v.

in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian, and come from hell. I repute it a mercy that my eyes shall not see the desolation that shall come upon this poor Church. It is plain Popery that is coming among you. God help you, God forgive the nobility, for they are either cold in defending the true religion, or ready to welcome Popery; whereas they should resist: and woe be to a dead time-serving and profane ministry!"

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

* In the above passage we have an instance of the workings of conscience, such as is never incident to the experience of the worldling. He indeed can readily conceive that for great crimes like murder, adultery, perjury or injustice, there may be felt a degree of remorse such as is here expressed. But that such a trifling circumstance, (for so he may be apt to term it) as *that* here alluded to, should cause such extreme mental anguish to the dying viscount, will seem to him quite incredible, on any principle but that of insanity. In the estimation of such an individual, the crime of being absent from parliament when his duty to the cause of God and truth required him to be present, will appear but trivial. *He* will be apt to wonder indeed that it should even be remembered, or if remembered at all, that it should create a single uneasy feeling in any mind whatever. He is a stranger, however, to the movements of an awakened conscience; especially when these are connected with the immediate prospect of death. In such circumstances, and under such experience, the neglect of God's glory, the preference of interest to duty, and of the favour of an earthly sovereign to that of Him whose favour is better than life, will indeed be felt to be a sin of no trifling amount. It will appear to the conscience to be full of iniquity, as implying a tacit rejection of God's authority, and an open dereliction of his cause in the world. And when it is thus apprehended, in the near prospect of being sisted at his tribunal, it will not fail to dictate expressions equally strong as those, which, in the above passage are ascribed to Kenmuir. Nay, what is more, it will lead him who is the subject of such experience, to a similar anxiety, in warning others against the sins of which he has been guilty, and in employing every means which is still left him, even in the immediate view of death, to counteract their influence and to avert their consequences. Indeed, it is only when this is the case, that a man's repentance can be deemed sincere. For to feel *genuine* sorrow on account of conduct which yet we do not attempt to relinquish and to remedy, as well as to guard others against it, seems quite incompatible with the structure of the human mind.

To one of his kinsmen, he said, "I love you, soul and body; you are a blessed man if you improve the blessed means of the word preached to you. I would not have you drown yourself so much in the concerns of this world, as I did. My grief is, that I had not the opportunity of good means, as you have; and if you make not a right use of them, one day they shall be a witness against you."

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

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

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

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

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

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

To one of his natural sisters, "My dove, thou art young, alas, ignorant of God. I know thy breeding and upbringing

enough ; seek the Spirit of regeneration, Oh ! if thou knewest it, and didst feel the power of the Spirit as I do now ! Think not all is gone because your brother is dead. Trust in God, and beware of the follies of youth. Give yourself to reading and praying, and be careful in hearing God's word, and take heed whom you hear, and how you hear, and God be with you."

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

To Mr. George Gillespie, then his chaplain, " You have carried yourself discreetly towards me, so that I cannot blame you. I hope you shall prove an honest man ; If I have been at any time harsh to you, forgive me. I would I had taken better heed to many of your words, I might have gotten good by the means God gave me, but I made no use of them. I am grieved for my ingratitude against my loving Lord, and that I should have sinned against him who came down from heaven to earth, to die for my sins ; the sense of this love borne in upon my heart, hath a reflex effect, making me love my Saviour, and grip to him again."

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

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

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

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

be feared that then he will not accept you. Learn, therefore, to watch, and take example by me."

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

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

He gave many powerful exhortations to several persons, and caused each man to hold up his hand, and swear in his presence,

that by God's grace he should forbear his former sins, and follow his advice.

When giving a divine counsel to a friend, he rested in the midst of it, and, looking up to heaven, prayed for a loosened heart and tongue to express the goodness of God to men; and thereafter went on in his counsel, not unlike Jacob, who in the midst of his dying prophetic address, rested a little and said, *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.**

He gave to his lady, divers times, an honourable and ample testimony of her holiness, goodness, and respectful kindness to him, earnestly craved her forgiveness wherein he had offended her, desired her to make the Lord her comforter, and said, that he was gone before; and it would be only fifteen or sixteen years, less or more, till she should follow after.†

He spoke to all the boys of the house, the butler, cook, &c. omitting none; saying, "Learn to serve and fear the Lord, and use carefully the means of your salvation. I know what is ordinarily your religion; Ye go to kirk, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye sigh and make a noise, and it is forgot by you before you come home, and then ye think ye are holy enough. But I can tell you, the kingdom of heaven is not got so easily. Use the means yourself, and win to some sense of God, and pray as you can, morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to salvation, God forgive you, for I have discharged myself in that point towards you, and appointed a man to teach you; your blood be upon yourselves. He took an oath of his servants, that they should follow his advice, and said to them severally, "If I have been rough to, or offended you, I pray you for God's sake to forgive me." And amongst others, one to whom he had been rough, said, "Your Lordship never did me wrong, I will never get such a master again." Yet he urged the boy to say, "My Lord, I forgive you;" however the boy was with difficulty brought to utter these words. He said to all the beholders about him, Sirs, behold how low the Lord hath brought me."

To a gentleman burdened in his estate, he said, "Sir, I counsel you to cast your burden upon the Lord your God."—A religious gentleman of his own name coming to visit him four days before his death, when he beheld him, he said, "Robert, come to me, and leave me not till I die." Being much comforted with his speeches, he said, "Robert, you are a friend to me both in soul and body."—The gentleman asked him, "What comfort he had in his love towards the saints?"—He answered, "I rejoice at it." Then he asked him, "What comfort he had in bringing the minister who attended him from Galloway?" He answered, "God knoweth that I rejoice that ever he put it in my heart so to do; and now, because I aimed at

* Gen. xlix. 18.

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

God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me find comfort to my soul in the end: the ministers of Galloway murdered my father's soul; and if this man had not come, they had murdered mine also."

Before his sister, Lady Herries, who was a Papist, he testified his willingness to leave the world: "that Papists may see," said he, "that those who die in this religion, both see and know whither they go in the hope of their Father's house." When letters were brought him from friends, he caused deliver them to his Lady, saying, "I have nothing to do with them; I had rather hear of news from heaven concerning my eternal salvation." It was observed that when any came to him anent worldly business, before they were out of doors, he was returned to his spiritual exercises, and was exceedingly short in despatching all needful writs. He recommended the poor's case to his friends. Upon coming out of a fainting fit, into which he had fallen through weakness, he said, with a smiling countenance, to all around him, "I would not exchange my life with any of you all; I seem to feel the savour of the place whither I am going."

Upon Friday morning, the day of his departure from this life, he said, "This night I must sup with Jesus Christ in paradise." The minister read to him the fifth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the twenty-second of the Book of Revelation, and made some observations on such passages as concerned his state. And after prayer he said, "I conceive good hopes that God looketh upon me, when he granteth such liberty to pray for me. Is it possible that Jesus Christ can lose his grip of me? or that my soul can be plucked from Jesus Christ?" He earnestly desired a sense of God's presence; and the minister said, "What, my Lord, if that be suspended till you come to your own home, and be before the throne, clothed in white, and get your harp in your hand, to sing salvation to the Lamb, and to him that sitteth on the throne, for that is heaven: and who dare promise it you upon earth? There is a piece of nature in desiring a sense of God's love, it being an apple that the Lord's children delight to play with. But my Lord, if you would have it only as a pledge of your salvation, we shall seek it from the Lord for you, and you may lawfully pray for it."—Earnest prayers were made for him, and he testified that he was filled with the sense of the Lord's love. Being asked, what he thought of the world? he answered, "It is more bitter than gall or wormwood." And being asked if he now feared death, he answered, "I have tasted death; now it is more welcome, it is the messenger of Jesus Christ."

The minister said, "There is a process betwixt the Lord and your father's house, but your name is taken out of it. How dearly was heaven bought for you by Jesus Christ!" He frequently said, "I know there is wrath against it, but I shall get my soul for a prey." Ofttimes he said, "It is a sweet expression of God, *As I live, I delight not in the death of a sinner.* I will not let go the hold I have got of Jesus Christ; *though he should slay me, yet will I trust in him.*"

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

Then the minister said, "My Lord, our nature is anxious for its own deliverance; whereas God seeketh first to be glorified in our faith, patience, and hope." He answered, "Good reason that he be first served. Lord give me to wait on; only, Lord, turn me not to dross."

Another said, "Cast back your eyes, my Lord, on what you have received, and be thankful."—At the hearing of which, he brake forth in praising God; and finding himself now weak, and his speech failing more than an hour before his death, he desired the minister to pray. After prayer, the minister cried in his ear, "My Lord, may you now sunder with Christ?" To which he answered nothing, nor was it expected he would speak any more:—Yet in a little the minister asked, "Have you any sense of the Lord's love?"—He answered, "I have." The minister said, "Do you now enjoy?" He answered, "I do enjoy." Thereafter he asked him, "Will ye not sunder with Christ?"—He answered, "by no means." This was his last word, not being able to speak any more.—The minister asked if he should pray; and he turned his eyes towards him. In the time of the last prayer he was observed joyfully smiling and looking upward. He departed this life about sun-setting, September 12th, 1634, aged thirty-five years. It was observed that he died at the same instant at which the minister concluded his prayer.

Mr. Rutherford, in one of his letters to the Viscountess, a little after his death, among other things, lets fall this expression, "In this late visitation, that hath befallen your Ladyship, ye have seen God's love and care in such a measure, that I thought our Lord brake the sharp point of the cross, and made us and your Ladyship see Christ take possession and infestment upou earth, of him who is

now reigning and triumphant with the hundred and forty and four thousand who stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion."

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



ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

AFTER having received a good education, Mr. Cunningham became chaplain to the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment, then in Holland, and was afterwards settled minister at Holyrood, in Ireland, some time previous to Mr. Blair's being settled at Bangor, with whom, after his settlement in that place, he contracted an acquaintance which proved useful and comfortable to them both.

He applied himself closely to the work of the ministry, to him no doubt, the most desirable of all employments. In the pulpit, he felt as it were in his own element, like a fish in the water, or a bird in the air, always judging that there a Christian might enjoy much fellowship with Christ, and have a good opportunity of doing him the best of services, and considering what Christ said to Peter, *Feed my lambs—feed my sheep.**

At Holyrood he continued to exercise his office as a faithful pastor over the flock to whom he was appointed overseer, until the time that several of his brethren were deposed and ejected by the bishops. At this time the bishop of Down threatened Mr. Blair with a prosecution, against Mr. Cunningham, himself, and some others; to whom Mr. Blair said, "Ye may do with me and the others as you please; but if ever ye meddle with Mr. Cunningham, your cup will be full." It so happened accordingly, that he was longer spared than any of the rest; which was a great benefit to their flocks, for when they were deposed, he preached every week in one or other of their kirks. But with such great labours both

at home and abroad, he wore out his body, which before was but delicate.

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

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

The day before his death, the members of the presbytery of Irvine paid him a visit, when he exhorted them to be faithful to Christ and his cause, and to oppose the service book which was then pressed upon the Church. "The Bishop," said he, "hath taken my ministry from me, and I may say my life also, for my ministry is dearer to me than my life." A little before his departure, his wife sitting by his bed side, with his hand in hers, he by prayer recommended the whole Church of Ireland, the parish of Holyrood, his suffering brethren in the ministry, and his children, to God; and withal added, "Lord, I recommend this gentlewoman to thee, who is no more my wife;"—and with that he softly loosed his hand from hers, and thrust it a little from him. Upon this, she and several of the company fell a-weeping; and he endeavoured to comfort them with several gracious expressions, and, with the Lord's servant of old,* *having served his own generation, by the will of God he fell on sleep*, March 27th, 1637.

He was a man who was much under deep exercises of mind: and although in public preaching, he was sometimes in his own experience not so assisted as usual, yet even then the matter he treated of was edifying and refreshing, he being still carried through with a full gale, and using more piercing expressions than many others. For meekness, he was another Moses, and in patience another Job;—"To my discerning," says one of our Worthies,† "he was the man who most resembled the meekness of Jesus Christ, in all his carriage, that ever I saw; and was so far revered of all, even by the wicked,

* See Acts xiii. 36.

† Mr. Livingstone in his Memorable Characteristics.

that he was often troubled with that scripture, *Wo to you when all men shall speak well of you.*"

JAMES MITCHELL.

THIS excellent young man was son to James Mitchell of Dykes, in the parish of Ardrossan, and was born about the year 1621. His father, being factor to the Earl of Eglinton, and a very religious man, gave his son a most liberal and religious education. And being sent to the university of St Andrew's when very young, he improved to such a degree, that by the time that he was eighteen years of age, he was made Master of Arts. After this he returned home to his father's house, where he studied for nearly two years and a half, the Lord greatly blessing his diligence and endeavours. He was also somewhat indebted to Robert Baillie, then minister at Kilwinning, who shewed him no small kindness, by the loan of books, by giving him his counsel, and by superintending his studies.

Thereafter, he was required by Lady Houston, to attend her eldest son at college, and in this employment he continued other two years and a half; during which the Lord blessed his studies still more exceedingly, and the great pains taken with him by Mr. Dickson, then professor in the university of Glasgow, Mr. Baillie, and others, had such a blessing from heaven, that he passed both his private and public trials in order for the ministry, with their highest approbation.

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

But before Martinmas 1643, he returned to Glasgow, where he both attended to his own studies, and those of his pupil. He preached a few times in Glasgow, pleasing by his appearance all those who loved Christ and his cause and gospel. And Messrs. Dickson, Baillie, and Ramsay, in testimony of his talents in preaching, told his father, that he had much reason to bless God for the gifts and graces bestowed upon his son, and that besides this, the Lord had in reality taken him by the heart, and wrought graciously with his soul.

Mr. Mitchell had given himself much up to prayer, and the study of the word of God, and reading thereof was now become his delight. But the Lord having other thoughts concerning him, in a short time all their great expectations of him in the ministry were frustrated. By his extreme abstinence, drinking of water, and indefatigable labour, he contracted the sickness of which he died soon after. His body began to languish, his stomach to refuse all meat,

and his constitution to fail. Mr. Dickson, who took his condition much to heart, (Mr. Baillie being now at London,) kept him fifteen days with him; thereafter he went to Houston, and staid as long there, where the Lady and her daughter shewed more kindness towards him, than can well be expressed, and that not only for the care he had of her son, but also for the rare gifts and graces which God had bestowed on him. At length his father having sent for him, he returned home. During the first night of his journey, he was with Ralston; and the laird of Ducathall, being there occasionally, attended him all the rest of the way homeward: for not being able to ride two miles together, he behoved to go into a house to rest himself for an hour; such was his weakly condition.

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

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

In his sickness, the Lord was graciously pleased to guard his mind and heart from the malice of Satan, so that his peace and confidence in God was not much disturbed; or if he suffered any little assault, it soon vanished. His experiences were not very frequent or great, but his faith and confidence in God, through Jesus Christ, which, as he told his father, was more sure and solid than the other, was always strong. He said, that the Lord, before his sickness, had made fast work with him about the matters of his soul, that before that, he had been often under strong exercises of mind, from a sense of his own guiltiness, before he had any solid peace or clear confidence, and often said, "Unworthy I, naughty I, am freely beloved of the Lord, and the Lord knows, my soul dearly loves him back again." The Lord knew his weakness to encounter temptation, and so out of tender compassion thus pitied him.

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

Among other gracious sayings, he declaimed much against im-

* Psal. lxxxviii. 18.

prudent speaking, wishing it might be amended, especially in students and young ministers; as being but the froth and vanity of a foolish mind. He lamented the pride of many such in usurping a priority of place, which became them not; and exclaimed frequently against himself for his own practice; yet said he was in the strength of God brought to mortify the same. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themselves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God, and delight in his word. He often said, that he dearly loved the book of God, and sought them to be earnest in prayer, shewing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven; and that the Spirit of supplication must be wrestled for, else all prayer would be but lifeless and natural. He mentioned, that being once with Lady Houston, and some country gentlemen at Baglas, the Spirit of prayer and supplication was poured upon him, in such a powerful and lively manner, two several days before dinner, that all present were much affected, and shed tears in abundance; and that yet at night he found himself so emptied and dead, that he durst not adventure to pray any at all these two nights, but went to bed, and was much vexed and cast down, none knowing the reason.—By this he was from that time convinced, that the dispensation and influence of spiritual and lively prayer came only from Heaven, and from no natural abilities that were in man.

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

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

Again Mr. Macqueen being present, his father inquired at him wherein our communion with God stood? He said, "in reconciliation and peace with him, which is the first effect of our justification:" then, he observed, there was access and love to God, patience and submission to his will, &c.; then the Lord manifests himself to us, as Christ says himself, *Ye shall know that I am in the Father, and you in me, and I in you.* And again, *He that loveth me, shall*

*be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest myself unto him.**

One morning to Hugh Macgavin and his father, he said, "I am not afraid of death, for I rest on infinite mercy, procured by the blood of the Lamb." Then he spake as to himself, "Fear not, little flock, it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom:" and then said, "What are these who are of this little flock? Even sinners. 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' But what kind of sinners? Only those who are sensible of sin and wrath, and see themselves to be lost;† therefore, says Christ, 'I came to seek and save them who are lost.' There are two words here, seeking and saving; and whom? Even those who are lost bankrupts, who have nothing to pay. These are they whom Christ seeks, and who are of his flock."

To John Kyle, another morning, he said twice over, "My soul longeth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." At another time, perceiving his father weeping, he said, "I cannot blame you to mourn, for I know you have thought that I might, with God's blessing, have proved a comfortable child to you; but comfort yourself in this, that ere it be long, I will be at a blessed rest, and in a far better state than I can be in this life, free from sin and every kind of misery, and within a short time ye will follow after me. And in the mean time encourage yourself in the Lord, and let not your mourning be like those who have no hope. The Lord by degrees will assuage your grief, for so he has appointed, else we would be swallowed up, and come to nought, for I could never have been removed out of this life in a more seasonable time than now, having both the favour of God and man, being hopeful that my name shall not be unsavoury when I am gone, and none know what affronts, grief, and calamities, I might have fallen into, had I lived much longer. And for crosses and trouble, how might my life have been made bitter to me! for when I think what opposition I might have ere I was an actual minister, by divisions of the people, the patron, and the presbytery, it could not but overwhelm me; and then being entered, I know not what a fighting life, with a stubborn people, might be my lot, and then what discontentment I might have in a wife, which is the lot of many an honest man, is uncertain; then cares, fears, straits of the world, reproaches of men, personal desires, and the devil and an evil world to fight with, these and many more cannot but keep a man in a struggling state in this life. And now, lest this should seem a mere speculation, I could instance these things in the persons of many worthy men; I pass all

* John xiv. 20, 21.

† There is a mistake here, which is probably owing to Hugh Macgavin's or his father's bad recollection of the conversation. It is not probable that one so well instructed as Mr. Mitchell, should limit the invitations of the gospel to sensible sinners. The gospel is addressed to sinners *as such*, even to the stout-hearted, and far from righteousness, without regard to their sense of sin and wrath, or the want of that sense.

others, and only point at one, whose gifts and graces are well known to you, viz. Mr. David Dickson, whom I am sure God has made the instrument of the conversion of many souls, and of much good in the country; and yet this gracious person has been tossed to and fro. And you know that the Lord made him a gracious instrument in the late Reformation, and yet he has, in a great measure, been slighted by the state and the kirk also. What reason have I then to bless God, who in mercy is timeously removing me from all trouble, and will make me as welcome to heaven as if I had preached forty years, for he knew it was my intention, by his grace, to have honoured him in my ministry; and seeing he has accepted the will for the deed, what reason have I to complain? for now I am willing and ready to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all; wherefore, dear father, comfort yourself with this."

One time in conference concerning the sin in the godly, his father said to him, "I am sure you are not now troubled with corruption, being so near death." He answered, "You are altogether deceived, for as long as my foot remaineth on this earth, though the earth were translated above the clouds, my mind would not be free of sinful notions." Whereupon he regretted that he could not get his mind and affections so lifted up as he could have wished, to dwell or meditate on God, his word, and the endless life, that he could not feel such spirituality as became him, by entertaining thoughts of God's greatness and goodness, and was often much perplexed with vain thoughts; but still he was confident, that the Lord, in his rich mercy, would pity and pass by this his weakness and infirmity."

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

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

To Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and

the manner of dissolution, he said, "O! how sweet a thing it were for a man to sleep to death in the arms of Christ." He had many other lively and comfortable speeches, which were not remembered; not a day passing during the time of his sickness, but the on-waiters were refreshed by him.

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

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

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

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

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

AMONG the many eminent men distinguished by learning, piety, and patriotism, whose talents were summoned into play by those events which render the middle of the seventeenth century a remarkable era in the history of Scotland, a conspicuous place is due to the subject of the following memoir.

Alexander Henderson was born about the year 1583. Of his parents and the circumstances of his early life, no authentic information has been transmitted. Being intended for the Church, he was sent to the university of St. Andrew's to complete his studies, and after having finished the usual course, and passed his degrees with applause, he was some time previous to the year 1611, elected a professor in that ancient seminary. Being a young man, ambitious of preferment, he seems to have adopted the principles, and advocated the measures of the then dominant party in the Church,

and shortly after, through the patronage of Archbishop Gladstones, he was presented to the parish of Leuchars, in the shire of Fife. This was his first ministerial appointment, and must have taken place sometime previous to the year 1615. His settlement in the charge, *thus* merited and obtained, was unpopular to such a degree, that on the day of ordination, the church doors were shut and secured by the people, so that the ministers who attended, together with the presentee, were obliged to go in by the window. It was little wonder that this was the case, considering the known and acknowledged character of the person thus obtruded upon them. With all his prejudices in favour of prelacy, he was the avowed defender of those corruptions to which the people of Scotland have ever been averse, and what was still worse, discovered but little regard for their spiritual and eternal interests.

It was not long, however, till his sentiments and character underwent a complete change.

Having heard of a communion in the neighbourhood, at which the excellent Mr. Bruce was to be an assistant, he went thither secretly; and fearful of attracting notice, placed himself in a dark corner of the church, where he might not be readily seen or known. Mr. Bruce having come into the pulpit, paused for a little, as was his usual manner, a circumstance which excited Mr. Henderson's surprise, but it astonished him much more when he heard him read as his text, these very striking words, *He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a THIEF and a ROBBER*;—which words, by the blessing of God, and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, took such hold on him at that very instant, and left such an impression on his heart afterwards, that they proved the very first means of his conversion unto Christ. Ever after he retained a great affection for Mr. Bruce, and used to make mention of him with marks of the highest respect.

We need not doubt that Mr. Henderson's change of mind would soon discover itself in his conduct, and that he would strive by all means in his power to promote the edification of the people under his charge, and to remove the offence which he had caused by his first entrance among them. A concern about personal religion, and the salvation of the souls of men, has often led to a concern about the prerogatives of the King of Zion, as connected with the external government of his Church. This was exemplified in Mr. Henderson. He began to look upon the courses of the prevailing party in the Church of Scotland with a different eye from what he had done formerly, when he was guided by a worldly spirit, and by views of ambition. Their tendency he perceived to be injurious to the interests of religion. He, however, judged it proper to give the existing controversy a deliberate investigation, the result of which was, that he found Episcopacy to be equally unauthorized by the word of God, and inconsistent with the reformed constitution of the Church of Scotland. He did not long want an opportunity of publicly declaring his change of views, and of appearing on the side of that cause which he had

hitherto discountenanced. From the time that the prelatie government had first been obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, a plan had been laid to conform her worship also to the English model. After various preparatory steps, an assembly was suddenly indicted at Perth, in the year 1618; in which, by the most undue influence, a number of superstitious innovations* were authorised. Among those ministers who had the courage to oppose these innovations, and who argued against them with great force of truth, but without success, we find the name of *Mr. Alexander Henderson of Leuchars*.

In the month of August 1619, he, with two other ministers, were called before the Court of High Commission in St. Andrew's, charged with composing and publishing a book proving the nullity of Perth Assembly, and with raising a contribution to defray the expense of printing it. They appeared, and answered for themselves with such wisdom, that the bishops could gain no advantage against them, and were obliged to dismiss them with threatenings. And from this period until the year 1637, it does not appear that he suffered much, although he continued to be watched with a jealous eye, and cramped in his exertions for promoting the cause of truth and holiness. The time which he spent, however, in this retirement, though obscure on the page of history, was not the least useful period of his life. Living sequestered in his parish, and excluded from taking any share in the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation, he had leisure to push his inquiries into the extensive field of theology, and the history of the Church, and laid up those stores of knowledge which he afterwards had an opportunity of discovering. The sedulous discharge of pastoral duties afforded him regular employment, and in the success with which this was attended, he enjoyed the purest gratification. Besides this, he met occasionally with his brethren of the same mind at fasts and communions, when they, by sermons and conferences, encouraged one another in adhering to the good old principles of the Church of Scotland, and joined in fervent supplications to God for the remedy of those evils under which they groaned. Mr. Livingston mentions Mr. Henderson as one of those "godly and able ministers" with whom he got acquainted in attending these solemn occasions, between the years 1626 and 1630, "the memory of whom," says he, "is very precious and refreshing."

At length the time for delivering the Church of Scotland arrived. In 1636, a book of *ecclesiastical canons* was sent down from England, and in the course of the same year, a book of *ordination*. After some delay, the Anglo-Popish *Liturgy*, or *Service-book*, which was intended to complete the changes, made its appearance. Had Scotland tamely submitted to this yoke, and allowed the threefold cord to be thrown over her, she might afterwards have sighed and struggled in vain for liberty. But the arbitrary manner in which

* Usually styled 'The Five Articles of Perth.'

these innovations were imposed, not less offensive than the matter of them, added to the dissatisfaction produced by former measures of the court and bishops, excited universal disgust, and aroused a spirit of opposition, which was not allayed, until not only the obnoxious acts were swept away, but the whole fabric of Episcopacy, which during so many years they had laboured to rear, was levelled with the dust. The tumult which was produced by the first reading of the Liturgy in Edinburgh, on the 23d of July 1637, is well known. And although Mr. Henderson had no share in this, or in any cabal or plot as his enemies have alleged, he, from the first intimation of the projected changes, expressed his disapprobation of them, and did not scruple, after their appearance, publicly to expose their dangerous tendency. While this endeared him to some, it irritated the ruling party against him, and was the occasion of his being singled out among the objects of prosecution, to deter others from imitating his example. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's charged him and other two ministers, to purchase each two copies of the Liturgy, for the use of their parishes, within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. Mr. Henderson immediately came to Edinburgh, and on the 23d of August, 1637, presented a petition to the privy-council for himself and his brethren, stating their objections, and praying a suspension of the charge. To this petition, and others of a similar kind from different quarters of the country, the council returned a favourable answer, and transmitted to London an account of the aversion of the country to conformity.

From this time forward, Mr. Henderson took an active share in all the measures of the petitioners against conformity, and his prudence and diligence contributed not a little to bring them to a happy issue. They soon discovered his value, and improved it by employing him in their most important and delicate transactions. After having been amused for some time with promises, the meetings of the petitioners were suddenly prohibited, by a proclamation from his Majesty, under pain of rebellion. Alarmed by this procedure, and convinced that they could not confide in the court, they saw the necessity of adopting some other method for strengthening their union. That to which they were directed was, both in a divine and human point of view, the most proper. They recollected, that formerly in a time of great danger, the nation of Scotland had entered into a solemn covenant, by which they bound themselves to continue in the true Protestant religion, and to defend and support one another in that cause against their common enemies. They therefore agreed to renew this covenant, and approved of a draught for this purpose. This draught was unanimously adopted. It was substantially the same with the national covenant, which had been sworn by all ranks, and ratified by all authorities in the kingdom during the preceding reign, but was adapted to the corruptions which had been introduced since that period, and to the circumstances in which the covenanters were placed. On the 1st of March 1638, it was sworn with uplifted hands, and subscribed in the Grayfriars church of Edinburgh by

thousands, consisting of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons, assembled from all parts of Scotland. "This memorable deed," says Mr. Laing, "of which it would be improper to forget the authors, was prepared by Alexander Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards of Warriston, an advocate in whom the suppliants chiefly confided, and revised by Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes."

The covenant being thus agreed upon, and sworn to by all ranks in the land, the Marquis of Hamilton was sent by the King with a view to suppress it. After several conferences to little purpose, he at last told the supporters of that measure, that the book of canons and liturgy should be discharged, on condition they should yield up their covenant; which proposition not only displeased them, but also made them more vigilant to support and vindicate that solemn deed. Upon this, Mr. Henderson was again set to work, and in a short time favoured the public with sufficient grounds and reasons why they should not recede from any part of it.

Some time after this, the Tables (as they were called) of Petitioners, who were assembled at Edinburgh for carrying on the Reformation, being sorry that the town and shire of Aberdeen (influenced by the persuasion of their doctors) stood out and opposed that work, sent some Noblemen with Messrs. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, to see if they could reclaim them. But upon their arrival at Aberdeen, they could have no access to preach in any church, upon which, the three ministers resolved to preach in the Earl of Marischal's close and hall, as the weather favoured them. Accordingly they preached by turns, Mr. Dickson in the morning, to a very numerous multitude; Mr. Cant at noon; and Mr. Henderson at night, to no less an auditory than in the morning; and all of them pressed arguments for subscribing the covenant; which had such effect upon the people, that, after worship was over, about 500 persons, of whom some were people of the best quality, subscribed.*

And here one thing was very remarkable. While Mr. Henderson preached, the crowd being very great, there were some who mocked: and, among the rest, one John Logie, a student, even threw clods at the commissioners. It was however, remarked, that within a few days after, this person killed a young boy; and though at that time he escaped justice, yet he was afterwards taken, and executed, in 1644. Such was the fate of him, who had been so forward in disturbing the worship of God, and mocking at the ambassadors of Jesus Christ!

In the same year, 1638, at the famous General Assembly, which met at Glasgow, the first which had been convened for a long period, Mr. Henderson, without one contrary vote, was chosen moderator. Considering the critical state of affairs, the period which had elapsed since a General Assembly had been held in

* See Stevenson's History of Church and State, vol. ii. p. 334.

Scotland, the important discussions expected, and the multitude assembled to witness them, the filling of this station in a proper manner, was of great consequence. It required a person of authority, resolution and prudence; one who could act in a difficult situation, in which he had not formerly been placed. Mr. Henderson had given evidence of his possessing these qualifications, and having by solemn prayer, constituted the Assembly *de novo*, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; he addressed the Members in a neat and appropriate speech, and indeed throughout the whole of it, fully justified the good opinion which his brethren entertained of him. To his Majesty's commissioner he behaved with the greatest respect, and at the same time with an independence and firmness which became the president of a free assembly. His behaviour to the nobility and gentry, who were members, and to his brethren in the ministry, was equally decorous. His prudence and ability were put to the test on two occasions,—the premature dissolution of the Assembly by the royal commissioner, and the excommunication of the bishops. Of his conduct in these, it is proper to give some account.

Although the King had called the Assembly, it was not his design to allow them fairly to proceed to the discussion of ecclesiastical business, and to examine and rectify abuses. The Marquis of Hamilton, his commissioner, had instructions not to consent formally to any part of their procedure, and at a proper time to oppose a nullity to the whole. On the other hand, the members considered themselves as a free Assembly, and were resolved to claim and exercise that liberty and power which they possessed, agreeably to the laws of the land, ratifying the Presbyterian government, and the freedom of its judicatories. The declinature of the bishops having been read, at the repeated request of the commissioner, the Assembly were proceeding in course to vote themselves competent judges of the libels raised against them. Upon this, the commissioner interposed, and declared that if they proceeded to this, he could continue with them no longer, and delivered his Majesty's concessions to be read and registered. After the clerk had read them, the moderator addressed his Grace in a grave and well digested speech. But again on moving the question before them, the commissioner repeated, that in this case, it behoved him to withdraw. "I wish the contrary from the bottom of my heart," said Mr. Henderson, "and that your Grace would continue to favour us with your presence, without obstructing the work and freedom of the Assembly." But after having in vain insisted on the moderator to conclude with prayer, the commissioner did, in his Majesty's name, dissolve the Assembly, discharging them under the highest pains from continuing to sit longer.

Upon the commissioner's leaving the house, the moderator delivered an animating address to the Assembly. He reminded them of the divine countenance which had hitherto been shewn to them in the midst of their greatest difficulties. At the opening of the next session, he again addressed them, putting them in mind of the

propriety of their paying particular attention, in the circumstances in which they were now placed, to gravity, quietness, and order; an advice which was punctually complied with, throughout the whole of that long Assembly.

The Assembly having finished the processes of the bishops, agreed, at the close of their 19th session, that the sentences passed against them should be publicly pronounced next day by the moderator, after a sermon to be preached by him, suitable to the solemn occasion. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he preached before a very large auditory, from Psal. cx. i. *The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool*. After narrating the steps which the Assembly had taken, and causing an abstract of the evidence against the bishops to be read for the satisfaction of the people, he, "in a very dreadful and grave manner," says one who was present, "pronounced the sentences of deposition and excommunication; the whole Assembly being deeply affected, and filled with the mingling emotions of admiration, pity, and awe."

On the day following, two supplications were given in, for liberty to transport him from Leuchars, the one to St. Andrew's, the other to Edinburgh; but to neither of these was he willing to agree, having already been nearly eighteen years minister of that parish. He pled that he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil; yet, after much contest betwixt the two parties for some days, Edinburgh carried it by seventy-five votes, very much against his inclination.—However, he submitted, on condition, that when old age should overtake him, he should again be removed to a country charge. At the conclusion of the Assembly, he addressed them in an able speech of considerable length; of which we can here only present an outline. He apologized for the imperfect manner in which he had discharged the duties of the situation in which they had placed him, and thanked them for rendering his task so easy by the manner in which they had conducted themselves; exhorted them gratefully to remember the wonderful goodness of the Almighty, and not to overlook the instances of favour which they had received from their temporal sovereign; he adverted to the galling yoke from which they had been rescued; pointed out some of the visible marks of the finger of God in effecting this; and earnestly exhorted them to a discreet use and steady maintenance of the liberties which they had obtained. "We are like a man that has lain long in irons," he observed, "who, after they are off, and he redeemed, feels not his liberty for some time, but the smart of them makes him apprehend that they are on him still: so it is with us; we do not yet feel our liberty. Take heed of a second defection; and rather endure the greatest extremity than be entangled again with the yoke of bondage." In conclusion, he inculcated upon them a favourable construction of his Majesty's opposition to them; expressed his high sense of the distinguished part which the nobles, barons, and burgesses had acted, of the harmony which had reigned among the ministers, and of the kind and

hospitable treatment which the members of Assembly had received from the city of Glasgow. After desiring some members to supply any thing which he had omitted, he concluded with prayer, singing the 133d psalm, and pronouncing the apostolical benediction. Upon which the Assembly arose in triumph. *We have now cast down the walls of Jericho*, said Mr. Henderson when the members were rising, *let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite!*

In 1639, he was one of those commissioned for the church, to treat upon the articles of pacification with* the King and his commissioners, in which difficult affair he behaved with great prudence and candour.

When the General Assembly, the same year, sat down at Edinburgh, August 12, having been the former moderator, he preached to them from Acts v. 33. *When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took counsel to slay them.* Towards the close of his discourse, he addressed John, Earl of Traquair, his Majesty's commissioner, in these words:—"We beseech your Grace to see that Cæsar have his own, but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places, within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt, they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence, for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your Grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the Church of God in this land." And to the members, he said, "Right Honourable, Worshipful, and Reverend, go on in your zeal and constancy; true zeal doth not cool, but the longer it burns the more fervent it will grow. If it shall please God, that by your means the light of the gospel shall be continued, and that you have the honour of being instrumental in a blessed Reformation, it shall be useful and comfortable to yourselves and your posterity. But let your zeal be always tempered with moderation; for zeal is a good servant, but a bad master; like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder. We had much need of Christian prudence, for we know what advantage some have attempted to take of us this way. For this reason, let it be seen to the world, that Presbytery, the government we contend for in the Church, can consist very well with monarchy in the State; and thereby we shall gain the favour of our King, and God shall get the glory." After this discourse, and the calling of the commissions, Traquair earnestly desired that Mr. Henderson might be continued moderator. Whether this was to promote his Master's designs or from a regard to Mr. Henderson's abilities, as the Earl professed, is not certain; but the Assembly opposed the motion, as favouring too much the idea of a *constant moderatorship*, one of the first steps taken towards the introduction of Prelacy; and no

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

man opposed it more than Mr. Henderson himself; so, it was over-ruled.

On the 31st of the same month, Mr. Henderson was also called upon to preach at the opening of parliament, and delivered an excellent discourse from 1 Tim. ii. 1—3, in which he treated in a masterly stile of the end, duties, and utility of Magistrates.

In the year 1640, he was placed as Rector at the head of the University of Edinburgh, by the town-council of that city. They had now resolved that the office should be annual, with the view of rendering it more efficient. Nor had they any reason to repent of the election to that office of Mr. Henderson. They empowered him to superintend all matters connected with the conduct of the principal and professors, the education of youth, the revenues, &c.; to admonish offenders, and, in case of obstinacy, to make a report to the town-council. In this office, which he appears to have enjoyed, by re-election, to his death, he exerted himself sedulously to promote the interests of that learned seminary.

From the superintendence of this peaceful seat of literature, and from his pastoral functions, Mr. Henderson was again reluctantly called by a new embroilment of public affairs. The King, yielding to the importunate solicitations of the Episcopal clergy, having refused, notwithstanding his promise at the late pacification, to ratify the conclusions of the Assembly and Parliament, suddenly prorogued the latter, denounced the Scots as rebels, and prepared again to invade the country. But the success of the Scottish army, which entered England in August 1640, necessitated him a second time to accede to pacific proposals; and a treaty to this effect was begun at Rippon, which in a short time after was transferred to London. Mr. Henderson was appointed one of the commissioners for this treaty, and on this occasion distinguished himself as the author of a very able paper, which was ultimately transmitted to the English parliament, in support of the Scottish Commissioners for "unity of religion, and uniformity of church government in the two kingdoms."

Indeed, during the whole time that he was in London, attending on the treaty, which was protracted through nine months, he was laboriously employed. Besides taking his turn with his brethren, who attended as chaplains to the Scottish commissioners, in the church of St. Antholine's, which was assigned unto them as a place of public worship, he and they were often employed in preaching for the London ministers, both on Sabbath and on other days. He prepared several tracts for the press, which were published without his name. The polishing of the most important papers of the Scottish commissioners was committed to him, before they were given in to the commissioners and Parliament of England, and those which respected religion were of his composition.

During his stay in London, he had a private conference with the King, the special object of which was to procure assistance to the universities in Scotland, from the rents formerly appropriated to the bishops. He was graciously received, and got reason to expect that his request would be complied with.

He returned to Edinburgh about the end of July, 1641. The General Assembly had met at St. Andrew's some days before; but as the Parliament, who were sitting in Edinburgh, had sent to request them to translate themselves to that place, for the conveniency of those who were members of both, and as they wished that Mr. Henderson, who had not then returned from London, should act as moderator of this meeting, the members agreed that they should meet at Edinburgh on the 27th of July, and that the former moderator should preside until that time. Mr. Henderson had been elected a member of this Assembly; but, as it was uncertain if he could be present, his constituents had elected Mr. Fairfoul to supply his place in case of his absence, and *he* had taken his seat at St. Andrew's. Upon Mr. Henderson's arrival, Mr. Fairfoul proposed to give place to him. This was keenly opposed by Mr. Calderwood, who insisted that his commission could not now be received; in which he was seconded by Mr. Henderson himself. But the Assembly sustained his commission, and although he deprecated the burden of moderating, this also was, by a plurality of votes, laid upon him.

Mr. Henderson delivered to the Assembly a letter which he had brought with him, from a number of ministers in London and its vicinity, requesting advice from the Assembly respecting the opinions of some of their brethren who inclined to Independency, and popular government in the Church. The Assembly gave him instructions to answer this letter. He also moved, that the Assembly should take steps for drawing up a confession of faith, catechism, directory for worship, and platform of government, in which England might afterwards agree with them; a motion which was unanimously approved of, and the burden of preparing them at first hand was laid upon the mover; liberty being at the same time given him, to abstain from preaching when he should find it necessary in attending to this interesting business, and of calling in the aid of such of his brethren as he pleased. He declined the task as too arduous, but it was left upon him; and there can be little doubt, that this early appointment contributed to prepare him for giving assistance in that work, when it was afterwards undertaken by the Assembly at Westminster.

Previous to the conclusion of this Assembly, he petitioned for liberty to be translated from Edinburgh. He urged, that his voice was too weak for any of the churches in town; that his health was worse there than in any other place, so that to keep him there was to kill him; and that, in the act for his translation from Leuchars there was an express clause, which provided that he should have the liberty which he now craved. The Assembly were much perplexed by this petition. It was at last granted however, but he either did not find it necessary, or was prevailed upon not to make use of the liberty which he obtained.

King Charles, having come to Scotland to be present at the Parliament held at this time, attended on the forenoon of the Sabbath after his arrival, at the Abbey Church, and heard Mr.

Henderson preach from Rom. xi. 36. *For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.* In the afternoon he absented himself; but Mr. Henderson having conversed with him respecting this, he afterwards gave constant attendance. Having been appointed his chaplain, Mr. Henderson performed family-worship in the palace every morning and evening, after the Scottish form. His Majesty attended duly upon this service, and exhibited no symptom of dissatisfaction or scruple at the want of a liturgy and ceremonies; a circumstance which gave the Scots encouragement, to expect that he would easily give way to the reformation of the English service. On the last day of the meeting of Parliament, which it was the custom to hold with great solemnity, his Majesty being seated on his throne, and the estates in their places, Mr. Henderson began with prayer; and the business being finished, he closed the meeting with a sermon. The revenues of the bishoprics being divided at this Parliament; Mr. Henderson exerted himself on the occasion for the Scottish universities; and by his influence, what belonged to the bishopric of Edinburgh, and priory, was not without difficulty, procured for the university of that city. And as a recompence for his own laborious and expensive services in the cause of the public, the emoluments of the chapel-royal, amounting to about 4000 merks a-year, were conferred upon him.

Some of his friends were displeased with his conduct during this Parliament, particularly in using means to screen from punishment some persons who had entered into engagements, hostile to the late proceedings of the nation; and reports, injurious to his character, and the purity of his motives, were circulated, and, as is common in such cases, met with too easy belief. But one, who differed from him in opinion as to the measures in question, bears witness, that "his great honesty, and unparalleled abilities to serve this Church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted." In the next Assembly, he made a long and impassioned apology for his conduct. He said, that certain things for which he was blamed were done by the commissioners of the Church, not by him; that what he had received from the King for his attendance upon a painful charge, was no pension; that he had as yet touched none of it; that he was vexed with injurious calumnies. Having vented his mind, and received the sympathy of his brethren, and the assurances of their unshaken confidence in him, he recovered his cheerfulness.

During the year 1642, Mr. Henderson was employed in managing the correspondence with England respecting ecclesiastical reformation and union. The Parliament of England having abolished Prelacy, requested that some divines should be sent from Scotland to assist in the Synod which they had agreed to call. Upon this the commission of the Church met, and, being authorised by the former General Assembly, appointed certain persons as commissioners, to be ready to repair to England as soon as it should be necessary. Mr. Henderson was one of these. He was averse to the appointment, protesting, that on his former journey he thought

he should have died before he reached London; but he at last acquiesced, not without complaining, that some persons were ready to impose heavy burdens upon him, and afterwards to invent or receive reports injurious to his character.

The dissensions between the King and Parliament, which had now burst out into a civil war, for some time hindered this journey. Mr. Henderson was sincerely disposed to use every proper means for effecting a reconciliation, and joined with a number of leading men in an invitation to the Queen to come to Scotland, with a view of promoting a mediation; a proposition which was rejected by the King. After this, he went in person to his Majesty at Oxford, in company with the commissioners, who were sent to offer the mediation of Scotland. The interview, however, produced no good effect. At first his Majesty treated him with much attention, and strove to convince him of the justice of his cause; but as soon as he found that he did not acquiesce in his representation, his behaviour to him altered completely. He expressed high offence at the interest that the Scots took in the reformation of England, vindicated his employing of Papists in the army, and refused an allowance to the commissioners to proceed to London to treat with the Parliament. They were forthwith insulted in the streets by the inhabitants of Oxford, and were even under apprehensions of their personal safety. While Mr. Henderson remained there, some of the university divines wished to engage him in controversy, by proposing certain questions to him respecting church government, but he declined the dispute, and signified that his business was with the King. Upon his return to Edinburgh, the commissioners of the Church expressed their entire satisfaction with his conduct, and their judgment was approved by the next Assembly, who pronounced his carriage to have been "faithful and wise."

The Scots being highly dissatisfied with the treatment which their commissioners had received at Oxford, soon after entered into a very close alliance with the Parliament of England, in consequence of which Mr. Henderson was, afterwards, again sent to London.

Meantime, however, upon his return he was chosen moderator to the General Assembly of 1643; which was rendered remarkable by the presence of the English commissioners, viz. Sir William Armysn, Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley, from the parliament, together with two ministers, viz. Stephen Marshall, a Presbyterian, and Philip Nye, an Independent. These persons were commissioned to the General Assembly, craving their aid and counsel upon the then emergent circumstances of both kingdoms, and in their presence the business of the Assembly was conducted by Mr. Henderson in his official capacity, with great dignity and decorum. He was among the first of those nominated as commissioners, to go up in return to the parliament and Assembly of England. And so in a little after, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Gillespie, with Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Nye, set out for London, to have the solemn league ratified there, it having been agreed upon, that the union between the two kingdoms should be cemented by such a deed. They set sail from Leith

on the 30th of August. The rest of the commissioners stayed behind, until it should be returned.—Upon their arrival at London where the Assembly of Divines were now sitting, and to whom they were appointed to represent the Church of Scotland, Mr. Henderson and his brethren, received a warrant from the parliament to sit in the next meeting. This warrant was presented by Mr. Henderson, upon which the Assembly sent out three of their number to introduce them. At their entry, Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, arose and welcomed them in name of the Assembly, and complimented them for the hazard they had undergone in the public cause, both by sea and land; after which, they were led to a place the most convenient in the house, which they kept ever after.*

The solemn league having already been approved by the two Houses of Parliament, and this venerable Assembly, the members of the latter, with those of the House of Commons, convened in St. Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 25th of September; and having first sworn, afterwards subscribed it. Immediately before they proceeded to this solemn work, Mr. Henderson delivered an address to them, in which he warmly recommended the duty, as pleasing to God, exemplified by other churches and kingdoms, and accompanied with the most astonishing success.

During the three years following, he remained at London; and was unremittingly employed in assisting the Assembly in preparing the public formularies for the religious union between the three kingdoms, which had been sworn in the solemn league. Being a stranger, and sustaining, with the rest of the commissioners from Scotland, a peculiar relation to the Assembly, he spoke but seldom in its debates. But when it was necessary to vindicate the principles of the Church of Scotland, and of the other reformed churches, from slanderous imputations, he did not keep silence. Mr. Nye, having one day undertaken to demonstrate, that the Presbyterian mode of drawing a whole kingdom under one national assembly, was formidable and pernicious to civil states and kingdoms,—Mr. Henderson, indignant at such language from one who had solemnly engaged to preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, with honest warmth repelled the charge. He remonstrated against the inflammatory tendency of such speeches, and shewed that he had calumniated not only the Church of Scotland, but all reformed churches whatever. His wisdom was displayed in preserving harmony among the members of Assembly, as to those measures which were requisite

* The following account of the order of this famous assembly, may be esteemed interesting. The prolocutor, Dr. Twisse, had a chair set at the upper end of the chapel, raised about a foot above the floor; before it stood two chairs for Dr. Burgess and Mr. White, the assessors; before these stood a table, where Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roberough, two scribes, sat; upon the prolocutor's right hand sat the Scots commissioners, on the left hand the English divines to the number of about 118, whereof about two-thirds only attended close. They met every day of the week except Saturday, for six or seven hours at a time, and began and ended with prayer.

in the prosecution of the cause, which they had all solemnly sworn to promote. But while he exerted himself in reconciling differences which arose respecting subordinate steps of procedure, he steadily resisted every attempt to introduce principles contradictory to those of the Church of Scotland, and the other reformed and Presbyterian churches.

In the beginning of the year 1645, Mr. Henderson was appointed to assist the commissioners of the two Parliaments, in the treaty between them and the King, at Uxbridge. The parliamentary commissioners were instructed to demand the abolition of Episcopacy, and the ratification of the Presbyterian government. The King's commissioners objected to the abolition of Episcopacy, upon which it was agreed to hear the divines on both sides. Mr. Henderson opened the case, and took up the ground which bade fairest for bringing the question to that speedy issue which the state of matters required. Waving the dispute as to the lawfulness of Episcopacy, he said, "The question now was, Whether or not that form of government was necessary and essential to the Church? He argued that it was not; and that in this opinion he was supported by the most eminent advocates for the Church of England since the Reformation, who had not pleaded for the divine institution, or the necessity of Episcopacy." But the advocates for Episcopacy were determined not to risk their cause upon such grounds as were palpable to all, and studied to involve the question, by introducing at large, the question respecting Episcopal government. The dispute continued a considerable time; and although, as is common on such occasions, each party claimed the victory, yet, in the judgment of auditors who must be allowed not to have been prejudiced in favour of the divine right of Presbytery, Mr. Henderson, while he equalled the King's commissioners in learning, surpassed them far in modesty. The treaty being broken off, he returned to London, and continued to assist the Assembly of Divines in their labours.

Towards the close of this year, it was judged necessary that he, with some others, should go down to Scotland, to attempt to bring about better correspondence among the nobility, who, in consequence of the distresses of the country occasioned by the ravages of the Earl of Montrose, had fallen into disunion and animosities, which were fomented by the secret artifices of the Court. But, just when they were ready to take their journey, Mr. Henderson was stopped, in consequence of the earnest request of the ministers and city of London, who represented the impropriety of his absence at that critical time, when certain questions, upon which the uniformity between the kingdoms turned, were in dependence.

In the spring of 1646, the King's affairs being entirely ruined, he threw himself, without any previous notice, into the Scottish army, which retired with him to Newcastle. He had no sooner arrived there, than he sent for Mr. Henderson, who was his chaplain, to come to him. This was a critical moment. The only measure which promised settlement to the nation, and the restoration of the King to the exercise of his authority, was his speedy consent to the estab-

lishment of the Presbyterian reformation. Mr. Henderson was judged the most fit person to deal with his Majesty about the necessity of a speedy compliance with this; and in these circumstances, notwithstanding his unfitness for the journey, he complied with the King's request.

He arrived at Newcastle about the middle of May. From his Majesty he received a welcome reception, but soon perceived, not without deep concern, that he had been deceived as to his hopes of his compliance with the requisitions of Parliament. Charles signified, that he could not in conscience consent to the abolition of Episcopacy; and proposed, that Mr. Henderson should carry on a dispute with some Episcopal divines, of whose names he gave him a list, in his presence. This Mr. Henderson declined, as what he had no authority to undertake, and what would be exceedingly prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs. It was, therefore, agreed, that the scruples which the King entertained, should be discussed in a series of papers, which should pass privately between him and Mr. Henderson. These continued from the 29th of May to the 15th of July. The papers are eight in number, five by his Majesty, who was assisted in the dispute by Sir Robert Murray, and three by Mr. Henderson.

During this controversy, Mr. Henderson's constitution having been much worn out with fatigue and travail, began to give way, and he was obliged to break off an answer to the King's last paper, and to return to Edinburgh, where in a little time after his arrival, he laid down his earthly tabernacle, in exchange for an heavenly crown, on the 19th of August 1646.

His body was interred in the Grayfriars' church-yard. As he had no family of his own, his nephew, Mr. George Henderson, performed the last kind office of humanity to his earthly part, and erected a monument over his grave with suitable inscriptions. These inscriptions testify the high esteem in which Mr. Henderson was held at the time by all classes. After the Restoration, when every species of indignity was done to the preceding work of Reformation, and those who had been active in promoting it, the Earl of Middleton, the King's commissioner, procured an order of Parliament for erasing them, and otherwise disfiguring the monument. But at the Revolution, justice was again done to his memory. The monument was repaired, and the inscriptions replaced.*

* The Monument still stands entire on the South-west side of the Grayfriars' church. It is a quadrangular pillar, with an urn at the top. On one side the inscription begins with these words,

Hanc quisquis urnam transiens, &c.

On another side it begins,

Qui contra grassantes per fraudem et tyrannidem.

And the English inscription on a third side, is,

Reader bedew thine eyes,

Not that this dust here lies;

Had his enemies merely wrecked their resentment upon his perishable monument, it would have been a small matter; but they industriously strove to blast his immortal reputation. Laying hold upon the circumstance of his having died soon after his conferences with the king at Newcastle, they circulated the report that he had become a convert to his Majesty's cause, and that remorse for the part he had acted against him had hastened his death. But this report, which had not the least shadow of foundation, was contradicted by the concurring testimony of all who had access to be acquainted with his sentiments during that time.

The removal of Mr. Henderson at such a critical juncture was a great loss to the Presbyterian cause, and as such was lamented by the wisest men in the three kingdoms. He was enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man, and was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct, than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite; firm and independent, yet modest and condescending, he commanded the respect, and conciliated the affection, of all who were acquainted with him; and the more intimately his friends knew him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and tasted the comforts of the gospel. Its spirit, equally removed from the coldness of the mere rationalist, and the irregular fervours of the enthusiast, breathed in all his words and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general.

Called forth by the irresistible cry of his country, reduced to the utmost distress by the oppression of ambitious prelates who were supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business at a time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his former solitude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause.

In forming an estimate of Mr. Henderson's character, it would be improper to overlook his qualifications for assisting in ecclesiastical judicatories, and particularly the supreme council of the church to which he belonged, in which he repeatedly occupied the situation of moderator. Without infringing the liberty of the court, he could urge on a vote, or put a stop to tedious debate and desultory con-

It quicken shall again,
And aye in joy remain;
But for thyself the church and states,
Whose woe this dust prognosticates.

The fourth side of the pillar has no inscription

versation. It was his custom, as moderator, to introduce an important question with a short speech, in which he gave a perspicuous view of the cause; and after its discussion, he also said a few words, recapitulating the grounds of the Assembly's judgment. The pertinent and religious reflections which he threw in on remarkable occurrences had often a most happy effect, sometimes filling the Assembly with deep concern, at other times cheering and elevating their minds amidst discouragements and heaviness. But, among all his qualifications, what deserves particular attention, was that faculty of fervent, sweet and appropriate prayer, which he exercised without flagging, through all the assemblies in which he moderated.

One of his colleagues and intimate acquaintances gives him no mean testimony, when he says, "May I be permitted to conclude with my earnest wish, that that glorious soul of worthy memory, who is now crowned with the reward of all his labours for God and us, may be fragrant among us as long as free and pure Assemblies remain in this land; which I hope shall be to the coming of our Lord. You know he spent his strength, wore out his days, and that he did breathe out his life in the service of God, and of His Church; this binds it on us and posterity, to account him the fairest ornament, after Mr. John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy."*

In consequence of his unremitting employment in public business, he had little leisure for preparing works for the press. The few sermons of his which were published, although composed hastily amidst a multiplicity of avocations, afford very favourable specimens of his talents, and justify the reputation which he gained in this species of composition. As a public speaker, he was eloquent, judicious, and popular. His eloquence was easy, but impressive; grave, but fluent. It was like the motion of a deep river, which carries one along insensibly with a full tide, rather than the rapidity of a swollen torrent. "Whenever he preached," says Grainger, "it was to crowded audiences; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with mute attention."

GEORGE GILLESPIE.

GEORGE GILLESPIE was the son of Mr. John Gillespie, some time minister of the Gospel at Kirkcaldy. After he had been for some time at the university, where he surpassed most of his fellow-students, he was licensed to preach, some years previous to 1638, but could have no admission into any parish, because of the bishops having then the ascendant in the affairs of the Church. This

* Mr. Bailey, in his speech to the General Assembly, 1647.

obliged him to remain for some time as chaplain * in the family of the Earl of Cassilis. And here it was that he wrote that elaborate piece, though he was scarcely twenty-five years of age, entitled, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, &c.*; which book was in the year 1637 prohibited, by proclamation, from being read, it being of too corrosive a quality to be digested by the bishops' weak stomachs.

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

At the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in 1641, a call was tabled for Mr. Gillespie, from the town of Aberdeen; but in this instance the Lord Commissioner and himself pled his cause so well, that he was still continued at Wemyss. Yet he did not get staying there long; for the General Assembly, in the following year, ordered him to be transported to the city of Edinburgh, where it appears he continued until the day of his death, which was about six years after.

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

And although all our Scots commissioners had great advantages,

* It appears he was also chaplain to the Viscount Kenmuir, about the year 1634.

in that they had the first forming of all those pieces * which were afterwards revised and approved of by that Assembly, yet no one was more useful in supporting them therein than Mr. Gillespie. "None (says one of his colleagues who was present) in all the Assembly, did reason more pertinently than Mr. Gillespie: he is an excellent youth; my heart blesses God in his behalf." Again, when the passage, Acts xv. 22.† was brought forward in proof of the power of ordination, and keen disputing arose upon it,—“the very learned and accurate Gillespie,” says Mr. Baillie, a singular ornament “of our Church, than whom not one in the Assembly spoke to better purpose, nor with better acceptance to all the hearers, showed that the Greek word, by the Episcopalians, translated *Ordination*, was truly *Choosing*, importing the people’s suffrages in electing their own office-bearers.” And elsewhere he says of him, “We get good help in our Assembly debates of Lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr. Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the Assembly.”‡

After his return from the Westminster Assembly, he was employed in most of the public affairs of the Church, until 1648, when he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly. In this Assembly several famous acts were made in favour of the covenanted work of Reformation, particularly that in reference to the unlawful engagement against England, at that time entered into, by the Duke of Hamilton, and those of the malignant faction. He was also one of those nominated by this assembly, to prosecute the treaty of uniformity in religion with England; but in a short time afterwards, his last sickness seized him, and he died about the 17th of December following.

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

During his life he was always firmly attached to the work of Reformation, and continued so to the end. For about two months before his decease, he sent a paper to the Commission of the General Assembly, in which he gave faithful warning against every sin and

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

† The Editor has taken upon him to alter this reference. In the previous editions, it is Acts xvii. 28; which passage has no connection with the subject in question: He has fixed upon that given in the text, as being more likely to have been referred to in discussing such a point.

‡ See Baillie’s Letters.

backsliding that he then perceived to be growing in Church and State: and last of all, he emitted the following faithful testimony against association and compliance with the enemies of truth and true godliness in these words:

“ Seeing now, in all appearance, the time of my dissolution draweth near, although I have, in my latter will declared my mind of public affairs, yet I have thought good to add this further testimony, that I esteem the malignant party in these kingdoms to be the seed of the serpent, enemies to piety and Presbyterial government, pretend what they will to the contrary; a generation who have not set God before them. With the malignant are to be joined the profane and scandalous; from all which, as from heresy and error, the Lord, I trust, is about to purge his Church. I have often comforted myself, and still do, with the hopes of the Lord’s purging this polluted land. Surely the Lord hath began, and will carry on that great work of mercy, and will purge out the rebels. I know there will be always a mixture of hypocrites; but that cannot excuse the conniving at gross and scandalous sinners. I recommend to them that fear God, seriously to consider, that the holy scriptures doth plainly hold forth, 1. That the helping of the enemies of God, joining or mingling with wicked men, is a sin highly displeasing. 2. That this sin hath ordinarily ensnared God’s people into divers other sins. 3. That it hath been punished of God with grievous judgments. And 4. That utter destruction is to be feared, when a people, after great mercies and judgments, relapse into this sin.*

“ Upon these and the like grounds, for my own exoneration, that so necessary a truth want not the testimony of a dying witness of Christ, although the unworthiest of many thousands, and that light may be held forth, and warning given, I cannot be silent at this time, but speak by my pen when I cannot by my tongue, yea, now also by the pen of another, when I cannot by my own, seriously, and in the name of Jesus Christ, exhorting and obtesting all that fear God, and make conscience of their ways, to be very tender and circumspect, to watch and pray, that they be not ensnared in that great and dangerous sin of compliance with malignant or profane enemies of the truth, which if men will do, and trust God in his own way, they shall not repent it, but to the greater joy and peace of God’s people, they shall see his work go on and prosper gloriously. In witness of these premises, I have subscribed the same, at Kirkcaldy, 15th December, 1648, before these witnesses.” In about two days after, he gave up the ghost, death shutting his eyes, that he might see God, and be for ever with Him.

Thus died George Gillespie, very little past the prime of life; an excellent divine, a man of much boldness, and great freedom of expression. He signalized himself on every occasion in which he was called to exercise any part of his ministerial function. No man’s death, at the time, was more lamented than his; and such was the

* Ezra ix. 13, 14.

sense the public had of his merit, that the Committee of Estates, by an act dated December 20, 1648, did, "as an acknowledgment for his faithfulness in all the public employments intrusted to him by this Church, both at home and abroad, his faithful labours, and indefatigable diligence in all the exercises of his ministerial calling, for his Master's service, and his learned writings published to the world, in which rare and profitable employments, both for Church and state, he truly spent himself, and closed his days, ordain, That the sum of one thousand pounds sterling should be given to his wife and children." And though the parliament, by their act dated June 8, 1650, unanimously ratified the above resolution, and recommended to their Committee to make the same effectual; yet the Usurper presently over-running the country, this good design was frustrated, as his grandson, the Rev. George Gillespie, minister of Strathmiglo, did afterwards declare.*

Besides, "The English Popish Ceremonies" already mentioned, he wrote also, "Aaron's Rod Blossoming," and his Miscellaneous Questions, first printed in 1649; all which, with the forecited testimony and some other papers, show that he was a man of most profound parts, learning, and abilities.

JOHN M'CLELLAND.

AFTER having gone through the several branches of useful learning, Mr. M'Clelland was for some time employed in teaching a school at Newton in Ireland; where he became instrumental in training up some very hopeful young men for the university. He was afterwards tried and approved of by the Presbyterian ministers in the county of Down, and being licensed, preached in their churches, until, among others, for his faithfulness, he was deposed and excommunicated by the bishops.

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

It would appear he was married to one of Mr. Livingstone's wife's sisters, and the strictest friendship subsisted betwixt him and that worthy man, both while in Ireland, and after their return to

* See Preface to Stevenson's History.

Scotland. While he was minister of Kirkcudbright, he discovered more than ordinary diligence, not only in testifying against the corruptions of the time, but also for his own singular walk and conversation, being one who was set for the advancement of all the interests of religion, and that as well in private duties as in public. For instance, when Mr. Guthrie, then minister at Stirling, (afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld,) thought to have brought in a complaint to the General Assembly of 1639, against private society meetings, which were then become numerous throughout the land, some of the leading members, knowing that he did it partly out of resentment against the Laird of Leckie, who was a great supporter of these meetings, thought proper, rather than that it should come to the Assembly, to agree that he should preach up the duty and necessity of family religion, and that Messrs. M'Clelland, Blair, and Livingstone, should preach against such meetings, and other abuses. These brethren, however, whilst they endeavoured by conference to gain such as had offended by excess in this practice, could by no means be prevailed on to preach against it, which so offended Mr. Guthrie, that he gave in a complaint to the General Assembly of 1640, alleging that these three ministers were the only encouragers of the meetings complained of. Mr. M'Clelland took him up and craved that a committee might be appointed to investigate the disorders in question, and to censure the offenders, whether those complained of or the complainers, which so nettled Mr. Guthrie, the Earl of Seaforth, and others of their fraternity, that nothing for some time was heard in the Assembly, on account of the confusion and noise stirred up by them.

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

* The worthy compiler will have it that some of the worthies were prophets. The first part of this sentence, "the spirit of discerning what should afterwards come to pass," is, however, strong enough; and this may be conceded without admitting a supernatural gift. About a dozen years ago, when Buonaparte was about to invade Russia, I recollect reading in a newspaper, that one who had endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, finding he could not prevail, quoted to him the proverb, "Man proposes, but God disposes," to which he indignantly replied, I dispose as well as propose. A Christian lady, who never pretended to have the gift of prophecy, on hearing the impious boast, remarked, "I set that down as the turning point of Buonaparte's fortunes. God will not suffer a creature with impunity, thus to usurp his prerogative." This was no certain ground to conclude any thing with regard to Buonaparte's mortal career, because such impiety is not always punished in the present life. We know of one who sits in the temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God, and that is worshipped; and he has practised and prospered for hundreds of years. It happened to Buonaparte, however, just as the lady predicted. His invasion of Russia was the commencement of his fall; and I believe this was as good a prophecy as any since the apostles' days.

“ My noble Lord,

“ I have received yours, and do acknowledge my obligation to your Lordship is redoubled. I long much to hear what decision followed on that debate concerning patronages.* Upon the most exact trial, they will be found a great plague to the kirk, an obstruction to the propagation of religion. I have reason to hope that such a wise and well-constitute parliament will be loath to lay such a yoke upon the churches, of so little advantage to any man, and so prejudicial to the work of God, as hath been many times represented. Certainly the removing it were the stopping the way of simony, except we will apprehend that whole presbyteries will be bribed for patronage. I can say no more but what Christ said to the Pharisees, ‘ It was not so from the beginning;’ the primitive Church knew nothing of it.

“ But as for their pernicious disposition to a rupture with the sectaries, I can say nothing to them; only this, I conclude their judgment sleeps not: *Shall they escape? shall they break the covenant and be delivered?*† which I dare apply to England, I hope, without wresting of Scripture: *And therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense on his own head.* This covenant was made with Nebuchadnezzar, the matter was civil, but the tie was religious; wherefore the Lord owns it as his covenant, be-

* Although patronage be a yoke upon the neck of the Church, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, contrary to the following scriptures, viz. Acts i. 13. &c. vi. 6. xiv. 23. 2 Cor. viii. 19. to the practice of the primitive church, to reason, and to the natural rights of mankind; yet in the beginning of our Reformation from Popery, it was somewhat more tolerable (not to say necessary) than now, when there were few ministers, the people but just emerging out of gross darkness, and our noblemen and gentlemen being then generally not only pious religious men, but also promoters of the Reformation, (the quite contrary of which is the case at present;) but still our wise reformers, while in an advancing state, made several acts, both in Church and state, as barriers against this increasing evil, and never rested until, by an act of parliament 1649, they got it utterly abolished. Soon after the Restoration, this act, among others, was declared null, and patronage in its full force restored; which continued till the Revolution, when its form was changed, by taking that power from patrons, and lodging it in the hands of such heritors and elders as were qualified by law. But as if this had not been enough to denude the people of that right purchased to them by the blood of Christ, patronage was, in its full extent, by act of parliament 1712, restored, and is now universally practised, with as bad circumstances as ever. And yet it is to be feared after all, that there are many now a-days more irritated and chagrined at this evil, because it more sensibly crosses their own inclination, than because it is an usurpation upon the Church of Christ, else they would give a more ample testimony against the other branches of encroachment made upon Christ's crown and royal dignity. Those who would see more of the evil consequences of patronage, and popular elections vindicated, may consult *Rectius instruendum*; Park upon Patronage; the Suffrages of the People; the Full Vindication of the People's Right, a plea for the Church of Scotland against Patronage; the Candid Inquiry; and, An Attempt to prove every species of Patronage foreign to the nature of the Church, &c.

† Ezek. xvii. 16, &c.

cause God's name was invoked and interponed in it: and he calls England to witness. England's covenant was not made with Scotland only, but with the high and mighty God, principally for the reformation of his house, and it was received in the most solemn manner that I have heard; so that they may call it God's covenant both formally and materially: and the Lord did second the making of it with more than ordinary success to that nation. Now, it is manifestly despised and broken in the sight of all nations; therefore it remains that the Lord avenge the quarrel of his covenant.* England hath had to do with the Scots, French, Danes, Picts, Normans, and Romans, but they never had such a party to deal with as the Lord of armies, pleading for the violation of his covenant, &c. Englishmen shall be made spectacles to all nations for a broken covenant, when the living God swears, *As I live, even the covenant that he hath despised, and the oath that he hath broken, will I recompense upon his own head.* There is no place left for doubting. *Hath the Lord said it, hath the Lord sworn it? and will he not do it?* His assertion is a ground for faith, his oath a ground of full assurance of faith, if all England were as one man, united in judgment and affection, and if it had a wall round about it reaching to the sun, and if it had as many armies as it has men, and every soldier had the strength of Goliath, and if their navies could cover the ocean, and if there were none to peep out or move the tongue against them, yet I dare not doubt of their destruction; when the Lord hath sworn by his life, that he will avenge the breach of covenant. When, and by whom, and in what manner he will do it, I do profess ignorance, and leave it to his glorious Majesty, his own latitude, and will commit it to him, &c.

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

JOHN M'CLELLAND.”

A very little after he wrote this letter, in one of his sermons he expressed himself much to the same purpose, Thus: “The judg-

* And may we not tremble and be afraid of the same judgments? for how applicable is this to our case in Scotland at present, wherein these our national vows and covenants are not only slighted and neglected, yea, flouted at by many in this profane generation, but even some having a more seeming zeal for religion, stand not to argue and say, “That although these covenants were binding on our forefathers who made and took them, yet they can be no way obligatory on us, who were never personally engaged therein.” But let such for certainty know that as these solemn vows have their foundation in scripture, Num. xxx. 2. Deut. x. 3. Josh. xxiv. 11. Psalm. lxxvi. 25. Isa. xix. 18. Jer. 1. 5. Gal. iii. 15. the duties engaged to therein being purely theological and moral, they must have respect unto all circumstances and periods of time; and besides their form being *formalis ratio* i. e. formal reason, and the action solemn, the Majesty of Heaven being both a party and witness therein, the obligation must be perpetual, which no mortal on earth can lawfully dispense with, and so must bind and oblige all Scotsmen under penalty of breach of God's covenant, while sun and moon endure.

DAVID CALDERWOOD.

ments of England shall be so great, that a man shall ride fifty miles through the best plenished parts of England, before he hear a cock crow, a dog bark, or see a man's face." Also he farther asserted, "that if he had the best land of all England, he would make sale of it for two shillings the acre, and think he had come to a good market."* And although this may not have had its full accomplishment as yet, still there is ground to believe that it will be fulfilled, for the Lord will not alter the word that is gone out of his mouth.†

Mr. M'Clelland continued nearly twelve years at Kirkcudbright. About the year 1650, he was called home to his Father's house, to the full fruition of that which he had before seen in vision.

He was a man most strict and zealous in his life, and knew not what it was to be afraid of any man in the cause of God, being one who was most nearly acquainted with him, and knew much of his Master's will. Surely the Lord doth nothing but what he revealeth to his servants the prophets.

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

Come, stingless death, have o'er, lo! here's my pass,
In blood character'd by his hand who was,
And is, and shall be. Jordan, cut thy stream,
Make channels dry. I bear my Father's name,
Stamp't on my brow. I'm ravished with my crown,
I shine so bright, down with all glory, down,
That world can give. I see the peerless port,
The golden street, the blessed soul's resort!—
The tree of life, floods gushing from the throne,
Call me to joys. Begone, short woes, begone;
I live to die, but now I die to live,
I now enjoy more than I could believe.
The promise me unto possession sends,
Faith in fruition, hope in having, ends.

DAVID CALDERWOOD.

MR. CALDERWOOD, after having spent some time at the grammar-school, went to the university to study theology, with a view to the ministry. And after a short time being found fit for that office, he was appointed minister of Crailing, near Jedburgh. Here for a considerable time, he preached the word of God with great wisdom,

* See the forementioned letter and note in a pamphlet entitled, *Some Predictions or Prophecies of our Scots worthies*, from p. 20, &c.

† This is very true; but it is not proved that God ever spoke such words concerning England. Certainly this prediction has not been fulfilled, though Mr. M'Clelland, from what he says he would do if he had land to sell, seems to have expected it at no distant date.

zeal, and diligence, and as a faithful wise harvest-man, brought in many sheaves into God's granary. But it being then a time when pre-lacy was on the advance in the Church, and faithful ministers every where thrust out and suppressed, he, among the rest, gave in his declinature in 1608, and thereupon took instruments in the hands of a notary-public, in presence of some of the magistrates and council of the town. Upon this information being given to the King by the bishops, a direction was sent down from him to the Council, to punish him and another minister who declined, exemplarily; but by the earnest dealing of the Earl of Lothian with the Chancellor, in favour of Mr. Calderwood, their punishment resolved only into confinement within their own parish.

Here he continued, therefore, until June 1617, when he was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at St. Andrew's, upon the 8th of July following. Being called upon, and his libel read and answered, the King being present, among other things said, "What moved you to protest?"—"An article concluded among the Lords of the Articles," Mr. Calderwood answered. "But what fault was there in it," said the King. "It cutteth off our General Assemblies," was his reply. The King, having the protestation* in his hand, challenged him for some words of the last clause of it. He answered, "Whatsoever was the phrase of speech, they meant no other thing but to protest, that they would give passive obedience to his Majesty, but could not give active obedience unto any unlawful thing which should flow from that article." "Active and passive obedience!" said the king.—"That is, we will rather suffer than practise," said Mr. Calderwood. "I will tell thee," said the King, "what is obedience, man.—What the centurion said to his servants, *To this man, Go, and he goeth, and to that man, Come, and he cometh*, that is obedience."—He answered, "To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit not of the same kind; and that obedience was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a superior power." "I am informed," said the king, "ye are a refractor; the Bishop of Glasgow your ordinary, and Bishop of Caithness the moderator, and your presbytery, testify ye have kept no order, ye have repaired to neither presbytery nor synod, and are no way conform. He answered, "I have been confined these eight or nine years, so my conformity or non-conformity in that point could not be well known." "Gude faith, thou art a very knave," said the King; "see these same false Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations."—The King asked, if he was released, if he would obey or not?—He answered, "I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer such questions, which are beside the libel," after which he was removed.

When called in again, it was intimated to him, that if he did not repair to synods and presbyteries between this and October,

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

conform in that time, and promise obedience in all time coming, the Bishop of Glasgow was to deprive him. He then begged leave to speak to the bishops; which being granted, he reasoned thus:

Neither can ye suspend or deprive me in this Court of High Commission, for ye have no power in this court but by commission from his Majesty; his Majesty cannot communicate that power to you which he claims not to himself." At which the King wagged his head, and said to him, "Are there not bishops and fathers in the church, persons clothed with power and authority to suspend, and depose?"—"Not in this court," answered Mr. Calderwood. At which words there arose a confused noise, so that he was obliged to extend his voice, that he might be heard. In the end the King asked him, if he would obey the sentence? To which he answered, "Your sentence is not the sentence of the Kirk, but a sentence null in itself, and therefore I cannot obey it." At which some, reviling, calling him a proud knave. Others were not ashamed to shake his shoulders, in a most insolent manner, till at last he was removed a second time.

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

He was committed a close prisoner, and the same afternoon a charge was given to transport him to the jail of Edinburgh. Upon this, he was delivered to two of the guard to be transported thither, although several offered to bail him, that he might not go out of the country. But no order of council could be had to that effect, for the King had it in design to keep him in close ward till a ship was ready to convey him first to London, and then to Virginia. But Providence had ordered otherwise; for, upon several petitions in his behalf, he was liberated from prison, upon Lord Cranston being bail that he should depart out of the country.

After this, he went with Lord Cranston to the King at Carlisle, where the said Lord presented a petition in his favour, to the effect that he might only be confined to his parish; but the King inveighed against him so much, that at last he repulsed Cranston with his elbow. He insisted again for a prorogation of the time of his

departure till the last of April, because of the winter-season, that he might have leisure to get up his year's stipend.—The king answered, "Howbeit he begged, it were no matter, he would know himself better the next time; and for the season of the year, if he drowned in the seas, he might thank God that he had escaped a worse death." Yet Cranston being so importunate for the prorogation, the King answered, I will advise with my bishops. Thus the time was delayed until the year, 1619, that he wrote a book, called *Perth Assembly*, when he was condemned by the Council in December of that year;—but, as he himself says,* neither the book nor the author could be found, for in August preceding he had embarked for Holland.

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

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

He contributed very much to the covenanted work carried on after that period; for first he had an active hand in drawing up some excellent papers wherein were contained the records of church policy betwixt 1576 and 1596, which were presented and read by Mr. Johnston, the Clerk, to the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638; and then, by recommendation of the General Assembly of 1646, he was required to consider the order of the visitation of kirks, and trials of presbyteries, and to make report thereof unto the next assembly; and again at the General Assembly of 1648, a further recommendation was given him, to make a draught of the form of visitation of particular congregations, against the next Assembly; he was also one of those appointed, with Mr. Dickson, to

* Hist. p. 732.

draw up the form of the Directory for the public worship of God, by the General Assembly of 1643.*

After having both spent and been spent, with the apostle, for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, while the English army lay at Lothian during 1651, he went to Jedburgh, where he sickened, and died in a good old age. He was another valiant champion for the truth, who, in pleading for the crown and interest of Jesus Christ, knew not what it was to be daunted by the face and frowns of the highest and most incensed adversaries.

Before he went to Holland, he wrote the book entitled, *Perth Assembly*. While in Holland, he wrote that learned book called *Altare Damascenum*, with some other pieces in English, which contributed somewhat, to keep many straight in that declining period. After his return, he wrote his well known history of our Church as far down as the year 1625, of which the printed copy is only a short abstract of the manuscript, which both as to the style and the manner is far preferable; and yet all this derogates nothing from the truth of the facts reported in the printed copy; and therefore no offence need be taken at the information, that there is a more full copy than has yet been printed.

HUGH BINNING.

THIS truly eminent man was son to John Binning of Dalvenan, and Margaret M'Kell, daughter of Mr. Matthew M'Kell, minister of Bothwell, and sister to Mr. Hugh M'Kell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. His father's worldly circumstances were so good, (being possessed of a considerable estate in the shire of Ayr,) that he was enabled to give him a very liberal education, the good effects of which appeared very early;—for the greatness of his spirit and capacity of judgment gave his parents good grounds to conceive the most pleasing hopes of his future eminence.

When at the grammar-school, he attained such proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and the Roman authors, that he outstripped his fellow-scholars universally, even such as were by some years, older than himself. When they went to their diversions, he declined their society, and chose to employ himself either in secret prayer to God, or conference with religious people, thinking time was too precious to be lavished away in those things. He began to

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

nave sweet familiarity with God, and to live in near communion with him, before others began seriously to lay to heart their lost and undone state and condition by nature; so that before he arrived at the 13th or 14th year of his age, he had attained to such experience in the ways of God, that the most judicious and exercised Christians in the place confessed they were much edified, strengthened, and comforted by him, nay, that he provoked them to diligence in the duties of religion, from their being sensible that in this respect they were much outrun by him.

Before he was fourteen years of age, he entered upon the study of philosophy in the university of Glasgow, in which he made a very considerable progress, and came to be taken notice of both by professors and students, whilst at the same time he advanced remarkably in religion also. The abstruse depths of philosophy, which are the torture of a slow genius and a weak capacity, he dived into without pain or trouble; so that, by his ready apprehension of things, he was able to do more in one hour than others could do in many days by hard study and close application; and yet was ever humble, and free from self-conceit, the common foible of young men.

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

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

The ministers of Glasgow, considering how much it was the interest of the Church that well-qualified persons should be put into the profession of philosophy; and knowing that Mr. Binning was eminently pious, and of a bright genius, as well as of a solid judgment, set upon him to sist himself among the competitors. They had much difficulty to overcome his modesty, but at last prevailed upon him

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

† The most worthy and the most learned.

to undertake the dispute before the masters. Among others, there were other two candidates, one of whom had great interest with Dr. Strange, Principal of the college, and the other a scholar of great abilities; yet Mr. Binning so acquitted himself in all parts of his trial, that to the conviction of the judges, he eclipsed his rivals. But the Doctor, and some of the faculty who joined him, though they could not pretend the person they inclined to prefer had an equality, much less a superiority, in the dispute, yet argued, that he was a citizen's son, of a competency of learning, and a person of more years; and by that means had greater experience than Mr. Binning could be supposed to have. To this, however, it was replied, That Mr. Binning was such an accomplished scholar, so wise and sedate, as to be above all the follies and vanities of youth; and that what was wanting in years was made up sufficiently by his more than ordinary and singular endowments. Whereupon a member of the faculty, perceiving the struggle to be great, as (indeed there were plausible reasons on both sides,) proposed a dispute between the two candidates *extempore*, upon any subject they should be pleased to prescribe. This put a period to the division amongst them; and those who had opposed him, not being willing to engage their friend with such an able antagonist a second time, Mr. Binning was elected.

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

He continued in this profession three years, and discharged his trust so as to gain the general applause of the university. And this was the more remarkable, that having turned his thoughts towards the ministry, he carried on his theological studies at the same time, and made great improvements therein; for his memory was so retentive, that he scarcely forgot any thing he had read or heard. It was easy for him to write out any sermon, after he returned to his chamber from hearing it, at such a length, that the intelligent and judicious reader, who had heard it preached, should scarcely find one sentence wanting.

During this period, he gave full proof of his progress and knowledge in divinity, by a composition from 2 Cor. v. 14; which performance he sent to a gentlewoman at Edinburgh for her private edification; who having perused the same, supposed it to be a sermon of some eminent minister in the west of Scotland, and put it into the hands of the then provost of Edinburgh, who judged of it in the same manner. But when she returned to Glasgow, she found her mistake, by Mr. Binning's asking it of her. This was the first discovery, he had given of his abilities in explaining the scripture.

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

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

Though bookish, and much intent upon the fulfilling of his ministry, he turned his thoughts to marriage, and espoused Barbara Simpson, the excellent daughter of Mr. James Simpson, a minister in Ireland. Upon the day on which he was to be married, he went, accompanied with his friend and some others, among whom were several ministers, to an adjacent country-congregation, upon the day of their weekly sermon. The minister of the parish delayed sermon till they should come, hoping to put the work upon one of the ministers whom he expected to be there; but all declining it, he tried next to prevail on the bridegroom, with whom he succeeded, though the invitation was not expected. It was no difficult task to him to preach upon a short warning; he stepped aside a little, to premeditate, and implore his Master's presence and assistance, (for he was ever afraid to be alone in this work,) entered the pulpit immediately and preached upon 1 Pet. i. 15. *But as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.* And at this time he was so remarkably helped that all acknowledged that God was with him of a truth.

When the unhappy differences betwixt the resolutioners and protesters fell out, Mr. Binning took part with the latter of these denominations. This distinction, however, proved of fatal consequence. He saw some of the evils of it in his own time, and being of a catholic and healing spirit, with a view to the cementing of differences, he wrote an excellent treatise on Christian love, which

contains many strong and pathetic passages, most apposite to this subject. He was no fomenter of factions, but studious of the public tranquillity. He was a man of moderate principles and temperate passions, never imposing or overbearing upon others, but willingly hearkened to advice, and always yielded to reason.

The prevailing of the English sectarians under Oliver Cromwell,* to the overthrow of the presbyterian interest in England, and the various attempts which they made in Scotland on the constitution and discipline of this church, was one of the greatest difficulties, which the ministers had then to struggle with. Upon this he has many excellent reflections in his sermons, particularly in the sermon from Deut. xxxii. 4, 5.†

After having laboured four years in the ministry, serving God with his spirit in the gospel of his Son, he died in 1653, of a consumption, when he was scarcely arrived at the prime and vigour of life, being only in the 26th year of his age; leaving behind him a sweet savour, and an epistle of commendation, upon the hearts of those who were his hearers.

He was a person of singular piety, of an humble, meek, and peaceable temper, a judicious and lively preacher; nay, so extraordinary a person, that he was accounted a prodigy in human learning and knowledge of divinity. From his childhood he knew the scriptures; and from a boy had been much under deep and spiritual exercise, until the time, or a little before, that he entered upon the office of the ministry. He then began to enjoy much tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all those doubtings, which for a long time he had been exercised with; and though he studied in his discourses to condescend to the capacity of the meaner sort of hearers, yet it must be owned, that his gift of preaching was not so much accommodated to a country congregation as it was to the judicious and learned. Mr. Binning's method was peculiar to himself, much after the haranguing way. He was no stranger to the rules of art; and knew well how to make his matter subservient to the subject he handled. His style and language are easy and fluent, void of all affectation and bombast; and has a kind of undesigned and negligent elegance, which arrests the reader's attention. Considering the age he lived in, it might be said, that he carried the orator's prize from his contemporaries in Scotland; and was not at that time inferior to the best pulpit-orator in England.‡ While he lived, he was highly ex-

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

† See his works, p. 502, 557, &c.

‡ This is saying a great deal, but not more we are persuaded than the truth warrants. Mr. Binning, in the clear arrangement, the evangelical matter, and the correct style of his sermons, was decidedly superior to any theological writer

teemed, having been a successful instrument of saving himself, and them that heard him: of turning sinners unto righteousness, and of perfecting the saints. He died much lamented by all good people who had the opportunity of knowing him. That great divine, Mr. James Durham, gave him this verdict; "That there was no speaking after Mr. Binning;" and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season.

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

ANDREW GRAY.

By the calculation of his age and the date of his entrance into the ministry, Mr. Gray seems to have been born about the year 1634; and being very early sent to school, he learned so fast, that in a short time he was ready for the university, and there, by the vivacity of his parts and great genius, he made such proficiency, both in scholastic learning and divinity, that before he was twenty years of age, he was found prepared to enter upon the holy office of the ministry

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

As an earthly vessel, being thus filled with heavenly treasure, he was quickly licensed to preach, and received a call to be minister of the Outer High Church of Glasgow, though as yet scarcely twenty, and therefore far below the age appointed by the constitution of the Church, unless in extraordinary cases.

of his day, with the exception, perhaps, of Archbishop Leighton. The plan and limits of this work will not allow us to give extracts from his writings, in support of this statement, but the reader who is curious on the subject, will find some excellent specimens annexed to a very judicious Memoir of his Life in the *Christian Instructor* for July 1822.

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

And indeed Mr. Gray had a notable and singular gift in preaching, having much experience in the most mysterious points of Christian practice and profession; and in handling of all his subjects, being free from youthful vanity, and affectation of human learning, though of a most scholastic genius, and more than ordinary abilities. Indeed he fairly outstripped many who had entered the Lord's vineyard before him. His expression was very warm and rapturous, and well adapted to affect the hearts of his hearers; yea, he had such a faculty, and was so helped to press home God's threatenings upon the conscience of his hearers, that his contemporary, the aforesaid Mr. Durham, observed, that many times he caused the very hairs of their heads to stand on end.

Among his other excellencies in preaching, which were many, this was none of the least, that he could so discuss his subject as to make it relish to every palate. He could so dress a plain discourse as to delight a learned audience, and at the same time preach with a learned plainness so as to conceal his art. He had such a clear notion of the high mysteries of religion, as to make them stoop to the meanest capacity. He had so learned Christ, that being a man of a most zealous temper, the great bent of his spirit, and the great aim of his life, was to make people know their dangerous state by nature, and to persuade them to believe, and lay hold of the great salvation.

All these particulars seem to have concurred to make him a burning and shining light in the Church of God. He continued, however, for about two years* only, the Spirit of the Lord as it were stirring up a lamp into a sudden blaze, that was not to remain long in his Church. In reference to this, in a late preface to some of his sermons it is very pertinently observed,—“how awakening, convincing, and reprov-

* According to the date of his exhortations at Kirkliston, June 12, 1653, and his letter to Lord Warriston, when on his deathbed, affixed to his select sermons, dated Feb. 7, 1656, it would appear, if both be authentic, that he was at least two years and a half in the ministry.

ing, may the example of this very young minister be to many ministers of the gospel, who have been many years in the vineyard, but fall far short of his labours and progress! God thinks fit now and then to raise up a child to reprove the sloth and negligence of many thousands of advanced years: and shows, that he can perfect his own praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings."

His sermons are now in print, and well known in the world. His works do praise him in the gates; and though they are free from the metaphysical speculations of the schools, yet it must be granted, that the excellencies of the ancient fathers and schoolmen do all concentrate in them: For his doctrine carries light, his reproofs are weighty, and his exhortations powerful: and though they are not in such an accurate or grammatical style as some may wish, yet this may be easily accounted for, if we consider, (1.) The great alteration and embellishment in the style of the English language since his time, and (2.) That there can be no ground to doubt but they must be far inferior to what they were when delivered by the author, who neither corrected them, nor as appears, intended that they should ever be published: But yet all this is sufficiently made up otherwise; for what is wanting in the symmetry of parts or correctness of style, is counterbalanced by the pleasure of variety and excellence in the truths, which, like the grateful odours of various flowers, or the pleasant harmony of different sounds, they every where discover.

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

On one occasion he escaped death very narrowly, when sailing to Dundee, in company with Mr. Robert Fleming, minister of Cambuslang; and this remarkable sea-deliverance was matter of his thankfulness to God, all his life after.

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

But the time now approaching when the Lord was about to accomplish the desire of his servant, he fell sick, and was in a high fever for several days. He was much tossed with the severe and

unremitting trouble, but all the time continued in a most sedate frame of mind.

It is a loss that his last dying words were neither recorded nor remembered; only we may guess what his spiritual exercises were, from the short but excellent letter sent by him, a little before his death, to Lord Warriston, bearing date February 7, 1656: wherein he shows, that he not only had a more clear discovery of the toleration then granted by Cromwell, and the evils that would come upon the country for all these things, but also that he was most sensible of his own case and condition. This more especially appears from the conclusion of the letter, where he addresses his Lordship thus: "Now, not to trouble your Lordship, whom I highly reverence, and my soul was knit to you in the Lord, but that you will bespeak my case to the great Master of requests, and lay my broken state before him who hath pled the desperate case of many, according to the sweet word in Lam. iii. 56. *Thou hast heard my voice; hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry.* This is all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who, for much of seven nights, hath slept little at all, with many other sad particulars and circumstances."

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

He was in his day a most singular and pious youth; and though he died young, yet was old in grace, having lived long and done much for God in a little time. Both in public and private life, he possessed in a high degree every domestic and social virtue that could adorn the character of a Christian and a minister, being a loving husband,* an affable friend, ever cheerful and agreeable in conversation, always ready to exert himself for the relief of those who asked and stood in the need of assistance; whilst his uncommon talents not only endeared him to his brethren the clergy, but also to many others from the one extremity of the land to the other, who regarded and esteemed him as one of the most able advocates for the propagation and advancement of Christ's kingdom.

His well known sermons are printed in several tracts. Those called his works are published in one volume octavo. In addition to the eleven sermons printed sometime ago, are lately published a large collection, to the number of fifty-one, entitled his Select Ser-

* It appears that Mr. Gray was for a short time married to a worthy young gentlewoman, who afterwards became the wife of Mr. George Hutchison, some time minister of the gospel at Irvine.

mons ; in which only three of those formerly published for connection sake, and his letter to Lord Warriston, are inserted. So that by this time, most, if not all, of the sermons ever preached by him are in print.

JAMES DURHAM.

MR. JAMES DURHAM was born about the year 1622, and lineally descended from the ancient and honourable family of Grange Durham, in the parish of Monyfeith, and shire of Angus. He was the eldest son of John Durham of Easter Powrie, Esq. an estate which is now called Wedderburn, after the gentleman's name who is its present proprietor.

Having passed through the different branches of useful learning with success and applause, he left the university before he was graduate, and for some time lived as a private gentleman upon his estate in the country, without any thought of farther prosecuting his studies, especially for the ministry ; and though always decent and moral in his life, both in the university and when he left it, yet he was much a stranger to religion in the serious exercise and power of it ; and, through the prejudices of education, did not stand well affected to the presbyterian government. He was first married to a daughter of the Laird of Dantervie : who with her mother were both very pious women.

His conversion to the Lord was very remarkable. For, going with his lady to visit her mother in the parish of Abercorn, some miles west of Edinburgh, it happened, that at that time the sacrament was administered in the parish. Upon the Saturday, therefore, his mother-in-law earnestly pressed them to go with her to church and hear sermon : to which at first he showed much unwillingness ; but, partly by her persuasion, and that of his wife, and partly from his complaisant disposition, he consented and went along with them. The minister who preached on the occasion, was extremely affectionate and serious in his delivery ; and though the sermon was plain in itself, yet his seriousness of manner fixed Mr. Durham's attention, and he felt much affected. When he came home he said to his mother-in-law, " the minister hath preached very seriously to day, I shall not need to be pressed to go to church to-morrow." Accordingly on Sabbath morning, rising early, he went to church, and heard Mr. Melvill preach from 1 Pet. ii. 7. *Unto you therefore which believe he is precious, &c.* and so sweetly and seriously did he open up the preciousness of Christ, and so effectually did the Spirit of God work upon his soul, that in hearing this sermon, he first closed with the Saviour, and then went to the Lord's table and took the seal of God's covenant. After this he ordinarily called Mr. Melvill father, when he spoke of him.

Afterwards he made serious religion his business, in secret, in his family, and in all places and companies where he came, and cordially embraced the interest of Christ and his Church, as then established. He also gave himself much up to reading and meditation; for which purpose that he might be free of all disturbance, he caused a study to be built for himself: and in this little chamber, became so close a student that he often forgot the time of meals, being sometimes so intent, that servants who were sent to call him often returned without answer; yea, that even his wife frequently called to him with tears before he would come. In this place, also, he enjoyed much sweet communion with the Lord.

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

He was a man of great integrity, and much respected in the country and neighbourhood in which he lived, in so much that he was frequently chosen judge or referee in the differences and disputes which happened within his sphere; all parties readily and quietly submitting to his decision. In this respect, the language of Job might well be applied to him. “Unto him men gave ear, and waited, and kept silence at his counsel. After his words they spake not again; and his speech dropped upon them.”

During the civil wars, he took arms, with many others of the gentlemen, for the cause of religion, and was chosen captain of a company. In this situation he might be esteemed another Cornelius, being a most devout man, and one who not only feared God with all his house, but even prayed with his company, and seriously exhorted them as to the interests of their souls.

The circumstance of his call and coming forth to the ministry were somewhat singular. When the Scots army were about to engage with the English, he judged meet to call his company to prayer before the engagement; and as he began, Mr. David Dickson, then professor of divinity at Glasgow, coming past the army, seeing the

soldiers addressing themselves to prayer, and hearing the voice of one praying, drew near, alighted from his horse, and joined with them; and was so much taken with Mr. Durham's prayer, that he immediately after called him, and having conversed with him a little, solemnly charged him, that as soon as this piece of service was over he should devote himself to the ministry; for that he judged the Lord called him to this. But though, as yet, he had no clear grounds for hearkening to Mr. Dickson's advice, yet two remarkable providences falling out just upon the back of this solemn charge, he was shortly after induced to comply with it.—The first was, that in the engagement, his horse was shot under him, and he was mercifully preserved; the second, that in the heat of the battle, an English soldier was on the point of striking him down with his sword; but apprehending him to be a minister by his grave carriage, black cloth and band, which was then in fashion with gentlemen, asked him, if he was a priest? To which Mr. Durham replied, I am one of God's priests;—and so his life was spared. Mr. Durham upon reflecting how wonderfully the Lord had thus saved him, and that his stating himself to be a priest had been the mean thereof resolved, as a testimony of his grateful and thankful sense of the Lord's goodness to him, henceforth to devote himself to His service in the holy ministry, if He should see meet to qualify him for the same.

Accordingly, in pursuance of this resolution, he shortly after went to Glasgow, studied divinity under Mr. David Dickson, then professor there; and made such proficiency, that in a short time, being called thereto, he offered himself for trials in 1646, and was licensed by the presbytery of Irvine to preach the gospel. Next year, upon Mr. Dickson's recommendation, the session of Glasgow directed Mr. Ramsay, one of the ministers, to request Mr. Durham to come and preach. Accordingly he came, and preached two Sabbath days and one week day. And the session being fully satisfied with his doctrine, and the gifts bestowed on him by the Lord for serving Him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars' church, then vacant; in consequence of which he was ordained a minister in November 1647.

He applied himself to the work of the ministry with great diligence, so that his profiting did quickly appear to all; but, considering that no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, he obtained leave to return to his own country, to settle his worldly affairs; yet while here he was not idle, but preached every Sabbath. He first preached at Dundee, before a great multitude, from Rom. i. 16. *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*; showing that it was no disparagement to the greatest to be a gospel minister; the second time, he preached at Ferling, upon 2 Cor. v. 18. *Hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, &c.*; and the third time at Monyfeith, at the desire of the minister there, from 2 Cor. v. 20. *We then are ambassadors of Christ, &c.* In both of these places, he indeed acted like an ambassador for Christ, and managed the gospel treaty of peace to good purpose. The next Sabbath he

designed to have preached at Montrose; but receiving an express to return home, his wife being dangerously ill, he came to Glasgow, (leaving his affairs to the care of his friends,) where in a few days, his wife, who had been the desire of his eyes, died. His Christian submission under this afflicting dispensation was most remarkable. After a short silence, he said to some about him, "Now, who could persuade me that this dispensation of God's providence was good for me, if the Lord had not said it was so?" He was afterwards married to Margaret Muir, relict of Mr. Zeckariah Boyd, minister of the Barony church of Glasgow.

In 1650, Mr. Dickson, professor of divinity, being called to the same office in the university of Edinburgh, the commissioners of the General Assembly authorized for visiting the university of Glasgow, unanimously designed and invited Mr. Durham to succeed him. But before he was admitted to that charge, the General Assembly being persuaded of his eminent piety, steadfastness, prudence, and moderation, did, after mature deliberation, that same year, pitch upon him, though then but about twenty-eight years of age, as among the ablest and best accomplished ministers then in the Church, to attend the King's family as chaplain. In this situation, though the times were most difficult, as abounding with snares and temptations, jealousies and animosities, he so wisely and faithfully acquitted himself, that there was a conviction of his good conduct left upon the consciences of all who observed him. Yea, during his stay at Court, and whenever he went about the duty of his place, all were constrained to behave gravely, and to forbear all lightness and profanity, and none dared to do any thing offensive before him. So that while he served the Lord in the holy ministry, and particularly in the office and character of the King's chaplain, his ambition was to have God's favour rather than that of great men, and he studied more to profit and edify their souls, than to tickle their fancies, as some *court-parasites in their sermons do*: an instance of which may be here given. Being called to preach before the parliament, where many magistrates were present, he preached from John iii. 10. *Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?* from which words he chiefly insisted, that it was a most extraordinary thing for rulers and nobles in Israel, to be ignorant of the great and important matters of religion, and did most seriously press all from the King to the beggar, to seek and know these things experimentally. A good pattern for all court chaplains, and those who are called to preach on the like public occasions.

He continued in the office till the King went to England, and shortly after returned to his professional labours. Towards the end of January 1651, the common session of Glasgow appointed Mr. Gillespie to write a letter to him, stating that Mr. Ramsay was officiating as professor of divinity in his place. And in consequence of this and a letter from the Magistrates, pressing his return to his charge as minister, Mr. Durham came to Glasgow: and is mentioned as present at the session in the beginning of April thereafter. At the same time, Cromwell with his army being in Glas-

gow, went on the Lord's day to hear him preach, when Mr. Durham openly testified against his invasion to his face. Next day Cromwell sent for him, and said, he always thought he had been a wiser man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons.—To which Mr. Durham answered, it was not his practice, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence to speak his mind on that head seeing he had the opportunity to do it in his presence.—Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting on that subject in future.

It would appear, that Mr. Durham, for some time after this had withdrawn from Glasgow, and therefore a letter was in August after, ordered to be sent to him, to come thither and preach; and in September following, there being a vacancy in the Inner High Church by the death of Mr. Ramsay, the common session gave him a unanimous call, with which the town-council agreed, to be minister there. Accordingly, shortly after this, he was received as minister of that church, Mr. John Carstairs, his brother-in-law, being his colleague in the charge.

During the whole of his ministry he was a burning and shining light, and he was particularly distinguished for humility and self-denial. For an instance of these traits of his character, the reader is referred to an anecdote already related in the life of Mr. Gray.*

He was also a person of the utmost gravity of manner, and seldom was seen even to smile. Once being at dinner in a gentleman's house with Mr. William Guthrie, the latter being exceedingly merry, made him smile, yea laugh at his pleasant and facetious conversation; and it being the custom of the family to pray after dinner, and Mr. Guthrie, upon being desired, performing that duty with the greatest measure of seriousness and fervour, Mr. Durham, when they arose from prayer, embraced him, and said, "O William, you are a happy man, if I had been so merry as you have been, I could not have been in such a serious frame for prayer for the space of forty-eight hours."

Mr. Durham, though devout in all parts of his ministerial work, was especially so upon communion occasions. Then he endeavoured, through grace, to rouse and work himself up to such a divineness of frame, as is suitable to the spiritual nature and high importance of the ordinance of the supper. Yea, upon some of these sweet and solemn occasions, he spoke as it were like a man who had been in heaven, commending Jesus Christ, making a glorious display of his free grace, and bringing the offers thereof so low, and pressing them so urgently, especially in a discourse from Matt. xxii. 4. that it was a wonder to sinners themselves how they could refuse to close with them. He gave himself much up to meditation, and usually said little to persons that came to propose their cases to him, but heard them patiently, and was sure to handle these cases in his sermons.

His healing disposition, and great moderation of spirit, appeared

* See page 211.

remarkably at the period when the Church was grievously divided betwixt the revolutioners and protesters : and as he would never give his judgment on either side, he used to say, That division was far worse than either of the sides. He was equally respected by both parties ; for at the meeting of the synod at Glasgow, when those of the different sides met separately, each of them made choice of Mr. Durham for their moderator ; but he refused to join either of them, till they would unite together : which they accordingly did. At this meeting he gave in some overtures for peace,* the substance of which was, that they should eschew all public awakening, or protracting the difference, by preaching or spreading of papers on either side, and that they should forbear practising, executing, or pressing of acts made in the last Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, and also pressing or spreading appeals, or declinaturs, against the same, and that no church-officers should be excepted against, on account of these things, they being found otherwise qualified.

So weighty was the ministerial charge upon his spirit, that he used to say, if he were to live ten years longer, he would choose to live nine years in study, for preaching the tenth ; and it was thought that his close study and application cast him into the decay of which he died. During his last sickness, about a month before his death, the better part being afraid that the magistrates, and some of the ministry who were for the public resolutions, would put in one of their own stamp after his death, moved Mr. Carstairs, his colleague, to request him to name his successor ; when, after some demur, enjoining secrecy till it was nearer his death, he named Mr. David Veitch, then minister of Govan ; but afterwards, when dying, to the magistrates, ministers, and some of the people who waited on him, he named other three, to take any of them they pleased.— This alteration led Mr. Carstairs to inquire the reason, after the rest were gone ; to whom Mr. Durham in reply, said, “ O brother, Mr. Veitch is too ripe for heaven to be transported to any church on earth ; he will be there almost as soon as I.” This proved to be the case, for Mr. Durham having died the Friday after ; the next Sabbath Mr. Veitch preached ; and though knowing nothing of this, told the people in the afternoon, it would be his last sermon to them ; and the same night taking bed, he died next Friday morning about three o'clock, as Dr. Rattray,† who was witness to both their deaths, did declare.

When on his deathbed, Mr. Durham was under considerable darkness about his state, and said to Mr. John Carstairs' brother, “ For all that I have preached or written, there is but one scripture I can remember or dare grip unto ; tell me if I dare lay the weight of my salvation upon it : *whosoever cometh unto me, I will in no wise*

* See these overtures at large in the account of his life, prefixed to his Commentary on the Revelation.

† Dr. Silvester Rattray, a Physician of some eminence, at the time, in Glasgow.

cast out." Mr. Carstairs answered, "You may depend upon it, though you had a thousand salvations at hazard." When he was drawing near his departure, and in a great conflict and agony, though finding some difficulty, yet, through the strength of God's grace, he triumphantly overcame; and cried in a rapture of holy joy, some little time before he committed his soul to God, "Is not the Lord good? Is he not infinitely good? See how he smiles! I do say it, and I do proclaim it." He died on Friday the 25th of June 1658, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.—His death was the more to be lamented that he was as yet in the flower of his age, and in the undisturbed enjoyment of his vigorous mind, and his high attainments.

Thus then, died, the eminently pious, learned, and judicious Mr. Durham, whose labours had always aimed at the advancement of religion, and whose praise is throughout all the churches both at home and abroad. He was a burning and a shining light, a star of the first magnitude, and of whom it is said, without derogating from the merit of any, that he *had a name among the mighty.*

His colleague, Mr. John Carstairs, in his funeral sermon, from Isa. lvii. 1. *The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come,* gives him this character:—"Know ye not that there is a prince among the pastors fallen to-day! a faithful and wise steward, that knew well how to give God's children their food in due season, a gentle and kind nurse, a faithful admonisher and reprover, a skilful counsellor in all straits and difficulties; in dark matters he was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, a burning and shining light in the dark world, an interpreter of the word, one among a thousand; to him men gave ear, and after his words no man spake again." And not only in town but also in the country, did his brethren in the presbytery allude to his death, and in particular, Mr. Veitch, whose death he had foretold was forward amongst others to pay a tribute of respect to his character.

His learned and pious works, wherein all the excellencies of the primitive and ancient fathers seem to centre, are, a Commentary on the Revelation; seventy-two Sermons on the fifty-third chapter of the Prophecy of Isaiah, an Exposition of the Ten Commandments, an Exposition of the Song of Solomon: his Sermons on death; on the Unsearchable Riches of Christ; his Communion Sermons; Sermons on Godliness and Self-denial; a Sermon on a Good Conscience. There are also a great many of his sermons in manuscript, never yet published, viz. three Sermons upon Resisting the Holy Ghost, from Acts vii. 51.; eight on Quenching the Spirit; five upon grieving the Spirit; thirteen upon Trusting and Delighting in God; two against Immoderate Anxiety; eight upon the One Thing Needful; with a discourse upon prayer; and several other Sermons and Discourses, from Eph. v. 15. 1 Cor. xi. 24. Luke 1. 6. Gal. v. 16. Psal. cxix. 67. 1 Thess. v. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 14. Matth. viii. 7. There is also a Treatise on Scandal, and an Exposition, by way of Lecture upon Job, said to be his but whether these, either as to

style or strain, cohere with the other Works of the laborious Mr Durham, must be left to the impartial and unbiassed reader, to determine.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

THIS highly experienced Christian and excellent divine, was a gentleman by extraction, and having spent some time at the grammar-school, he went to the university of Edinburgh, where he was so much admired for his pregnancy of parts, that in a short time after, whilst very young, he was elected professor of philosophy in that university.

Some time after this he was called to be minister at Anwoth, in Galloway, into which charge he entered by means of the then Viscount Kenmuir, and without any acknowledgment or engagement to the bishops. Here he laboured with great diligence and success, by night and day, rising usually by three o'clock in the morning, and spending his whole time in reading, praying, writing, catechising, visiting, and other duties belonging to the ministerial profession and employment. Having published his *Exercitationes de Gratia*, &c. he was on account of that work summoned as early as June 1630, before the High Commission Court at Edinburgh; but the weather was so tempestuous as to obstruct the passage of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's hither, and Mr. Colvill, one of the judges, having befriended him, the diet was deserted. About the same time he lost his first wife, after a sore sickness of thirteen months: and he himself became so ill of a tertian fever, that for about thirteen weeks, he could not preach on the Sabbath-day, without great difficulty.

Again, in April 1634, he was threatened with a prosecution at the instance of the bishop of Galloway, before the same Court; and neither were these threatenings all the reasons Mr. Rutherford had to lay his account with suffering as about to come; for as the Lord would not hide from his faithful servant Abraham, so neither would he conceal from this son of Abraham what his purposes were concerning him. For in a letter to the provost's wife of Kirkcudbright, dated April 20, 1633, he says, "That upon the 17th and 18th of August, he got a full answer of his Lord to be a graced minister, and a chosen arrow hid in his quiver."* Accordingly the thing he looked for came upon him; for he was again summoned before the High Commission Court for his non-conformity, his preaching against the five articles of Perth, and the fore-mentioned book *Exercitationes Apologeticae pro Divina Gratia*, which book they alleged reflected

* See his letters, part iii.

upon the Church of Scotland; but the truth was, as a late historian has remarked,* the argument of that book did cut the sinews of Arminianism, and galled the Episcopal clergy to the very quick; and so Bishop Sydesert could endure him no longer.† When he came before the Court, he altogether declined them as a lawful judiciary, and would not give the chancellor (being a clergyman) and the bishops their titles; yet some had the courage to befriend him, particularly the Lord Lorn, afterwards the famous Marquis of Argyle, who favoured him as much as it was in his power to do. But the Bishop of Galloway threatening that if he got not his will of him, he would write to the king, it was ultimately carried against him; and upon the 27th of July 1636, he was discharged from exercising any part of his ministerial functions within the kingdom, under pain of rebellion; and ordered within six months to confine himself within the city of Aberdeen, during the king's pleasure; which sentence he obeyed, and forthwith went to the place of his confinement.

From Aberdeen he wrote many of his famous letters, from which it is evident that the consolations of the Holy Spirit did greatly abound to him in his sufferings; yea, in one of these letters, he expresses it in the strongest terms, when he says, "I never knew before, that His love was in such a measure. If he leave me, he leaves me in pain, and sick of love, and yet my sickness is my life and health. I have a fire within me I defy all the devils in hell, and all the prelates in Scotland. to cast water on it." Here he remained upwards of a year and a half, by which time he made the doctors of Aberdeen know, that the Puritans, as they called them, were clergymen as well as they. But upon notice that the Privy Council had received a declinature against the High Commission Court; in the year 1638, he adventured to return to his flock at Anwoth, where he again took great pains, both in public and private, amongst the people, who from all quarters resorted to his ministry; so much so, that the whole district might account themselves as his particular flock, and found no small benefit from his preaching; that part of ancient prophecy then and there farther accomplished: *In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.*‡

He appeared before the venerable Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, and gave an account of all these his former proceedings, his confinement, and its causes. By this Assembly he was appointed professor of divinity at St. Andrew's and colleague in the ministry to the worthy Mr. Blair, who was translated thither about the same

* See Stevenson's History, vol. I. p. 149. Rowe's History, p. 295.

† From this period downward, Episcopacy and Arminianism were almost inseparable in Scotland. Archbishop Leighton, of Glasgow, and one or two more, were exceptions; but such was the prevailing system, as, indeed, it had been in England, from the time that Laud, in the reign of James I. began to gain ascendancy. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, with few exceptions, I may say; the suffering ones, without any exception, were substantially Calvinists. W. M'G

‡ Isa. xxxv. 6.

time. And here God did again so second this eminent and faithful servant, that by his indefatigable pains, both in teaching the class and preaching in the congregation, this town the seat of the Archbishop, and by that means the nursery of all superstition, error, and profaneness, soon became forthwith a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars, for building the house of the Lord, through the whole land, many of whom he guided to heaven before himself, and many others did walk in the light, of the gospel after him.

And as he was mighty in the public offices of religion, so he was a greater practiser and encourager of its private duties. Thus in the year 1640, when a charge was brought in before the General Assembly, at the instance of Mr. Henry Guthrie, minister at Stirling, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, against private society meetings, which were then abounding in the land, on which ensued much reasoning, the one side agreeing that a paper before drawn up by Mr. Henderson should be agreed unto, concerning the order to be kept in these meetings, but, Guthrie and his adherents opposing this, Mr. Rutherford, who was never much disposed to speak in judicatories, threw in this syllogism, "What the scriptures do warrant, no assembly may discharge; but *private* meetings for religious exercises, the scriptures do warrant, Mal. iii. 16. *Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, &c. James, v. 16, Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another*: things, he observed, which could not be done in *public* meetings." And although the Earl of Seaforth, and others of Guthrie's faction, upbraided him for this, yet it had influence upon the majority of the members; so that all the opposite party could procure, was an act anent the ordering of family worship.

He was also one of the Scots commissioners appointed in 1643, to the Westminster Assembly, and was very much beloved there for his unparalleled faithfulness and zeal in fulfilling his Master's work. It was during this period that he published his *Lex Rex*, and several other learned pieces, against the Erastians, Anabaptists, Independents, and the other sectaries, which then began to prevail and increase; and none ever had the courage to take up the gauntlet of defiance thrown down by this champion.*

* It is reported, that when King Charles saw *Lex Rex*, he said, it would scarcely ever get an answer, nor did it ever get any, except what the parliament in 1661 gave it, when they caused it to be burnt at the cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the hangman. This was a summary way of answering a book; and it was somewhat more innocent than the popish practice of burning the authors of books against popery. Charles' parliament, by the hangman's hands, burnt the body of the book, but they could not consume its immortal spirit, with which the minds of the patriots of that age were deeply imbued, which they communicated to their children, and which ultimately produced the Revolution, and the establishment of liberty, under King William, and the house of Hanover. Claud's Defence of the Reformation was condemned by the Pope to be burnt, on which the author of an old edition very properly observes,—“Books have souls as well as men, which survive their martyrdom, and are not burnt but crowned by the flames that encircle them. The church of Rome have quickly felt that there was

When the principal business of that Assembly was accomplished, Mr. Rutherford, in October 24, 1647, moved, that it might be recorded in the clerk's book, that the Assembly had enjoyed the assistance of the commissioners of the Church of Scotland, all the time they had been debating and perfecting these four things mentioned in the solemn league, viz. a Directory for Worship, a uniform Confession of Faith, a Form of Church Government and Discipline, and the public Catechism; which being done, he and the others, in about a week after, returned home.

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

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

But no sooner did the restoration of Charles II. take place, than the face of affairs began to change; and after his fore-mentioned

nothing combustible but the paper. The truth flew upward, like the angel from Manoah's sacrifice, untouched by the fire, and unsullied by the smoke, and found a safe refuge at the footstool of the God of truth." W. M'G.

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

† Betwixt this toleration and that of the Duke of York, there was this difference; in this, all sects and religions were tolerated, except Popery and Prelacy; but in that of York not only these two were tolerated, but all others, except those who professed true Presbyterian covenanted principles. And as for Queen Anne's toleration it was nothing else than a reduplication upon this, to restore their beloved idol Prelacy again.

book *Lex Rex* was burnt at the cross of Edinburgh, and at the gates of the New College of St. Andrew's, where he was professor of divinity, the parliament, 1661, were to have an indictment laid before them against him; and such was their inhumanity, when every body knew he was a-dying, that they caused summon him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason!* But he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where the judge was his friend: he was dead before the time came, being taken away from the evil to come.

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

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

When exhorting one to diligence, he said, "It is no easy thing to be a Christian. For me I have got the victory, and Christ is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time, to some friends present, he said, "At the beginning of my sufferings I had mine own fears, like other sinful men, lest I should faint, and not be carried creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord; and as sure as ever he spoke to me in his word, as sure as his Spirit witnesseth to my heart, he hath accepted my sufferings. He said to me, fear not, the outgate shall not be simply matter of prayer, but

* It is commonly related, that when the summons came he spoke out of his bed, and said, Tell them I have got a summons already before a superior Judge and judicatory, and I behove to answer my first summons: and ere your day come I will be where few kings and great folks come. When they returned and told he was a-dying, the parliament put to a vote, Whether or not to let him die in the college. It carried, Put him out: only a few dissenting. My Lord Burleigh said, Ye have voted that honest man out of his college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven. Some said he would never win there; hell was too good for him. Burleigh said, I wish I were as sure of heaven as he is, I would think myself happy to get a grip of his sleeve to haul me in. See *Walker's Rem.* p. 171.

† See his testimony and some of his last words published in 1713.

matter of praise. I said to the Lord, if he should slay me five thousand times five thousand, I would trust in him; and I speak it with much trembling, fearing I should not make my part good: but as really as ever he spoke to me by his Spirit, he witnessed to my heart, that his grace should be sufficient." Shortly before his death, being much grieved with the state of public affairs, he had this expression, "Horror hath taken hold on me." And afterwards in reference to his own condition, he said, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myself to Christ for sanctification, as well as justification;" Repeating these words, "*He is made of God to me wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption:*"* adding, "I close with it, let him be so: he is my all in all."

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

The same day Messrs. James M^cGill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery with him, coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand, none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; pray for Christ, preach for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ, do all for Christ; beware of men-pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The new College hath broken my heart; I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house; and it hath been, and still is, my desire, that he may dwell in this society; and that the youth may be fed with sound knowledge." After this he said, "Dear Brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to a pres-

bytery; —and Mr. M'Gill replying, "It was no presumption,"—he continued,—“Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge. Let them feed the flock out of love; preach for God, visit and catechise for God; and do all for God; beware of men-pleasing; the chief Shepherd will appear shortly. I have been a sinful man and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned me, and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant, and resolve never to depart from the protestations* against the controverted Assemblies. I am the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire; and would not for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the Causes of God's Wrath. Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation.”

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his desire, as they took their leave he renewed his charge to them to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a faint, in which they who looked on expected his dissolution, he said, “I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna.” Mr. Blair, whose praise is in the churches, was present, and on his taking a little wine in a spoon to refresh himself, being then very weak, said to him, “Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of our cordials on earth.”—He answered, “they are all but dung; but they are Christ's creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; I know he shall stand at the last day upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I shall ever be with him; and what would you have more? there is an end.” And stretching out his hands, he said again, “there is an end.” And a little after, he said, “I have been a sinful man, but I stand at the best pass that ever a man did; Christ is mine, and I am his.” And he spoke much of the white stone and new name. Mr. Blair, who loved with all his heart to hear Christ commended, said to him again,—“What think ye now of Christ?”—To which he answered, “I shall live and adore him. Glory! glory to my Creator and Redeemer for ever! Glory shines in Immanuel's land.” In the afternoon of that day, he said, “Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know what a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I shall sleep in Christ, and when I awake I shall be satisfied with his likeness. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within the vail; and I shall go away in a sleep by five of the clock in the morning;” which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he had often this expression, “Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a well tuned harp!” He exhorted Dr. Colvil, a man who complied with prelacy

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

afterwards, to adhere to the government of the Church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant; and to have a care to feed the youth with sound knowledge. And the Doctor, being a professor of the New College, he told him, that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He spake likewise to Mr. Honeyman, afterwards Bishop Honeyman, who came to see him, saying, "Tell the presbytery to answer for God, and his cause and covenant, saying, The case is desperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Mr. Colvil and Mr. Honeyman, he said, "Stick to it. You may think it an easy thing in me a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he before whom I stand knows I dare advise no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myself upon all hazard; and as for the Causes of God's Wrath that men have now condemned, Tell Mr. James Wood, from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a scaffold, and have it chopped off many times, were it possible, before I had passed from them." And then, to Mr. Honeyman he said, "Tell Mr. Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he hath done me, and desire him, from me, to declare himself, that he is still for the government of the Church of Scotland."

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

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

In this manner died the famous Mr. Rutherford, who may justly be accounted among the sufferers of that time; for surely he was a martyr, both in his own design and resolution, and by the design and determination of men. Few men ever ran so long a race without cessation, so constantly, so unweariedly, and so unblameably. Two things rarely to be found in one man, were eminent in him, viz. a quick invention and sound judgment: and these accompanied with a homely but clear expression, and graceful elocution; so that such as knew him best, were in a strait whether to admire him most for his penetrating wit, and sublime genius in the schools, and peculiar exactness in disputes and matters of controversy, or his familiar

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

condescension in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers of his time, or perhaps in any age of the church.—To sum up all in a word, he seems to have been one of the most resplendent lights that ever arose upon our horizon.

In all his writings he breathes forth the genuine spirit of religion; but in his every way admirable letters, he seems to have out-done himself, as well as every body else, which, although jested on by the profane wits of the present age, because of some homely and familiar expressions in them, must be owned, by all who have any relish for true piety, to contain such sublime flights of devotion, as must at once ravish and edify every sober, serious, and understanding reader.

Among his posthumous Works, are, his Letters; the Trial and Triumph of Faith; Christ's Dying and Drawing of Sinners, &c. and a discourse on Prayer; all in octavo. A Discourse on the Covenant; on Liberty of Conscience; a Survey of Spiritual Antichrist; a Survey of Antinomianism; Antichrist Stormed; and several other controversial pieces, such as *Lex Rex*; the Due Right of Church Government; the Divine Right of Church Government; and a Peaceable Plea for Presbytery; are for the most part in quarto; as also his Summary of Church Discipline, and a Treatise on the Divine Influence of the Spirit. There are also a variety of his sermons in print, some of which were preached before both houses of parliament, 1644 and 1645. He wrote also upon Providence; but this being in Latin, is only in the hands of a few; as are also the greater part of his other works, being seldom republished. There is also a volume of Sermons, Sacramental Discourses, &c.

An EPITAPH on his Grave-stone.

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

OCT. 9, 1653.

W. W.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

THIS illustrious nobleman, after having received good classical

education, applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, and became well acquainted with the most interesting points of religion; which he ever after retained and cultivated amidst the highest and most laborious employments, both in Church and State.

From his early years, he stood well affected to the Presbyterian interest; and being still a favourer of the Puritans (the Presbyterians being then so called,) when Mr. Rutherford was, for his non-conformity brought before the High Commission Court in 1636, he interposed, to the utmost, in his behalf. On this subject, Mr. Rutherford, in his letters,* says, "My Lord hath brought me a friend from the Highlands of Argyle, my Lord Lorn, who hath done as much as was within the compass of his power. God give me favour in his eyes." And elsewhere to the Lady Kenmuir, "And write thanks to your brother, my Lord of Lorn, for what he has done for me, a poor unknown stranger to him. I shall pray for him and his house while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the streets for his wronged and oppressed Master, Christ Jesus." Nor was this all; for about the same time, he so laboured and prevailed with the Bishop of Galloway, that worthy Earlston was released from the sentence of banishment, unto which he was assigned for the same noble cause.

And no sooner did our reformation, commonly called the *second reformation*, begin to dawn in 1637, than he espoused the same cause himself; for we find him next year, as Earl of Argyle, (his father dying about that time,) though a privy counsellor, diligently attending all the sessions of the famous General Assembly held at Glasgow, in order to hear their debates and determinations concerning diocesan Episcopacy, and the five articles of Perth, in reference to which he declared his full satisfaction with their decisions. And here it was that this noble Peer began to distinguish himself by a concern for the Redeemer's glory; in which he continued, and was kept faithful, until at last he received the crown of martyrdom!

At this meeting, amongst other things, his Lordship proposed an explication of the confession and covenant; in which he wished them to proceed with great deliberation, lest they should bring any under suspicion of perjury, who had sworn it in the sense he had done: which motion was taken in good part by the members, and entered upon in the 8th session of that Assembly. Mr. Henderson the moderator, at the conclusion of the Assembly, judging that, after all, the countenance given to their meetings by this Noble Peer deserved a particular acknowledgment, wished his Lordship had joined them sooner; but hoped that God had reserved him for the best times, and would honour him here and hereafter. Whereupon his Lordship rose and delivered an excellent speech *extempore*, in which, amongst other things, he said, "And whereas you wished I had joined you sooner, truly it was not the want of affection for the good of religion, and my country, which detained me, but a de-

* Part I. letter 4. and Part III. letter 37.

sire and hope, that, by staying with the Court, I might have been able to bring a redress of grievances; and when I saw that I could no longer stay without proving unfaithful to my God and my country, I thought good to do as I have done. I remember I told some of you, that pride and avarice are two evils that have wrought much woe to the Church of Christ; and as they are grievous faults in any man, they are especially so in church-men, &c.—I hope every man here shall walk by the square and rule which is now set before him, observing duty, 1. To superiors; 2. To equals; and, 3. To inferiors. Touching our duty to superiors, there needs nothing to be added to what has been wisely said by the moderator. Next, concerning equals, here is a case much spoken of in the church, i. e. the power of ruling elders, some ministers apprehending it to be curbing of their power. Truly it may be some elders are not so wise as there is need for, but as unity ought to be the endeavour of us all, let neighbouring parishes and presbyteries meet together for settling this. And, thirdly, for inferiors, I hope ministers will discharge their duty to their flocks, and that people will have a due regard to those that are set over them to watch for their souls, and not think, that because they want Bishops, they may live as they will.”*

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

He was again, in the absence of the covenanters' army, in 1640, appointed to the same business; and managed it with no less success; for he apprehended no less than eight or nine of the ring-leaders of the malignant faction, and made them give bonds for their better behaviour in time coming. This industrious and faithful conduct stirred up to this great man, the malice of his and the Church's adversaries, so that they sought on all occasions to vent their mischief against him.

For, at the very next sitting down of the Scots parliament; the Earl of Montrose made a most mischievous attempt to wound his reputation, and to set the King at perpetual variance with him. Among other offensive speeches uttered by Montrose, one was, that Argyle, when in company with the Earl of Athol, and the other

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

eight gentlemen taken up by him the previous year, for carrying arms against their country, in his tent at the ford of Lyons, said publicly, "That the parliament had consulted lawyers and others, anent the deposing of the King, and had got for answer that it might be done in three cases, viz. 1. Desertion; 2. Invasion; and 3. Vendition. And that they once thought to have done it at the last sitting, but would certainly do it at the next."—Montrose condescended on Mr. James Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the foresaid eight gentlemen, as his informer; and the said commissary having come to Edinburgh, he was fool hardy enough to subscribe the acknowledgment of the above report. The Earl of Argyle denied the truth of it in the strongest terms, and resolved to prosecute Mr. Stuart before the Court of Justiciary, where he insisted for an impartial trial: This was granted; and, according to his desire, four Lords of the Session were added *hac vice* to the Court of Justiciary. Stuart was accused upon the law against leasing, particularly of a principal statesman; and to avoid the imminent danger of a sentence upon this ground, he wrote to Argyle, clearing him of the charge laid against him, and acknowledging that he himself had forged it out of malice. But though his Lordship's innocency was thus cleared, it was thought necessary to let the trial go on; and the fact being proved Stuart was condemned to die. Argyle would willingly have seen the royal clemency extended to the unfortunate man; but others thought the crime tended to mar the design of the late treaty, and judged it needful, as a terror to others, to make an example. At his execution, he discovered great remorse for what he had done; and although our worthy nobleman was vindicated in the matter, yet we find that after the Restoration it was made one of the principal charges against him.

About this period, the King, disagreeing with his English parliament, made another tour to Scotland, and attended at the meeting of the Scots parliament, and on this occasion, that he might more effectually gain over the Scots to his interest, he not only granted a ratification of all their previous proceedings both in their own defence, and with respect to religion, but also dignified several of the nobility by new honours. And being sensible of the many great and good services done by the Earl of Argyle, he placed him at the head of the treasury; and the day before the rising of the parliament, all the commissions granted to, and the public services performed by him, were approved of; and an act of parliament to this effect voted and read, the King giving him this testimony in public,—that he dealt too honestly with him, though he was still untractable as to the great point in controversy. On the same day, Nov. 15, 1641, the King delivered a patent to the Lion King at Arms, and he to the Clerk register, who read it publicly, whereby his Majesty created him *Marquis* of Argyle, Earl of Kintyre, Lord Lorn, &c.; which being read and given back to the King, his Majesty delivered it with his own hand to the Marquis; who rose and made a very handsome speech, to the effect that he neither expected nor deserved such honour or preferment.

During the sitting of the foresaid parliament, another plot was laid against this nobleman: Some of the nobility, envying the power, preferment, and influence, which he and the Marquis of Hamilton had with the King, laid a close design for their lives. The Earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochran, and Lieut. Alexander Stuart, were to have been the actors: the plan (in which it was insinuated, that his Majesty, Lord Almond, &c. were privy,) was,—that Hamilton and Argyle should be called for in the dead of the night to speak with the King; and in the way were to be arrested as traitors, and delivered to Earl Crawford, who was to wait for them with a considerable body of men. If any resistance was made, he was to stab them immediately, if not, carry them prisoners to a ship of war, in the roads of Leith, where they were to be confined till tried for treason. But this plot being discovered before it was ripe for execution, the two noblemen, the night before, went off to a place of more strength twelve miles distant, and so escaped the danger, as a bird out of the hands of the fowler. Yet such was their lenity and clemency, that upon a petition from them, the foresaid persons were set at liberty.

After this, in 1643, the Earl (now Marquis) of Argyle had a most active hand in carrying on the work of reformation and uniformity in religion. And in the year following, while he was busied among the covenanters, Montrose and some others having associated to raise forces for the King, drew off his attention from the good work. Intending to draw the Scots army forth of England, the Earl of Antrim to effect this, undertook to send over ten thousand Irish, under the command of one Macdonald a Scotsman, to the north of Scotland. A considerable body was accordingly sent who committed many outrages in Argyle's country. To suppress this insurrection, therefore, the Committee of Estates, April 10, gave orders to the Marquis to raise three regiments; which he accordingly did, and with them marched northward, took several of their principal chieftains prisoners, and dispersed the rest. But Montrose being still on the field, and having gained several victories during this and the following year, meantime plundered the greater part of Argyleshire, and other places belonging to the covenanters; and although he was at last defeated and totally routed by General Leslie at Philiphaugh, yet the foresaid Macdonald and his Irish band returned to Argyleshire, in the beginning of 1646, and burned and plundered the dwellings of the well-affected, to such an extent, that about 1200 of them assembled in a body, under Acknalase, who brought them down to Monteith, to live upon the disaffected in that country. But in their way thither, the Athol men falling upon them at Callender, and they being but poorly armed, several of them were killed, and the rest fled towards Stirling, where their master, the Noble Marquis met them, and commiserating their deplorable condition, carried them through to Lennox, to live upon the lands of the Lord Napier and others of the disaffected, until they should be better provided for. In the meantime he himself went to Ireland, brought over the remains of the Scots forces, and with them landed in Argyleshire

upon which Macdonald betook himself to the Isles, and from thence returned to Ireland; so that peace was restored in those parts.*

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

As to what took place in 1649, it is well known what appearances he made, and what influence he gained in the parliament, and that to the utmost of his power, he employed the same in bringing home Charles II. and possessing him of his throne and royal authority. In all this he succeeded to good purpose, as long as the King followed his advice, but afterwards the malignant faction being received into places of power and trust, all went to wreck; which was matter of no small grief to this worthy nobleman.

And as the King was well received then by the Marquis of Argyle, so he at the time pretended a great deal of regard for him in return. This appears from a letter or declaration, given under his hand, at St. Johnston, September 24, 1650, in which he says, "Having taken into my consideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for restoring me to my just rights, I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me, by some particular favour to him. And particularly I do promise that I shall make him Duke of Argyle, a knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when he shall think fit. I do further promise to hearken to his counsel, whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England. I shall see him paid the 40,000 pounds Sterling which are due to him. All which I do promise to make good upon the word of a King."

C. R.

How all these fair promises were performed, will come afterwards to be observed. For this godly nobleman taking upon him to reprove the King for some of his immoralities,† the faithful admonition, however well it appeared to be taken for the present, it afterwards appeared, was never forgotten till it was repaid him with the highest resentment: in such a way did he hearken to his counsel: and of a truth if debauchery and dissimulation have ever been accounted among the liberal sciences, then this Prince was altogether a master in these departments.‡

In the meantime, January 1, 1651, the King was crowned at

* See a more full account of these transactions in Stevenson's History, vol. III. p. 176.

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

‡ See the national covenant.

Soone. After an excellent sermon by Mr. Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings ii. 17. the King took the coronation-oath; then sitting down in the chair of state, after some other ceremonies were performed, the Marquis of Argyle taking the crown in his hands, and Mr. Douglas having prayed, he set it on the King's head; and so ascending the stage, attended by the officers of the crown, he was installed into the royal throne by the Marquis, saying, "Stand fast, &c. from henceforth in the place whereof you are the lawful and righteous heir, by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered to you by the authority of God Almighty."* The solemnity was then concluded by a pertinent exhortation, both to King and people, wherein they were certified, that if they should conspire against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, both supporters and supported should fall together.

But the King's forces having been previously defeated by Cromwell, at Dunbar, and being no longer able to make head against the English, he went to England; and by his particular allowance, the Marquis of Argyle, after kissing his hand was left at Stirling. But his army being totally routed on the 3d of September following at Worcester, and he being thus driven from all his dominions, the English meantime over-run the whole country, so that the representatives of the nation were obliged either to take the tender, or suffer great hardships. This tender the Marquis had refused at Dumbar-ton; and upon this they resolved to invade the Highlands and the shire of Argyle. Major Dean coming to the Marquis's house at Inverary, where he was lying sick, presented a paper, which he behoved to subscribe against to-morrow, or be carried off prisoner; this, though sore against his will, for his own and his tenants' safety, he did subscribe with some alterations; which capitulation was afterwards made a mighty handle of against him. And although he had some influence upon the usurper, and was present at several meetings, wherein he procured an equal hearing to the protesters at London, yet while there in 1657, he was rather a prisoner on demand than a free agent, and so continued until the Restoration.

In the year 1660, soon after the King's return, the Marquis being solicited to repair to Court, and no doubt being inclined to wait on a Prince on whose head he had set the crown, though some of his friends used arguments to divert him from his purpose, and being from the testimony of a good conscience, aware that he was able to vindicate himself from all aspersions, if he was but once admitted to the King's presence, set out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall to salute his Majesty. But whenever the King heard he was come thither, notwithstanding his former fair promises, he ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend him, and carry him to the Tower, and there he continued till toward the beginning of December, he was sent down in a man of war, to abide his trial before the parliament in

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

Scotland. On the 20th of that month they landed at Leith, and next day he was taken along the streets of Edinburgh, covered, betwixt two of the town-bailies, and lodged in the castle, where he continued until his trial came on.

On Feb. 13, 1661, he was brought down from the castle in a coach attended by three of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the town guard, and presented before the bar of the House, where the King's Advocate, Sir John Fletcher, accused him, in common form, of high treason, and producing an indictment, craved that it might be read. The Marquis begged liberty to speak before this was done, but the House refused his request, and ordered it to be read; and though he entreated them to hear a petition he had to present, yet this too was a favour not to be granted. The indictment, which was more months in preparing than he had days allowed in the first instance to bring his defence, consisted of fourteen articles; the principal of which were, his entering into the solemn league and covenant with England, and his complying with Oliver Cromwell, all the rest being a heap of slanders and perversions of matter of fact, all which he completely exposes in his information and answers.*

After his indictment was read, he had leave to speak, and spoke for some time with great effect. Among other things, he said, with Paul, in another case, "The things laid against me cannot be proven"—But this he confessed, that in the way allowed by solemn oath and covenant, he had served his God, his King, and his country; and though he owned he wanted not the failings common to all public persons in such a period, yet he blessed God that he was able to make the falsehood of every article of his charge appear; that he had done nothing with a bad intention, but with many others had the misfortune to do many things, the unforeseen events of which had actually proved bad.

The parliament fixed on the 27th of February for bringing in his defence, which was too short a time for preparing to reply to so many articles. At his request, however, it was put off till the 5th of March, on which day he appeared before the Lords of the Articles, and being ordered immediately to produce his defence, delivered a most moving speech, and gave in a petition, remitting himself to the King's mercy, and beseeching the parliament to intercede for him. On the following day, he was brought before the parliament. It was reported by the Lords of Articles, that he had offered a submission to his Majesty, but this submission was voted not satisfactory, and he was commanded, on the morrow, to give in his defence to their Lordships. When he came before them he said his defence was not ready, and he was appointed to give it in on Monday April 9, otherwise they would decide on the whole business without any regard to what he should afterwards say. It

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

seems, however, on the day appointed, his defence was given in ; it extended to fifteen sheets of small print, and fully vindicated his management from all the falsehoods and calumnies in the indictment.

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

In the beginning of May, witnesses were examined and depositions taken against him ; after which he was, upon the 25th of that month, brought to the bar of the House to receive sentence from his judges, who, as he told the King's Advocate, were *socii criminis*, or accomplices in the crime. The House was very thin,—all withdrawing except those who were resolved to follow the courses of the time. He put them in mind of the practice of Theodosius the Emperor, who enacted, that the sentence of death should not be executed till thirty days after it was passed, and added, " I crave but ten, that the King may be acquainted with it ;"—but in this he was refused. The sentence was then pronounced, " that he was found guilty of high treason, and adjudged to be executed as a traitor, his head to be severed from his body, at the cross of Edinburgh, upon Monday the 27th instant, and affixed on the same place where the Marquis of Montrose's head formerly was, and his arms torn before the parliament at the cross." Upon this he offered to speak, but the trumpet sounding, he stopt till they ended, and then said, " I had the honour to set the crown on the King's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own." And directing himself to the commissioner and parliament, he said, " You have the indemnity of an earthly King among your hands, and have denied me a share in that ; but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings : and shortly you must be before His tribunal. I pray he mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actings, and this amongst the rest."

After sentence, he was ordered to the common-prison, where his excellent Lady was waiting for him. Upon seeing her, he said,

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

“ They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it.” She embracing him, wept bitterly, and said, “ The Lord will require it ; The Lord will require it ;” which drew tears from all in the room. But being himself composed, he said, “ Forbear, forbear. I pity them, they know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut God out from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty ; and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all,” &c. He added, he remembered a scripture cited by an honest minister to him while in the castle, which he intended to put in practice. “ When Ziglag was taken and burnt, the people spake of stoning David, but he encouraged himself in the Lord.”

He spent the short time, till Monday, with the greatest serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercises of a dying Christian. To some ministers who were permitted to attend him, he said, “ That shortly they would envy him, who was got before them,”—and added, “ Remember that I tell you, my skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much or sin much ; for though you go along with these men in part, if you do not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer ; and if you go not at all with them you must but suffer.”

During his life, he was reckoned rather timorous than bold. In prison, he said, he was naturally inclined to fear in his temper, but desired those about him, to observe that the Lord had heard his prayer, and removed all fear from him. At his own desire, his Lady took her leave of him on the Sabbath-night. Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. George Hutcheson preached to him in the tolbooth on the Lord’s day, and his dear and much valued friend, Mr. David Dickson, it is said, was his bed-fellow the last night he was in time.

The Marquis had a sweet time in the tolbooth as to the condition of his soul, and this still increased the nearer he approached his end ; As he slept calmly and pleasantly the preceding night, so on Monday morning, though much engaged in settling his affairs in the midst of company, he had at intervals much spiritual conversation, and was so overpowered by a sensible effusion of the Holy Spirit, that he broke out on one occasion into a rapture, and said, “ I thought to have concealed the Lord’s goodness, but it will not do. I am now ordering my affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and just now saying to me, *Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.*”

Some time before he went to the place of execution, he received an excellent letter from a certain minister, and wrote a most moving one to the King. He dined precisely at twelve o’clock, in company with his friends, displaying great cheerfulness, and then retired a little. Upon his opening the door, Mr. Hutcheson said, “ What cheer, my Lord ?” He answered, “ Good cheer, Sir, the Lord hath again confirmed and said to me from heaven, *Thy sins be forgiven thee.*” Upon this tears of joy flowed in abundance ; he retired to

the window and wept; from that he came to the fire, and made as if he would stir it a little to conceal his concern; but it would not do, his tears ran down his face; and coming to Mr. Hutcheson, he said, "I think his kindness overcomes me. But God is good to me, that he lets not out too much of it here, for he knows I could not bear it.* Get me my cloak and let us go." But being told that the clock was kept back till one, till the bailies should come, he answered, "They are far in the wrong;" and presently kneeled and prayed before all present, in a most sweet and heavenly manner. As he ended, the bailies sent up word for him to come down, upon which he called for a glass of wine, and having asked a blessing to it, standing and continuing in the same frame, he said, "Now let us go, and God be with us."

After having taken his leave of such in the room as were not to go with him to the scaffold, going towards the door, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first goes cleanliest." When going down stairs, he called the Reverend Mr. James Guthrie to him, and embracing him in a most endearing way, took his farewell of him; Mr. Guthrie, at parting, addressed the Marquis thus: "My Lord, God hath been with you, he is with you, and will be with you. And such is my respect for your Lordship, that if I were not under sentence of death myself, I would cheerfully die for your Lordship." So they parted to meet again in a better place on the Friday following.

Then, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen, mounted in black, he with his cloak and hat on, went down the street, and having mounted the scaffold, with great serenity, like one going to his Father's house, saluted all on it. Mr. Hutcheson then prayed; after which his Lordship addressed the spectators, and among other things, said, "I come not here to justify *myself*, but the *Lord*, who is holy in all his ways, righteous in all his works, holy and blessed is his name. Neither come I to condemn others. I bless the Lord, I forgive all men, and desire to be forgiven of the Lord myself. Let the will of the Lord be done, that is all I desire. I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the King home, and in my endeavours for him when he was home, and had no correspondence with the adversaries' army, nor any of them, when his Majesty was in Scotland; nor had I any hand in his late Majesty's murder.—I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned,

* The historian Burnet, in the introduction to his History, p. 30, &c. is pleased to say, "This Argyle was a pretender to high degrees of piety. Warriston went to very high notions of lengthened devotions, and whatsoever struck his fancy during his effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer." But perhaps the Bishop was much a stranger both to high degrees of piety and lengthened devotions, and also to such returns of prayer, for these two gallant noblemen faced the bloody axe and gibbet, rather than forego their profession, with more courage, and (I may say) upon better principles or grounds of suffering, than what any diocesan Bishop in Scotland at least, or even the doctor himself was honoured to do.

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

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

Thus died the Noble Marquis of Argyle, the proto-martyr to religion since the reformation from Popery, the true portrait of whose character, says Wodrow, cannot be drawn. His enemies themselves will allow him to have been a person of extraordinary piety, remarkable wisdom and prudence, great gravity and authority, and

* For which with his last words, see Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland.

singular usefulness. He was the head of the covenanters in Scotland, and had been singularly active in the work of reformation; and of any almost that had engaged in that work he stuck closest by it, even, when most of the nation quitted it; so that this attack upon him was a stroke at the root of all that had been done in Scotland from 1638. But the tree of Prelacy behoved to be soaked, when planting, with the blood of this excellent patriot, staunch Presbyterian, and vigorous asserter of Scotland's liberty: and as he was the great promoter thereof during his life, and steadfast in witnessing to it at his death, so it was in a manner buried with him, for many years. In a word, he had piety for a Christian, sense for a counsellor, carriage for a martyr, and soul for a king. If ever any was, he might be said to be a true Scotsman!

JAMES GUTHRIE.

MR. JAMES GUTHRIE was son to the Laird of Guthrie, and of a very honourable and ancient family. Having gone through his course of classical learning at the grammar-school and college, he commenced teaching philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, where for several years he gave abundant proof that he was an able scholar. His temper was very steady and composed; he could reason upon the most subtle points with great solidity, and when every one else was warm, he remained unruffled. At any time, when indecent heats or wranglings happened to occur in reasoning, it was his ordinary custom to say, "Enough of this, let us go to some other subject; we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage." Perhaps he had the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness in his temper, of any man in his time. Being educated in opposition to Presbyterian principles, he was highly Prelatical in his judgment when he first came to St. Andrews; but by conversing with worthy Mr. Rutherford and others, and especially through his joining the weekly society's meetings there, for prayer and conference, he was effectually brought off from that way; and perhaps it was this that made the writer of the journal, who was no friend of his, say, "That if Mr. Guthrie had continued fixed to his first principles, he had been a star of the first magnitude in Scotland." When, accordingly, he came to judge for himself, he happily departed from his first principles, and upon examination of that way wherein he was educated, left it, and thereby became a star of the first magnitude indeed. It is said, that while a regent in the college of St. Andrews, Mr. Sharp, being then a promising young man there, he several times wrote this verse upon him,

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

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

After he came to Stirling, he again not only evidenced a singular care over the people he had charge of, but also was a great assistant in the affairs of the church, being a most zealous enemy to all error and profanity. And when the unhappy difference fell out with the public resolutioners, he was a most staunch protestor, opposing these resolutions to the utmost of his power; insomuch that after the presbytery of Stirling had wrote a letter to the Commission of the General Assembly, showing their dislike and dissatisfaction with the resolutions, after they had been concluded upon at Perth, Dec. 14, 1650, Mr. Guthrie, and his colleague Mr. Bennet, went somewhat farther, and openly preached against them, as involving the land in conjunction with the malignant party; for which, by a letter from the Chancellor, they were ordered to repair to Perth on February 19, 1651, to answer before the King* and the Committee of Estates. Upon the indisposition of one of them, they excused themselves for their non-appearance that day, but promised to attend at the end of the week. Accordingly, on the 22d, they appeared at Perth, where they gave in a protestation, signifying, that although they owned his Majesty's civil authority, yet was Mr. Guthrie challenged by the King and his Council for a doctrinal thesis which he had

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

maintained and spoken to in a sermon,—and they being incompetent judges in matters purely ecclesiastical, such as the examination and censuring of doctrines,—he did decline them on that account.*

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

By improving an affront the King met with in 1650, some malignants so prevailed to excite his fears of the evil designs of those about him, that, by a correspondence with such as were disaffected to the covenants in the north, matters came in a little to this pass, that a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were to rise and form themselves into an army, under Middleton's command, and the King was to cast himself into their arms. Accordingly, with a few in his retinue, as if he were going a hunting, he left his best friends, crossed the Tay, and came to Angus, where he was to have met with the insurgents; but finding himself disappointed, he came back to the Committee of Estates, where indeed his greatest strength lay. In the meanwhile some who had been in the plot fearing punishment, got together under Middleton's command. General Leslie marched towards them, and the King wrote them to lay down their arms. The Committee sent an indemnity to such as should submit; and while the States were thus dealing with them, the Commission of the Assembly were not wanting in zeal against such as thus ventured to disturb the public peace; and it is said, that Mr. Guthrie proposed summary excommunication, as what Middleton deserved, and what he thought a suitable testimony from the Church at this juncture. This highest sentence was carried in the Commission by a plurality of votes, and Mr. Guthrie was appointed to pronounce it next Sabbath. In the mean time the Committee of Estates, not without some debate, had agreed upon an indemnity to Middleton. There was an express sent to Stirling; with an account how things stood, and a letter, desiring Mr. Guthrie to forbear the intimation of the Commission's sentence. But this letter coming to him just as he was going to the pulpit, he did not open it till the work was over: and though he had, it is a question if he would have delayed the Commission's sentence upon a private mis-sive to himself. However, the sentence was inflicted, and although

* Apologetical Relation, § 3. page 83.

† See these protestations in Wodrow's Church History, vol. I. p. 58. and 59.

the Commission of the Church, Jan. 2, 1651, being their next meeting, did release Middleton from the censure, and laid it on a better man, Col. Strachan,* yet it is believed Middleton never forgave or forgot what Mr. Guthrie did upon that day, as will afterwards be made more fully to appear.

Mr. Guthrie, about this time, wrote several of the papers on the protestors' side; for which, and his faithfulness, he was one of the three who were deposed by the pretended Assembly at St. Andrews, 1657. Yea, such was the malice of these resolutioners, that upon his refusal of one of their party, and his acceding to the call of Mr. Rule, to be his colleague at Stirling, upon the death of Mr. Bennet in 1656, they proceeded to stone him with stones, his testimony while alive so tormented the men who dwelt upon the earth.

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

Very soon after the Restoration, while Mr. Guthrie and some of his faithful brethren, who assembled at Edinburgh, were drawing up a paper in way of supplication to his Majesty, they were all apprehended, and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, with the exception of one who happily escaped; and from thence Mr. Guthrie was taken to Stirling castle,† where he continued till a little before his trial, which was upon the 20th of February, 1661. When he came to trial, the Chancellor told him, he was called before them to answer to the charge of high treason, (a copy of which charge he had received some weeks before;) and the Lord Advocate proposed his indictment should be read;—which the house went into: The heads of it were, 1. His contriving, consenting to, and exhibiting before the Committee of Estates, the paper called the Western Remonstrance. 2. His contriving, writing, and publishing, that abominable pamphlet, called, The Causes of the Lord's Wrath. 3. His contriving, writing, and subscribing, the paper called the Humble Petition‡ of the twenty-third of August last. 4. His convocating of the King's lieges, &c. 5. His declaring his Majesty, by his appeals and protestations presented by him at Perth,

* This unjust sentence was pronounced in the High Church of Glasgow, by Mr. John Carstairs.

† The author of the *Apologetica*. Relation says to Dundee.

‡ See this paper, called the Humble Petition, in Crookshank's History, vol. I. p. 64.

incapable to be judge over him. And, 6. Some treasonable expressions he was alleged to have uttered, in a meeting in 1650 or 1651.

His indictment being read, he made an excellent speech before the parliament, in which he both defended himself, and the noble cause for which he suffered: This being too nervous to be abridged, and too prolix to be inserted in this place, the reader will find it in Wodrow's History.*

After he had delivered this speech he was ordered to remove. He humbly craved, that some time might be given him to consult with his lawyers. This was granted; and he was allowed till the 29th to give in his defence. It is related, that when he met with his lawyers to form his defence, he very much surprised them by his exact knowledge of Scots law, and suggested several things to be added that had escaped his advocate. This made Sir John Nisbet express himself to this purpose, "If it had been in the reasoning part, or in consequence from scripture and divinity, I would have wondered the less if he had given us some help, but even in the matter of our own profession, our statutes and acts of parliament, he pointed out several things that had escaped us." Moreover, the day before his first appearance in parliament, it is said he sent a copy of the forementioned speech to Sir John and the rest of his lawyers, and that they could mend nothing therein.

The considering and preparing of his defence, took up some weeks. Upon the 11th of April, the process against him was read in the House, and on this occasion also, he made a speech which was both affecting and close to the purpose; and which he concludes thus:

"My Lords, in the last place, I humbly beg, that having brought so pregnant and clear evidence from the word of God, so much divine reason and human laws, and so much of the common practice of kirk and kingdom, in my defence, and being already cast out of my ministry, out of my dwelling and maintenance, myself and my family put to live on the charity of others, having now suffered eight months' imprisonment, your Lordships would put no other burden upon me. I shall conclude with the words of the prophet Jeremiah, *Behold, I am in your hands, saith he, do to me what seemeth good to you: I know, for certain, that the Lord hath commanded me to speak all these things: and that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon the inhabitants of this city.*"

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

the propagation of these things, than my life or liberty could do, though I should live many years." &c.

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

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

Thus it was resolved that this excellent man should fall a sacrifice to private and personal pique, and it is said that the commissioners had no small debate what his sentence should be; for he was dealt with by some of them, to retract what he had done and written, to join with the present measures and accept of a bishopric. His enemies were in no hazard by making the experiment, for they might be assured of his firmness in principle. A bishopric was a very small temptation to him; and the Commissioners improved his inflexibility, to have his life taken away, to be a terror to others, that they might have the less opposition in establishing Prelacy.

Betwixt Mr. Guthrie's sentence and his execution, he enjoyed perfect composure and serenity of spirit, and wrote a great many excellent letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval he uttered several prophetic expressions, which, together with the foresaid religious letters, could they now be recovered, might be of no small use, in this apostate and backsliding age. The day (June 1.) on which he was executed, it being reported that he was to buy his life, at the expense of retracting some of the things he had formerly said and done, he wrote and subscribed the following declaration:

"These are to declare, that I do own the causes of God's Wrath, the Supplication at Edinburgh, August last, and the accession I had to the remonstrances. And if any do think, or have reported, that I was willing to recede from these, they have wronged me, as never having any ground from me to think or to report so. This I attest,

under my hand, at Edinburgh, about eleven o'clock, forenoon, before these witnesses.

Mr. ARTHUR FORBES,
Mr. HUGH WALKER,

Mr. JOHN GUTHRIE,
Mr. JAMES COWIE."

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

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

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

Thus died Mr. James Guthrie, who was properly the first that suffered unto death in that period, for asserting the kingly prerogative of Jesus Christ, in opposition to Erastian supremacy. He was a man honoured of God to be singularly zealous and faithful in carrying on the work of reformation, and carried himself straight under all changes and revolutions. He did much for the interest of the King in Scotland, of which no doubt he was sensible. When he got notice of his death, he said with some warmth, "And what have you done with Patrick Gillespie," he was answered that having so many friends in the House, his life could not be taken. "Well," said he, "if I had known you would have spared Mr. Gillespie I would have spared Mr. Guthrie." And indeed he was very right in this; for Mr. Guthrie was capable to have done him much service, being accomplished with almost every qualification, natural or acquired, necessary to complete either a man or a Christian.

It is to be regretted we are favoured with so few of the writings of this Worthy. For, besides the papers already mentioned, he wrote several others upon the protestors' side. He also wrote one against the usurper Oliver Cromwell, for which he suffered some hardships during the time of that usurpation. His last sermon at Stirling, preached from Matt. xiv. 22. was published in 1738, en-

* Mr. Alexander Hamilton, when a student at the college of Edinburgh, took down Mr. Guthrie's head at the hazard of his life, and buried it, after it had stood a spectacle for twenty-seven years: and, it is observable, that the very same person afterwards succeeded him in Stirling, where he was minister twelve years.

titled, *A Cry from the Dead, &c.*; with his *Ten Considerations anent the decay of Religion*, first published by himself in 1660; and an authentic paper written and subscribed by himself upon the occasion of his being stoned by the resolution party in 1656, for his accession to the call of Mr. Robert Rule to be his colleague, after the death of Mr. Bennet. He also wrote a treatise on Ruling elders and Deacons, about the time he entered into the ministry, which is now affixed to the last edition of his cousin Mr. William Guthrie's "Trial of a Saving interest in Christ."

JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDON.

THIS distinguished person was heir to Sir James Campbell of Lawer, and husband of Margaret, Baroness of Loudon. When King Charles I. came to Scotland, in order to have his coronation performed,* he dignified several of the Scots nobility, and among the rest, this nobleman was created Earl of Loudon, 12th May, 1633.

It appears that from his youth he had been well affected to the Presbyterian interest; for no sooner did the second reformation begin to take air, which was about the year 1637, than he appeared a principal promoter of it, and that not only in joining the petitioners, afterwards called the covenanters, but also when the General Assembly sat down at Glasgow in November 1638, by attending the same in almost every session thereof; in which he was of great service, both by his advice in difficult cases, and by the excellent speeches he delivered. For instance, when the difference arose between the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's Commissioner, and some of the members, anent choosing a clerk to the Assembly, the Marquis, refusing to be assisted by the Earl of Traquair and Sir Lewis Stuart, urged several reasons for compliance with his Majesty's pleasure, and at last renewed his protest; and upon this Lord Loudon, in name of the commissioners to the Assembly, gave in reasons of a very high and independent strain, why the Lord Commissioner and his assessors ought to have but one vote in the House. Of these reasons Traquair craved a copy, and promised to answer them; but it appears he never found leisure for this employment.

* He was crowned on the 8th of June, by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, assisted by the Bishops of Ross and Murray; Laud, then Bishop of London, had the direction of the ceremony. He preached in the Chapel-royal, and insisted upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the Church, &c. But this discourse was far from being to the minds of the people.—See Stevenson's History, vol. i. Bennet's Memorial, p. 178.

About this time he told the King's Commissioner roundly, "They knew no other bonds betwixt a King and his subjects, but religion and laws; and if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them; that they would not be so; that such fears were past with them."*

The King with his Bishops being galled to the heart to see, that, by the Assembly, Presbytery was almost restored and Prelacy well nigh abolished, he immediately put himself at the head of an army, in order to reduce them. The Scots, hearing of the preparations, provided as well as they could. Both armies marched towards the border; but upon the approach of the Scots, the English were moved with great timidity; and there ensued a pacification.—Commissioners being appointed to treat on both sides, the Scots were permitted to make known their demand; and the Lord Loudon being one of the Scots Commissioners, upon his knees said, "That their demand was only to enjoy their religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom." The king replied, "That if that was all that was desired, the peace would soon be made." And after several particulars were agreed upon, the King promised, "That all ecclesiastical matters should be decided by an Assembly, and civil matters by the parliament; which Assembly should be kept once a-year. That on the 6th of August should be held a free General Assembly, when the King would be present, and pass an act of oblivion." The articles of the pacification were subscribed by the commissioners of both sides, in view of both armies, at Kirks, near Berwick, June 18th, 1639.

But this treaty was short lived and ill observed; for the King, instigated by the bishops, soon after burnt the pacification by the hands of the hangman, charging the Scots with a breach of the articles of treaty, although the Earl of Loudon gave him sufficient proofs to the contrary. The freedom thus used by his Lordship no way pleased the King; but he was suffered to return home, and the King kept his resentment till another opportunity.

In the mean time, the General Assembly having sat down at Edinburgh, August 12th, Mr. Dickson was chosen moderator; and at this Assembly, amongst other matters, Messrs. Henderson and Ramsay entered upon a demonstration, to show that Episcopacy hath its beginning from men, and is of human institution. But they had not proceeded far, till they were interrupted by Traquair, the King's Commissioner, who declared he did not wish them to go into any scholastic dispute, but only to show how far Episcopacy was contrary to the constitution of this church; whereupon Lord Loudon being present, did most solidly explain the act of the General Assembly 1580, which condemned the office of Bishops, "prior to the subscription of the national covenant," and because of a difficulty raised from these words then used, his Lordship observed, that in the Assemblies 1560, 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578, Episcopacy

* Vide Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 69.

came still under consideration, though not directly as to the office, yet as to the corruption, and having enlarged upon the office of bishops as without a warrant from the word of God, he concludes, —“ As we have said, the connection between the Assemblies of 1574, and of 1581, is quite clear; so that Episcopacy is put out as wanting warrant from the word of God, and Presbytery put in, as having that divine warrant; and was accordingly sworn unto.”

The same day on which the Assembly arose, the Parliament sat down; but falling upon matters that did not correspond with the King's desire, Traquair did all he could to stop them, that they might get nothing done: upon which they sent the Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to implore his Majesty to allow them to proceed, and to determine what was before them. But ere these two Lords had reached the Court, orders were sent, discharging them in the King's name, from coming within a mile of him, on supposition they had no express warrant from the Lord Commissioner; so that they returned home.

Mean time the parliament, by the King's orders, was prorogued till the 2d of June, 1640, and matters continued so till January 1641, when the Committee of parliament having obtained leave to send up deputies to represent their grievances, did again commission the two foresaid Earls, to whom they added Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Mr. Barclay, provost of Irvine. On their arrival they were allowed to kiss the King's hand, and some time after were appointed to attend at the council-chamber; but understanding they were not to have a hearing of the King himself, they craved a copy of Traquair's information to the council of England; which was denied. At last the King gave them audience himself upon the 3d of March, when the Lord Loudon, after having addressed his Majesty, showed that his ancient and native kingdom was independent of any other judicatory whatever: and craved his Majesty's protection in defence of religion, liberty, and the cause of the Church, and then speaking concerning those who had misrepresented or traduced his most loyal Scots subjects, he said, “ If it please God for our sins to make our condition so deplorable as they may get the shadow of your Majesty's authority, as we hope in God they will not, to palliate their ends, then, as those who were sworn to defend our religion, our recourse must be only to the God of Jacob for our refuge, who is the Lord of lords and King of kings, and by whom kings do reign and princes decree justice. And if, in speaking thus out of zeal to religion, and the duty we owe to our country, and that charge which is laid upon us, any thing hath escaped us, sith it is spoken from the sincerity of our hearts, we fall down at your Majesty's feet, craving pardon for our freedom.” Again having eloquently expatiated upon the desires of his subjects, and the laws of the kingdom, he thus speaks of the laws of God, and the power of the Church, “ Next, we must distinguish betwixt the Church and the state, betwixt the ecclesiastical and civil power; both which are materially one, yet formally they are contradistinct in power, in jurisdiction, in laws, in bodies, in ends, in offices, and

officers; and although the Church, and ecclesiastical assemblies thereof, be formally different and distinct from the parliament and civil judicatories, yet there is so strict and necessary a conjunction betwixt the ecclesiastic and civil jurisdiction, betwixt religion and justice, as the one cannot firmly subsist and be preserved without the other, and therefore they must stand and fall, live and die together," &c. He enlarged further upon the privileges of both Church and state, and then concluded with mentioning the sum of their desires,—"that your Majesty (saith he) may be graciously pleased to command, that the parliament may proceed freely to determine all these articles given into them, and whatsoever exceptions, objections, or informations, are made against any of the particular overtures, &c. we are most willing to receive the same in writing, and are content, in the same way, to return our answers and humble desires."*

On the 11th of March, the commissioners appeared, and produced their instructions; whereupon ensued some reasonings betwixt them and the King, during which Archbishop Laud, who sat on the King's right hand, was observed to mock the Scots Commissioners, causing the King put such questions to them as he pleased. At last Traquair gave in several queries and objections to them, to which they gave most solid and sufficient answers. But this farce being over, for it seems nothing else was intended by the Court than to entrap the commissioners, and particularly the noble Earl, who had thus strenuously asserted the laws and liberties of his country; they were all taken into custody, and the Earl of Loudon sent to the Tower for a letter alleged to have been written by him and sent by the Scots to the French King, of the following tenor:

"SIRE,

"YOUR Majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvill, to represent unto your Majesty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings as of our inventions, which we desire to be engraven and written in the whole world, with a beam of the sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore beseech you, Sire, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs. Being much assured, Sire, of an assistance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often showed to the nation, which will not yield the glory of any other whatsoever, to be eternally, Sire, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servant."

This letter, says a historian,† was advised and composed by Montrose, when the King was coming against Scotland with a potent army, transcribed by Lord Loudon, and subscribed by them two and the Lords Rothes, Marr, Montgomery, and Forrester, and

* History of the Stuarts, vol. I.

† Ibid.

General Leslie; but the translation being found faulty by Lord Maitland, and others, it was dropped altogether: This copy wanted both the date, which the worst of its enemies allowed, and a direction, which the Scots confidently affirmed, it never had; but falling into the King's hand (by means of Traquair,) he intended to make a handle of it, to make Lord Loudon the first sacrifice. The Noble Lord being examined before the Council, honestly acknowledged the hand-writing and subscription to be his; but said, it was before the late pacification, when his Majesty was marching in hostility against his native country, that in these circumstances it seemed necessary to have an intercessor to mitigate his wrath, and they could think of none so well qualified as the French King, being the nearest relation by affinity to their sovereign of any other crowned head in the world; but that being thought on shortly before the arrival of the English on the border, it was judged too late, and therefore was never either addressed, nor sent to the French King.

Notwithstanding this, the worst designs were cherished against this Noble Peer, and being remanded back to prison, he was very near being despatched, and that not only without the benefit of his peers, but without even a legal trial or conviction. Burnet acknowledges * that the King was advised to proceed capitally against him; but the English historians † go still farther and say, that the King about three o'clock in the afternoon, sent his own letter to William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to see the Lord Loudon's head struck off, within the Tower, before nine the next morning;—a striking demonstration of the just and forgiving spirit for which, by some, King Charles is so much extolled!! Of this command, the lieutenant of the Tower, that his Lordship might prepare for death, gave him immediate notice: an intimation awful indeed, but which he, knowing the justice of his cause, received with astonishing composure and serenity of mind. The lieutenant went himself to the Marquis of Hamilton, who he thought was bound in honour to interpose in this matter. The Marquis and the lieutenant made their way to the King, who was then in bed. The warrant was scarce named, when the King understanding their errand, stopped them, saying, "By G—d, it shall be executed." But the Marquis laying before him the odiousness of the design as being a violation of the safe conduct he had granted to that nobleman, together with the dismal consequences that were like to attend an action of that nature, not only in respect to Scotland, which would certainly be lost, but likewise to his own personal safety from the nobility, he immediately called for the warrant, tore it, and dismissed the Marquis and the lieutenant somewhat abruptly. After this, about the 28th of June, the Earl, upon promise of concealing from his brethren in Scotland the hard treatment he had met

* Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton.

† Rushworth's History, vol. I. Oldmixon, vol. I.

with from the King, and of contributing his endeavours to dispose them to peace, was liberated from his confinement, and allowed to return home.

But things being now ripe for a new war, the King put himself the head of an army, in order to suppress the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots resolved not to be behind in their preparations, and entered England with a great army, mostly of veteran troops, of whom many had served in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus.*—A party of the King's forces disputed the passage of the Tyne, but were defeated at Newburn; whereupon the Scots took Newcastle and Berwick, and pushed their way as far as Durham. In all this the Earl of Loudon acted no mean part; for he not only gained upon the citizens of Edinburgh and other places, to contribute money and other necessaries, for the use and supply of the Scots army, but also commanded a brigade of horse, with whom, in the foresaid skirmish at Newburn, he had no small share of the victory. The King retired to York; and finding himself environed on all hands, appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots a second time. On the other side, the Scots nominated the Earls of Dunfermline, Rothes, and Loudon, with some gentlemen, and Messrs. Henderson and Johnston, advocates for the Church, as their commissioners for the treaty. The two parties, upon October 1st, 1640, met at Rippon; where, after agreeing to some articles for a cessation of arms during three months, the treaty was transferred to London. To this the Scots commissioners consented upon a patent granted from the King for their safe conduct, and went thither. And because great hopes were entertained by friends in England, from their presence and influence at London, the Committee at Newcastle appointed Mr. Robert Blair, for his dexterity in dealing with the Independents; Mr. Robert Baillie, for his eminence in managing the Arminian controversy; and Mr. George Gillespie, for his nervous and pithy confutation of the English ceremonies, to accompany the three noblemen, as their chaplains: Messrs. Smith and Borthwick followed soon after.

After this treaty, things went on smoothly for some time in Scotland; but the King not relishing the proceedings of the English parliament, made a tour next year to Scotland, and attended the parliament there. To this parliament, previous to the King's arrival, Traquair, Montrose, and several other incendiaries, had been cited for stirring up strife between the King and his subjects, and for undoing the covenanters. Some of them appeared and some appeared not. In the meanwhile, the noble Earl of Loudon said so much in favour of some of them, discharging so effectually all the duties laid on him last year by the King, that some, forgetting the obligation he came under to steer with an even hand, began to suspect him of changing sides, so that he was well nigh left out of the commission to England, with the parliament's agreement to the treaty.

* See Dr. Welwood's Memoirs.

So much did this offend his Lordship, that he supplicated the parliament to be examined with respect to his past conduct and negotiations, and if they found him faithful; which grieved the members of the House very much. The House declared, indeed, that he had behaved himself faithfully and wisely in all his public employments, and that he not only deserved to have an act of approbation, but likewise to be rewarded by the Estates, that their favours and his merit might be known to posterity. They further considered that the loss of such an eminent instrument could not be easily supplied. The English dealt not so freely with any of our commissioners, as with Lord Loudon; nor did ever any of our commissioners use so much ingenuous freedom with his Majesty as he did; and he behaved once more to return to London, with the treaty, newly revised by the parliament, and subscribed by the Lord President and others.

After the return of the commissioners, the King being arrived in parliament, they began to dignify several of the Scots nobility with offices of state; and because a Lord Treasurer was wanting, it was moved, that none did deserve that office so well as the Earl of Loudon, who had done so much for his country. But the King, judging more wisely, and thinking it was more difficult to find a fit person for the Chancery, resolved to make the Earl of Loudon Chancellor, contrary both to his own inclination, for he was never ambitious of preferment, and to the solicitation of his friends. And to make amends for the smallness of his fees, an annual pension of £1000 was added to his office.

Accordingly, upon the 2d of October 1642, this Noble Lord did solemnly, in the face of the parliament, on his bended knees, before the throne, first swear the oath of allegiance, then that of a privy counsellor, and lastly, when the great seal, which for two years had been kept by the Marquis of Hamilton, was with the mace delivered to him out of his Majesty's hand, the oath *de fidei administratione officii*. He was then, by the Lion King at Arms, placed in the seat under his Majesty's feet, on the right hand of the Lord President of parliament; and from thence immediately arose, and prostrating himself before the King, said "Preferment comes neither from the east nor from the west, but from God alone. I acknowledge, I have this from your Majesty as from God's vicegerent upon earth, and the fountain of all earthly honour here, and I will endeavour to answer that expectation your Majesty has of me, and to deserve the good-will of this Honourable House, in faithfully discharging what you both (without desert of mine) have put upon me." And, kissing his Majesty's hand, he retired to his seat.

This was a notable turn of affairs from the hand of providence; for behold! he who last year, for the cause of Christ and love of his country, in all submission, received from his sovereign the message of death, is now, for his great wisdom and prudence, advanced by the same authority to the helm of the highest affairs in the kingdom; which verifies what the wise man saith, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and before honour is humility.* Prov. xv. 33.

As soon as advanced to this office and dignity, he not only began to exert his power for the utility and welfare of his own country, but even next year, went up to London, and importuned his Majesty to call his English parliament, as the most expedient way to bring about a firm and lasting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And although not one of the commissioners sent up from Parliament and the Assembly of the church of Scotland, in 1643, yet it is evident from a letter received from them while at London, bearing the date of January 6th, 1645, that he was amongst them there, using his utmost endeavours for bringing about that happy uniformity of religion, in doctrine, discipline, and church government, which took place and was established at that time.

And next year, before the King surrendered himself to the Scots army at Newcastle, Lord Loudon being sent as commissioner to him, after Lord Leven, at the head of one hundred officers in the army, had presented a petition upon their knees, beseeching his Majesty to give them satisfaction in point of religion, and to take the covenant, he in plain terms, accosted the King thus; "The difference between your Majesty and your parliament is grown to such an height, that, after many bloody battles, they have your Majesty, with all your garrisons and strong holds, in their hands. They are in a capacity now to do what they will in church and state; and some are afraid, and others unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your Majesty's last resolution. Now, Sire, if your Majesty refuse your assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the House and in the city, and all England shall join against you as one man; they will depose you, and set up another government; they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, and remove our arms out of England; and upon your refusal, we will be obliged to settle religion and peace without you; which will ruin your Majesty and your posterity. We own, the propositions are higher in some things than we approve of, but the only way to establish your Majesty is to consent to them at present. Your Majesty may recover, in a time of peace, all that you have lost in a time of tempest and trouble." Whether or not the King found him a true prophet in all this, may be left to history to determine.

He was again employed on a similar errand to the King, in 1648, but with no better success, as appears from two excellent speeches to the Scots parliament at his return, concerning these proceedings. And in the same year, in the month of June, he was with a handful of covenanters at a communion at Mauchline muir, where they were set upon by Callender and Middleton's forces, after they had given his Lordship their promise to the contrary.

Although this noble Earl, through the influence of the Earl of Lanark, had at first given his consent to the King, who was setting on foot an army for his own rescue, yet he came to be among those who protested against the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement. To account some way for this,—He had previously received a promise of a gift of tiends, and a gift sometimes blindeth the eyes; and especially might be expected to have this effect on a nobleman whose

estate was at the time somewhat burdened ; but by conversing with some of the protestors, who discovered to him his mistake, he was so convinced that this was contrary to his trust, that he subscribed an admonition to more steadfastness, for the Commission of the Church, in the high church of Edinburgh.

But at length Charles I. being executed, and his son Charles II. called home by the Scots, a new scene began to appear in 1650 ; for malignants being then brought again into places of power and trust, it behoved the Lord Chancellor (who never was a friend to malignants) to demit. He had now for nearly ten years presided in parliament, and had been highly instrumental in the hand of the Lord, to establish in this nation both in church and state, the purest reformation that ever was established in any country under the New Testament dispensation ; but he was now turned out, and Earl Burleigh substituted in his place.

In what manner he was employed during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, there is no certain account ; only it is probable, that notwithstanding the many struggles he had in asserting the King's interest, he mostly lived a private life, as most of the noblemen and gentlemen of the nation did during that time.

But no sooner was the King restored to his dominions, than these lands returned back unto the old vomit of Popery, Prelacy, and Slavery ; and it is impossible to express the grief of heart this godly nobleman sustained, when he not only beheld the carved work of the sanctuary cut down in the defacing of the glorious structure of reformation, which he had such an eminent hand in directing and building up, but also to find himself at the King's mercy for his accession to the same. He knew, that, next to the Marquis of Argyle, he was the butt of the enemy's malice, and he had frequently applied for his Majesty's grace, but was as often refused ; so that the violent courses now carrying on, and the obvious invasions upon the liberties and religion of the nation, made him weary of his life ; and being then at Edinburgh, he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray fast, that he might never see the next session of parliament, else he might follow his dear friend the Marquis of Argyle ; and the Lord was pleased to grant his request : for he died, in a most Christian manner, at Edinburgh, March 15th, 1652, and his corpse was carried home, and interred with his ancestors.

The most exaggerated praise that can at present be bestowed on this renowned patriot and worthy, must be far below his merit, he was possessed of such prudence, eloquence, learning, and courage. Which excellent endowments he invariably applied himself to the support of our ancient and admirable constitution, which he maintained upon all hazards and occasions ; on which account he might be truly accounted the chief advocate, both for the civil and religious liberties of the people. To sum up all in a few words ; he was most exquisite orator in the senate, a refined politician, an honour to his name, an ornament to this nation ; and in every virtue, in politic, social, and domestic life, a pattern to be imitated. And although

HIS OFFSPRING* have hitherto all along retained a sense of their civil liberties, yet it is to be lamented, that few or none of our noblemen at this day follow his example.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE was born at Glasgow in the year 1599. His father was a citizen there, being lineally descended from Baillie of Jerviston, a member of the house of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient house of Lamington, all in the county of Lanark; and by his mother's side he was of the same stock with the Gibsons of Durie, who have made such a figure in the law. He received his education at Glasgow, and at that university plied his studies so hard, that by his industry and genius, he attained the knowledge of twelve or thirteen languages, and could write a Latin style, which, in the opinion of the learned, might well become the Augustan age.

After his study of divinity, he took orders from Archbishop Law, about the year 1622, and was soon after presented by the Earl of Eglinton to the church of Kilwinning. When the reformation began in 1637, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his tenderness of the King's authority, to see through some of the measures then taken. — Yet, after reasoning, reading, and prayer, as he himself informs us, he came heartily into the covenanters' interest about that time.

Being a man of solid judgment, he was often employed in the public business of the Church. In 1638, he was chosen by his own presbytery, to be member of the memorable Assembly held at Glasgow, where he behaved himself with great wisdom and moderation.

He was also one of those who attended as chaplains to the army in 1639 and 1640, and was present during the whole treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded at London. What comfort he had in these things, he describes in these words: "As for myself, I never found my mind in a better temper than it was all that time, from my outset until my head was again homeward. I was one who had taken leave of the world, and resolved to die in that service. I found the favour of God shining on me, and a sweet, meek, and humble, yet strong and vehement spirit, leading me along." The same year, 1640, he was by the covenanting lords sent to London, to draw up an accusation against Archbishop Laud, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the Church of Scotland.

* His son James Earl of Loudon suffered much after his father's death during the persecuting period; and at last was obliged to leave his native country, and died an exile at Leyden, after having endured a series of hardships. And there are recent instances of the truly noble and independent spirit for liberty this worthy family have all along retained, which, we doubt not, will be transmitted to their posterity.

He was translated from Kilwinning to be professor of divinity at Glasgow, when Mr. David Dickson was translated from thence to the divinity chair at Edinburgh. He was one of the commissioners sent from the Church of Scotland, to the Westminster Assembly in 1645, where he remained almost during the whole time of that Assembly. And after they rose, as an acknowledgment for his good services, the parliament of England made him a handsome present of silver plate, with an inscription, signifying it to be a token of their high respect for him. This not long since was to be seen in the house of Carnbroe, being carefully preserved; and perhaps it remains there to this day.

By his first wife, Lillias Fleming, he had one son and four daughters; by his second wife, Principal Strang's daughter, he had one daughter who was married to Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.

About this time he was a great confidant of the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, Lauderdale, and Loudon, Lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, with others of the chief men among the covenanters. He thus obtained the most exact knowledge of the transactions of that time, which he has carefully collected in his letters: as he himself says, there was no one from whom his correspondent could get a more full narrative of the events under Cromwell's usurpation. He joined with the party called resolutioners, and composed several of the papers belonging to that side, in 1661. He was, by Lauderdale's interest, made principal of the College of Glasgow, upon the removal of Mr. Patrick Gillespie. About this time, it is also said, he had a bishopric offered him; but that he refused it, because, says the writer of his life prefixed to his letters, he did not choose to enter into a dispute with those with whom he had formerly lived in friendship. But this was only a sly way of wounding an amiable character; for Mr. Baillie continued firmly attached to Presbyterian government, and stood in opposition to Prelacy, to his very last. Several instances could be brought to this effect, but a few excerpts from some of his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale a little before his death,* may effectually wipe away that reproach. "Having the occasion of this bearer, I tell you my heart is broken with grief, and I find the burden of the public weighty, and hastening me to my grave. What need you do that disservice to the King, which all of you cannot recompense, to grieve the hearts of all your godly friends in Scotland, with pulling down all our laws at once, which concerned our Church since 1633? Was this good advice, or will it thrive? Is it wisdom to bring back upon us the Canterburian times, the same designs, the same practices? Will they not bring on the same effects, whatever fools dream?" And again, in the same letter downward, he says, "My Lord, you are the nobleman in all the world I love best, and esteem most. I think I may say, I write to you what I please. If you have gone with your heart to forsake

* See this and another of his letters to Lauderdale, Wodrow's History, Vol. I.

your covenant; to countenance the re-introduction of bishops and books, and strengthen the King by your advice in these things, I think you a prime transgressor, and liable among the first to answer for that great sin," &c. And when the archbishop came to visit him when on his death-bed, he would not so much as give him the appellation of Lord: yea, it appears, that the introduction of Prelacy was a mean of bringing on his death, as seems evident from his last public letter to his cousin Mr. Spang, dated May 1, 1662, some weeks before his death.—After some account of the west country ministers being called in to Edinburgh, he says, "The guise is now, the bishops will trouble no man, but the states will punish seditious ministers. This poor Church is in the most hard taking that ever we have seen. This is my daily grief; this hath brought all my bodily trouble on me, and is like to do me more harm."—And very shortly after that, in the month of July, he got to his rest and reward, being aged sixty-three years.

Mr. Robert Baillie may very justly, for his profound and universal learning, exact and solid judgment, be accounted amongst the great men of his time. He was an honour to his country, and his works do praise him in the gates; among these are, his Scripture Chronology, written in Latin; his Canterburian Self-conviction; his Parallel, or comparison of the Liturgy with the Mass-book; his dissuasive against the Errors of the Times; and a large manuscript collection of historical papers and letters, consisting of four volumes folio, beginning at the year 1637, and ending at the Restoration, never hitherto published. To him is by some ascribed that book entitled, *Historia notum in regno Scotiæ, annis 1634—1640*: and if he was the author of that, then also, of another anonymous paper, called a Short relation of the State of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Reformation of religion to the month of October 1638. For, from the preface to the last mentioned book, it appears, that both were written by the same hand. He also wrote Laudensium, an antidote against Arminianism; a Reply to the Modest Inquirer, with other Tracts, and some Sermons on other occasions.

In the life and now published letters of Principal Baillie we have a striking proof of human frailty. Nay more, it is evident from these that even great and good men will sometimes be biassed in judgment, and prejudiced in mind against others more faithful than themselves. For instance those very noblemen and ministers to whom he gives the highest praise, as being the prime instruments in God's hand for carrying on the work of reformation betwixt 1638 and 1649, no sooner became remonstrants, than he not only represents them to be of a character such as I shall forbear to mention, but even gives us a very diminutive view of their most faithful contendings in that time, which no doubt adds nothing to the credit of the last ten years of his history; and all from a mistaken view of the controversy betwixt those protestors and his own party the resolutioners; taking all the divisions and calamities that befell the Church, state, and army, at the time, to proceed from the protestors not concurring with them: whereas it was just the reverse. The taking

of Charles II. that atheistical wretch, and his malignant faction, into the bosom of the Church, proved the Achan in the camp, that brought all these evils upon the Church, state, and army, at and since that time. These protestors could not submit their consciences to the arbitrary dictates of the public resolutioners; they could not agree to violate their almost newly sworn covenant by approving of the admission of these wicked malignants into public places of power and trust; in defence of which many of them faced the gibbet, banishment, imprisonment, and other execruciating hardships: whereas several hundreds of the resolutioners, on the very first blast of temptation, involved themselves in fearful apostacy and perjury; some of them became violent persecutors of these their faithful brethren, and not a few of them absolute monsters of iniquity. The dreadful effects of this have almost ruined both church and state in these lands; and perhaps this same malignant faction will utterly do it at last, if the Lord in mercy prevent not.

DAVID DICKSON.

MR. DICKSON was born about the year 1583. He was the only son of Mr. John Dick, or Dickson, Merchant in Glasgow, whose father was an old feuar of some lands in the barony of Fintry, and parish of St. Ninian's, called the Kirk of the Muir. His parents were religious, of a considerable substance, and were many years married before they had Mr. David, who was their only child; and as he was a Samuel, asked of the Lord, so he was early devoted to him and the ministry; yet afterwards the vow was forgot, till Providence, by a rod, and sore sickness on their son, brought their sins to remembrance, and then he was sent to resume his studies at the University of Glasgow.

Soon after he had received the degree of Master of Arts, he was admitted professor of philosophy in that college, where he was very useful in training the youth to solid learning; and with the learned Principal Boyd of Trochrigg, the worthy Mr. Blair, and other pious members of that society, his pains were singularly blessed in reviving decayed serious piety among the youth, in that declining and corrupted time, a little after the imposition of Prelacy upon the Church. Here, by a recommendation of the General Assembly not long after our reformation from Popery, the regents were only to continue eight years in their profession; after which, such as were found qualified were licensed, and upon a call, after trial, were admitted to the holy ministry; by which constitution the Church came to be filled with ministers well seen in all the branches of useful learning. Accordingly, Mr. Dickson was in 1618, ordained minister to the town of Irvine, where he laboured for about twenty-three years.

That same year, the corrupt Assembly at Perth agreed to the five articles imposed upon them by the King and the prelates. Mr. Dickson at first had no great scruple against Episcopacy, as he had not studied these questions much, till the articles were imposed by this meeting, and then he closely examined them: and the more he looked into them, the more aversion he found to them; and when, some time after, by a sore sickness, he was brought within views of death and eternity, he gave open testimony of the sinfulness of them.

But when this came to the air, Mr. James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him to appear before the High Commission Court, Jan. 9th, 1622. Mr. Dickson at his entrance to the ministry at Irvine, preached upon 2 Cor. v. 11. the first part, *Knowing the terror of the Lord we persuade men*: and when he perceived, at this juncture, a separation at least for a time, he, on the Sabbath before his compareance, chose for his text the words immediately following, *But we are made manifest unto God*. Extraordinary power and singular movings of the affections accompanied that sermon.*

Mr. Dickson having appeared before the Commission, the summons being read, after some reasoning among the Bishops, gave in his declinature. Upon this, some of them whispered in his ear, as if they favoured him upon the good report they had heard of his

* Sometime previous to his compareance before the Commission, Mr. Dickson was called before the Bishop of Glasgow, when a conversation ensued of which a most interesting and characteristic detail is given by Calderwood. His narrative is in substance as follows:

On the 6th of December 1622, Mr Dickson being in Glasgow, the Bishop sent for him, and showed him that he had received a letter from the King to take order with him and some others, not only because they had not fulfilled the articles of Perth by practising the ceremonies therein enjoined, but also because they had done what lay in them at last parliament to prevent the enacting of these articles by the civil legislature. He alleged he was loath to trouble him because he was diligent in his ministry. Yet as the matter so stood, it behoved that either he or himself should be deposed. Mr. Dickson answered, "If ye trouble me, I trust in God I shall have peace in my suffering." The Bishop then requested to know his reasons, wondering that one who had taught philosophy should take such a course, in not obeying the articles in question. Mr. Dickson then said, "The first reason why I may not obey these, is because there is no reason wherefore they should be commanded." The Bishop answered, that in reference to the substance of religion that might hold, but not with regard to ceremonies. Mr. Dickson replied, "that in matters civil which concern temporal loss or gain, the not seeing a reason for the commandment is not a sufficient reason to disobey, yet in matters that concern Christ's kirk, religion, and the worship of God, whether in substance or in ceremony, whatsoever is imposed on the flock of Christ universally, and to be practised ordinarily and solemnly in and about the worship of God, and may not be omitted, must either have a known and sufficient reason for the injunction of it, or else a man may lawfully refuse to give obedience to it." After having thus debated the question for some time, the Bishop again threatened him. Mr. Dickson said that he had entered the ministry previously to the date of the assembly at Perth, and since that time had been considering the controversies of our kirk as the Lord enabled him, and found that with a safe conscience he could not obey these injunctions, but was ready by the grace of God to suffer whatever flesh and blood could do unto him.

ministry, "Take it up, take it up."—But he answered calmly, "I laid it not down to take it up again." Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, asked if he would subscribe it. He professed himself ready. The clerk, at the Bishop's desire, began to read it; but had scarcely read three lines, when the Bishop burst forth in railing speeches full of gall and bitterness; and turning to Mr. Dickson, said, "These men will speak of humility and meekness, and talk of the Spirit of God, but ye are led by the spirit of the devil: there is more pride in you, I dare say, than in all the Bishops of Scotland. I hanged a Jesuit in Glasgow for the like fault." Mr. Dickson answered, "I am not a rebel; I stand here as the King's subject, grant me the benefit of the law, and the right of a subject, and I crave no more." But the Bishop seemed to take no notice of these words. Aberdeen then asked him, "whether he would obey the King or not?" He answered, "I will obey the King in all things in the Lord." "I told you that," said Glasgow, "I knew he would seek for a limitation." Aberdeen asked again, "May not the King give the authority, which we have, to as many sutors and tailors in Edinburgh, to sit, and see whether you be doing your duty or not?" Mr. Dickson said, "My declinature will answer to that." The Archbishop then fell to railing again, "The devil," said he, "will devise, he has scripture enough;" and then calling him knave, swinger, &c.; he said, that he ought to have been teaching bairns in the school: "thou knowest what Aristotle saith," said he, "but thou hast no theology." On perceiving that Mr. Dickson gave him no title, but merely called him Sir, he gnashed his teeth, and said, "Sir, you might have called me Lord; when I was in Glasgow long since you called me so, but I cannot tell how, you are become a puritan now." During all this Mr. Dickson stood silent, and upon one occasion lifted up his eyes to heaven, which St. Andrews called a proud look. And after some more reasoning, betwixt him and the Bishops, the Bishop pronounced sentence in these words: "We deprive you of your ministry at Irvine, and ordain you to enter in Turreff, in the north, in twenty days." "The will of the Lord be done," said Mr. Dickson, "though ye cast me off, the Lord will take me up. Send me whither ye will, I hope my Master will go with me; and as he has been with me heretofore, he will be with me still, as being his own weak servant."

He continued to preach till the twenty days were expired, and then began his journey. But the Earl of Eglinton prevailed with the Bishop of Glasgow, to allow him to come to Eglinton, and preach there. Thither he came accordingly, but the people from all quarters resorting to his sermons in Eglinton's hall and court yard, he enjoyed that liberty only two months; the Bishop sent him another charge, and he forthwith went to the place of his confinement.

While in Turreff, he was daily employed to preach by Mr. Mitchell, minister of that place. But here he found far greater difficulty both in studying and preaching than formerly. After the lapse of some time, his friends prevailed with the Bishop of Glasgow to re-pone him, upon condition he would take back his declinature, and for

that purpose wrote Mr. Dickson to come to Glasgow. He came as desired; but though many wise and gracious persons urged him to yield, he could not be persuaded, yea: at last it was granted, that if he, or any friend he pleased, would go to the Bishop's castle, and either lift the paper, or suffer his friend to take it off the hall-table, without seeing the Bishop at all, he might return to Irvine. But he found even this to be but a juggling in a matter so weighty in point of public testimony, and resolved to meddle no farther in the business, but to return to his confinement. Accordingly he began his journey, and was scarcely a mile out of town, when his soul was filled with great joy and a sense of God's approbation, as to what he had done.

Some time after, by the continual intercession of the Earl of Eglington and the town of Irvine with the Bishop, liberty was obtained to send for him, with a promise, that he should be allowed to stay till the King himself challenged him. Thus he returned to his flock without any condition on his part, about the end of July, 1623.

While at Irvine, his ministry was singularly countenanced of God, and multitudes were convinced and converted. Few who lived in his day were more instrumental in this work, so that people under exercise and soul concern, came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his sermons; and the most eminent Christians from all corners of the church, joined at his communions, which were times of great refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Yea, not a few came from distant places and settled at Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry; yet in the exercise of genuine humility he observed, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr. Welch's time. In addition to his labours on Sabbath, he commonly had a weekly sermon upon Monday, which was the market day at Irvine. Upon Sabbath evenings after sermon, many persons under soul distress used to resort to his house, when usually he spent an hour or two in hearing their cases, and in directing and comforting those who were in doubt or despondency. In this department of his work he had an extraordinary talent; indeed, he in a special manner had the tongue of the learned, and knew well how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall which was in his house, there would sometimes have been scores of serious Christians waiting for him after he came from church. These, with the people from the country who came to market, made the church as throng on the Mondays, as on the Lord's day; and by these week-day sermons, the famous Stewartown sickness (as it was called) was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house for many miles in the valley, where Stewartown water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon those who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by driving some of them to excess, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson, and others who dealt with them, to act such a prudent part, that Satan's design was in a great measure frustrated, and solid, serious practical religion flourished greatly

about this time, under the hardships of Prelacy, in the west of Scotland.

About the year 1630 and 1631, some Scots ministers, viz. Livingstone, Blair, and others, were settled among the Scots in the north of Ireland, and were remarkably owned of the Lord in their ministry and communions about the Six-mile water, for reviving religion in its power and practice. But the Irish Bishops, at the instigation of the prelates in Scotland, forced these worthy men to remove for a season. After they were come over to Scotland accordingly, about the year 1637, Mr. Dickson employed Messrs. Blair, Livingstone, and Cunningham, at his communion, and for which he was called before the High Commission; but the prelates' power being now on the decline, he very soon got rid of that trouble.

Several other instances might here be given of Mr. Dickson's usefulness in answering perplexing cases of conscience, and to students who had a view to the ministry; as also of his usefulness to his very enemies, but there is little room left to mention these particulars.

In 1637, Mr. Dickson brought over the presbytery of Irvine to supplicate the Council for a suspension of the Service book. At this time four supplications from different quarters, met at the Council-house door anent the same subject, to their mutual surprise and encouragement; and these were the small beginnings of that happy turn of affairs which soon after ensued. In that great revolution, Mr. Dickson had no small share. He was sent to Aberdeen, with Messrs. Henderson and Cant, by the covenanters, to persuade that town and county to join in renewing the covenant, and was thus led to take a great part in the debates with the learned Doctors Forbes, Barrow, and Sibbald, in that quarter. These being in print, need no farther notice at present. Again, when the King was prevailed on to allow the free General Assembly at Glasgow, in November 1638, Mr. Dickson and Mr. Baillie, from the presbytery, made no small figure there in all the important matters that came before it. Mr. Dickson signalized himself, by a most seasonable and prudent speech, when his Majesty's Commissioner threatened to leave the Assembly; as also, in the 11th Session, December 5th, by another most learned discourse against Arminianism.*

By this time, the Lord's special countenancing of Mr. Dickson's ministry at Irvine, and his great prudence, learning, and holy zeal, came to be universally known, especially to ministers, so that he was almost unanimously chosen Moderator to the next General Assembly at Edinburgh, in August 1639, and in the 10th session of this Assembly, the city of Glasgow presented to him a call; but partly because of his own aversion, and the vigorous opposition of the Earl of Eglinton and his loving people, and mostly on account of the

* See the first discourse in Stevenson's History, p. 562.; and the last in the Assembly Journal.

known remarkable usefulness of his ministry in that quarter, the General Assembly continued him at Irvine.

Not long after this, however, about the year 1641, he was transported to be professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow, where he not only did great service to the church by training up young men for the holy ministry, but also, notwithstanding his laborious work, preached on the forenoon of every Sabbath, in the High church, in which office he for some time had the learned Mr. Patrick Gillespie for his colleague.

In 1643, the church imposed a very heavy task upon him, together with Messrs. Calderwood and Henderson, viz. to form a draught of a directory for public worship. In 1647, whilst the pestilence was raging at Glasgow, the masters and students, upon Mr. Dickson's motion, removed to Irvine. Here it was the learned Mr. Durham passed his trials, and was earnestly recommended by the professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. A very strict friendship consequently subsisted between those two great lights of the church; and among other results of their religious conversation, we have "The sum of Saving Knowledge," a tract which is generally printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This we are informed, after several conversations upon the subject, and especially as to the manner of handling it, so as to make it useful to vulgar capacities, was by Messrs. Dickson and Durham, dictated about the year 1650; and though never judicially approved by the church, it certainly deserves to be much more read and practised than what it at present is.

About this time he was transported from the profession of divinity at Glasgow, to the same work at Edinburgh, and shortly after published his *Prelectiones in confessionem fidei*, now printed in English, which he dictated in Latin to his scholars. At Edinburgh he continued his wonted laborious care of the students; and either there or at Glasgow, was honoured to have the most part of the Presbyterian ministers, afterwards in the west, south, and east parts of Scotland, from 1640, under his inspection. From the fore-mentioned book, we may perceive how great was his care to educate them in the form of sound words, and to ground them in the excellent standards agreed to by the church of Scotland; and happy had their successors been, had they preserved and handed down to posterity, the scriptural doctrines pure and entire, as delivered by our first reformers to Mr. Dickson and his contemporaries, and by him and them handed down without corruption to their successors.

About the year 1650 and 1651, Mr. Dickson had a great share in the printed pamphlets betwixt the resolutioners and protestors; he was, in his opinion for the resolutioners; and most of the papers on that side were written either by him, Mr. Baillie, or Mr. Douglas; as those on the other side were written by Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and a few others.

Mr. Dickson continued at Edinburgh, discharging his trust with great diligence and faithfulness, until the melancholy restoration of Prelacy, upon the return of Charles II.; when, for refusing the oath of

supremacy, he was with many other worthies turned out of his living, and seemed as if his heart was broken with the sad change on the face of the once famed reformed church.

He was now encumbered with the cares of a family; he had married Margaret Robertson, daughter to Archibald Robertson of Stonehall, a younger brother of the house of Ernock, in the shire of Lanark. By her he had three sons; John, clerk to the Exchequer of Scotland; Alexander, professor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh; and Archibald, who lived with his family afterwards in the parish of Irvine.

On December 1662 he fell extremely sick, at which time the worthy Mr. Livingstone, now suffering for the same cause, though he had only forty-eight hours to stay in Edinburgh, came to see him on his deathbed. They had been intimately acquainted for nearly forty years, and now rejoiced as fellow confessors together. When Mr. Livingstone asked the professor, what were his thoughts of the present affairs, and how it was with himself, his answer was, "That he was sure Jesus Christ would not put up with the indignities done to his work and people;" and as for himself, said he, "I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and have cast them together in a heap before the Lord, and have fled from both to Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace."*

Having been very low and weak for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke to each of them in particular; and having gone through them all, he pronounced the words of the apostolical blessing, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, 14. with much gravity and solemnity, and then putting up his hand, closed his own eyes, and, without any struggle, or apparent pain, immediately expired in his son's arms. Like Jacob of old, he was gathered to his people in a good old age, being now upwards of seventy-two years.

He was a man endowed with a singularly edifying gift of preaching; and his labours had been, in an eminent manner, blessed with success.† His sermons were always full of solid and substantial

* See Mr. Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics, p. 81.

† Nor was it merely in his public labours that this great and good man was characterized by zeal and blessed with success in his Master's work. He seems to have been ever on the alert to promote that work, whether "in season or out of season;" and even on occasions, which by many would be deemed the least likely, his efforts, it would appear, were attended by success. The following anecdotes, in point, which have been communicated to the Editor by a clerical friend, intimately acquainted with the histories of the Worthies, and whose name, were he permitted to mention it, would add authority to the work, will be read with interest.

On one occasion, when riding between Glasgow and Edinburgh, Mr. Dickson was attacked by robbers. And though it would perhaps be too much to say that in such a situation he was altogether free from alarm, yet such, notwithstanding, was his courage and self-command, supported no doubt by a steadfast faith in the protection of that God whose servant he was, that instead of giving way to fear, he addressed them boldly with respect to their souls; and was thus, it is said, the happy though it might be remote instrument of their conversion.

matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar style; not low but extremely strong and affecting, being somewhat akin to the style of the godly Mr. Rutherford. It is said, that scarcely any minister of that time came so near to Mr. Dickson's style or method of preaching, as Mr. Guthrie of Fenwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him.

His works are, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in 8vo.; on Matthew's Gospel, in 4to.; on the Psalms of David, in 8vo.; on the Epistles, in Latin and English, 4to.; and his *Prælectiones in confessionem fidei*, or Truth's Victory over Error, &c. in folio; his *Therapeutica Sacra*; or, Cases of Conscience resolved, in Latin, 4to., in English, 8vo.; and a Treatise on the Promises, 12mo., printed at Dublin, in 1630. Besides these, he wrote a great part of the Answers to the Demands, and Duplies to the Replies of the Doctors of Aberdeen, in 4to.; and some of the pamphlets in defence of the public resolutioners, as has been already observed; and some short poems on pious and serious subjects, such as, the Christian Sacrifice, True Christian Love, to be sung with the common tunes of the Psalms. There are also several other pieces of his, mostly in manuscript, such as his *Tyronum concionaturi*, supposed to be dictated to his scholars at Glasgow; *Summarium libri Jesaie*; his Letters on the Resolutioners; his first paper on the public Resolutions; his Replies to Mr. Gillespie and Mr. James Guthrie; his Non-separation from the well-affected in the Army; as also some sermons at Irvine, upon 1 Tim. i. 5.; and his Precepts for the Daily Direction of a Christian, &c. by way of Catechism, for his congregation at Irvine; with a Compend of his Sermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations, and the first nine chapters to the Romans.

“He had also a very eminent gift of spiritual conversation,” says a very serious Christian, (Mr. James Mitchell near Irvine.) “I happened to travel from Glasgow to Falkirk in company with Mr. Dickson, and having taken occasion, from the brightness of the day, to speak of the glories of heaven, he, after relating part of his own experiences, proceeded to show how men's own righteousness is often a bar in their way of believing the Gospel of Christ, and to prove, from the first part of the Epistle to the Romans, that only justification through the imputed righteousness of Christ was suited to our sinful and miserable state by nature, that it is the only way to pacify our consciences and reconcile us to God, fill us with joy, promote our true sanctification of nature and life, and make us triumph over the accusations of Satan and the fears of death, Rom. viii. 1. Oh, how his discourse, especially as I caused him to repeat it, penetrated into my very heart; upon which Mr. Dickson and I halted a little, and solemnly thanked the Lord for his amazing mercy and kindness to me.”

Such facts are certainly not sufficient to justify every individual in acting similarly in similar circumstances, and with a view to the like results. Nor are they intended to suggest any such conclusion. But certainly, with others of a like tendency, they may serve to show, that by the agency of men distinguished for their graces and gifts, God is pleased sometimes to bring about results, which, when contrasted with the circumstances in which, or the means by which, they are accomplished, seem to be almost miraculous.

SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

OF the early and private life of this excellent nobleman little information, it appears, has been transmitted. The first of his public appearances in favour of the glorious work of reformation, commonly called the second reformation, was about the beginning of 1638. When it was understood that Traquair was going up to the King, the deputies, afterwards called the covenanters, were desirous that he should carry up an information, which the Lord Balmerino and Mr. Johnston (afterwards Lord Warriston) the only advocates as yet trusted by the petitioners, had drawn up, and present the same, with their supplication, to his Majesty. But both of these being rejected, and orders given to Traquair, to publish a proclamation at Edinburgh and Stirling, against the requisitions of the covenanters, sixteen of the nobles, with many barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, did, after hearing said proclamation, cause Mr. Johnston read a protest against it. And the same year, when the Marquis of Hamilton published another declaration, in name of the King, the covenanters upon hearing it, gave another protestation in the same place by Mr. Johnston; whereupon the Earl of Cassillis, in name of the nobility; Gibson of Durie, in name of the barons; Fletcher, provost of Dundee, in name of the burgesses; Mr. Kerr, minister of Preston, in name of the church; and Mr. Johnston, in name of all others who adhered to the covenant, took instruments in the hands of three notaries, and, in all humility, offered a copy of the same to the herald at the cross of Edinburgh.*

In the same year, when the famous General Assembly sat down at Glasgow, in the month of November, Mr. Henderson being chosen moderator, it was moved, that Mr. Johnston, who had hitherto served the tables of petitioners at Edinburgh without reward, and with great diligence, skill, and integrity, deserved the office of clerk. After much reasoning, concerning him and some others put on the leet, the roll was called, on a vote for clerk, and carried unanimously for Mr. Johnston, who then gave his oath for fidelity, diligence, and a conscientious use of the registers; and was admitted to all the rights, profits, and privileges, which that office had hitherto enjoyed.

Being thus installed, the moderator desired, that all who had any acts or books of former Assemblies, would put them into his hands; whereupon Mr. Sandihills (formerly clerk) exhibited two books, containing some acts from 1592 to that of Aberdeen, in 1618, &c.; and being interrogated concerning the rest, he solemnly averred, that he had received no more from the Archbishop, and, to his knowledge, he had no other belonging to the church. A farther motion being then made by the Assembly, towards recovering the

* See farther of these declarations and protests in Stevenson's History of Church and State, p. 361.

rest wanting, and that if any had them, they should immediately give them up; Mr. Johnston gave evidence how deserving he was of the trust reposed in him, by producing on the table five books, being now seven in all, which were sufficient to make up a register of the church from the beginning of the reformation; a circumstance which was very agreeable to the whole Assembly.

In the 24th session of this Assembly, a commission was given to him to be their procurator, and in their last session, December 20, an act was passed, allowing him the instruction of all treaties and papers that concerned the church, and prohibiting all printers from publishing any thing of the kind, not licensed by him.

But the King, being highly displeas'd with the proceedings of this Assembly, and having advanced with an army towards the borders, the covenanters, seeing the danger they were expos'd to, were compell'd to raise another army, with which, under the command of General Leslie, they march'd toward the King's, now encamp'd on the south side of Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Upon their approach, the English having begun to faint, the King and the English nobility desired a treaty. This was readily granted by the Scots, who appointed the Earls of Rothes, Dunfermline, and Loudon, the Sheriff of Teviotdale, the Rev. Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, advocate for the church, as their commissioners to treat with the English, to whom his Majesty granted a safe conduct, upon the 9th of June, 1639. The Scots having made known their demands, condescended upon several particulars, which were answer'd by the other side; and on the 17th, and the day following, the articles of pacification were subscribed by both parties, in sight of the armies, at Kirks, near Berwick.

But this treaty was but short lived, and as ill kept: for the very next year, the King again took arms against the Scots, who also immediately arm'd themselves, and proceed'd to England, where, having defeat'd a party of the English at Newburn, they push'd their way as far as Durham. The King, finding himself in a strait, the English supplicating him from behind, and the Scots with a potent army before him, resolv'd on a second treaty, which was set on foot at Rippon, and concluded at London; and thither Mr. Henderson and Mr. Johnston were sent as commissioners for the church; in which affair they conduct'd themselves with equal ability and candour. Accordingly, when the Scots parliament sat down this year, they, by an act, appointed a fee of 100 merks to Mr. Johnston as advocate for the church, and 500 merks as clerk to the General Assembly; so sensible were they of his many services done to the church and nation.

Next year, 1641, the King, having fallen out with his English parliament, came to Scotland, and attend'd the Scots parliament. In this parliament several offices of state were fill'd up with persons fit for them. The Earl of Argyle being put at the head of the treasury, and the Earl of Loudon made Chancellor; Mr. Johnston stood fair for the register office, and the generality of the well-

affected thought it the just reward of his labours ; but the King, Lennox, Argyle, &c. being for Gibson of Durie, he carried the prize. Yet Mr. Johnston's disappointment was supplied by the King's conferring upon him the order of knighthood, and granting him a commission to be one of the Lords of Session, with an annual pension of £200.

During this and the next year, Mr. (now Sir) Archibald Johnston had several great employments committed to his trust. He was one of those nominated to conserve the articles of peace betwixt the two kingdoms until the meeting of parliament. And then he was appointed one of the commissioners, who were sent to London to negotiate with the English parliament, for sending some relief from Scotland to Ireland, immediately after the Irish rebellion. While at London, they waited on his Majesty at Windsor, and offered their mediation betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament ; but for this he gave them little thanks ; although he found his mistake afterwards.

Again, in 1643, the General Assembly having sat down at Edinburgh, they, upon the motion of Sir Archibald Johnston, their clerk, emitted a declaration towards joining with the English parliament. For this they stated a variety of reasons, of which the following are the substance : “ (1.) They apprehend the war is for religion. (2.) The protestant faith is in danger. (3.) Gratitude for the assistance in the time of the former reformation, required a suitable return. (4.) Because the churches of Scotland and England, being embarked in one bottom, if the one be ruined the other cannot subsist. (5.) The prospect of an uniformity between the two kingdoms in discipline and worship, will strengthen the Protestant interest at home and abroad. (6.) The present parliament had been friendly to the Scots and might be so again. (7.) Though the King had so lately established religion amongst them, according to their desire, yet they could not confide in his royal declaration, having so often found his actions and promises contradictory the one to the other.” These reasons the Estates held in good part, and suggested others of their own, as they saw proper.

The Assembly accordingly, in pursuance of this, upon the arrival of commissioners from the Parliament and Assembly at Westminster, by an act of session 14, commissioned Messrs. Henderson, Douglas, Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, ministers ; John Earl of Cassilis, John Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, ruling elders, or any three of them, whereof two should be ministers, “ to repair to the kingdom of England, and there to deliver the declaration sent to the Parliament of England, and the letter sent to the Assembly of Divines, now sitting in that kingdom, and to propound, consult, treat, and conclude with that Assembly, or any commissioner deputed, or any committee or commissioner deputed by the House of Parliament, in all matters which may further the union of this island, in one form of church-government, one Confession of Faith, one Catechism, one Directory for

the Worship of God, according to the instructions they have received from the Assembly, or shall receive from time to time hereafter, from the commissioners of the Assembly deputed for that effect." This commission was again renewed by several acts of subsequent Assemblies, till the year 1648. And it appears, that Lord Warriston not only used all diligence as a member of the Westminster Assembly, for bringing about the uniformity of religion in worship, discipline, and government, but also, for some time, sat as a member of the English parliament, concerting such methods as might bring about a firm and lasting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And this, which then, and ever ought to be, reckoned a noble piece of service both to church and state, was afterwards, we find, accounted high treason in this worthy man.

For his upright and faithful dealing, in the many important matters committed to his charge, Lord Warriston had already received many marks of favour and dignity, both from church and state; but to crown all the rest, the Scots parliament, in 1646 made an act, appointing him Lord Advocate, and at the same time giving him the direction of the committee of London and Newcastle, and of the general officers of the army, which is a still further evidence, what a noble hand he had in carrying on the blessed work of reformation!

He had now been clerk to the General Assembly since the year 1638; and when in 1650, the act of classes being repealed, whereby malignants were again taken into places of power and trust, the unhappy difference fell out between those called protestors and resolutioners, Lord Warriston was one of those who had a principal hand in managing the affairs of the former party. He wrote a most solid letter to the meeting held at St. Andrews, July 18, 1651, which appears never to have been read, and respecting which consequently the protestors, in their reasons, proving the said meeting not to have been a lawful, full, or free General Assembly, have the following words: "Sir Archibald Johnston, clerk to the Assembly, a man undeniably faithful, singularly acquainted with the acts and proceedings of this kirk; and with the matters presently in controversy, and who hath been useful above many in the work of reformation, from the beginning, in all the steps thereof, both at home and abroad, having written his mind to the meeting, (not being able to come himself,) about the things that are to be agitated in the Assembly, and held out much clear light from the scriptures and from the acts of former Assemblies, in these particulars; albeit the letter was delivered publicly to the moderator, in face of the Assembly, and urged to be read by him who presented it, that the then moderator did break it up, to cause it be read; and that many members did thereafter, upon several occasions, and at several diets, press the reading of it, but it could never be obtained."

And further, the papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c. were presented, by him, in con-

junction with Messrs. Cant, Rutherford, Livingstone, &c. to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652. And when the Marquis of Argyle, at London, procured an equal hearing to the protestors, and Mr. Simpson, one of the three ministers deposed by the Assembly of 1651, was sent up by them for that purpose, in the beginning of 1657, he, with the Rev. Messrs. Guthrie and Gillespie, the other two who had been deposed by that Assembly, were also deputed to assist Mr. Simpson.*

Lord Warriston had now, for five years or more, wrestled and acted, with all his power, for the King's interest; and, being a man of great resolution, both spoke and wrote openly against Scotch men taking offices under the usurper: but being sent to London in the foresaid year, 1657, as already stated, and Cromwell being fully sensible how much it would be for his interest to gain such a man as Warriston over to his side, he prevailed upon him to re-enter the office of Clerk-register; a step which was much lamented by this worthy man afterwards.

Mr. Wodrow relates indeed that at the meeting at Edinburgh, which sent him to London, he to the utmost of his power opposed his being sent, acquainting them with what was his weak side, and that, through the easiness of his temper, he might not be able to resist importunity, yet, after all, he was peremptorily named.

To account for his conduct in this it may be observed:—His family was numerous; very considerable sums were owing him, which he had advanced on the public service, and a good many by-gone years' salaries; and he was thus, through importunity, prevailed on to side with the usurper, there being no other door then open for his relief. After his compliance, however, it was noticed that he was generally sad and melancholy, and that his outward affairs did not prosper so well as before.

In 1660 the King being restored to his dominions, and the noble Marquis of Argyle imprisoned, orders came down to seize Sir James Stuart, provost of Edinburgh, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, and Sir John Chiesly of Carswell. The first and last were apprehended and tried, but Lord Warriston escaped for a time, and therefore was summoned, by sound of trumpet, to surrender himself, and a proclamation issued for seizing him, promising a hundred pounds Scots to any who should do it, and discharging all from concealing or harbouring him, under pain of treason. A most arbitrary step indeed! not only to offer a reward for apprehending this worthy gentleman, but declaring it treason in any to harbour him, and that without any cause assigned!

Upon the 10th of October following, he was, by order of the Council, declared fugitive; and on the first of February next year the indictment against him and other two gentlemen, viz. William Dundas and John Hume, was read in the House, none of them be-

* See Blair's Memoirs, p. 121.

ing present. Warriston was forfeited, and his forfeiture publicly proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh. The principal articles of his indictment were, his pleading against Newton Gordon, when he had the King's express orders to plead for him; his assisting in the Act of the West Kirk; his drawing out, contriving, or consenting to, the paper called the Western Remonstrance, and the book called the Causes of the Lord's Wrath; his sitting in parliament as a Peer in England, contrary to his oath; his accepting the office of Clerk-register from the usurper; and being president of the committee of safety when Richard Cromwell was laid aside. None of all these, however, were the real causes of this good man's sufferings. A personal prejudice and pique was at the bottom of all these bitter proceedings; for the godly freedom he took in reproofing vice, was what could never be forgotten or forgiven. In reference to an occasion on which this boldness was displayed, Mr. Wodrow makes the following statement: "I have an account of this holy freedom Lord Warriston used, from a reverend minister who was his chaplain at that time, and took freedom to advise my Lord not to adventure on it: yet this excellent person, having the glory of God and the honour of religion more in his eyes than his own safety, went on in his designed reproof, and would not, for a compliment, quit the peace he expected in his own conscience, be the event what it would, by disburdening himself; he got a great many fair words, and it was pretended to be taken well from my Lord Register; but, as he was told by his well-wishers, it was never forgot." As to his compliance with Cromwell he was not alone in that matter; the greater part of the nation being involved therein as well as he; and several of those who had been named trustees to the usurper, were all discharged from Court, except himself, (who was now in Scotland,) and ordered to appear before the parliament at the sitting thereof.

After the sentence of forfeiture and death had passed against him, he went abroad, to escape the fury of his enemies. Even there, however, did their crafty malice follow him; for while at Hamburgh, being visited with sickness, it is said that Dr. Bates, one of King Charles's physicians, intending to kill him, prescribed poison to him instead of physic, and then caused to be drawn from him sixty ounces of blood; in consequence of which he was not only brought near the gates of death, but so far lost his memory, that he could not remember what he had said or done a quarter of an hour before, and continued so until the day of his martyrdom.

Yet all this did not satisfy his cruel and blood-thirsty enemies; while he was yet in life they sought him carefully; and at last, he having gone unadvisedly to France, one Alexander Murray, being despatched in quest of him, apprehended him at Roan, while he was engaged in prayer, a duty wherein he much delighted. In January, 1663, he was brought over prisoner, and committed to the Tower of London, where he continued till the beginning of June, when he was sent down to Edinburgh to be executed.

His conduct during his passage was truly Christian. He landed at Leith on the 8th of that month, and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; from whence he was brought before the parliament on the 8th July. His nephew, Bishop Burnet, in his history, says, "he was so disordered, both in body and mind, it was reproach to any government to proceed against him."

While at the bar of the House, he discovered such weakness of memory and judgment, that almost every person lamented him, except indeed Sharp and the other bishops, who scandalously and basely triumphed over, and publicly derided him. They seemed then to have forgotten, that, as the author of the Apologetical Relation, observes, "Lord Warriston was once in case not only to have been a member, but a president of any judicatory in Europe; and to have spoken for the cause and interest of Christ before kings, to the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers."

It appeared that many of the members of parliament were inclined to spare his life; but when the question was put, whether the time of his execution should be then fixed or delayed, Lauderdale interposed upon calling the rolls, and delivered a most dreadful speech for his present execution. Sentence was accordingly pronounced, that he be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, and his head placed on the Nether Bow, beside that of Mr. Guthrie. This sentence he received with such meekness as filled all with admiration; for he then desired, that his best blessings, whatever might befall himself, might be on church and state, and on his Majesty, and that God would give him true and faithful counsellors.

During the whole time of his imprisonment, he was in a most spiritual and tender frame, to the conviction almost of his very enemies; and the nearer his death approached, the composure of his mind became the more conspicuous. He rested agreeably the night before his execution, and in the morning was full of consolation, sweetly expressing his assurance of being clothed with a long white robe, and of having a new song, in praise of the Lamb put into his mouth. Before noon he dined with cheerfulness, "hoping to sup in heaven, and to drink the next cup fresh and new in his Father's kingdom."

After spending some time in secret prayer, he was taken from prison about two o'clock, attended by several of his friends in mourning, though he himself was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, and in perfect serenity of mind. When come to the scaffold, he called frequently to the people, "Your prayers, your prayers." When mounted upon it, he said, "I entreat you, quiet yourselves a little, till this dying man deliver his last speech among you;" and desired them not to be offended at his making use of the paper to help his memory, it being so much impaired by long sickness and the malice of physicians. He then read his speech, first on the one side of the scaffold, and then on the other. In this speech, after a short preamble, stating that what he intended to have spoken at his death, was not now in his power, it being taken from him,

and hoping the Lord would preserve it to be his testimony; stating also that being now for sometime in a most melancholy circumstance, through long and sore sickness and loss of blood, he, in the first place, confesseth his sins; pleads for forgiveness; bewails his compliance with the usurper, although, as he said, he was not alone in that offence, but had the body of the nation going before him, and the example of all ranks to ensnare him. He then declares his adherence to the covenanted work of reformation, earnestly desiring the prayers of all the Lord's people; and vindicates himself from having any accession to the late King's death, and to the making of the change of government; and taking the great God of heaven to witness between him and his accusers. And at last he concluded with these words; "I do here now submit, and commit my soul and body, wife and children, and children's children, from generation to generation for ever, with all others His friends and followers, all His doing and suffering witnesses, sympathizing ones in present and subsequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, services, employments, enjoyments, and inheritments on earth, and in heaven, in time and all eternity; all which suits, with all others which he hath, at any time, by his Spirit, moved and assisted me to put up, according to his will, I leave before and upon the Father's merciful bowels, the Son's mediating merits, and the Holy Spirit's compassionate groans, both now and for evermore Amen."*

After reading of his speech, he prayed with great fervour and liberty, and, being in a rapture, he began thus: "Abba, Father Accept this thy poor sinful servant, coming unto thee, through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then taking leave of his friends, he prayed again, being now near the end of the sweet work he had so much, through the course of his time, been employed in. No ministers were allowed to be with him; but it was, by those present, observed, that God sufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by some of his friends in deep mourning; and, as he ascended, he said, "Your prayers, your prayers. Your prayers I desire in the name of the Lord." Such was the esteem he had for that duty.

When got to the top of the ladder, he cried out with a loud voice, "I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scare at suffering for the interest of Christ, or stumble at any thing of this kind falling out in these days; but be encouraged to suffer for him, for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges." While the rope was putting about his neck, he repeated these words again; adding, "The Lord hath graciously comforted me." When the executioner desired his forgiveness, he said, "The Lord forgive thee, poor man;" and withal gave him some money, bidding him do his office if he was ready; and crying out, "O pray, pray! Praise, praise, praise,"—he was turned over; and died

* See Naphthali, and the Appendix to Wodrow's History.

almost without any struggle, with his hands lifted up to heaven, whither his soul ascended, to enjoy the beatific presence of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

He was cut down shortly after, his head struck off, and set up beside that of his dear friend Mr. Guthrie,* and his body carried to the Grayfriars' church yard. But his head, soon after, by the interest and intercession of Lieutenant-general Drummond, who was married to one of his daughters, was taken down and interred with his body.

Thus stood and thus fell, the eminently pious and learned Lord Warriston, whose talents as a speaker in the senate, as well as on the bench, are too well known to be here insisted upon; and who, for prayer, was one among a thousand. Though for some time greatly borne down with weakness and distress, yet he never came in the least to doubt of his eternal happiness; and used to say, "I dare never question my salvation, I have so often seen God's face in the house of prayer." As the last cited historian observes, "Although his memory and talents were for some time impaired, yet, like the sun at his setting, after being a while under a cloud, he shone forth most brightly and surprisingly, and so in some measure the more sweetly; for that morning he was under an effusion of the Spirit, as great perhaps as many have had since the primitive times."

He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations. In this we have a valuable treasure both of Christian experience and matters of fact little known at present, which might be of great use to the history of that period, and in it he records his sure hopes, (after much wrestling in which he was mightily

* Perhaps this may be the proper place to introduce an observation formerly omitted, as to the extraordinary fact mentioned in page 248, respecting the blood which, weeks after his death, was said to have dropped from Guthrie's head. It is there stated, that "Middleton's coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell upon it, which all their art could not eradicate," and the fact has also been recorded by Wodrow, Burnet, and other historians. Now that it was then reported and believed there can be no doubt; but still it does not seem to come to us with such evidence of its truth, as to induce a well founded belief of a miraculous interposition. It perhaps owed its credit with the public to the long train of important consequences which Mr. Guthrie's death might appear to draw along with it. His execution, and that of his companion, may be held as the commencement of a new series of sufferings to the church of Scotland. Much had been suffered from the pedantic tyranny of James, and the sullen despotism of Charles I. A short respite had been enjoyed during what is called the usurpation of Cromwell; though even then the state and liberty of the church were far enough from being what the faithful desired and laboured to obtain. But all that had been suffered, from the first dawn of reformation, was as nothing in comparison of what the faithful presbyterians of Scotland were called to endure, from the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, to the Revolution in 1688. Charles himself was a profligate debauchee; and he committed the government of Scotland to men of little character, who revelled in the precious blood of God's saints, as if it had been for mere sport. This has, above all others, been called the "suffering period," in Scotland, of which a most ample account is to be found in Wodrow's History.

helped,) that the church of Scotland would be manifestly visited and freed from the evils she had then fallen under. His numerous family, whom he so often committed to the Lord's providence, were, for the most part, as well provided for as could have been expected, though he had continued with them. And, in short, in him we doubt not was realized the animating promise of the Faithful and True Witness. *He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life: but I will confess his name before my Father and his angels.*

JAMES WOOD.

SHORTLY after the year 1651, we find that Mr. Wood was made provost or principal of the old college of St. Andrews, and one of the ministers of that town; and being one who in judgment fell in with the resolution party, there was unfortunately some difference betwixt him and Mr. Rutherford, at that time professor of divinity in the new college; and yet the latter had ever a high esteem for Mr. Wood, as appears from a message he sent to him when on his deathbed, saying, "Tell Mr. James Wood from me, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he hath done, and desire him from me to declare himself the man he still is for the government of the church of Scotland." And truly he was not deceived in him; Mr. Wood was most faithful to the Presbyterian government, nothing could prevail upon him to comply in the least degree with abjured Prelacy. So far was he from this, that, on the contrary, the apostacy and treachery of others, whom he had too much trusted, particularly the aggravated defection and perfidy of Mr. Sharp, whom he termed Judas, Demas, and Gehazi, all in one, when he had found what part he had acted, broke his upright spirit.*

* In proof of this the following anecdote is quoted from the life of Veitch. Having come to Edinburgh with the purpose of being introduced to the prison, to see his brother-in-law, Mr. John Carstairs, by means of Mr. Veitch's influence with the Commissioner Middleton; it being during the sitting of the Parliament in 1661, and having a curiosity to see Sharp, whom he had not seen since he became Bishop, he requested Mr. Veitch to accompany him to the shop of one Glen, where it was understood that Sharp would alight. The Archbishop accordingly came up in the Commissioner's coach, and coming first out, and turning with his head uncovered to receive the Commissioner, they had a full view of his face, upon which Mr. Wood looked very seriously; and then with much emotion, uttered these words: "O thou Judas, apostate traitor, that hast betrayed the famous Presbyterian church of Scotland to its utter ruin, as far as thou canst,—If I know any thing of the mind of God, thou shalt not die the ordinary and common death of men." And though this was spoken eighteen years before, it was exactly accomplished in 1679. See Veitch's Life as lately published under the auspices of Dr. M'Crie, p. 13.

He continued in the exercise of the foresaid offices until 1663, when, at the instigation of Bishop Sharp, he received a charge to appear before the Council, to answer to some things laid to his charge: for though Sharp was indebted to him for any reputation he had; and was under as great obligations to him as one man could be to another, yet now he could not bear the thought of his continuing any longer there, and he caused him to be cited before the Council.

On comparing he was interrogated—How he came to be provost of the college of St. Andrews?—When he began to answer, he was interrupted in a very huffing manner, and commanded to give his answer in a word; it appeared that the Archbishop and others present, could not endure his telling some truths he was entering upon. He told them, however, he was called by the faculty of that college, at the recommendation of the usurper, “as some here,” added he, (meaning Bishop Sharp), “very well know.” Upon this he was removed, and a little after called in again, and his sentence intimated to him, which was, “That the Lords of Council, for the present, do declare the said place to be vacant, and ordain and command him to confine himself within the city of Edinburgh, and not to depart from thence until further orders.” When he heard the sentence, he told them he was sorry they had condemned a person without hearing him, whom they could not charge with the breach of any law. In September following Bishop Sharp got the charge and privileges of the office; which shows that he had some reason for pushing Mr. Wood out of it.

Upon the 30th of the same month, Mr. Wood presented a petition to the Council, showing,—That his father was extremely sick, that he had several necessary affairs at St. Andrews, and desired liberty to go there for these reasons. This petition being read, with a certificate of his father's infirmity, the Council granted license to the petitioner to go to St. Andrews to visit his father, and perform his other necessary affairs; always returning when he should be called by the Council.

Thus he continued till toward the beginning of the year 1664, when he took the sickness of which he died; and though he suffered not in his body as several of his brethren did, yet the Archbishop, it appears, was resolved to ruin his name and reputation after death, if not sooner, and in order to this he saw meet, once or twice, to visit him when on his death-bed. He was now extremely low in body, and spoke very little to the Primate, and nothing at all about the changes made in the state of public affairs. However, the consequence of these visits was,—that Sharp spread a rumour, to the effect that Mr. Wood, being now under views of death and eternity, professed himself very indifferent as to church government, and declared himself as much for Episcopacy as Presbytery; nay, he boldly asserted, that he had declared to himself, that Presbyterian government was indifferent, and alterable at the pleasure of the Magistrate; and even had the impudence, says Wodrow, to write an account of this to Court before Mr. Wood's death. This latter cir-

cumstance indeed was in so far fortunate, for the report coming to the ears of this good man, added grief to all his other sorrows, and he could have no rest till he vindicated himself from the calumny, by a solemn testimony, which he himself dictated and subscribed upon the 2d of March, before two witnesses and a public notary. This testimony, being burnt by order of the high commission, in April following, deserves a place here.

“ I JAMES WOOD, being very shortly, by appearance, to render up my spirit to the Lord, find myself obliged to leave a word behind me, for my vindication before the world. It hath been said of me, that I have, in word at least, departed from my wonted zeal for the Presbyterian government, expressing myself concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself therefore in matter of practice. Surely any Christian that knows me in this kirk, will judge that this is a wrong done to me. It is true, that I being under sickness, have said sometimes, in conference about my soul's state, that I was taken up about greater business than any thing of that kind; and what wonder I said so, being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment than any external ordinance? But for my estimation of Presbyterian government, the Lord knoweth, that since the day he convinced my heart, which was by a strong hand, that it is the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering his visible church, I never had the least change of thought concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of the use of it. And I declare before God and the world, that I still account so of it; and that, however there may be some more precious ordinances, that is so precious, that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see meet to put him to trial; and for myself, if I were to live, I would account it my glory to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of this declaration I take God, angels, and men, to be my witnesses; and have subscribed these presents, at St. Andrews, on the 2d March, 1664, about seven hours in the afternoon, before these witnesses, &c.

MR. WILLIAM TULLIDAFF,

MR. JOHN CARSTAIRS,*

JOHN PITCAIRN, *Writer.*

JAMES WOOD.”

* In a letter by this eminent individual, which the curious reader will find in the appendix to Dr. M'Crie's edition of the lives of Veitch and Brysson, we have a very interesting account, and a very complete vindication of the deed to which, as a witness, his name is here annexed. Mr. Carstairs, as already mentioned, was brother-in-law to Mr. Wood. He had been minister in the High Church of Glasgow, but like many others was now ousted from his charge. In these circumstances he was called to be present at the death-bed of his friend, and for this, and his signing the above testimony, he was soon after cited to appear before the Council. It was in reference to this summons that he wrote the letter in question to the then Chancellor, in which, as we have said, by an affecting detail of the cir-

After this he uttered many heavenly expressions to persons who came to see him, all setting forth the sweet experience of his soul, until, upon the 5th of March, he made a happy and glorious exit, exchanging this present life for a crown of righteousness.

Mr. Wood was among the brightest lights of that period. He had been colleague to Mr. Sharp, and after the Restoration, he lamented much that he had been so long deceived by that unhappy man. It is also said, that before his death he lamented much his having taken part with the public resolutioners.

“ I have been informed,” says Wodrow, “ that he left some very valuable manuscripts behind him, particularly a complete refutation of the Arminian scheme of doctrine, ready for the press, which doubtless, if published, would be of no small use in this age, when Arminianism hath so far got the ascendant.” He also refuted the Independents, and asserted Presbyterianial government, as is evident from his work written in opposition to Nicholas Lockier’s “ Little Stone hewed out of the Mountain,” and his other books that are in print.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

MR. WILLIAM GUTHRIE was born at Pitfrothy in Angus-shire in 1620. His father was laird of Pitfrothy, and a branch of the ancient family of Guthrie, and by the mother’s side he was descended from the house of Easter Ogle, of which she was a daughter. God blessed his parents with a numerous offspring; for he had three sisters german and four brothers. All his brothers, except one, dedicated themselves to the service of the gospel of Christ. Of these Mr. Robert, though licensed to preach, was never ordained to the charge of a parish; his tender constitution and numerous infirmities rendering him unfit for it, and shortly bringing him to the end of his days; Mr. Alexander was minister of Strickathrow in the presbytery of Brechin, about 1645, and he continued a pious and useful labourer in the work of the gospel, till the introduction of Prelacy, a change which affected him in the tenderest manner, and was thought to have hastened his death, which took place in 1661; and Mr. John, the youngest, was minister at Tarbolton in Ayrshire, in which place he continued till the Restoration, in 1662, when with

cumstances under which it was emitted, he puts it beyond doubt that Mr. Wood’s testimony, was the sincere, spontaneous, unadvised dictate of a mind clear and decided in its views, and in the full possession of all its faculties. We learn from this document moreover, that Mr. Wood left behind him a wife and six children, a fact which, in the estimation of every sensible reader, must give a deeper tinge to the cruel intolerance, which, years before, had deprived him of his living.

above a third part of the ministers in Scotland, amounting to nearly 400, he was thrust from his charge, and had his share of the hardships that so many at that time were brought under. He was the next year, being 1663, summoned by the Council, at the instigation of the Bishop of Glasgow, with other nine to appear before them on the 23d of July, under pain of rebellion; but he and other six did not appear. In 1666 he joined with the party, who, on the 26th of November that year renewed the covenants at Lanark; and was the person who officiated in that solemn act. After sermon, he tendered the covenants which were read, and to every article contained in them, they with their hands uplifted to Heaven, engaged* with the greatest solemnity and devotion. After their defeat at Pentland, he suffered in common with his brethren from the violence and cruelty that then reigned, till, in 1668, he was removed to a better world.

Thus, the subject of the present memoir could number, within the circle of his own family, no less than three individuals, who, though not so distinguished as himself, are still to be regarded as eminent for their piety, fidelity, and worth.

He was, as we have observed, the eldest of the four, who out of five brothers devoted themselves to the service of Christ, and at an early period he gave proofs of his capacity and genius, by the progress he made in the Latin and Greek languages. He was forthwith sent to the university of St. Andrews, where he studied philosophy under the memorable Mr. James Guthrie, his cousin, who was afterwards minister at Stirling, "and whom," says Mr. Trail, "I saw die in, and for the Lord, at Edinburgh, June 1, 1661."

Being thus related, Mr. Guthrie became the peculiar care of his master, and lodged, when at college, in the same chamber with him; and therefore had the principles of learning infused into him under greater advantages, and as may be presumed, with more accuracy than any of his class-fellows.

Having taken the degree of Master of Arts, he applied himself for some years to the study of divinity, under the direction of Mr. Rutherford. And "Then and there," says Mr. Trail, "it pleased the Lord, who separated him from his mother's womb, to call him by his grace, by the ministry of that excellent person; and this young man became one of the first-fruits of his ministry at St. Andrews.—His conversion was begun with great terror of God in his soul, and completed with that joy and peace in believing which accompanied him through life. It was after this blessed change that he resolved to obey the call of God to serve him in the ministry of the gospel, which was thus given him by the Lord's calling him effectually to grace and glory. With this view he so disposed of the estate, to which he was born heir, as not to be entangled with the affairs of this life. He made it over to the only brother of the five who was not engaged in the sacred office, that thereby being

* See Wedrow's and Cruikshank's Histories.

disentangled from the present, he might be entirely employed in the concerns of the eternal world.

Soon after being licensed to preach, he left St. Andrews, with the high esteem and approbation of the professors of that university, of which they gave proof by their ample recommendations. After this he became tutor to Lord Mauchlin, eldest son to the Earl of Loudon; in which situation he continued till the time that he entered upon a parochial charge.

The parish of Kilmarnock, in the shire of Ayr, being large, and many of the people belonging to it being six or seven miles distant from church, the heritors and others procured a disjunction, and erected the parish of Fenwick, or New Kilmarnock.

Mr. Guthrie being employed to preach at Galston, on a preparation-day before the celebration of the Lord's supper, and several members of the new erected parish being present, they were so greatly edified by his sermons, and conceived such a value for him, that they immediately resolved to make choice of him for their minister; and in consequence of this gave him a very harmonious call, which he complied with. It is said, that he, along with the people, made choice of the piece of ground on which to build the church, and that he preached within the walls of the house before it was completed. It bears upon it the date of being built in 1643; and he was ordained to the sacred office, November 7th, 1644.

He had at first to struggle with many difficulties, and many circumstances occurred in his ministry which were extremely discouraging; but yet, through the divine blessing, the gospel preached by him had wonderful success; and became in an eminent manner, the wisdom and power of God to the salvation of many souls.

After his coming to Fenwick, many of the people were so rude and barbarous, that they never attended upon divine worship, and knew not so much as the face of their pastor; to such, every thing that respected religion was disagreeable. Many refused to be visited or catechised by him; they would not even admit him into their houses. To such he sometimes went in the evening, disguised in the character of a traveller, and sought lodging, which he could not even obtain without much entreaty; but having obtained it, he would engage in some general amusing conversation at first, and then ask them how they liked their minister? When they told him they did not go to church, he engaged them to go and take a trial; others he hired with money to go.—When the time of family worship came, he desired to know if they made any; and if not, what reason they had for so doing.

There was one person in particular whom he would have to perform family worship, who told him he could not pray; and he asked what was the reason? He told him that he never used to pray any, and so could not. He would not take this for answer, but would have the man to make a trial in that duty before him; to which the man replied, "O Lord, thou knowest that this man would have me to pray; but thou knowest that I cannot pray." After which Mr. Guthrie bid him stop, and said he had done enough; and prayed

himself to their great surprise. When prayer was ended, the wife said to her husband, that surely this was a minister. After this, he engaged them to come to the kirk on Sabbath, and see what they thought of their minister. When they came there, they discovered, to their consternation, that it had been their minister himself who had allured them thither. And this condescending manner of gaining them procured a constant attendance on public ordinances; and was at length accompanied by the fruits of righteousness, which are, through Jesus Christ, unto the praise of God.

There was also another person in his parish, who had a custom of going a fowling on the Sabbath-day, and neglecting the church; in which practice he had continued for a considerable time. Mr. Guthrie asked him, what reason he had for so doing? He told him, that the Sabbath-day was the most fortunate day in all the week for that exercise. Mr. Guthrie asked what he could make by that day's exercise? He replied, that he would make half a crown of money that day. Mr. Guthrie told him, if he would go to church on Sabbath, he would give him as much; and by that means got his promise. After sermon was over, Mr. Guthrie asked if he would come back the next Sabbath-day, and he would give him the same? which he did; and from that time afterwards never failed to keep the church, and also freed Mr. Guthrie of his promise.—He afterwards became a member of his session.

He frequently had recourse to innocent recreations, such as fishing, fowling, and playing on the ice, which contributed much, and indeed were necessary, to preserve a vigorous state of health; and while in frequent conversation with the neighbouring gentry, as these occasions gave him opportunity, he used to bear in upon them reproofs and instructions, with an inoffensive familiarity. "But as he was animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his blessed Master, and a tender compassion to the souls of men; and as it was the principal thing that made him desire life and health, that he might employ them in propagating the kingdom of God, and in turning transgressors from their ways; so the very hours of recreation were dedicated to this purpose: which was so endeared to him, that he knew how to make his diversions subservient to the nobler ends of his ministry. He made them the occasion of familiarizing his people to him, and introducing himself to their affections; and in the disguise of a sportsman, he gained some to a religious life, whom he could have little influence upon in a minister's dress; of which there happened several memorable examples."

After having been ordained for about a twelvemonth, he was happily married to Agnes Campbell, daughter of David Campbell of Skeldon, in the shire of Ayr, a remote branch of the family of London. His family affairs were both easy and comfortable. His wife was a gentlewoman endued with all the qualities that could render her a blessing to her husband, joined to handsome and comely features, good sense and good breeding, and sweetened by a modest cheerfulness of temper, and a sincere and fervent piety; so that they lived a little more than twenty years in the most complete unanimity,

and with a mutual satisfaction, which was derived from the purest sources. One faith, one hope, one baptism, and a sovereign love to Jesus Christ, zealously inspired them both. By her he had six children, two of whom only outlived himself; both of them were daughters, and endeavoured to follow the example of their excellent parents. One of them was married to Miller of Glenlee, a gentleman in the shire of Ayr; and the other became wife to Mr. Patrick Warner, in 1681, and proved a great source of comfort to him "in tribulation, imprisonment, and banishment, for the truth's sake." After the Revolution, Mr. Warner was settled at Irvine. He had two children, William of Airdrie, and Margaret, who was married to Mr. Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, and author of the History of the sufferings of the church of Scotland, betwixt the years 1660 and 1668 inclusive.—But to return.

Shortly after his marriage, Mr. Guthrie was appointed by the General Assembly, to attend the army as chaplain. When he was preparing for his departure, a violent fit of the gravel, to which he was subject, reduced him to the greatest extremity of pain and danger. This called his religious spouse to understand and improve the divine chastisement. She then saw how easily God could put an end to his life, which she was too apprehensive about; and brought herself to a resolution, never to oppose her inclination to his entering upon any employment, whereby he might honour his Master, whatever degree of hazard might attend it.

While he was with the army, upon the defeat of the party to which he was attached, he was preserved in a very extraordinary manner; a circumstance which made him ever after retain a greater sense of the divine goodness, and after his return to his parish, to be animated to a more vigorous diligence in the work of the ministry, and in propagating the kingdom of the Son of God, both among his own people and all about him. His public preaching, especially at the administration of the Lord's supper, and his private conversation, equally conspired together for these noble purposes.

After this, Mr. Guthrie had occasion again to be with the army, at the time, namely, when the English sectaries prevailed, under Oliver Cromwell. After the defeat at Dunbar, Sept. 3d, 1650, when the army was at Stirling, that godly man Mr. Rutherford wrote a letter to him, wherein, by way of caution, towards the end he says, "But let me obtest all the serious seekers of his face, his sacred sealed ones, by the strongest consolations of the Spirit, by the gentleness of Jesus Christ, that Plant of Renown, by your last accounts, and by your appearing before God, when the white throne shall be up, be not deceived with these fair words: though my spirit be astonished in the cunning distinctions which are found out in the matters of the covenant, that help may be had against this man; yet my heart trembleth to entertain the least thought of joining with these deceivers."—Accordingly he joined the remonstrants, and was chosen moderator of that synod at Edinburgh, after the public resolutions had left them.

The author of his memoirs says, "His pleasant and facetious

conversation procured him an universal respect from the English officers, and made them fond of his company; while, at the same time, his courage and constancy did not fail him in the cause of his great Master; and was often useful to curb the extravagancies of the sectaries, and maintain order and regularity." One instance of which happened at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, at Glasgow, celebrated by Mr. Andrew Gray. Several of the English officers had formed a design to put in execution the disorderly principle of a promiscuous admission to the Lord's table, by coming to it themselves, without acquainting the minister, or being in a due manner found worthy of that privilege. It being Mr. Guthrie's turn to serve at the table, he spoke to them when they were leaving their pews in order to make the attempt, with such gravity, resolution, and zeal, that they were quite confounded, and sat down without making any further disturbance.

About this time the sect of heretics, called Quakers, endeavoured to sow their tares in Fenwick parish, during Mr. Guthrie's absence for some weeks about his own private affairs, in Angus. But he returned home before the infection had sunk deep; recovered some who were in hazard of being tainted by its fatal influence; and so confounded the rest, that they despaired of any further attack upon his flock. This wild sect had made many proselytes to their delusions in Kilbride, Glasgow, and other neighbouring parishes; yea, they prospered so well in Glassford parish, that there is yet a churchyard in that place, where they buried their own dead, with their heads to the east, contrary to the practice of all other Christians.

After this he had calls for transportation to several other parishes, of far more importance than Fenwick; such as Renfrew, Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. But the air and recreation of a country life were useful to him in maintaining a healthful constitution; and above all, the love his flock had towards him, caused him to put on an invincible obstinacy against all designs of breaking a relation, which, when animated by a principle of spiritual life, and founded on solid grounds, must enter most deeply into the soul. Indeed, such a minister can scarcely miss to have peculiar tenderness and warmth of divine affection towards those, whose father he is after the Spirit; whom he has been honoured of God in bringing to the kingdom of his Son, and begetting through the gospel, and whose heavenly birth is the highest pleasure and brightest triumph of his life, and will one day be his crown of glory and rejoicing. And doubtless, when Mr. Guthrie preferred Fenwick, a poor obscure parish, to the most considerable charges in the nation, it was a proof of his mortification to the world, and that he was moved by views superior to temporal interests.

In the year 1657, some unknown person somehow got a copy of a few imperfect notes of some sermons that Mr. Guthrie had preached from the 55th chapter of Isaiah, with relation to personal covenanting; and without the least intimation of the design made to him, printed them in a little pamphlet of 61 pages 12mo, under

this title, "A clear, attractive, warning Beam of Light, from Christ the Sun of Light, leading unto himself," &c. Printed at Aberdeen, 1657.

This book was anonymous indeed; but Mr. Guthrie was reputed the author by the whole country, and was therefore obliged to take notice of it. He was equally displeas'd at the vanity of the title, and the defect of the work itself, which consisted of some broken notes of his sermons, confusedly huddled together, by an injudicious hand. He saw that the only method to remedy this, was to review his own sermons; from which he compos'd that admirable treatise, "The Christian's Great Interest;" the only genuine work of Mr. Guthrie; which hath been blessed by God with wonderful success in our own country, being published very seasonably, a little before the introduction of Prelacy at the Restoration.

The author of his memoirs tells us on the authority of a minister of the church, who had the sentiments of Dr. Owen from his own mouth, that that great divine on one occasion said, "You have truly men of great spirits in Scotland; there is, for a gentleman, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I almost ever met with; and for a divine, said he, (taking out of his pocket a little gilt copy of Mr. Guthrie's treatise,) *that* author, I take to have been one of the greatest divines that ever wrote. It is my *vade mecum*; I carry it and the Sedan New Testament still about with me. I have wrote several folios, but there is more divinity in it than them all." It was translated into Low Dutch by the Reverend and pious Mr. Kealman, and was highly estimated in Holland, so much so, that Mrs. Guthrie and one of her daughters met with uncommon civility and kindness, upon their relation to its author being known. It was also translated into French and High Dutch; and we are inform'd that it was also translated into one of the Eastern languages, at the charge of that noble patron of religion, learning, and charity, the Honourable Robert Boyle.

At the synod of Glasgow, held April 1661, after long reasoning about proper measures for the security of religion, the matter was referred to a committee; Mr. Guthrie prescribed the draught of an address to parliament, wherein a faithful testimony was given to the purity of our reformation, in worship, doctrine, discipline, and government, in terms equally remarkable for their prudence and courage. Every body approv'd of it, and it was transmitted to the synod.—But some, on the resolution side, judg'd it not convenient; and gave an opportunity to those who design'd to comply with Prelacy to procure delay; and for the time, got it crush'd. Yet it affords a proof of the zealous honesty and firmness of Mr. Guthrie.

About this period, being the last time that he was with his cousin Mr. James Guthrie, he happen'd to be very melancholy, which made Mr. James say, "A penny for your thought, cousin." Mr. William answer'd, "There is a poor man at the door, give him a penny;" which being done, he proceed'd, and said, "I'll tell you cousin, what I am not only thinking upon, but I am sure of, if I be not under a delusion. The malignants will be *your* death, and this

gravel will be *mine*; but you will have the advantage of me, for you will die honourably before many witnesses, with a rope about your neck; and I will die whining upon a pickle* straw, and will endure more pain before I rise from your table, than all the pain you will have in your death."

He took a resolution to wait on his worthy cousin, Mr. James at his death, (his execution being on Saturday, June 1st,) notwithstanding the apparent hazard at that time in so doing; but his session prevailed on him, although with much difficulty, by their earnest entreaties, to lay aside his design.

Through the interposition of the Earl of Eglinton, and the Chancellor Glencairn, the latter of whom he had obliged before the Restoration, and who now contributed what he could for his preservation, he had nearly four years further respite with his people at Fenwick. In this time, his church, although for the time a large one, was overlaid and crowded every Sabbath-day, very many standing without doors, who came from distant parishes, such as Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, Lanark, Kilbride, Glassford, Strathaven, Newmills, Eaglesham, hungering for the pure gospel.†—It was their usual practice to come to Fenwick on Saturday, and to spend the greatest part of the night in prayer to God, and conversation about the concerns of their souls, to attend the public worship on the Sabbath, to dedicate the remainder of that holy day to religious exercises, and then to go home on Monday the length of ten, twelve, or twenty miles, without grudging in the least the long way, or the want of sleep, and other refreshments; nor did they find themselves the less prepared for their other business through the week.‡ These years were the most distinguished for the divine influences of the Holy Spirit, accompanying his ministry, of any in all his life, and will still be had in remembrance: great numbers were converted to the truth, and many built up in their most holy faith. In a word, he was honoured to be an instrument in the Lord's hand of turning many to a reli-

* A little straw.

† It is worthy of remark, that the pious people in these districts were among the chief sufferers in the persecution which immediately followed. No part of Scotland was more distinguished for steadfast adherence to the cause of God and truth than those parts; and the Lord was pleased, by the ministry of Mr. Guthrie, to prepare them, and give them strength to endure the fiery trial. Nay, I believe, the effects of that ministry are visible to the present day. There is, no doubt, a great falling off in the ardent heart-religion of the Christians in that quarter; but there is still something among them like the grape gleanings of the vintage. The ancestors of John Howie, the original compiler of the Scots Worthies, were in the very centre of the circle here described; and had the honour of suffering persecution for Christ's sake. The memorial of them, and of such as they, has not perished from the earth. It lives in the remembrance of many in Fenwick and the neighbouring parishes; and there, if any where in Scotland, will be found samples of what the Presbyterians were in the days of Claverhouse, and the Covenant.

W. M'G.

‡ After the rest of his brethren were cast out, people so flocked to his sacramental occasions, and the church was so thronged, that each communicant (it is said) had to show their tokens to the keepers of the door before they got entrance, to prevent disorder and confusion.

gious life ; and who after his being taken from them, could never, without exultation of soul, and emotions of revived affection, think upon their spiritual father, and the power of that victorious grace, which in those days, triumphed so gloriously ; and for many years afterwards, they were considered, above many other parishes in the kingdom, as a civilized and religious people ; he having with a becoming boldness, fortified them in a zealous adherence to the purity of our reformation ; warned them of the defection that was then made by the introduction of Prelacy ; and instructed them in the duty of such a difficult time, so that they never made any compliance afterwards with the Prelatical measures.

His extraordinary reputation, and the usefulness of his ministry were admired and followed by all the country around, and this at length provoked the jealous and angry prelates against him ; and was one of the causes of his being at last assailed by them. When the Earl of Glencairn on a visit to the Archbishop of Glasgow at his own house, at parting asked as a particular favour of him, that Mr. Guthrie might be overlooked ; the Bishop not only refused him, but said with a disdainful air, " That shall not be done ; it cannot be, he is a ringleader and keeper up of schism in my diocese," —and then left the Chancellor abruptly. Rowallan, and some other Presbyterian gentlemen, who were waiting on him, observing the Chancellor discomposed when the Bishop left him, presumed to ask him what the matter was ; to which the Earl answered, " We have set up these men, and they will tread us under their feet." In consequence of this resolution of Archbishop Burnet, Mr. Guthrie was, by a commission from him suspended ; but when he dealt with several of his creatures, the curates, to intimate the sentence against him, many refused ; for, says Wodrow, " There was an awe upon their spirits, which scared them from meddling with this great man." Be that as it will, at last he prevailed with the curate of Cadder, and promised him five pounds sterling of reward. Mr. Guthrie being warned of the Bishop's design against him, advised his friends to make no resistance at his deposition from the church and manse, since his enemy only wanted this as a handle to prosecute him criminally for his former zeal and faithfulness.

Accordingly on Wednesday, July 20, he, with his congregation, kept the day with fasting and prayer. He preached to them from Hos. xiii. 9. *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, &c.* From that scripture, with great plainness and affection, he laid before them their own sins, and the sins of the land and age they lived in ; and indeed the place was a *Bochim*. At the close of this day's work, he gave them intimation of sermon on the next Lord's day, very early ; and accordingly, his people and many others, met him at the church or Fenwick, betwixt four and five in the morning, when he preached to them from the close of his last text ; *But in me is thine help.* And as he used on ordinary Sabbaths, he also now had two sermons, and a short interval betwixt them, and dismissed the people before nine in the morning. Upon this melancholy occasion, he directed them unto the **Great Fountain of help**, when the gospel and ministers

were taken from them, and took his leave by commending them to God, who was able to build them up, and help them in time of need.

Upon the day appointed, the curate came to Fenwick, with a party of twelve soldiers; and, by commission from the Archbishop, discharged Mr. Guthrie from preaching any more in Fenwick; declared the church vacant, and suspended him from the exercise of his ministry.

The curate having left the party without, came into the manse, and said, that the Bishop and committee, after much lenity shown towards him, were constrained to pass the sentence of suspension against him, for not keeping presbyteries and synods with the rest of his brethren, and for his unpeaceableness in the church; of which sentence he was appointed to make public intimation unto him; and therefore now read his commission under the hand of the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Mr. Guthrie answered, "I judge it not convenient to say much in answer to what you have spoken; only, whereas you allege there hath been much lenity used towards me,—be it known to you, that I take the Lord for party in that, and thank him first; yea, I look upon it as a door which God opened to me for the preaching of his gospel, which neither you nor any man else was able to shut, till it was given you of God; and as to that sentence passed against me, I declare before these gentlemen, (meaning the officers of the party), that I lay no weight upon it, as it comes from you, or those that sent you; though I do respect the civil authority, who, by their law, laid the ground of the sentence now passed against me. I declare I will not surcease from the exercises of my ministry for all that sentence. And as to the crimes I am charged with,—I did keep presbyteries and synods with the rest of my brethren; but I do not judge those who now sit in these to be my brethren, who have made defection from the truth and cause of God; nor do I judge those to be free and lawful courts of Christ that are now sitting; and as to my peaceableness,—I know I am bidden follow peace with all men, but I know also I am bidden follow it with holiness; and since I could not obtain peace without prejudice to holiness, I thought myself obliged to let it go. And as for your commission, Sir, to intimate this sentence,—I here declare, I think myself called by the Lord to the work of the ministry, and did forsake the nearest relation in the world, and give up myself to the service of the gospel in this place, having received an unanimous call from this parish, and was licensed and ordained by the presbytery: and I bless the Lord he hath given me some success and seals of my ministry, upon the souls and consciences of not a few who are gone to heaven, and of some who are yet on the way to it. And now, Sir, if you will take it upon you to interrupt my work among this people, I shall wish the Lord may forgive you the guilt of it; I cannot but leave all the bad consequences that may fall out upon it betwixt God and your own conscience. And here I do further declare, before these gentlemen, that I am suspended from my minis-

try for adhering to the covenants and word of God, from which you and others have apostatized."

Here the curate interrupting him, said, that the Lord had a work before that covenant had a being; and he judged them apostates that adhered to it; and wished that the Lord would not only forgive him, meaning Mr. Guthrie, but if it were lawful to pray for the dead, (at which expression the soldiers laughed,) that the Lord might forgive the sins of this church these hundred years bypast. "It is true," answered Mr. Guthrie, "the Lord had a work before that covenant had a being; but it is true, that it hath been more glorious since that covenant; and it is a small thing for us to be judged of you, in adhering to this covenant, who have so deeply corrupted your ways; and seem to reflect on the whole work of reformation from Popery these hundred years bygone, by intimating that the church had need of pardon for the same. As for you, gentlemen, (added he to the soldiers,) I wish the Lord may pardon your countenancing this man in his business." One of them scoffingly replied, "I wish we never do a greater fault." "Well," said Mr. Guthrie, "a little sin may damn a man's soul."

After all this had passed, Mr. Guthrie called for a glass of ale, and, craving a blessing, himself drank to the commander of the soldiers, who, after being civilly entertained, left the house. At parting with the curate, Mr. Guthrie signified, that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding him, for what he was doing; and seriously warned him to prepare for some stroke coming upon him very soon.

The curate, when he left the manse, went to the church with the soldiers, as his hearers, and having preached to them scarcely a quarter of an hour, intimated from the pulpit the Bishop's sentence against Mr. Guthrie. "Nobody came to hear him," says Wodrow, "but his party and a few children, who created him some disturbance, till they were chased away by the soldiers. Indeed the people were ready to have sacrificed their all, and to resist even unto blood,* in defence of the gospel and their minister, had they been

* Resisting unto blood, in the sense of the Apostle Paul, Heb. xii. 4. was not opposing force to force. It was not taking arms to shed the blood of persecutors. It was Christians suffering their own blood to be shed, rather than make any sinful compliance with human authority. Perhaps Mr. Guthrie's parishioners did not fully understand the distinction, and they would have repelled the curate and his body guard by force of arms, had they not been deterred by their minister. His behaviour on the occasion was most exemplary; and in the conduct of this leading man among the covenanters, we see nothing like treason, or sedition, or contempt of lawful authority, of which the writings of modern times so unjustly accuse them. It is true, that sometime afterwards, many of the covenanters did take arms; and I believe not a few of Mr. Guthrie's hearers were among them; but it was not till they were driven to it by the wanton barbarity of their persecutors, who were slaughtering them right forward in cold blood. They believed it to be their duty to stand for their lives, and the lives of their children, like the Jews in the days of Esther, when Haman had planned their destruction. **Looking back** from the peaceful height on which we now stand, we say, that they had

permitted by him." "As for the curate," continues Mr. Wodrow, "I am well assured he never preached any more after he left Fenwick: he reached Glasgow, but it is not certain if he reached Cadder, though but four miles from Glasgow. However, in a few days he died, in great torment, of an iliac passion; and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby, and none belonging to him were left. His reward of five pounds was dearly bought; it was the price of blood, the blood of souls. Neither he nor his had any satisfaction in it. Such a dangerous thing it is to meddle with Christ's servants."

After this Mr. Guthrie continued in Fenwick, until the year 1665. The brother, to whom his paternal estate was made over, died in the summer of that year, which made him and his wife make a journey to Angus for the ordering of his private affairs. He had not been long there when he was seized with a complication of distempers, the gravel, with which he had been formerly troubled, the gout, a severe heart-burn, and an ulcer in the kidneys: all which attacked him with great violence. Being thus tormented with extreme pain, his friends were sometimes obliged to hold down his head, and up his feet; and yet he would say, The Lord had been kind to him, notwithstanding all the ills he had done; and at the same time said, "Though I should die mad, yet I know I shall die in the Lord. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord at all times, but more especially when a flood of errors, snares, and judgments, are beginning or coming on a nation, church or people."

In the midst of all this heavy affliction, he still adored the measures of Divine Providence, though, at the same time, he longed for

better not have taken the sword; that they ought rather to have suffered persecution in all its forms, as the first Christians did, leaving it to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongs, to vindicate their cause; and thus, I think, we say truly: but the Christians of that period had not attained to such knowledge; and there are many who, to this day, have not attained it. They acted from a conscientious conviction that such was their duty; and however much mistaken in principle, they are entitled to full credit for the integrity of their intentions. By the mere unprovoked cruelty of the ruling powers in Scotland at that time, the waste of human life was very great, the murders for conscience' sake were very numerous; but they were fearfully increased in consequence of the risings at Pentland and Bothwell Bridge. But for these feeble and awkward attempts to fight for Christ's kingdom, it is probable the waste of human life would not have been so great. Had the flock of Christ suffered like their master, with the meekness of lambs led to the slaughter, their murderers might have become ashamed or tired of their work. But when the murderers found themselves opposed by their own weapons; when they found the covenanters in arms against the authority of the state, they had a plausible pretext for continuing and increasing the work of murder, which they did to a horrible extent. I mean these remarks to apply only in so far as our worthy ancestors took arms for the defence of the gospel. In a civil and political point of view, they suffered enough to provoke resistance. The principle of this I am by no means disposed to condemn; but the prudence of it, in their circumstances, is very questionable; for they were not men of policy. It was not now, as at the first period of the Scotch Reformation, when such men as the Regent Murray would unite and direct the power of the people against the encroachments of lawless tyranny.

his dissolution, and expressed the satisfaction with which he would make the grave his dwelling-place, when God should think fit to give him rest. His compassionate Master did at last indulge the pious breathing of his soul; for after eight or ten days' illness, he was gathered to his fathers. He died in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Lewis Skinner, of Brechin, upon Wednesday afternoon, October 10th, 1665, in the 45th year of his age, and was buried in the church of Brechin, immediately under the seat belonging to his family.

During his sickness he was visited by the Bishop of Brechin, and several Episcopal ministers and relations, who all had a high value for him; and to them he expressed his sorrow with great freedom, for their compliance with the corrupted establishment in ecclesiastical affairs. He died in the full assurance of faith, as to his own interest in God's covenant, and under the pleasing hopes, that God would return in glory to the church of Scotland.

As to his character, Mr. Livingstone, in his memorable Characteristics, says, that he "was a man of most ready wit, fruitful invention, and apposite comparisons, qualified both to awaken and pacify the conscience, straight and zealous for the cause of Christ, and a great light in the west of Scotland." And elsewhere, that "in his doctrine, he was as full and free as any man in Scotland had ever been; which, together with the excellency of his preaching gift, did so recommend him to the affection of his people, that they turned the corn field of his glebe into a little town, every one building a house for his family on it, that they might live under the drop of his ministry." In like manner, Mr. Crawford in a MS. not published, says of him that he was a burning and shining light; that he converted and confirmed many thousands of souls, and was esteemed the greatest preacher in Scotland. Indeed he was accounted as well qualified for confirming those who were under soul exercise, as almost any in his age, or any age we have heard of.— Many have made reflections on him, because he left off his ministry, on account of the Bishop's suspension; his reasons may be taken from what has been already related. It is true, the authority of the Stuarts was too much the idol of jealousy to many of our worthy Scots reformers; for we may well wonder, as a late author, no great enemy to these civil powers, has observed, that the nation did not rise up as one man, to cut off those who had razed the whole of the Presbyterian constitution; but the Lord, for holy and wise ends, saw meet to cut off those in power by another arm after they had all been brought to the furnace together; although it might well have been seen, as Mr. Guthrie observed, "That the civil power laid the foundation for the other."

So far as can be learned, Mr. Guthrie never preached in Fenwick after the intimation of the Bishop's sentence; but it is related, that he, with many of his people, having gone upon a time to Stewarton, to hear a young minister preach; and, on coming home, understanding that they were not pleased with the Sermon, he proposed, if they pleased, at a convenient place, to let them hear part

of it again. Sitting down, therefore, on the ground, in a fine summer night about sunset, they listened with much pleasure while he rehearsed the sermon, and thought it a wonderfully great one, because of his good delivery, and their amazing love to him: after which they rose and set forward.

All allow that Mr. Guthrie was a man of strong natural parts, notwithstanding his being also a hard student. His voice was of the best sort, and was managed with a charming cadence and elevation; his oratory was powerful, and by it he was wholly master of the passions of his hearers. His person was stately and well set, his features comely and handsome. To his strong clear voice he joined a good ear, which gave him a talent for music; a talent he failed not to employ in the noblest of all exercises, the praising of his God and Saviour, with extraordinary ardour and unwearied diligence. He was an eminent physician at healing of the broken spirit, and in clearing a doubtful case of conscience; so that persons afflicted spiritually, came far and near, and received much satisfaction and comfort by him.

Besides his valuable treatise already mentioned, there are a few very faithful sermons, bearing his name, said to be preached at Fenwick, from Matth. xix. 44, &c. Hos. xiii. 9, &c. But because they are somewhat rude in expression, differing from the style of his treatise, some have thought them spurious, or at least not as they were at first delivered by him. And as for that treatise on ruling elders, which is now affixed to the last edition of his treatise, called his works, it was written by his cousin, Mr. James Guthrie. There are also some other discourses of his, yet in manuscript, out of which I had occasion to transcribe seventeen sermons, published in the year 1779. There are yet a great variety of sermons, and notes of sermons, bearing his name, still in manuscript, some of which seem to be written by his own hand.



ROBERT BLAIR.

MR. BLAIR was born at Irvine in 1593. His father John Blair of Windyedge, was a younger brother of the ancient and honourable family of Blair of that Ilk; his mother Beatrix Muir, was of the no less ancient and honourable family of Rowallan. His father died while he was young, and left his mother with six children, of whom Robert was the youngest. She continued nearly fifty years a widow, and lived till she was an hundred years old.

Mr. Robert entered into the college of Glasgow, about the year 1608, where he studied hard, and made great progress; but lest he should have been puffed up with his proficiency, as he himself ob-

serves, the Lord was pleased to visit him with a tertian fever, for full four months, to the great detriment of his studies.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the 20th year of his age. Having then finished his course of philosophy, under the discipline of his own brother, Mr. William Blair, who was afterwards minister at Dumbarton, he engaged for some time to be assistant to an aged schoolmaster at Glasgow, who had above 300 scholars under his instruction, the half of whom were committed to the charge of Mr. Blair. At this time he was called, by the ministry of the famous Mr. Boyd of Trochrig, then principal of the college of Glasgow, in whose hand, as he himself observes in his Memoirs, the Lord put the key of his heart, so that whenever he heard him in public or private, he profited much, he being as it were sent to him from God, to speak the words of eternal life.

Two years after, he was admitted in the room of his brother, Mr. William, to be regent in the college of Glasgow, though not without the opposition of Archbishop Law, who had promised that place to another.—But neither the principal nor regents giving place to his motion, Mr. Blair was admitted. After his admission, his elder colleagues perceiving what skill he had in humanity, urged him to read the classical authors; upon which he began to read Plato; but the Lord being displeased with this design, diverted him from it, by his meeting with Augustine's Confessions, in which he inveighs sharply against the education of youth in heathen writings.—He therefore betook himself to the reading of the holy Scriptures, and the ancient fathers, especially Augustine; and though he perceived that our reformed divines were more sound than some of the ancient, yet in his spare hours he was resolved to peruse the ancient authors, and made considerable progress.

In the summer of 1616, he entered upon trials for license, and having obtained it, was required to preach in the College Kirk the Sabbath immediately after. This accordingly he did, and some years after, he was, to his great surprise, told by some of his hearers, who were better acquainted with religion than he was then, that in his sermon the Lord spoke to their hearts; which not only surprised, but stirred him up still more and more to follow after the Lord.—His experience, however, at the time was, in some instances, much less calculated to flatter his self-esteem. Thus, it is related, that on one occasion shortly after that above alluded to, he, by a remarkable providence, had for his hearer the famous Mr. Bruce, and being desirous to have the judgment of so great and good a man upon his discourse, he often said that he should never forget the criticism which he gave, "I found," said he, "your sermon very polished and well digested, but there is one thing I did miss in it, to wit, the Spirit of God; I found not that." This gave him to understand, that to be a minister of Jesus Christ, implied something more than to be a knowing and eloquent preacher.

In regard also to his experience as a private Christian, he had occasionally some checks. Upon an evening in the same year, having been engaged with some irreligious company, he found himself on

returning to his chamber to his wonted devotion, like to be deserted of God, spent a very restless night, and to-morrow resolved on a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. Towards the end of that day, he found access to God with sweet peace, through Jesus Christ, and determined to beware of such company; but running into another extreme of rudeness and incivility to profane persons, he found it was very hard for a short-sighted sinner to hold the right way.

While he was regent in college, upon a report that some sinful oath was to be imposed upon the masters, he inquired at Mr. Gavin Forsyth, one of his fellow-regents, what he would do in this. He answered, "By my faith, I must live."—Mr. Blair said, "Sir, I will not swear by my faith, as you do, but truly I intend to live by my faith. You may choose your own way, but I will adventure on the Lord."—And so this man to whom the matter of an oath was a small thing, continued after he was gone; but some years afterwards, was in such poverty, as forced him to supplicate the General Assembly for relief. Mr. Blair, who was then moderator, upon his appearing in such a desperate case, could not shun observing on his former conduct; and upon his address to him in private, with great tenderness put him in mind, that he himself had been carried through by that faith, at which he had formerly scoffed.

Some time after he ceased to be a regent in the college, he fell under deep exercise of soul, and therein attained unto much comfort.—Among others, that saying, *the just shall live by faith*, sounded loudly in his ears, and led him to search the scriptures anew on the subject.

"By this study of the nature of faith," says he, "and especially of the text before mentioned, I learned 1st, that nominal Christians, or common professors, were much deluded in their way of believing; and that not only do Papists err, who place faith in an implicit assent to the truth which they know not, and say that it is better defined by ignorance than knowledge, (a way of believing very suitable to Antichrist's slaves; who are led by the nose they know not whither,) but also secure Protestants, who abusing the description given of old of faith, say, that it implies an assured knowledge in the person who believes of the love of God in Christ to him in particular. This assurance is no doubt attainable, and many believers do comfortably enjoy the same, as our divines prove unanswerably against the Popish doctors, who maintain the necessity of perpetual doubting, and miscall comfortable assurance, the Protestant's presumption. But notwithstanding, that comfortable assurance doth ordinarily accompany a high degree of faith, yet that assurance is not to be found in all the degrees of saving faith; so that by not adverting to that distinction, many gracious souls and sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ, and rested upon him as he is offered to them in the word, have been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all: on the other hand, many secure and impenitent sinners, who have not yet believed the Lord's holiness, nor abhorrence of sin, nor their own ruined state and condition, do from self-love imagine, without any warrant of the word, that they are

beloved of God, and that the foresaid description of faith agrees well to them.

“ 2dly, I perceive, that many who make a right use of faith in order to attain to the knowledge of their justification, make no direct use of it in order to sanctification; and that the living of *the just by faith*, reacheth farther than I formerly conceived: and that the heart is purified by faith. If any say, why did I not know, that, precious faith, being a grace, is not only a part of our holiness, but does promote other parts of holiness; I answer, that I did indeed know this, and made use of faith as a motive to stir me up to holiness, according to the apostle’s exhortation, *Having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.* But I had not before learned to make use of faith as a mean and instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, though it may be, I had both heard and spoken that, by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose, that they who receive forgiveness of sin, are sanctified though faith in Christ, as our glorious Saviour taught the Apostle,* Then I saw, that it was no wonder that my not making use of faith for sanctification, as has been said, occasioned an obstruction in the progress of holiness; and I perceived, that making use of Christ for sanctification, without directly employing faith to extract the same out of him, was like one seeking water out of a deep well, without a long cord to let down the bucket and draw it up again.—Then was I like one that came to the storehouse, but got my provision reached unto me as it were through a window; I had come to the house of mercy, but had not found the right door; but by this discovery I found a patent door, at which to go in, to receive provision and furniture from Christ Jesus. Thus the blessed Lord trained me up, step by step, suffering many difficulties to arise, that more light from himself might flow in.

“ I hoped then to make better progress, and with less stumbling; but shortly after, I met with another difficulty; and wondering what discovery would next clear the way, I found that the Spirit of holiness, whose immediate and proper work was to sanctify, had been slighted, and thereby grieved; for though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of him and to him frequently, and had been seeking the outpouring thereof, and urging others to seek the same, yet that discovery appeared unto me a new practical lesson; and so I laboured more to cherish and not to quench the Holy Spirit, praying to be led into all truth, according to the scripture, by that blessed guide; and that, by that heavenly Comforter, I might be encouraged in all troubles, and sealed up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

“ About that time, the Lord set me to work to stir up the students under my discipline, earnestly to study piety, and to be dili-

* Acts xxvi. 18.

gent in secret seeking of the Lord; and my endeavours this way were graciously blessed to several of them."

Shortly after this, Dr. Cameron being brought from France, and settled as principal of the college in place of Mr. Boyd, and being wholly bent on the promotion of Episcopacy, urged Mr. Blair to conform to the Perth Articles; but this he refused. And it being usual in those days, for the Regents to meet together and dispute on some thesis for their own improvement, Mr. Blair on one occasion obtained an advantage over his opponent, a French student, who maintained that election proceeded upon foreseen faith; but the Doctor having stated himself in opposition to Mr. Blair, the latter was urged to a second dispute, and did so drive him into the mire of Arminianism, as did redound much to the Doctor's ignominy. Mr. Blair and he, indeed, were afterwards reconciled, but yet so nettled was he by that dispute, that he improved all occasions against him; and with that view, when Mr. Blair happened to be on a visit to some of his friends, he caused one Gardner to search his prelections on Aristotle, and finding some things capable of being wrested, he presented them to the Archbishop of Glasgow. This coming to Mr. Blair's ears, he was so far from betraying innocence, being assured the Lord would clear his integrity, that he prepared a written apology, and desired a public hearing before the ministers and magistrates of the city; which being granted, he managed the point so well, that all present professed their entire satisfaction with him; and one of the ministers who had been previously influenced against him, even said in the face of the meeting, "Would to God King James had been present and heard what answers that man has given." With such a powerful antagonist, however, his life was so uneasy, that he resolved to leave the college, and go abroad; which resolution was no sooner known, than the Doctor and the Archbishop knowing his abilities, wrote letters requesting him to stay; but he judging that little trust was to be put in their promises, demitted his charge, took his leave of the Doctor, and left the college, to the great grief of his fellow-regents, the students, and the people of Glasgow.

Though he had several charges in Scotland presented to him, together with an invitation to go to France, yet next day after leaving Glasgow, having had an invitation to be minister of Bangor in Ireland, (a call he for some time rejected, until rebuked of the Lord), he at length set his face towards that country; and although he met with a contrary wind, and became sea-sick, yet upon the very sight of land, he was made to exult with great joy. It is also related of him, that when he came near Bangor, he had a strong impression borne in upon his mind, that the dean thereof was sick: an impression which he found to be true when he came thither. Mr. Gibson, the incumbent, being sick, invited him to preach. This he did for three Sabbaths with much acceptance to the people of the parish; upon which the Dean, though formerly but a very careless person, told Mr. Blair that he would succeed him in that place; and exhorted him ~~in~~ the name of Christ, not to leave the good way in which he had

begun to walk. He condemned Episcopacy more than even Mr Blair did; and drawing his head towards his bosom, with both his arms, he blessed him; which conduct being so unlike himself, and his speech so different from his usual, made a person standing by, say, "An angel is speaking out of the Dean's bed to Mr. Blair." After a few days he died, and Mr. Blair was settled in his place. In regard to his ordination, the following singular fact is related. He went to Knox, the Bishop of the diocese, told him his opinions, and said, that ordination by one man did not accord with his principles. But the Bishop, informed before-hand of his great talents and piety, answered him as follows, "Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you account Presbytery to have a divine warrant. Will you not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a Presbyter;" for on no lower terms could he be answerable to law. This Mr. Blair could not refuse, and he was accordingly ordained about the year 1623

Being thus settled, he found his charge very great, having above 1200 persons come to age, besides children, who stood much in need of instruction. His labours, however, were correspondingly arduous. He preached twice a-week, besides on the Lord's day, and on these occasions he had great freedom and support granted him, and was the instrument of much good to others.

He became a chief mean in that great work which appeared shortly thereafter, at Six-mile Water, and other parts in the counties of Down and Antrim; and that not only by his own ministry, in which he was both diligent and faithful, but also by the great pains he took to stir up others to the like duty.

Shortly after the commencement of his ministry, he met with a most notable deliverance; for staying in a high house at the end of the town until the manse should be built, and being late at his studies, his landlady went into a room under which he lay to bring him a candle, and discovered, to her astonishment, that a joist immediately under his bed had taken fire, which, had he been in bed as usual, the consequence, in all probability, had been dreadful to the whole town, as well as to him, the wind being strong from that quarter; but by the timely alarm being given, the danger was prevented, which made him give thanks to God for this great deliverance.

When he first celebrated the Lord's supper, his heart was much lifted up in speaking of the new covenant, which made him in the view of a second administration of that ordinance, resolve to go back to that same inexhaustible fountain of consolation; and coming over to Scotland about the time,* he received no small assistance from Mr. Dickson, who was then restored to his flock at Irvine, and studying and preaching on the same subject.

But it was not many years that he had liberty thus to exercise

* It seems to have been about this time, that Mr. Blair married his first wife, *Beatrix Hamilton*; a very gracious woman, of the house of *Bardnie*.

his office. In harvest 1631, he and Mr. Livingstone were suspended by the then Bishop of Down; but upon recourse to Dr. Usher, who sent a letter to the Bishop, their sentence was relaxed, and they again went on in their labours, until May 1632, when they were deposed from the office of the holy ministry.

After this, no redress could be had; upon which Mr. Blair resolved on a journey to Court, to represent their grievances to the King; but after his arrival at London, he could have no access to his majesty, and so laboured under many difficulties with little hopes of redress. One day, however, having gone to Greenwich Park, being wearied with waiting on the Court, and having engaged in prayer, he adventured to propone a sign,* by which the Lord assured him that his wishes would ere long be realized; and shortly after he received a dispatch to his mind, in which the King did not only grant his petition, but with his own hand, wrote on the margin, (directed to the depute), "Indulge these men, for they are Scotsmen."

It was while in England that he had, from Ezekiel xxiv. 16. a strange discovery of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon she was lying, and the particular acquaintances attending her; and although she was in good health at his return home, yet in a little all this exactly came to pass.

Upon his return, the king's letter being slighted by the depute, who was newly returned from England, he was forced once more to have recourse to Archbishop Usher. The good Archbishop shed tears that he could not help them; but by the interposition of Lord Castlestuart with the King, they got six months' liberty. Shortly after this, however, in November 1634, he was convened before the Bishop, and the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him. After sentence. Mr. Blair rose up, and publicly cited the Bishop to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to answer for that wicked deed. Upon this the Bishop appealed from the justice of God to his mercy; but Mr. Blair replied, "Your appeal is like to be rejected, because you act against the light of your own conscience." In a few months afterwards he fell sick; and the physician inquiring of his sickness, he after some time's silence, with great difficulty said, "It is my conscience, man." To this the Doctor replied, "I have no cure for that;" and in a little time after, he died.

After his ejection, Mr. Blair preached often in his own and in other houses, until the beginning of 1635, when he began to think of marriage with Catherine, daughter of Hugh Montgomery, for-

* There appears, I think, more of superstition than of Christian wisdom in seeking such a "sign from heaven." This was seeking a private revelation,—something beside what is contained in Scripture, which is inconsistent with the fundamental principle of protestantism. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God; and is able to make the man of God perfect; that is, perfectly instructed in the whole will of God. It is great presumption then, to ask for any other revelation, and God has not promised any other.

merly of Busbie, in Ayrshire, (then in Ireland), with which view he came over to Scotland with his own and his wife's friends. And upon his return to Ireland, they were married in the month of May following.

But matters still continuing the same, he engaged with the rest of the ejected ministers in their resolution of building a ship, on purpose to go to New England, an enterprise which, as already mentioned, afterwards miscarried. Having got about 300 or 400 leagues from Ireland, they encountered a terrible hurricane, which forced them back to the same harbour from whence they loosed; the Lord having work for them elsewhere, it was fit their purposes should be defeated. Mr. Blair continued four months after this in Ireland, when upon information that he and Mr. Livingstone were to be apprehended, they immediately took shipping, and landed in Scotland in 1637. During the summer after his arrival, he was as much employed in public and private exercises as before, mostly at Irvine and the country around, and partly in Edinburgh. But things being then in great confusion, because of the service-book being urged upon the ministers, his old inclination to go to France revived; and upon an invitation to be chaplain of Col. Hepburn's regiment in the French service, newly inlisted in Scotland, he embarked at Leith; but some of the recruits, who were mostly Highlanders, being desperately wicked, and threatening upon his reproofs to stab him, he resolved to quit the voyage, and calling on the ship-master to set him on shore, without imparting his design, a boat was immediately ordered for his service; on this occasion he met with yet another deliverance, for his foot sliding, he was in danger of going to the bottom, but the Lord ordered, that he got hold of a rope by which he hung till he was relieved.

Mr. Blair's return gave great satisfaction to his friends at Edinburgh, and the reformation being then in the ascendant, in the spring of 1638, he got a call to be colleague to Mr. Annan, at Ayr; and upon May 2d, at a meeting of the presbytery, having preached from 2 Cor. iv. 5. he was, at the special desire of all the people there, admitted minister.

He staid not long here; for having at the General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, vindicated himself, both anent his affair with Dr. Cameron, while regent in the University, and his settlement in Ireland, he was by them ordered to be transported to St. Andrews. It would appear, however, that he himself did not see his way clearly as to this change, and so the burgh of Ayr, where the Lord had begun to bless his labours, enjoyed his presence for another year. But the Assembly held at Edinburgh 1639, being offended at his disobeying, ordered him peremptorily to transport himself thither.

In 1640, when the King, by the advice of the clergy, had caused the articles of the former treaty with the Scots to be burned, and again was prepared to chastise them with an army, the Scots resolving not always to play after-game, also raised an army, invaded England, routed about 4000 English at Newburn, had Newcastle surrendered to them, and within two days were masters of Durham.

This produced a new treaty more favourable than the former; and with this army was Mr. Blair, who, when that treaty was on foot, was called upon to assist the commissioners with his best advice.

Again, after the Irish rebellion in 1641, those who survived the storm supplicated the General Assembly during the next year for a supply of ministers, upon which several went over, and among the first Mr. Blair. During his stay there, he generally preached once every day, and twice on Sabbath, sometimes from necessity in the fields; on some of these occasions he also administered the Lord's supper.

After his return, the condition of church and state was various during the years 1643 and 1644. In the former of these years he acted as one of the Committee of the General Assembly, who agreed to a solemn league and covenant betwixt Scotland and England; and in the end of the same year, when the Scots assisted the English Parliament, Mr. Blair was appointed minister to the Earl of Crawford's regiment; with whom he staid until the King was routed at Marston-muir, July 1644, when he returned to his charge at St. Andrews.

When the Parliament and Commission of the Assembly sat at Perth in July 1645, the Parliament was opened with a sermon by Mr. Blair; and after having upon the forenoon of the 27th, a day of solemn humiliation, preached again to the parliament, he rode out to the army, then encamped at Torgondermy, and preached to Crawford's and Maitland's regiments.—He told the brigade, that he was informed, many of them were become dissolute and profane; and he assured them, that though the Lord had covered their heads in the day of battle, few of them being killed at Marston-muir, they should not be able to stand before a less formidable foe, unless they repented. Though this freedom was taken in good part from one who wished them well, it was too little laid to heart; and the most part of Crawford's regiment was cut off at Kilsyth, three weeks afterwards.

After the defeat at Kilsyth, some were for treating with Montrose, but Mr. Blair opposed it; so that nothing was concluded till the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people; for the Committee of Estates recalled General Leslie, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from England, to oppose whom, Montrose marched southward; but was shamefully defeated at Philiphaugh, September 13th, many of his forces being killed and taken prisoners, and he himself with difficulty escaping. On the 26th of the same month, the Parliament and Commission of the General Assembly sat down at St. Andrews, (the plague being then in Edinburgh); here Mr. Blair preached before the Parliament, and also prayed at its several sessions; and three of the prisoners, taken at Philiphaugh, viz. Sir Robert Spottiswood, Messrs. Nathaniel Gordon, and Andrew Guthrie, being condemned to be executed on the 17th of January thereafter, Mr. Blair visited them, and was at much pains with them. He so far prevailed with Gordon, that he desired to be released from the sentence of excommunication he was under, with

which wish Mr. Blair complied. The other two, who were Bishops' sons, died impenitent, realizing the proverb,—*Mali corvi malum ovum.*

In 1646, the General Assembly appointed Mr Blair, who was then moderator, together with Mr. Cant and Mr. Robert Douglas, to repair to the King at Newcastle, to co-operate with Mr. Henderson and others, who were labouring to convince him of the great bloodshed he had caused in these kingdoms, and to reconcile him to Presbyterian church government and the covenants. When the three ministers obtained a hearing, Mr. Cant, being the eldest, began to insinuate with his wonted zeal and plainness, that the King favoured Popery; but Mr. Blair interrupted him, and modestly hinted, that it was not a fit time nor place for that. The King looking 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." They attended, according to appointment, but got little satisfaction; only Mr. Blair asked his majesty, if there were not abominations in Popery, to which he replied, lifting his hat, "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 my crown." Upon this, Mr. Blair and Mr. Henderson earnestly desired him to satisfy the just desires of his subjects, but he obstinately refused, though they besought him with tears. Renewed commissions for this end were sent from Scotland, but to no good purpose, and Mr. Blair returned home to St. Andrews.

Mr. Henderson having died at Edinburgh August 19th, the King immediately sent for Mr. Blair to supply his place, as chaplain in Scotland; which Mr. Blair, through fear of being ensnared, was at first averse to, but having consulted with Mr. Dickson, and reflecting that Mr. Henderson had held his integrity fast unto the end, he applied himself to the employment with great diligence, every day praying before dinner and supper in the presence-chamber; and on the Lord's day lecturing once and preaching twice, besides preaching occasionally on week-days in St. Nicholas's church; as also conversing much with the King, desiring him to condescend to the just desires of his Parliament, and debating with him concerning Prelacy, liturgies, and ceremonies.

One day after prayer, the King asked him, if it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controversy? Mr. Blair taking the hint, said, he thought he had determined no controversy in that prayer. Yes, said the King, you have determined the Pope to be Antichrist, which is a controversy among divines. To this Mr. Blair replied, to me this is no controversy, and I am sorry it should be accounted so by your majesty; sure it was none to your father. This silenced the King, for he was a great defender of his father's opinions, and his testimony, Mr. Blair knew well, was of more authority with him than the testimony of any divine. After a few months stay, Mr Blair was permitted to visit his flock and family.

Upon the sitting of the Scots Parliament, Mr. Blair made another
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visit to the King at Newcastle, where he urged him, with all the arguments he was master of, to subscribe the covenants, and abolish Episcopacy in England, assuring him he was confident that all his honest Scotsmen would in that case espouse his quarrel against his enemies. To this the King answered, that he was bound by his great oath to defend Episcopacy in that church; and ere he wronged his conscience, by violating his coronation-oath, he would lose his crown. Mr. Blair asked the form of that oath, he said it was to maintain it to the utmost of his power. Then said Mr. Blair, "You have not only defended it to the utmost of your power, but so long, and so far, that now you have no power." But by nothing could he prevail upon the King, and so he left him with a sorrowful heart, and returned to St. Andrews.

Again in the year 1648, when Cromwell came to Edinburgh, the Commission of the kirk sent Mr. Blair, and Messrs. David Dickson and James Guthrie, to treat with him for an uniformity of religion in England. When they came, he entertained them with smooth speeches, and solemn appeals to God as to the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Blair being best acquainted with him, spoke for the rest, and among other things begged an answer to these three questions. (1.) What was his opinion of monarchical government? To this he answered, that he was for monarchical government. (2.) What was his opinion anent toleration? To this he answered confidently, that he was altogether against toleration. (3.) What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? "O now," said Cromwell, "Mr. Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me, that I give you not a present answer to this." This question he evaded, because he had before, in conversation with Mr. Blair, confessed he was for independency. When they came out Mr. Dickson said, "I am glad to hear this man speak no worse;" to which Mr. Blair replied, "if you knew him as well as I, you would not believe one word he says, for he is an egregious dissembler."

When the differences fell out betwixt the protestors and resolutions, Mr. Blair was at London, and afterwards for the most part remained neuter in that matter. On this account he was subjected to some hardships; but yet he never omitted any proper place or occasion, for uniting and cementing these differences; none in Scotland being more earnest in this than he and the learned Mr. Durham, minister at Glasgow. These two meeting at St Andrews, had influence to draw an assembly of the two sides to Edinburgh, where harmony was like to prevail; but the Lord's anger being still drawn out for the prevailing sins of the time, all promising beginnings were blasted, and all hopes of agreement vanished.

Thus affairs continued till the year 1660, when Cromwell being dead, the kingdom sick of distractions restored Charles II.; the woful consequences of which act are too well known. On this occasion, Mr. Blair again began to bestir himself to procure union between the parties, and for that end obtained a meeting; but his endeavours were frustrated, and no reconciliation could be made, till both sides were cast into the furnace of a long and sore persecution.

In September 1661, Mr. Sharp came to St. Andrews; and the presbytery having had assurance of his deceitful conduct at court, and of the probability of his being made Archbishop of St. Andrews, sent Mr. Blair with another, to discharge their duty to him, which they did so faithfully, that Sharp was never at ease till Mr. Blair was rooted out.

A few weeks after this, Mr. Blair taking occasion in a sermon from 1 Pet. iii. 13. to enlarge on suffering for righteousness' sake, and giving testimony to the covenants and work of reformation, against the corrupt courses of the times, was called before the Council, when the Advocate and some noblemen appointed for the purpose, posed him on the following points: 1. Whether he had asserted presbyterial government to be *juro divino*? 2. Whether he had asserted that suffering for it was suffering for righteousness' sake? And, 3. Whether in his prayers against Popery, he had joined Prelacy with it? Having answered all in the affirmative, professing his sorrow that they doubted his opinions in these points, he was first confined to his chamber in Edinburgh; and afterwards upon supplication, and the attestation of Physicians on account of his health, he was permitted to retire to Inveresk, about the 12th of January 1662.

Here he continued till October following, enjoying much of God's presence amidst his outward trouble, and afterwards, through the Chancellor's favour, he obtained liberty to go where he pleased, except to St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and the west country. He went to Kirkaldy.

While at Kirkaldy, he often lectured to some Christian friends in his own family; and for recreation taught his younger son the Greek language. But the Archbishop envying his repose, and that of some others in similar circumstances, procured an act, that no outed minister should reside within twenty miles of an Archbishop's see; upon which Mr. Blair removed from Kirkaldy to Meikle Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, where he continued till his death, which was shortly after.

Upon the 10th of August 1666, being worn out with age, and his spirits sunk with sorrow and grief for the desolations of the Lord's sanctuary in Scotland, Mr. Blair took his last sickness, and ever extolling the good and glorious Master whom he had served, contemplated with serious composure his near approaching end. His sickness increasing, he was visited by many friends and acquaintances, whom he strengthened and comforted by his many gracious and edifying words.

At one time, when they told him of some severe acts of Council lately made, upon Sharp's instigation, he prayed that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance. And at another time, to Mrs. Rutherford he said, "I would not exchange conditions with *that* man, (though for himself he was now on the bed of languishing, and the other possessed of great riches and revenues) even if all betwixt us were red gold, and given me to the bargain." When some ministers asked him, if he had any hopes of deliverance to the

people of God? He said, he would not take upon him to determine the times and seasons which the Lord keeps in his own hand, but that it was to him a token for good, that the Lord was casting the prelates out of the affections of all ranks and degrees of people, and even some who were most active in setting them up, were now beginning to loathe them for the pride, falsehood, and covetousness they displayed.

To his wife and children he spake gravely and affectionately, and, after having solemnly blessed them, he admonished them severally as he judged expedient. His son David said to him, "The best and worst of men have their thoughts and after-thoughts, now Sir, God having given you time for after-thoughts on your way, we would hear what they are now."—He answered, "I have again and again thought upon my former ways, and communed with my heart; and as for my public actings 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, the 23d, and once the 71st psalm which he used to call his own. About two days before his death, his speech began to fail, and he could not be heard or understood; some things, however, were not altogether 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 then present, to carry his Christian remembrances to them. When Mr. Hutcheson went from his bed side, he said to his wife, and others who waited on him, that he rejoiced in suffering as a persecuted minister. "Is it not persecution," added he, "to thrust me from the work of the ministry, which was my delight, and hinder me from doing good to my people and flock, which was my joy and crown of rejoicing, and to chase me from place to place, till I am wasted with heaviness and sorrow for the injuries done to the Lord's prerogative, interest, and cause?" What he afterwards said was either forgotten or not understood, and at length, about four o'clock in the morning, August 27th 1666, he was gathered to his fathers, by a blessed and happy death, the certain result of a holy life.

His body lies in the burial place at Aberdour; and upon the church-wall above his grave, was erected a little monument with this inscription:

Hic reconditæ jacent mortuæ
Exuvie D. Roberti Blair, S. S.
Evangelii apud Andreaepolin
Predicatoris fidelissimi. Obiit
Augusti 27, 1666. Ætatis suæ 73.

Mr. Blair was a man of a fine constitution, both in body and in mind, of a majestic but amiable countenance and carriage, thoroughly learned, and of a most public spirit for God. He was unremittingly diligent and laborious in all the private as well as public duties of his station. He highly endeared himself to his own people, and to the whole country where he lived; and their attachment to him was

not a little strengthened by his conduct in the judicatories of the church, which indeed constituted the distinguishing part of his character.

When the General Assembly resolved upon a new explication of the Bible, Mr. Blair had the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes assigned to him for his part; but this task he delayed till he was rendered useless for other purposes; he then set about and finished his Commentary on the Proverbs in 1666. He composed also some small poetical pieces, with some short epigrams on different subjects.

HUGH M'KAIL.

THE name of Hugh M'Kail has frequently been mentioned, as occupying a high place in the list of Scottish worthies. He was born about the year 1640, and was educated at the university of Edinburgh, under the inspection of his uncle Mr. Hugh M'Kail, one of the ministers of that city, in whose family he resided. He was an eminent scholar, and as a student of divinity, gave great hopes of being an honour to the profession of the gospel.

Before he was twenty years of age, he became chaplain and tutor in the family of Sir James Stewart of Coltness, a highly respected gentleman, and an able supporter of both civil and religious liberty, and who at that time was Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

In this family, he enjoyed many advantages; his studies were improved, and at the table of his host, he enjoyed friendly intercourse with many noblemen and gentlemen, who were not only great, but good. Here he met with the Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Loudon, Lord Warriston, and many other supporters of Scottish independence. Perhaps no age ever furnished more noble examples of the Christian and the patriot; and Mr. M'Kail's after-life showed how deeply he had imbibed their spirit and principles.

But the advantages of a happy home, and highly intelligent society, were soon wrecked in the destructive overturn of the Presbyterian church. For although Sir James Stewart and his friends had been true to their King, when his interest was at the lowest, yet their covenanting principles, and determined hatred of tyranny in church or state, made them objects of dislike to Charles's government; and it was necessary to get rid of them, so as they might not disturb the mischievous devices of popish incendiaries.* The events of that pe-

* Charles II., who had drunk in Popery with his mother's milk, entertained at his court, several priests and Jesuits. Soon after the Restoration, Cardinal de Retz came to England in disguise, and had a private audience of the King. What passed, was not publicly known; but may be conjectured by the arguments this Cardinal used on his return to France, to persuade a French Protestant Marquis,

riod are pretty generally known: Argyle was beheaded, Loudon died of grief, Warriston fled beyond seas for a time, and the rest of Sir James Stewart's friends were all scattered and dispersed. He himself, being beguiled to escort his friend Sir John Chiesly of Carswell, to Edinburgh Castle; they were both left prisoners.*

In the winter of 1661, he offered himself for probationary trials to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, being then little more than twenty years old; and being by them licensed, he several times preached with great applause. He preached his last public sermon from Cant. i. 7. in the High Church of Edinburgh, upon the Sabbath immediately preceding the 8th of September 1662, the day fixed by the then Parliament for the removal of the ministers of that city.

In this sermon taking occasion to speak of the great and many persecutions to which the church of God has been and is obnoxious, he said, that it had been persecuted by an Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church, which case seemed so applicable to the character and condition of the then rulers of church and state, that though he made no particular application, he was yet reputed guilty. Accordingly a few days after, a party of horse was sent to the place of his residence near Edinburgh, to apprehend him; but upon little more than a moment's warning, he escaped out of bed into another chamber, where he was preserved from the search.† He was thus obliged to return to his father's

to change his religion; saying, it was impossible the Protestant interest could stand, as it could expect no aid from England, seeing both the Princes had become Papists. Charles, indeed, did not throw off the mask at once, as his brother did; but he introduced Prelacy as a step towards the restoration of Popery.

* From Edinburgh Castle, Sir James was moved to Dundee; and fined, first £500, and afterwards £1000. His fourth son, James, was bred to the bar, and became one of the first lawyers of his time. He distinguished himself by his able defence of his father, which so exasperated the then rulers, that he was forced to abscond; and he remained concealed for some time in the house of Allanton. See MS. history of the family.

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† Being disappointed of their object, they fell upon his patron Sir James, and his second son Mr. Walter.—The following document, which still stands on the records of council, is a very good specimen of prelatiic domination, and proves what they had to expect who favoured presbyterians.

“Information having been given, that Mr. Hugh M'Kail, chaplain to Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Goodtrees, did of late, in a sermon preached by him in one of the Kirks of Edinburgh, most maliciously inveigh against, and abuse his most sacred majesty, and the present government in church and state, to the great offence of God, and the stumbling of his people; and that the said Sir James Stewart and Mr. Walter his son were present, when said sermon was preached; at least, were certainly informed thereof; yet notwithstanding, did entertain him in their family. As also the said Mr. Walter, had emitted some speeches in a smithy, on ——— (a certain day,) tending to sedition, especially anent public differences, —said that before business went on long as it was going, a hundred thousand would lose their lives in the three kingdoms. Therefore, macers are ordered to cite them before the Council against the 11th inst.”

Sir James Stewart got clear of these charges, but Mr. Walter his son, on being examined, and witnesses called, was found guilty of having uttered something

house, and having lurked there for some time, he spent the other four years previous to his death in Holland, at that time the asylum of Scottish refugees, and making a virtue of necessity, increased his theological knowledge by studying in one of the Dutch universities.

He came home about the year 1664 or 1665, and found the state of affairs much worse than when he went abroad. Now, profligate curates filled the pulpits which had formerly been occupied by men of worth. The curates were generally very ignorant and illiterate; and Mr. M'Kail's superior attainments in theology and science, made him just so much more the object of their malice.

After his return he lived mostly retired at his father's house; but though secluded, he was not idle; the sheep walks and valleys were his resort for prayer and conference, with those who were as sheep without a shepherd, many of whom bore witness that he had been with Jesus, advancing in knowledge and true holiness. And when his native land, which had once been Beulah, married to the Lord, had forsaken her God, Mr. M'Kail thought it a time for weeping, and fasting, and prayer. During one day every week, he poured out his soul to God in godly sorrow; and being thus suitably exercised, by God's blessing, he was endued with strength and grace to help him in the time of need, which he soon experienced. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear his name, and Mr. M'Kail had now a presentiment, that he would one day fall into the hands of his enemies, and be a martyr for the truth. This event, even in anticipation, no way dismayed him: to the sweet experience of those who met him, in his retired haunts, he appeared as one coming from the wilderness, like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, and all the powders of the merchant.

It was while he lived at his father's house, that the troubles in the west were excited by the cruelties of Sir James Turner; and at the news thereof, he with the rest of that country, upon the 18th of November 1662, for such motives and considerations as he himself afterwards more fully declares, joined himself to those who rose in defence of Presbyterianism. Being of a tender constitution, he was by the continual marching in tempestuous weather, so disabled and weakened, that he could no longer go on; and upon the 27th of the said month, was obliged to leave them near Cramond water. On his way thence to Libberton, his native parish, where his parents still lived, passing through Braid's craigs, he was taken without resistance, (having only a small ordinary sword,) by one Kennoway, an officer of dragoons, and another, in the fields. And here it is observable, that his former escape was not more wonderful than his

tending to a spirit of liberty, and dislike of the Bishops, which in those days, was sedition, and that of the worst kind; he was therefore imprisoned, but afterwards set at large. He soon after died, and was thus set at liberty from a body of sin, and taken from the evil to come. He was a pious young man, and warmly attached to Mr. M'Kail, who was left a wandering exile, while his friend had got home to his Father's house, and to the place where the voice of the oppressor is unknown. M'KAIL'S LIFE.

present apprehension was simple, for the least caution might have prevented it; but God, who gave him the full experience of His turning all things to the good of them that love Him, did thus, by such simplicity, prepare the way of his own glory, and his servant's joy and victory.

He was brought to Edinburgh, and searched for letters; but none being found, he was committed prisoner to the tolbooth. Upon Wednesday the 28th, he was, by order of the Secret Council, brought before the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Priest-field, and others, in order to examination; when being interrogated concerning his joining the west-land forces, he, conceiving himself not obliged by law to be his own accuser, declined the question. After some reasoning, he was desired to subscribe his name, but refused; which when reported to the Council, gave them great offence, and brought him under some suspicion of being a dissembler. On the 29th he was again called before them, where, for allaying the Council's prejudice, he gave in a declaration confessing that he had been with the west-land forces. This only awakened their jealousy the more, and suspecting him to have been privy to all the designs of that party, they dealt with him with the greater importunity, to give an account of the whole business; and upon December 3d, the boots (a most terrible instrument of torture) were laid on the council table before him, and he was certified, that if he would not confess he should be tortured on the morrow. Accordingly he was called before them, and being urged to declare as they desired, he solemnly assured them, that he knew no more than what he had already confessed; upon which they ordered the executioner to put his leg into the boot, and to proceed to the torture,* to the number of ten or eleven strokes, at considerable intervals: yet all this could not move him to express any bitterness or impatience.

This torture was the cause of his not being indicted with the first ten who were arraigned, and who were sentenced on Wednesday December 5th, to be hanged on the Friday following.—Many thought, that his small accession to the rising, and what he had suffered by the torture, should have excused him from farther punishment, but it was otherwise determined; nor was his former sermon containing the words, *Ahab on the throne*, to be forgotten or passed over. On Monday the 10th, accordingly, he, with other seven, received an indictment for high treason, and were summoned to appear before the justices on Wednesday following. The torture, however, and close imprisonment he had endured (for so it was ordered) had cast him into a fever, which rendered him unable to make his appearance

• "'Tis not enough felonious caves to fill,
'Tis not enough for cords and steel to kill,
Put on the ancle the sharp wedge descends,
The bone reluctant with the iron bends;
Crushed is its frame, blood spouts from every pore,
And the white marrow swims in purple gore."—GIBBON.

Upon Tuesday the 11th, therefore, he gave in a supplication, declaring his weak and sickly condition, and craving a surcease of any legal procedure against him, and a discharge from the foresaid appearance. Hereupon the Council ordered two physicians and two surgeons to visit him, and to give in their attestations, upon soul and conscience, betwixt and to-morrow ten o'clock.

Upon December 8th, his brother went from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with a letter from the Lady Marchioness of Douglas, and another from the Duchess of Hamilton, to the Lord Commissioner, in his favour; but both proved ineffectual, as did another from the former of these noblewomen, to the Archbishop of St. Andrews.*

* In regard to the influence which was thus employed to save this interesting youth from an untimely death, and other particulars respecting him, the following extract from a manuscript in the Advocate's library, as quoted by Dr. M'Crie in his edition of the Life of Veitch, will be perused with interest:

"The forementioned Mr. Matthew M'Kail, the apothecary in Edinburgh, and afterwards Doctor of Medicine, when he heard of his cousin Mr. Hew M'Kail, his being taken, and put in prison, went to Mr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to solicit for him: the occasion of this was, the said Mr. Matthew M'Kail, was employed at London, 1657, by the said Mr. James Sharp, to write several papers, to be sent to Scotland, concerning the affairs of the church, for at that time Mr. Sharp was agenting for the publick resolutioners, against the protestors against the Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee. When Mr. Matthew spoke to him, he desired him to assure Mr. Hew that he would befriend him if he would reveal the mystery of the plot, which he not being able to do, occasioned his torture: but there was, indeed, a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done.

"Upon the Thursday thereafter, the Bishop went to St. Andrews, and Mr. Matthew followed him on Friday, but reached only to the Weems that night. After dinner he arrived at the Bishop's house on Saturday, and the servant told that the barber was trimming him, and when he had done Mr. Matthew would get access. In the mean time, whilst he was walking in the outer room, the Bishop's son (about 12 years old) came, and enquired of Mr. Matthew if he came from Edinburgh, to which it was answered, yes; then he enquired for the news there, and Mr. Matthew answered there were none, but that other 4 of the west countrymen, were hanged yesterday; then the youth said "No more! it will be long before they hang them all;" and thus was verified the old proverb, as the old cock crows the young cock learns. When Mr. Matthew got access, he delivered to the Bishop one letter from the Marchioness Dowager of Douglas, in favours of Mr. Hew, whose brother Mr. Matthew was governor to her son, Lord James Douglas, and another from the Bishop's brother, Sir William Sharp, his lady; and when he had read them, he said, "The business is now in the Justiciaries hands, and I can do nothing; but however I shall have answers ready against the next morning;" at which time, when Mr. Matthew came, the Bishop called his family together, prayed, and desired Mr. Matthew to come and dine with him, and then he would give the answer: then he went to the church, did preach, and inveigh much against the Covenant. Immediately after dinner he gave the answers to the letters, and Mr. Matthew said, he hoped that his travelling that day about so serious a business [would give no offence;] to which the Bishop answered, that it would give no offence. Then Mr. Matthew went to enquire for his horse, but the stabler's family were all gone to the church, so that he could not travel till Monday morning early; and when he came to Buckhaven, the wind being easterly, the fish boats were coming into the harbour, and he hired one of them immediately, and arrived at Leith in the evening, having sent his horse to Bruntisland. He went immediately to the Archbishop (Burnet) of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him,

On December 18th, he being indifferently recovered, was with other three brought before the justices, when the general indictment founded on acts of parliament, made against rising in arms, entering into leagues and covenants, &c. was read against them. M'Kail was particularly charged with joining the rebels at Ayr, Ochiltree, Lanark, and other places. Upon which, being permitted to answer, he spoke in his own defence, both as to the charge laid against him, and as to the obligations that were upon this land to God; commending the institution of Presbyterial government. He said, that the last words of the national covenant had always had a great weight upon his spirit. Here, however, he was interrupted by the King's Advocate, who bade him forbear his discourse, and answer the question for the crime of rebellion. Unto which he answered, that what moved him to declare as he had done, was the weighty and impressive saying of our Lord Jesus, *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God.* His confession, and the depositions of those examined anent him being read, with his replies to the same, the assize was inclosed; and shortly after, by the mouth of Sir William Murray, their chancellor, announced their verdict, reporting him *guilty*. The verdict being registered, doom was pronounced, declaring and adjudging him and the rest of them, to be taken on Saturday December 20th, to the market cross of Edinburgh, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and his goods and lands to be escheated and forfeited for his Highness's use. At hearing of this sentence he cheerfully said, *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* He was then carried back to the tolbooth, through the guards, the people making lamentations for him by the way. After he came to his chamber, he immediately addressed himself to God in

who did read it, and then said, that the business was now in the Justiciaries hands. The next day being Tuesday, Mr. Hew was arraigned before the Justice Court, which sentenced him to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on Friday next; and the night before, Mr. Matthew went to the executioner's, John Dunmore's house, and did drink with him, and gave him six dollars, desiring him not to meddle with Mr. Hew's clothes; and the next day the executioner did nothing, but put the rope about his neck, and a napkin about his face, and turned him off the ladder, and Mr. Matthew received him, and drew down his feet. When he was cut down, he was laid into his coffin, which Mr. Matthew had provided, and was carryed to Magdalen's Chapell; and when his grave clothes were put on, he was carryed to the Gray Friar's Church Yard, and was interred near the east dyke, a little above the stair, at the entry, being conveyed by a great company of honest men.

"It will not be amiss to insert here, that immediately after the execution of the forementioned four men, there came a letter from the King, discharging the execution of moe; but the Bishop of St. Andrews kept it up till Mr. Hew was executed, and then no moe were panelled for that business.

"The night before his execution, the said Mr. Matthew did ly with Mr. Hew, who did sleep, as before related in the print, which the said Mr. Matthew knew, having slept very little that night, because of a pain in his head wherewith he was frequently troubled. *And because no friend durst put on mourning, the said Mr. Matthew did wear his black hair stuff coat wherein he was hanged, and that as long as it lasted.*" (MS. Jac. V. 7. 22.)

prayer, with great enlargement of heart, in behalf of himself and those who were condemned with him. Afterwards, to a friend he said, "O how good news, to be within four days' journey of enjoying the sight of Jesus Christ;" and protested, "he was not so cumbered how to die, as he had sometimes been to preach a sermon." To some women lamenting for him, he said, that his condition, though he was but young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours in the ministry, was not to be mourned; "for, one drop of my blood," added he, "through the grace of God, may make more hearts contrite, than many years' sermons might have done."

In the afternoon, he supplicated the Council for liberty to his father to come to him; which being granted, his father came next night, to whom he discoursed a little concerning obedience to parents, from the fifth commandment; and then, after prayer, his father said unto him, "Hugh, I call thee a goodly olive-tree of fair fruit, and now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruit." He answered,* that his too good thought of him afflicted him. His father said, "He was persuaded God was visiting not his own sins, but his parents' sins, so that he might say, Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquity." He further said, "I have sinned; thou poor sheep what hast thou done?" Mr. Hugh answered with many groans, that through coming short of the fifth commandment, he had come short of the promise, that his days should be prolonged in the land of the living; and that God's controversy with his father was for overvaluing his children, especially himself.

Upon the 20th of December, through the importunity of friends, more than his own inclination, he gave in a petition to the Council, craving their clemency, and declaring his own innocence; but it proved altogether ineffectual. During his abode in prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fears of death, and to dispel the overcloudings of doubt, that sometimes the best of men, through the frailty of flesh and blood, are subject to. He was also wonderfully assisted in prayer and praise, to the admiration of all the hearers. His cheerfulness never forsook him; especially on Thursday night, being at supper with his fellow-prisoners, his father, and one or two more, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, "Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be a fat Christmas-pye to the prelates." After supper, in thanksgiving, he broke forth into several expressions, both concerning himself and the church of God; and at last used that exclamation in the last of Daniel, *What, Lord, shall be the end of these wonders?*

The last night of his life he propounded and answered several questions for the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners: "How should he go from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people, and guards of soldiers, to a scaffold and gibbet, and overcome the impression of all this?" He answered, by conceiving a deeper

* Let both parents and children learn from this precious father and son.

impression of a multitude of angels, who are onlookers; according to that, *We are a gazingstock to the world, to angels, and men*; for the angels rejoicing at our good confession, are present to convoy and carry our souls, as the soul of Lazarus, to Abraham's bosom, not to receive them, for that is Jesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himself, with the songs of angels and blessed spirits; but the angels are ministering spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen dying believers. "What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are hastening to it, seeing the word saith, *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the glory prepared by God for them that love him?*" To this he answered, that the scripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven, (1.) By way of similitude, as in Rev. xxi. where heaven is held forth by the representation of a glorious city, there described. (2.) By holding forth the love of the saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching us to love him in sincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven, Rev. v. 12.; and no other thing than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ, can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.

The last words he spoke at supper were in commendation of love above knowledge. "O but notions of knowledge without love are of small worth, evanishing in nothing, and very dangerous." After supper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16th Psalm, and then said, "If there were any thing in the world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the scriptures. I said I shall not see the Lord in the land of the living; but this needs not make us sad, for where we go, the Lamb is the book of Scripture, and the light of that city; and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs to delight its inhabitants." Supper being ended, he called for a pen, saying, it was to write his testament: wherein he ordered some few books he had borrowed to be re-delivered to several persons. He went to bed about eleven o'clock, and slept till five in the morning; then he arose and called for his comrade John Wodrow,* saying pleasantly, "Up, John, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going to be hanged this day, seeing we lie so long." Then he spake to him in the words of Isaiah, xliii. 24.; and after some short discourse, John said to him, "You and I shall be chambered shortly beside Mr. Robertson in heaven." He answered, "John, I fear you bar me out, because you was more free before the Council than I was: but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold." He said, "He had got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after his awakening, but it was a little overclouded thereafter." He prayed with great fervency, plead-

* Mr. Wodrow was a merchant in Glasgow. His testimony in favour of the principles for which he suffered, together with an interesting letter to his wife, written on the day of his execution, are to be found in Naphtali; to which the reader is also referred for the last speech and testimony of his youthful fellow-sufferer, Hugh M'Kail.

ing his covenant relation with him, and that they might be enabled that day to witness a good confession before many witnesses. Then his father coming to him bade him farewell. His last word to him after prayer, was, that his sufferings would do more hurt to the Prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry twenty years. He then desired his father to leave him, and go to his chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with him on the scaffold; for how to carry there is my care even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.

About two o'clock, afternoon, he was brought to the scaffold, with other five who suffered with him; where, to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, he had a fairer and more stayed countenance than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his speech to the multitude northward, saying, "That as his years in the world had been but few, his words then should not be many:" and then spoke to the people the speech and testimony which he had before written and subscribed.

Having done speaking, he sung a part of the 31st Psalm, and then prayed with such power and fervency as caused many to weep. Then he gave his hat and cloak from him; and when he took hold of the ladder to go up, he said with an audible voice, "I care no more to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my father's house." Hearing a noise among the people, he called down to his fellow-sufferers, saying, "Friends and fellow-sufferers, be not afraid; every step of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven:" and then, having seated himself thereon, he said, "I do partly believe that the noble counsellors and rulers of this land would have used some mitigation of this punishment, had they not been instigated by the prelates, so that our blood lies principally at the prelates' door: but this is my comfort now, that I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c. And now I do willingly lay down my life for the truth and cause of God, the covenants and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation; and it is for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate the bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope," (the executioner then putting the rope about his neck.) Then hearing the people weep, he said, "Your work is not to weep but to pray, that we may be honourably borne through; and blessed be the Lord that supports me now; as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindness of many since my imprisonment and sentence, so I hope you will not be wanting to me now in the last step of my journey, that I may witness a good confession; and that ye may know what the ground of my encouragement in this work is, I shall read to you in the last chapter of the Bible; and having read it, he said, "Here you see the glory that is to be revealed to me, a pure river of water of life, where the throne of God and the Lamb is, where his servants serve him and see his face, and his name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever. And here you see my access to my glory and reward, *Let him that is athirst come, &c.*; and here you see my welcome, *the Spirit and the bride say, come.*" Then he said, "I

have one word more to say to my friends, (looking down the scaffold,) where are ye? Ye need neither lament nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I make use of that expression of Christ, *I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to your King and my King, to the blessed apostles and martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly of the first-born, to God the judge of all, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant; and I bid you all farewell, for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be, and he will be now more refreshing to me than you can be; farewell, farewell, in the Lord.*" Then the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a little, and put it up with his hand, and said, he had a word more to say concerning what comfort he had in his death. "I hope you perceive no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to myself; and I will tell you the reason of it; besides the justice of my cause, this is my comfort, what was said of Lazarus when he died, *That the angels did carry his soul to Abraham's bosom*; so that as there is a great solemnity here of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, a people looking out at windows; so there is a greater and more solemn preparation of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom. Again this is my comfort, that it is to come to Christ's hand, and he will present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and then shall I be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off: farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars; welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death."

Then he desired the executioner not to turn him over until he himself should put over his shoulders; which, after praying a little in private, he did, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed my soul, O Lord God of truth." And thus, in the 26th year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

His death was so much lamented by the spectators, that there was scarce a dry cheek seen in all the streets and windows about the cross of Edinburgh, at the time of his execution. A late historian* gives him this character, that, "he was a youth of 26 years of age, universally beloved, singularly pious, of very considerable learning; he had seen the world, and travelled some years abroad, and was a very comely and graceful person. I am told, saith he, that he used to fast one day every week, and had frequently, before this, signified to his friends his impression of such a death as he now underwent.

* Mr. Crookshanks. This was about Nov. 1662, when the Council commenced a process against Sir James Stewart, for entertaining him in that family. See his *History*, vol. ii. p. 134.

His share in the rising was known to be but small; and when he spoke of his comfort and joy in his death, heavy were the groans of those present."

JOHN NEVAY.

JOHN NEVAY was licensed and ordained a minister in the time of Scotland's purest reformation, and settled at Newmills, in the parish of Loudon. Besides his soundness in the faith, shining piety in conversation, and great diligence in attending to all the parts of his ministerial function, particularly church judicatories, he was also very zealous in contending against several steps of defection which were contrary to the work of reformation carried on in that period. Thus,

When the Earl of Callendar, and Major-General Middleton were cruelly harassing the covenanters, and well affected people in the west of Scotland, because they would not join with the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement to war against England, which was a manifest breach of the solemn league and covenant, Mr. Nevay was one of those ministers who, with other well affected people, assembled at the celebration of the Lord's supper at Mauchlin-moor, in June 1648, where opposition in their own defence was made to the said Callendar and Middleton's forces, being attacked by them there upon the last day of that solemnity.*

Again, when that pretended Assembly held at Edinburgh and St. Andrews, in 1651, approved and ratified the public resolutions, to bring in the justly excluded malignants to places of public power and trust, he was one of those called remonstrants, who faithfully witnessed and protested against that land-defiling sin.

And, as a conclusion to all, when that head of malignants, Charles II. was restored as king over these lands, in consequence of which, the whole of our covenanted work of reformation, which for some time had flourished, was defaced and overturned; Mr. Nevay, being the Earl of Loudon's chaplain, and very much valued by him, was, Nov. 18, 1662, by order of the Council, cited, with some others, to repair to Edinburgh, and appear before the Council on the 9th of December thereafter. He did not compear until the 23d, when he was examined, and upon his refusing the oath of allegiance, he was banished in terms of the following bond:—

* Bishop Guthrie says, That the chief managers here were Messrs. William Airdir, William Guthrie, and John Nevay, and that the covenanters were of foot 2000, and horse 500 strong; and this is more than probable. See his *Memoirs*, p. 177. Bailey's *Letters* adds to the above the names of Messrs. Muat, Thomas Wylie, Gabriel Maxwell, and Alexander Blair; and says they were about 800 foot, and 12 horse strong, vol. ii. p. 295—299.

“I JOHN NEVAY, minister of the gospel at Newmills, bind and oblige myself to remove forth of the King’s dominions, and not to return under pain of death; and that I shall remove before the first of February; and that I shall not remain within the dioceses of Glasgow and Edinburgh in the mean time. Subscribed, at Edinburgh, December 23d.

JOHN NEVAY.”

Taking leave, therefore, of his parishioners with a sorrowful heart, he prepared for his journey, and went to Holland, among the rest of the banished ministers. There for some years he preached to such as would come and hear him; and yet all the while he expressed the affection of a most loving pastor to his former parishioners at Loudon by sending them many sermons and letters, wherein he not only exhorted them to steadfastness in midst of temptations, but also showed an earnest desire to return to them. An instance of this we have in that excellent letter, written some time before his death, dated Rotterdam, October 22, 1668, in which among other things, he has these expressions:—“I can do no more than pray for you; and if I could do that well, I had done almost all that is required. I am not worthy of the esteem you have of me; I have not whereof to glory, but much whereof I am ashamed, and which may make me go mourning to my grave; but if you stand fast, I live; you are all my crown and joy in this earth, next to the joy of Jerusalem and her King, and I hope to have some of you my joy and crown in our Father’s kingdom, besides those that are gone before us, and entered into the joy of the Lord. I have not been altogether ignorant of the changes and wars that have been amongst you, deep calling unto deep, nor how the Lord did sit on all your floods as King, and did give you many times some more ease than others, and you wanted not your share in the most honourable testimony that ever was given to the truth and kingdom of Christ in that land since the days of the martyrs Mr. Patrick Hamilton, Mr. George Wishart, and Mr. Walter Mill.”

That Mr. Nevay was no mean divine in his day, either for parts or learning, is evident, both from the act of Assembly, 1647, wherein he is named as one of the four ministers who were appointed to revise and correct Rouse’s Paraphrase of David’s Psalms in Metre, (of which he had the last thirty for his share,) and also from an elegant and handsome Paraphrase of his of the Song of Solomon in Latin verse.

There are 52 sermons, or rather notes of sermons of his, published, upon the nature, properties, and blessings of the Covenant of Grace, in 8vo.;—89 sermons on Christ’s Temptations, in manuscript, which also might have been published, if those upon the Covenant had met with that reception they deserved, having been all sent over from Holland for the benefit of his old parishioners of Newmills.

JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

MR. JOHN LIVINGSTONE was born at Monyabreck or Kilsyth in 1603. He was the son of Mr. William Livingstone, minister of that place, and afterwards of Lanark, by whom he was nearly related to the house of Calendar. Having learned to read and write, he was put to the Grammar school of Stirling, then taught by Mr. Wallace, a godly and learned man. He remained there till the summer of 1617, when he returned home. In October following he was sent to the college of Glasgow, where he spent four years, and passed Master of Arts in 1621.

After this he continued to live with his father until he began to preach, and during this interval began to observe the Lord's great goodness, in that he was born of parents who taught him the principles of religion so soon as he was capable to understand any thing. He informs us in the account of his life, written by himself, that he does not remember the time or means particularly, whereby the Lord at first wrought upon his heart; but says that when very young, he would at times pray with some feeling, and read the word with some delight; and thereafter intermit such exercises, and then would begin and intermit again, and so forth. He informs us, moreover, that he had no inclination to the ministry, till a year or more after he had passed his course at college; that immediately after this, he bent his desires to the knowledge and practice of medicine, and intended to go to France for that end. But this being proposed to his father, he refused to comply, and about this time having purchased some land in the parish of Kilsyth, he took the rights in his son's name, proposing that he should marry and live there. This, however, he in his turn was unwilling to do, thinking it would divert him from his studies; and in the midst of these straits, he resolved to set apart a day by himself to implore God for more special direction. Accordingly, on the day appointed he retired to Cleghorn wood, where, after much confusion in the state of his soul, he at last thought it was made out to him, that he must preach Jesus Christ; and upon this, laying aside all thoughts of other things, he betook himself to the study of divinity. His father was too good to oppose such a resolution; indeed, it was every way agreeable to his own wishes. The property just mentioned, was sold to Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth; and after some years of intense application, being licensed as a probationer of the Scottish church, he delivered his first sermon from his father's pulpit on the 2d of January, 1625. After this he continued a year and a half in his father's house, studying and sometimes preaching, and during this time he was accustomed to write all his sermons before he preached them. But one day, being to preach after the communion at Quodgen, having in readiness a sermon which he had delivered elsewhere one day before, but perceiving there were some who had formerly heard it, he resolved to choose a new text, and wrote only a few notes of the heads he was to deliver; yet he tells us he found, on that occasion, more assistance,

and more emotion in his own heart, than ever he had found before ; which made him never afterwards write any more of his sermons, except such short notes for the help of his memory.

About April 1626, he was sent for by Lord Kenmuir to Gallo-way, in reference to a call to the parish of Anwoth ; but some hindrance coming in the way, this view was laid aside.* In the harvest following, he hearkened to another call to Torphichen ; but this proved also unsuccessful, from the opposition made to him by Archbishop Spottiswood, on account of his nonconformity. And this also proved to be the fate of several other calls which, about this time, he received. After this he went to the Earl of Wigton's seat at Cumbernauld, where he remained some time ; and during the most part of this summer he travelled from place to place, according as he got invitations to preach, and especially at communions in Lanark, Irvine, Newmills, Kenniel, &c. He was also sometimes invited to preach at Shots ; and in that place, says, he used to find more liberty of address than any where else, yea, he observes that the day in all his life in which he found most of the presence of God in preaching, was on a Monday after the Sacrament at the Kirk of Shots, June 21, 1630. The evening before, he had been with some Christians, who had spent the night in prayer and conference ; in the morning there came such a misgiving of spirit upon him, on considering his own unworthiness and weakness, and the expectation of the people, that he was purposing to have stolen away, and declined the day's work ; but again thinking he could not so distrust God, he went to preach, and got the most remarkable assistance in speaking about an hour and a half from Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26. *Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean : from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you, &c.* Here he was led out in such a melting strain, that, by the downpouring of the Spirit from on high, a most discernible change was wrought upon about 500 of the hearers, who either dated their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation, from that day forward.† Some little of the same feeling, he says, remained on him the Thursday after, when he preached at Kilmarnock ; but on the Monday following, preaching at Irvine, he was so deserted, that what he had meditated upon, written, and committed to memory, he could not pronounce ; and was so discouraged, that he resolved not to preach again for some time, at least, in Irvine. Mr. Dickson, however, combated his

* Anwoth was not as yet a distinct parish. Its erection was only contemplated, and the obstruction alluded to arose from some difficulties in getting it disjoined, and a church built. This, of course, prevented for the time, and in so far as Mr. Livingstone was concerned, prevented altogether, his settlement in that place. But the difficulties in question being removed, "thereafter," says he, "the Lord provided a great deal better for them, for they got that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, whose praise is in all the reformed churches."

† See the fulfilling of the Scriptures. part i. p. 434. Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 143.

resolution, and would not suffer him to go till he had preached on the next Sabbath, which he did with some freedom.

This summer, being in Irvine, he received letters from Viscount Clanniboy, advising him to come to Ireland, in reference to a call from Killinchie; and, having no hope of entering into the ministry in Scotland, he went thither, and had an unanimous call from that parish. Here he laboured with the utmost assiduity among a people who were both rude and profane before this; but who afterwards became the most experienced Christians in that country. He was not, however, above a year here, when the Bishop of Down suspended him and his friend Mr. Blair for nonconformity. They remained deposed until May 1632, when, by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart, a warrant was granted by the King for their being restored.

Some time after this he was married to the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, who was then in Ireland. In November 1635, however, he was again deposed by the Bishop of Down, and a little after, by his orders, excommunicated by Mr. Melvill, minister of Down; and, during the succeeding winter, seeing no appearance of liberty either to ministers or professors, from the bondage of the prelates, he, with others of the deposed ministers, took a resolution to go to New England. Upon this they built a ship for that purpose; and when all things were ready, they, about the 9th of September, loosed from Lochfergus; but a violent storm arising, they were driven near to the banks of Newfoundland, and were in danger of being drowned, and after prayer and consultation resolved to return to Lochfergus. After this he staid in Ireland till he heard that Mr. Blair and himself were to be apprehended, when they both went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. On arriving at Irvine, he preached for Mr. Dickson, and for this was afterwards called in question. Leaving Irvine, he passed by Loudon and Lanark to Edinburgh, and there continued for some time.

About the beginning of March 1638, when the body of the land was about to renew the national covenant, he was sent post to London with several copies of that covenant, and letters to friends at court of both nations. Upon his arrival, Mr. Borthwick delivered the letters for him; but he had been there only a few days when word was sent him from the Marquis of Hamilton, that he had overheard the King say, that "he was come, but that he should put a pair of fetters about his feet;" and upon this, fearing he might be taken in the post way, he bought a horse, and came home by St. Alban's and the western way. He was shortly afterwards present at Lanark and other places when the covenant was read and sworn to; and, excepting at the Kirk of Shots, as already noticed, he declares he never saw such tokens of influence from the Spirit of God, all the people so generally and willingly concurring, thousands of persons all at once lifting up their hands and tears falling from their eyes, and throughout the whole land the inhabitants, (a few Papists, and others who adored to the Prelates, ex

cepted,) entering into a covenant with God for the reformation of religion against the corruptions and abuses hitherto practised.

Shortly after this, in the same year, being on a visit to the Earl of Cassilis in Ayrshire, he received a call both from Stranraer in Galloway, and Straiton in Carrick; but he referred the matter to Messrs. Blair, Dickson, Cant, Henderson, Rutherford, and his father; who, having heard both parties, advised him to Stranraer; and he was received there by the presbytery upon the 5th of July 1638. In this situation, as prelacy was now abolished in Scotland, he experienced no obloquy nor opposition. The more serious persons of his flock having, on his arrival, requested liberty to attend family worship in his house, he offered to meet them every morning in the church. They accordingly assembled daily, and after singing a few verses of a psalm, and reading a small portion of Scripture, on which he spoke "only so long as a half hour glass run," he concluded the meeting with prayer. He attended the celebrated Assembly of Glasgow, which met soon after his induction to Stranraer, and concurred in all its proceedings. He was appointed by the presbytery, in 1640, chaplain to the Earl of Cassilis' regiment, and was present at the battle of Newburn near Newcastle, and in consequence of an application to the Assembly from the presbyterian inhabitants of the north of Ireland, he was appointed to go thither three months every summer for five years, previous to 1648, to animate, instruct, and edify the people in that quarter. He remained in Stranraer, and in the faithful discharge of the ministry, until the harvest of that year, when, by the sentence of the General Assembly, he was transported to Ancrum in Tiviotdale. When he came to Ancrum he found the people very tractable, but very ignorant, and some of them very loose in their carriage; and it was a long time before any competent number of them were brought to such a condition, that he could adventure to celebrate the Lord's supper; but at length by his diligence, through the grace of God, some of them began to lay religion to heart.

In 1649, the parliament and church of Scotland had sent some commissioners to treat with the King at the Hague, in order to his admission; but they returned without satisfaction. Yet the parliament, in summer 1650, sent other commissioners to prosecute the foresaid treaty at Breda; and the commission of the Kirk chose Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Wood, and after that added Mr. Hutcheson to them, and the Lords Cassilis and Brody, as ruling elders, that in name of the church they should present and prosecute their wishes. Mr. Livingstone was very unwilling to go, for several reasons; the chief of which was, that he still suspected the King to be not right at heart in respect of the true presbyterian religion, and yet saw, that many in the kingdom were ready to receive the King home upon any terms; but he was at length prevailed on by his friends Messrs. Dickson, Guthrie, and Gillespie, to go.

After much conference and reasoning with the King, the commissioners were not like to come to any conclusion. Mr. Living-

stone observed that the King still continued the use of the service-book and his chaplains, and often spent the night in balls and parties. This, with many other things, made him conclude there would be no blessing on the proposed treaty;—a treaty, which, to his unspeakable grief, was at last concluded. Some time after, the King, according to appointment, set sail for Scotland; but Mr. Livingstone refused to go aboard with the company, and would not have done so, but for the following stratagem:—When Lord Brody and Mr. Hutcheson saw that they could not prevail upon him, they desired him before parting, at least to come into the ship to speak of some matters in hand; this he did, and in the mean while, the boat that should have waited his return, made straight for the shore without him. After this the King agreed with the commissioners to swear and subscribe the covenants, together with the national and solemn league, and take his oath thereon; but Livingstone, judging that such a rash and precipitate swearing of the covenants would not be for the honour of the cause they were embarked in, did all he could to deter the King and commissioners from solemnizing it, until they came to Scotland; but when nothing would dissuade the King from his resolution, all was done that was required of him; upon which Mr. Livingstone observed, that it seems to have been the guilt, not only of the commissioners, but of the whole kingdom; yea, and of the church also, who admitted him to his government, and yet without any evidence of a real change upon his heart, and without his forsaking former principles, counsels, and company.

Upon landing in Scotland, before he took his leave of the King at Dundee, he used some freedom with him. After saying something anent his carriage, he advised him, as he saw the English army approaching in a most victorious manner, to divert the stroke, if possible, by a declaration, and not prosecute his title at present by fire and sword, till the storm should abate, and then, perhaps, his English subjects would be in a better case to be governed. But he did not relish this motion well, saying, he would not sell his father's blood; which made Mr. Livingstone conclude that either he was not called to meddle in state matters, or else that he was destined to have little success. Another instance of this he met with in 1654. When he, with Messrs. Gillespie and Menzies, being called up by the Protector to London, proposed that he should take off the heavy fines that were laid on severals in Scotland, which they were unable to pay; he himself seemed to like the motion, but when proposed to the Council, they refused to listen to it.

While at London, preaching before the Protector, he mentioned the King in prayer, at which some were greatly incensed; but Cromwell, knowing Mr. Livingstone's influence in Scotland, said, "Let him alone, he is a good man; and what are we, poor men, in comparison of the Kings of England?"

Some time after, the General Assembly appointed him, with some other ministers, to wait upon the Protector's army and the Com-

mttee of Estates then with it; but the fear and apprehension of what ensued, kept him from going, and he immediately went home until he got the sad news of the defeat at Dunbar. After this Cromwell wrote to him from Edinburgh, to come and speak with him; but he excused himself.

It was during that winter the unhappy difference fell out anent the public resolutions. His light carried him to join the protestors in the Assembly that followed thereafter. He was also present at their first meeting at Kilmarnock, and afterwards at several other meetings of the protesting brethren. But not being satisfied with keeping these meetings so often, and continuing them so long, which he imagined made the breach wider, he henceforth declined them for some time.

From this period till the year 1660, he spent his time in the exercise of his ministry, both at Ancrum and other places. At that period being informed that the King was called home, he clearly foresaw, that the overturning of the whole work of reformation would ensue, and a trial to all who should adhere to the same. But when in 1662, the Parliament and Council had ordered all ministers who had come in since 1649, and had not kept the holiday of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelates or remove, he still more clearly foresaw a storm approaching. At the last communion which he held at Ancrum,* in October of that year, he says, that after sermon on Monday, it pleased the Lord to open his mouth, in a reasonably large discourse, anent the grounds and encouragement to suffer for the present controversy of the kingdom of Christ, as to appointing the government of his house; and he then took his leave of that place, although he knew nothing of what was to follow shortly after.

And having thus, like Elijah, eaten before his journey, in other words, having communicated before he entered upon suffering, he heard, soon after, of the Council's procedure against him and about twelve or sixteen others who were to be brought before them. He presently went to Edinburgh, even before the summons could reach him, and there lurked for some time, until he got certain information of the Council's design, whether they were for their lives, as was done with Mr. Guthrie, or only for their banishment, as was done with Mr. M'Ward, and Mr. Simpson; but finding that they intended only the last, he forthwith resolved to appear with

* At this communion, it would appear, there was an uncommon gathering of lively Christians from all the country around, and a remarkable outpouring of the Spirit; Mr. Livingstone himself enjoyed this, and his brethren who assisted. He served 15 tables. His house being full of strangers, he went out to the fields on Saturday evening to meditate and pray; behind a fold dyke he heard a female voice,—a young woman wrestling with God in prayer, and solemnly protesting she would not leave the throne of grace without a blessing,—wherewith he was much gratified; on the sabbath, when giving thanks to God for his kindness, and the people for their prayers, he mentioned particularly, for the prayers of that young woman who took the protest.

his brethren. He appeared, Dec. 11, and was examined* before the Council; the result of which examination was this,—That they required him to subscribe or take the oath of allegiance, which he, upon several grounds and reasons, having refused, sentence was pronounced, that in forty-eight hours he should leave Edinburgh, go to the north of the Tay, and within two months depart out of all the King's dominions. Accordingly he went from Edinburgh to Leith; and thereafter, upon a petition in regard to his infirmity, he obtained liberty to stay there until he should remove. He petitioned also for a few days to go home to see his wife and children, but this was refused; as also for an extract of his sentence, but did not obtain it. In 1663, he embarked, accompanied by several friends; they set sail, and in eight days arrived at Rotterdam, where he found the rest of the banished ministers before him. Here he had frequent opportunities of preaching to the Scots congregation of that town; and in December following, his wife, with two of his children, came over to him, and the other five were left in Scotland.

At this period, upon a retrospective view of his life, he, in the foresaid historical account, observes, that the Lord had given him a body not very strong, and yet not weak; for he could hardly remember himself wearied in reading and studying, although he had continued seven or eight hours without rising, and also that there were but two recreations he was in danger of being taken with; the first, hunting on horse-back, of which he had very little opportunity, but found it very enticing; the other, singing in concerts of music, in which he had some skill and took great delight. He says further, that he was always shortsighted, and could not discern any person or thing afar off; but hitherto he had found no occasion for spectacles, and could read small print as long, and with as little light, almost as any other. As to his inclination, he was generally soft and amorous, averse to debates, rather given to caution than rashness, and too easy to be wrought upon. And although he could not say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness, yet he could say, he had been less troubled with covetousness and cares, than many other evils. Rather inclined to solitude than company, and was much troubled with wanderings of mind and evil thoughts; and for outward things, he was never rich; and although, when in Killinchie, he had not above four pounds Sterling of stipend a-year, he was never in want.

He further observes, that he could not remember any particular time of conversion, or that he was much cast down or lifted up only one night in the Dean of Kilmarnock's, having been most of the day before in company with some of the people of Stuarton, who were under that exercise of mind, he lay down under some heaviness, such as he never had any experience of; but, in the midst of his sleep, there came such a terror of the wrath of God

* Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 149.

upon him, that if it had but gone a little higher, or continued a little longer, he must have been in the most dreadful condition. It was instantly removed, however, and he thought it was said within his heart, "See what a fool thou art to desire the thing thou couldst not endure." In his preaching he was sometimes much deserted and cast down, and again at other times greatly assisted. He himself has told us that he never preached but two sermons which he would be earnest to see in print; the first (says Wodrow) was on a communion Monday at the Kirk of Shots, as already noticed, the other on a similar occasion at Hollywood in Ireland. At both times he had spent the night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without any more than ordinary preparation. For otherwise, says he, his gift was rather suited to common people than to learned judicious auditors. He had a tolerable insight into the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac languages; Arabic he essayed to learn, but soon dropped it.

He had as much of the French, Italian, Dutch and Spanish, as enabled him to make use of their books and Bibles. It was thrice put upon him by the General Assembly to write the history of the church of Scotland since the reformation in 1638: but this, for certain reasons, he altogether omitted.

The greater part of his time in Holland he spent in reducing the original text into a Latin translation of the Bible; and for this purpose compared Pagnin's with the original text, and with the latter translations, such as Munster, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodati, the English, but especially the Dutch, which he thought was the most accurate of all.

Whether by constant sitting at these studies, or from some other causes, such as the infirmities of old age, he could not determine, but, after the year 1664, there was such a continual pain in his bladder, that he could not walk abroad, and such a shaking of his hands as to prevent his writing any; otherwise he blessed the Lord that hitherto he had found no great defection either in body or mind.

He continued at Rotterdam until his death, which happened on the 9th of August, 1672, in the 78th year of his age. Some of his last words were, "Carry my commendation to Jesus Christ, till I come there myself;" after a pause, he added, "I die in the faith that the truths of God, which he hath helped the church of Scotland to own, shall be owned by him as truths so long as sun and moon endure. I have my own faults as well as other men, but he has always made me to abhor shews. I know I have given offence to many, through my slackness and negligence: but I forgive, and desire to be forgiven." After a pause, for he was not able to speak much at a time, he said, "I would not have people to forecast the worst, but there is a dark cloud above the reformed churches, which prognosticates a storm coming." His wife, fearing what shortly followed, desired him to take leave of his friends:—"I dare not, (replied he with an affectionate tenderness,) but it is like our parting will only be a short time." And then he slept in the Lord.

Although it is usual with most men, when writing their own biography, through modesty, to conceal their qualifications and abilities, yet here things cannot be hid; for it is evident, that since the Reformation commenced in Scotland, there has been no one whose labours in the gospel have been more remarkably blessed with the downpouring of the Spirit than Mr. Livingstone's; yea, it is a question, if any one, since the primitive times has had so many convincing and confirming seals of his ministry. Witness what occurred at the Kirk of Shots, and Hollywood in Ireland, at which two places, it is said, that about 1500 souls were either confirmed, or converted and brought to Christ.

His works, besides his letter from Leith to his parishioners* at

* Of this letter, which was written immediately on the eve of his departure, and also of another, addressed to them from Rotterdam 10 years afterwards, we subjoin the following extracts.

“To the flock of Jesus Christ in Ancrum, light, life, and love, and the consolations of the Holy Ghost be multiplied.—

“Well beloved in the Lord,

“That which our sins have been a long time procuring, is now come, even a separation. How long it may continue is in the Lord's hand; but it will be our part to search out and mourn for these sins, that have drawn down such a stroke. It is not needful to look much to instruments; I have from my heart forgiven them all, and would wish you to do the like, and pray for them, that it be not laid to their charge; but let us look to him without whose doing there is no evil in a city, for he hath torn and he will heal us, he hath smitten and he will bind us up. But you and I have great cause to bless the Lord; howbeit I be the unworthiest that ever spake in his name, yet my labour hath not been altogether in vain, but some have given evidence of a real work of the Spirit of God in their heart; but oh what shall I say of these in whom an evil spirit of drunkenness, of greed and falsehood, of malice, of licentiousness, of wilful ignorance, of neglect of prayer and all the means of salvation; these, and all of you, I obtest, and charge in the name and authority of him who shall judge the quick and the dead, and beseech you in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, that you turn speedily to him, and make conscience of prayers both evening and morning, and read or cause some to read the word of God, wherein you will find all things necessary for faith and conversation. I was very desirous, and used means, to have come and seen you, but was hindered; yet, howsoever, I carry your names along with me in my book and in my heart, whithersoever I go, and beg your prayers, that I may be kept faithful and fruitful; have a care to breed your children to know the Lord, and to keep them from the pollutions of the evil world. I recommend to you above all books, (except the word of God,) the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism; and now dearly beloved, and longed for, farewell. The God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Jesus Christ, after you have suffered a while, make you perfect, stablish, settle, and strengthen you: to him be glory and dominion for ever. Amen.

By your loving Servant and Pastor in the Lord,

JOHN LIVINGSTONE.”

Some passages of the letter written by him after he had been absent ten years, dated Rotterdam, October, 1671.

* * * * *

“Notwithstanding all the sad things that have fallen out of late, I would put you in mind of the many good days we have seen together, both of sabbath-days and solemn communion days, wherein we saw the Lord's power and his grace in

Ancrum, written in 1663, are, his Memorable Characteristics of Divine Providence, &c. and a manuscript of his own life, of which this is an abridgment. He also, while in Holland, wrote a new Latin translation of the Old Testament, which was revised and approved of by Vossius, Essenius, Nethnues, Leusden, and other eminent lights of that time; and which, before his death, was put into the hands of the last of these to be printed.

JOHN SEMPLE.

THE earliest notice which has been transmitted to us of Mr. Semple, represents him as in Ireland, acting in the capacity of Precen- tor to one or other of the three presbyterian ministers, of whom a memoir has been given in this work; namely, Livingstone, Blair, or Cunningham. His call to the ministry arose out of the following curious incident. According to the olden custom, "he was singing a psalm before the minister came in that was to preach; he thought

the sanctuary, that in remembrance thereof we may exalt his name together; for my part, I have challenges, besides many others, that in my ministry I did not so stir up the gift that the Lord had given me, nor to carry myself like a spiritual, grave, diligent, and faithful servant of Christ, as I ought to have done, that in my ministry among you, I was not more frequent in visiting families and dealing with persons in particular, to bring them to, and keep them in the ways of God. I fear a great number of those who, though in general professors of Christianity, yet, so far as could be observed, never laid religion to heart. I now, as I have often in public, with as great earnestness and tenderness as I could, warned these to flee from the wrath to come, so I would desire them to stand still before they go to the pit, and hear from a truly loving friend, a few words, which I am confident in the day of the great reckoning, will be found a message from the living God. Do you believe that there is a God, or heaven or hell? Or can you, with all your will and strength, scrape the thoughts of these out of your sleeping consciences? I am most sure, none of you all can be sure, that you are reprobates; and I can give you assurance, greater than the stability of heaven and earth, even the sworn word of him that liveth and reigneth for ever, that, if you will betake yourselves to the only Saviour of the world, of lost sinners, and forsake your sins, ye are no reprobates. O! what advantage have ye when ye have gained all the world, all the pleasures, all the riches, and all the favours of it, and have lost your precious and immortal souls? It is utterly impossible but that sometimes your heart tells you there will be bitterness in the end; and though ye were free of all outbreaks, doth not an unrenewed state, the neglect of commanded duties, sabbath breaking, and such like evils, bind you over to the wrath of him who is coming there in flaming fire, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel. What shall you answer, if the Lord shall say to some of you, I would have given thee both grace and glory if thou hadst sought it, thou wouldest not give one, two, or three knocks at my door; thou wouldest not open when I knocked often and long at thy door, by so doing thou hast subscribed thine own condemnation. O let me obtain this, of all and every one of you, for all the pains I have taken among you in preaching, for all my nine years banishment from you, for all the prayers I have put up for you, for all the love which He who knoweth all things, knoweth that I bear

he tarried long, and he had an impulse to speak something to the psalm he was singing; and, as he told me himself, he was carried out in great liberty. These worthies, considering there was speciality in this, took some private trial of him, and being satisfied of his edifying gift, gave him license to exercise the same in private houses and families; and having obtained this liberty, he went through the country and was so much followed, that they filled the whole house and sometimes barns, and was a happy instrument in the converting many souls to God; he left Ireland and came to Kirkcubright, where he passed his trials for the ministry. He was called to the ministry at Carsphairn, a newly erected church and parish; I had frequent occasion to be at communions, in that country, much countenanced of God, at none more than Carsphairn. He always employed the more lively ministers he could have in Dumfries or Galloway presbyteries; he gave the sacrament twice every year, and as he had the choice of the ministers, so the choice of people in Galloway and Nithsdale ordinarily repaired there, even 20 or 30 miles off; he was no scholar, or bred at Universities, or Latin schools, but had as much of an apostolic gift of preaching as I knew any of the ministry."*

to you, yea, let your own souls, and the love ye have to your own welfare here and hereafter, obtain it, or rather let him who for sinners shed all his most precious blood at Jerusalem, obtain this of you, that you will take one day, each of you, and go apart either into some quiet room in an house, or unto some part of the fields where you may be most quiet, and having beforehand marked in the Bible such places as are fit to be read at such a time, as also having somewhat searched your way toward God, and his way toward you, there set yourselves in his sight, spending the time in confession of sin, and prayer for pardon and grace to serve him, and save your own souls. Now, if this so easy and necessary advice shall be rejected, without prescribing time and place, or measure and manner, I take instruments before sun and moon, and all the creatures, that I have left this warning as an endorsed summons fixed on the door of your consciences, to be called and judged before Him who is ready to judge the quick and the dead at his appearance, and in his glory, when, besides the witnessing of your own conscience, and of all the creatures, I also, as your lawful Minister, sent to bring about your reconciliation to God, shall appear to witness, that ye got fair warning, but did reject the same and would choose death. Therefore, while it is called to day, take a trial of Christ's yoke, do but put him to it, and see whether or not he will open the windows of heaven and rain blessings and righteousness upon you; come and see, and taste the goodness of the Lord, ye shall be made to say, He is a rich and loving Master, once engage your heart to him and ye may defy Satan and all the allurements and terrors of the world to draw you from Him. Glad would my heart be before I go to the grave, that some of you have begun a new course, and if ye begin indeed, ye will not get it suppressed; it will be heard. I shall, as I can, pray for it, and desire others here to pray for it; it is not needful to multiply words. I leave it with you as ye shall answer to Jesus Christ when he shall come in the clouds with power and great glory.

Your affectionate Pastor,

JOHN LIVINGSTONE."

* The above extract is given from a MS memoir of Mr. Gabriel Semple, minister of Jedburgh, who was related to the subject of this memoir.

He was also for his exemplary walk and singular piety, had in such esteem and veneration, that all ranks of people stood in awe of him; and particularly the clergy, he being a great check upon the lazy and corrupt part of them, who oftentimes were much afraid of him.—One time, coming from Carsphairn to Sanquhar, being about twelve miles distance, and a very rough way, on a Monday morning after the sacrament in that place, the ministers being still in bed, got up in all haste, to prevent his reproof; but he, perceiving them putting on their clothes, said, “What will become of the sheep, when the shepherds sleep so long: in my way hither, I saw some shepherds on the hills looking after their flocks.”—Which, considering his age, and early journey so many miles after he had preached the day before at home, had much influence on them, and made them feel ashamed.

He was one who very carefully attended church judicatories, from which he was seldom absent, and that from a principle of conscience. Almost no impediment could hinder him in his purpose of being present at these; for one time going to the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, thirty miles distant from Carsphairn, when about to ford the water of Dee, he was told by some that it was impassable; yet he persisted, saying, “I must go through, if the Lord will; I am going about his work.”—He forthwith entered in, but the strength of the current carried him and his horse beneath the ford, and he fell from his horse; recovering himself, however, he again stood upright in the water and taking off his hat, prayed a word with great deliberation, afterwards he and his horse got safely out, to the admiration of all the spectators there present.

He was also a man much given to secret prayer; he ordinarily prayed in the kirk before sacramental occasions, and oftentimes set apart Friday in wrestling with the Lord for his gracious presence on communion Sabbaths. He was often favoured with merciful returns, to the great comfort of both the ministers and people who attended, and used to appoint a week day thereafter for thanksgiving to God.

As he was faithful and laborious in his Master's service, so was he also most bold and courageous towards his fellow men, having no respect of persons, but sharply reproofing all sorts of wickedness in the highest as well as in the lowest. And yet, he was so evidently a man of God, that the most wicked, to whom he was a terror, had a kindness for, and spoke favourably of him, as one who wished well to their souls; so much so, that on one occasion some person of quality calling him a varlet, was replied to by another whom also he had often reproofed for his wickedness, who said, he was sure if he was a varlet, he was one of God's varlets. At another time, when a certain gentleman, from whose house he was going home, sent one of his servants with a horse, broadsword, and pistol, to pretend an attack upon him in a desert place in the night-time, so as to frighten him; who accordingly surprised him with holding a pistol to his breast, bidding him render up his purse, under pain of being shot, Mr. Semple, with much presence of mind, although he knew nothing

of the design, answered, "It seems you are a wicked man, who will either take my life or my purse, if God gives you leave. As for my purse, it will not do you much service, though you had it; and for my life, I am willing to lay it down when and where God pleases, however, if you will lay by your weapons, I will wrestle a fall with you for my life; which, if you be a man, you cannot refuse, seeing I have no weapons to fight with you."—In short, after many threats, though all in vain, the servant discovered the whole plot, and asked him, if he was not at the first afraid? "Not in the least," answered he, "for although you had killed me, as I knew not but you might, I was sure to get the sooner to heaven." They then parted.

This characteristic intrepidity was sometimes displayed in circumstances which showed that it was not the result merely of bodily constitution, but arose from the influence of a steady faith on a naturally energetic and well poised mind. Being one of the protestors in the year 1657, he was apprehended with the famous Mr. James Guthrie, at Edinburgh, in August 1660. After ten months' imprisonment in the castle, he was brought before the bloody Council, who threatened him severely with death and banishment. He answered, however, with his wonted boldness, "My God will not let you either kill or banish me; but I will go home and die in peace, and my dust will lie among the bodies of my people." Accordingly he was dismissed; went home, and entered his pulpit, saying, "I parted with thee too easily, but I shall hang by the wicks of thee now." During the period which succeeded, as well as formerly, his exertions for the spiritual improvement of his people were, as might be expected, eminently successful. Though from the state of the times, frequently interrupted and annoyed in his work, he was still preserved by a kind providence from the malice of his enemies. He afterwards accepted the indulgence, and was one of the few faithful ministers of his time, who were allowed to close their lives by a natural death. In this respect, however, his words before the Council may be held to be almost prophetic. Thus far at least did the premonition which he cherished of his after life hold true—he was permitted to lay his dust among the bodies of his people, and to die as he had lived, in the earnest and affectionate discharge of his clerical functions. Towards death, his concern for his flock, which had ever been both sincere and ardent, displayed itself in a manner peculiarly impressive.

When on his deathbed he sent for them, and preached to them with such fervency, showing their miserable state by nature, and their need of a Saviour, and expressing his sorrow to leave many of them as graceless as he got them, with so much vehemency, that many of them were constrained to weep bitterly.

He died at Carsphairn, about the year 1677, being upwards of seventy years of age, in much assurance of heaven, often longing to be there, rejoicing in the God of his salvation, and under strong impressions of dreadful judgments to come on these sinful lands: and when scarce able to speak, he cried three times over, "A Popish sword for thee, O Scotland, England, and Ireland!"

ALEXANDER SMITH.*

OF the birth, parentage, and early life of Mr. Smith, no particulars have come to our knowledge. At the period of the Restoration he was minister of Colvend in the presbytery of Dumfries, and in 1662 by means of the act, we have so frequently alluded to, he was with many others of the faithful presbyterian clergy, ejected from his charge. He retired to Leith; where being in the practice of meeting a few friends for the purpose of social worship in his own house, he was in 1664, summoned before the high commission court for keeping conventicles. His treatment before this tribunal was not merely characteristic of the times, but in the language of the mild but accurate Wodrow, "perfectly antichristian, tyrannical and barbarous." Sharp, the infamous Archbishop of St. Andrew's, having put some questions to him, Mr. Smith, who knew his history, addressed him by the simple title of *Sir*. On being asked by the Earl of Rothes, if he knew to whom he was speaking, "Yes my Lord," says he, "I speak to Mr. James Sharp, once a fellow minister with myself."† This reply constituted a crime of the very deepest dye, and without any further enquiry into the original charge against him, Smith was sentenced to be laid in irons, and confined in a cell meant only for thieves and the most abandoned felons. But this treatment, inexcusably harsh as it was, was not sufficient. His unrelenting persecutors, on learning that, through an aperture connected with the street, he was often relieved and comforted by the charity and sympathy of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he was removed to a different part of the prison; and though seized with an alarming sickness which threatened to prove mortal, they refused him liberation, even for a few days; and shortly after, they banished him to the Shet-

* The editor thinks it right to mention, that for this and the following sketch, he is chiefly indebted to "Murray's Literary History of Galloway;" a work which, though confined in its object, is still possessed of merit, and of interest sufficient, amply to repay the perusal of the general reader.

† This seems to be a proper enough opportunity for introducing a short notice of James Sharp, so celebrated for his cruelty, and the manner of his death. He was at one time a rigid presbyterian minister of Craill, in the presbytery of St. Andrew's. On the Restoration, he was deputed by the presbyterians to wait upon Charles, to inform him of the state of feeling in Scotland, and to use his endeavours to effect the establishment of presbyterianism as our national church. The trust thus reposed in him, he disgracefully betrayed, by representing the great body of his countrymen as favourably inclined to episcopalian principles; while, at the same time, he was deceiving his brethren, by assuring them that the cause was prospering, which, at that very moment, he was doing all in his power to blast and destroy. Nor was this all. Having obtained the see of St. Andrew's, as the reward of his treachery, he exerted all the power with which his eminent situation invested him, in persecuting unto death those amiable and faithful men whom he had so basely deserted and betrayed. And he has met with his reward. His death, though we cannot withhold all blame from the immediate authors of it, was worthy of his wicked life, and his name will ever be inseparably associated with all that is unprincipled and diabolical in human character.

land islands. "For four years," says Wodrow, "he lived alone in a wild desolate island, in a very miserable plight; he had nothing but barley for his bread, and his fuel to ready it was sea-tangle and wrack, and had no more to preserve his miserable life." Towards the end of the year 1667, he was ordered to be brought from his exile to Leith, and presented before the Council. Having accordingly embarked, we find he arrived at Bruntisland on the 9th of July 1668, from whence he was taken by the magistrates of Edinburgh and committed to prison. What was his condition or deportment while here on this occasion, we are not informed, but in about a fortnight after we find that the place of his confinement was changed to North Ronaldshaw, one of the Orkney islands. Whether, or how long he survived this sentence, we have not been able to learn, but at all events, we cannot sufficiently admire the stern and unshrinking firmness displayed by him amid his sufferings. To be banished to England, or the continent, was, comparatively speaking, a mild fate. A man of talents and industry, in a foreign country, might earn a comfortable livelihood, nay, even attain to eminence, either in a literary or theological capacity. Expatriated Scotchmen have done honour to their country, and the age in which they lived, by their talents, in every district in Europe. On the contrary, the barbarous and inclement abodes of the Orkney and Shetland islands, while they afforded no field for exertion and usefulness, had the effect only of undermining the constitution, of impairing the spirits, and of bringing to a premature grave the greater number of those who were transported to them. Mr. Smith, by renouncing, or dissembling his principles, might have purchased his liberty; but, like all the presbyterian clergy of that period, he was guided by the suggestions of reason, and the dictates of conscience; and, rather than forego these, he was prepared cheerfully to sacrifice his liberty and his life.

THOMAS WYLIE.

IN commemorating the worthies of the south of Scotland, who lifted their testimony, or suffered persecution in favour of her free presbyterian church, the name of Thomas Wylie must not be passed over in silence. Mr. Wylie, it would appear, was first appointed to the parish of Borgue, in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright. From thence he was translated to the pastoral charge of Mauchline, in Ayrshire; where, having laboured for some time, he was recalled to what was most probably his native district, and became minister of Kirkcudbright, shortly before the Restoration. It was in this situation that, having, like his co-presbyters, refused to acknowledge the authority of the episcopal church, he was visited with those hardships and penalties which, in the eyes of a wicked government, such sentiments

deserved. He early foresaw the troubles to which he himself, and those who maintained similar principles, must ere long be exposed; and he felt anxious to celebrate the holy sacrament of the supper among his people, ere he should be separated from them. It was not, however, without considerable difficulty that he could accomplish this. On the morning of the first Sabbath of the communion, (for, from the number that partook of this sacred ordinance, more than one Sabbath was necessary to celebrate it,) he received intelligence that all the members of the presbytery to which he belonged, were to be summoned to Edinburgh, for holding presbyterian meetings, and for retaining their livings, contrary to law; and though in three days afterwards, he learned more particularly, that a party was despatched to apprehend himself, and four of his brethren;* and though he knew not the moment they might arrive, yet he undauntedly determined to proceed, on the subsequent Sunday, with the celebration of the sacrament. On the ensuing Monday, he withdrew from Kirkcudbright, which he had scarcely left, when the party of soldiers arrived to apprehend him; and for a considerable time, he found it necessary to lurk in the most remote and sequestered corners of the country. At length, without evidence against him, and without hearing him in his defence, the privy council sentenced him to confinement north of the Tay. This sentence, however, they offered to rescind, if he would consent to declare himself against defensive arms, and to take the oath of allegiance in the very words in which they had embodied it—conditions which he hesitated not to reject, as incompatible with his principles, and as subversive of the safety and welfare of church and state. Scorning every compromise of his sentiments and duty, he was prepared to maintain what he reckoned the cause of truth, through life and through death, with incorruptible fidelity.

It was towards the end of 1662 that the sentence in question was passed against him, and in consequence of a petition presented to the council, founded on the ill health of his wife, he was allowed, in 1664, having given a new bond for his good behaviour, to reside in Lothian; on the condition, however, that he would not come within four miles of the metropolis. He obtained his liberty in 1669, when, from policy and selfishness, the horrors of persecution were for a short time relaxed, and indulgence to resume their sacred profession was granted to the most moderate and timid of the presbyterian clergy. This indulgence was, from the beginning, strongly disapproved of by Wylie, whose sentiments on this subject, written in nervous and manly language, and laid before government in the form of a representation and supplication, have been preserved by Wodrow, and are not uninteresting, as expressing the opinion of the great body of the ministers and people on

* The four ministers alluded to in the text were Adam Rae of Borgue, John MacMichan of Dalry, John Wilkie of Twynholm, and Robert Fergusson of Buitte.

this most important question. The indulgence was not, probably in itself, very exceptionable; but though at first even some of the people were not decidedly hostile to it, it was soon regarded with universal alarm and condemnation. The bribes held out to those who accepted of it,* and the use to which, in promoting the success and establishment of prelacy, it might be made subservient, coupled with the well known duplicity and tergiversation of Charles, all combined in exciting against it the public odium, and of making those who had submitted to it the objects of unmingled censure and contempt. This view of the matter was by no means unreasonable. The history of the previous thirty years, or rather of the previous century, confirmed the propriety of it, and induced the people to regard, with the most scrutinizing jealousy, every enactment and every measure which had the most indirect tendency to affect the progress of the presbyterian cause.

Mr. Wylie, having afterwards accepted of the indulgence, and having received a call from the people of that parish, officiated for a short time as minister of Fenwick, in the presbytery of Irvine. He died on the 29th December, 1676. He was distinguished by no inconsiderable share of talents and learning. Many of his letters, written on the important subjects of the times, may be found in Wodrow's valuable manuscript collections, in our public libraries. His son, Robert Wylie, was at that time tutor to the family of Cavers; and afterwards, as minister of Hamilton, rose to considerable distinction in the Scottish church.

JAMES MITCHELL.

THE name of James Mitchell has become chiefly famous from the bold, though unsuccessful attempt which he made on the life of Archbishop Sharp, with the view no doubt of freeing his country from one whom he regarded as the greatest enemy to its religious and political freedom. Independent of this, however, as a sufferer in the cause of reformation principles he deserves to be noticed among the Scots Worthies.

It would appear he was educated in the University of Edinburgh, in which, with some other of his fellow students, he received the degree of Master of Arts, in 1656. Mr., afterwards Archbishop Leighton, being then principal of that University, before conferring the degree, tendered to them the national and solemn league and covenants. These covenants, Mr. Mitchell received upon mature

* The ministers who accepted the indulgence, and yet would not take collation from the bishops, were allowed only the manses and glebes; while to those who would consent to recognise episcopal superiority, an offer was held out of the whole emoluments of their respective benefices.

deliberation, finding nothing in them but a short compend of the moral law, binding to the duties we owe to God and to man, in our several stations, and taking the King's interest to be therein included. Moreover, in proof of his loyalty, when others were taking the tender to Oliver Cromwell, *he* subscribed the oath of allegiance to the King; but how he was repaid for this after the Restoration, the following account will more fully discover.

Having received a license to preach the gospel, he was, very soon after that event, with the rest of his faithful brethren, reduced to many hardships and difficulties. It would appear he went into Galloway about 1661, when Mr. Trail, minister of Edinburgh, recommended him to some ministers there, "as a good youth that had not much to subsist upon, and as fit for a school, or teaching gentlemen's children," there being at that time no door of access to the ministry for him, or any of his principles, while prelacy was on the advance in Scotland.

But whether he employed himself in teaching, or if he preached on some occasions, where he could have opportunity, we have no certain account, only we find he joined with that faithful handf-ful who rose in 1666; but was not at the engagement at Pentland,* being sent by Captain Arnot the day before, to Edinburgh, upon some necessary business, on that emergent occasion. However, he was excepted from the indemnity, in the several lists that were made out for that purpose.

Shortly after the defeat at Pentland, Mr. Mitchell went abroad as a trader to Flanders, and after remaining there and upon the borders of Germany for about three quarters of a year, he returned home with some Dutchmen of Amsterdam, having a cargo of different sorts of goods to dispose of.

The date of his return was most probably about the beginning of 1668, and it was during the summer of that year he executed his attempt against the life of the Primate. What were his views as to that bold and perilous enterprise, we have no means of knowing. That it was altogether his own act, projected and performed without advice or concert with any other person, appears to be evident. Conceiving himself excluded, by his accession to the insurgents at Pentland, from all mercy or favour from the government, and taking the Archbishop to be the main instigator of the oppression and bloodshed of his faithful brethren, he took up a resolution immediately to despatch him. For this purpose, upon the afternoon of the 11th of July, he waited his coming down to his coach, at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd in Edinburgh; and upon this occasion Honeyman, the Bishop of Orkney, was with him. When the Archbishop entered, and had taken his seat, Mr. Mitchell stepped to the north side of the coach, and discharged a pistol, loaded with three balls, in at the door; but it so happened, that

* Mr. Wodrow thinks he was at Pentland; but in his answers before the Committee, he says otherwise.

Honeyman, at that moment setting his foot in the boot of the coach, and reaching up his hand to step in, received the shot in the wrist of his hand, so that the Primate escaped. Mr. Mitchell, thereafter, crossed the street with much composure, till he came to Niddery's Wynd-head. Here a man offered to stop him, but upon his presenting a pistol to him, he let him go. He then went down the wynd, and up Stevenlaw's Closs, where, having gone into a house, he changed his clothes, and then came back to the street, as being the place where he would be least suspected. The cry arose, that a man was killed; upon which some replied, it was only a bishop, and all was very soon calmed. Upon Monday the 13th, the Council issued a proclamation, offering a reward of five thousand merks to any one who would discover the actor, and pardon to accessories; but nothing more at the time ensued.

The Commissioners and those of the prelatical persuasion, made a mighty handle of this against the presbyterians; but, as already mentioned, it was his deed only, and was done without the knowledge or preconcert of any other person, as he himself declares;—yea, with a design to calumniate the presbyterian church of Scotland, a most scurrilous pamphlet was published at London, in 1710, not only reflecting on our reformers from popery, publishing arrant lies anent Mr. Henderson, abusing Mr. David Dickson, and breaking jests upon the remonstrant presbyterians, as it called them, but also, in a most malicious and groundless kind of rhapsody, slandering the author of the above transaction.

How Mr. Mitchell shifted till the year 1674, is not known. He was at length, however, in the beginning of that year, discovered by Sir William Sharp, the Bishop's brother, who forthwith caused a certain number of his servants, armed for the purpose, to lay hold of, apprehend, and commit him to prison. On the 10th of February, he was examined by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Register, Lord Advocate, and Lord Halton. He at first denied the intended assassination of the Archbishop; but being taken apart by the Chancellor, he confessed, that it was he who shot the Bishop of Orkney, while aiming at the Archbishop. This he did upon assurance of his life being given by the Chancellor in these solemn words:—"Upon my great oath and reputation, If I be Chancellor, I will save your life." On the 12th he was examined before the Council, admitting nothing but what he had said before the Committee. He was then remitted to the Justice Court to receive his indictment. The sentence determined on was, that his right hand be struck off at the cross of Edinburgh by the common hangman, and his goods forfeited. The latter part of this sentence, however, was not to be executed till his majesty got notice.

Accordingly, on the 2d of March, he was brought before the Lords of Justiciary, and indicted for being concerned with the insurgents at Pentland, and for the attempt on the Archbishop of St. Andrews. But, being advised not to rely on the promise of life which had been made to him, and knowing that the alleged crimes could not be proved, he pleaded, Not guilty; and insisted that the

case should go to a trial. The Lords postponed the affair till the 25th. Meanwhile, the Council issued an act, March 12th, specifying, that Mr. James Mitchell having confessed his firing the pistol at the Archbishop of St. Andrews, upon assurance given him of life by one of the Committee, but now refusing to adhere to his confession, the promises made to him were null and void; and that the Lords of Justiciary and jury ought to proceed against him, without any regard to these. On the 25th therefore, he was brought before the Justiciary; but, as there was no proof against him, the Advocate, with consent of the court, deserted the diet; and he was again remanded to prison.

Thus he continued until January 6th, 1676, that he was ordered to be examined before the Council by torture, concerning his being in the rebellion, as they termed it, in the year 1666. Accordingly, he was brought before them upon the 18th, about six o'clock at night. Linlithgow being preses, told him, he was brought before them to see whether he would adhere to his former confession. He answered, "My Lord, it is not unknown to your Lordship, and others here present, that, by the Council's order, I was remitted to the Lords of Justiciary, before whom I received an indictment at my Lord Advocate's instance, to which indictment I answered at three several diets; and the last diet being deserted by my Lord Advocate, I humbly conceive, that, both by the law of the nation, and the practice of this Court, I ought to have been set at liberty; yet notwithstanding, I was, contrary to law, equity, and justice, returned to prison; and upon what account I am this night before you, I know not." The preses told him, he was not accused before them, but only called to see if he would own his former confession. He replied, that "He knew no crime he was guilty of, and therefore made no such confession as was alleged." Upon this, the treasurer-depute said, that he was one of the most arrogant liars and rogues he had known. Mr. Mitchell replied, "My Lord, if there were fewer of these persons you have been speaking of, in the nation, I should not be standing this night at the bar; but my Lord Advocate knoweth, that what is alleged against me is not my confession." The preses said, "Sir, we will cause a sharper thing make you confess." He answered, "My Lord, I hope you are Christians and not Pagans." Then he was returned to prison.

On the 22d, he was again called before them, to see if he would own his former confession, and a paper produced, alleged to be subscribed by him. He answered, "My Lord, I acknowledge no such thing." The preses said, "You see what is upon the table (meanin the boots,) I will see if that will make you do it." Mr. Mitchell answered, "My Lord, I confess, that by torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did compel the saints: you may compel me to speak amiss of your Lordships; to call myself a thief, a murderer, and what not, and then pannel me upon it; but if you shall here put me to it, I protest before God and your Lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment; nor have any force in law against me, or any

other person. But to be plain with you, my Lords, I am so much of a Christian, that whatever your Lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be truth, I shall not deny it;—but, on the contrary, I am so much of a man, and a Scotsman, that I never held myself obliged, by the law of God, nature, or nations, to be my own accuser.” The treasurer-depute said, “he has the devil’s logic, and sophisticates like him; ask him, whether that be his subscription?” Mr. Mitchell replied, “I acknowledge no such thing;” and he was sent back to prison.

Upon the 24th, they assembled in their robes in the inner parliament house, and the boots and executioner were presented. Mr. Mitchell was again interrogated as above; but still persisting, *he was ordered to the torture*: and knowing that, after the manner of the Spanish inquisition, the more he confessed, either concerning himself or others, the more severe the torture would be, to make him confess the more, he delivered himself in this manner:—“My Lord, I have been now these two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which hath been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if I had been capable thereof; and it is well known, that some, in a shorter time, have been tempted to make away with themselves; but respect and obedience to the express law and command of God, hath made me to undergo all these hardships, and I hope, this torture, with patience also; viz. that for the preservation of my own life, and the life of others, as far as lies in my power; and to keep innocent blood off your Lordships’ persons and families, which, by the shedding of mine, you would doubtless bring upon yourselves and posterity, and wrath from the Lord to the consuming thereof, till there should be no escaping; and now again I protest, as above, that nothing extorted from me by torture, be used against me. When you please, call for the man appointed for the work.” The executioner being called, he was tied in a two armed chair, and the boot brought; the executioner asked which of the legs he should take; the Lords bade him take any of them; the executioner laying the left in the boot, Mr. Mitchell lifting it out again, said, “Since the judges have not determined, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it in the cause;” and so laid his right leg into the engine.* After which, the Advocate asked leave to speak a word or two; but, notwithstanding, insisted at great length. To which Mr. Mitchell answered, “the Advocate’s word or two hath multiplied to so many, that my memory cannot serve, in the condition I am in, (the torture being begun,) to resume them in particular; but I shall essay to answer the scope of his discourse. Whereas he hath been speaking of the sovereignty of the magistrate, I shall go

* The statement of this minute incident may serve to illustrate to the reader the nature of the instrument referred to. It seems to have consisted of four pieces of wood, very firmly fastened together, so as to form a kind of box, capable of admitting the leg. Into this were inserted moveable staves, between which and the box, a wedge was driven so as to squeeze or compress the leg to almost any degree, according to the number of strokes given to it.—See Wodrow.

somewhat further than he hath done, and own that the magistrate whom God hath appointed is God's depute; both the throne and the judgment are the Lord's, when he judgeth for God, and according to his law; and a part of his office is to deliver the poor oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, and shed no innocent blood.* And whereas the Advocate has been hinting at the sinfulness of lying on any account; it is answered, that not only lying, but also a pernicious speaking of the truth is a sin before the Lord, when it tendeth to the shedding of innocent blood.† But what my Lord Advocate has forged against me is false; so that I am standing on my former ground; viz. the preservation of my own life, and the life of others, as far as lies in my power: the which, I am expressly commanded by the Lord of hosts."

The clerk's servant being now called, proceeded to interrogate him under the torture, in upwards of thirty questions, which were all in writing; of these the following are the most important.

Q. Are you that Mr. James Mitchell who was excepted, out of the King's grace and favour? A. I never committed any crime deserving to be excluded. Q. Were you at the battle of Pentland? A. No. Q. Were you at Ayr? and did you join with the rebels there? A. I never joined with any such. Q. Where was you at the time of the engagement at Pentland? A. In Edinburgh. Q. When did you know of their rising in arms? A. When the rest of the city knew of it. Q. When was that? A. When the messenger came from Dumfries, and Dalziel with his forces marched out at the West Port. Q. Where did you meet with James Wallace?‡ A. I knew him not at that time. Q. Did you go out of town with Captain Arnot? A. No.

The questions being over, the executioner took down his leg from a chest on which it was lying all the time in the boot, and set both on the ground; and thrusting in the shafts to drive the wedges, began his strokes, at every one of which, Mr. Mitchell being asked if he had any more to say, answered, No. Thus he continued till nine strokes were given upon the head of the wedges; at the ninth he fainted through the extremity of pain; upon which the executioner cried, "Alas! my Lords, he is gone, he is gone!" They then stopped the torture; and, rising from their seats, went away; and in a little time, when recovered, he was carried in the same chair to the tolbooth.§

At the beginning of the torture, he said, "My Lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, therefore I beseech you to remember what Solomon saith, *He who sheweth no mercy, shall have judgment without mercy, &c.* And now, my Lords, I do freely from my heart forgive you, who are sitting judges upon the

* Jer. xxii. 3. &c.

† Psal. lii. : 2 Sam. xxii. 9.

‡ This was colonel Wallace, who commanded the insurgent troops at Pentland.

§ One would think it scarcely possible that such flagrant inhumanity should have been tolerated for a single day, far less that any individual should be found, especially in our own times, to exculpate, defend, or even think of it with any feelings but those of indignation and horror.

bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrible piece of work, and also those who are satiating their eyes in beholding the same; and I entreat that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg God may be pleased for Christ's sake, to blot out my sins and iniquities, and never to lay them to my charge here or hereafter."

It is true, indeed, that Mr. Mitchell made a confession, upon the promise of his life; but the Committee of managers having revoked their promise, because he would not adhere to this confession before the Justiciary, being advised not to be his own accuser, "the reader must determine," as Mr. Crookshanks observes, "how far he was to blame now, in not owning his confession judicially, as they had judicially revoked the condition upon which the confession was made. To put a man to torture for finding out things for which they had not the least proof, seems to be unprecedented and cruel; and to bring him to a further trial, appears to be unjust." And, as another author* has observed, "when a confession or promise is made upon a condition, and that condition is judicially rescinded, the obligation of the promise or confession, is taken away, and both parties are in *statu quo*.† Moreover, when an open enemy perverts and overturns the very nature and matter of a discourse or confession, by leaving out the most material truths, and putting untruths in their room, it no longer is the former discourse or confession. And when a person is brought before a limited judicatory, having power to judge and determine anent what is confessed to them, which yet, finding the extent of its power not great enough to satisfy its malice, doth wrest what has been spoken, to make up a ground of judgment before another judicatory, before whom nothing was ever confessed or proven, the person may justly stand to his defence, and put his enemies to bring in proof against him."

After this, Mr. Mitchell continued in prison till the beginning of next year, when, with Mr. Frazer of Brae, he was sent to the Bass. Here he remained till about the 6th of December, when he was again brought to Edinburgh, in order to his trial, which came on upon the 7th of January, 1678. On the 3d of that month, Sir George Lockhart and Mr. John Ellis were appointed as his counsel, and would have succeeded in bringing him off, but Sharp would have his life, and Lauderdale gave way to it. Sir Archibald Primrose, being lately turned out of the Register's place, supplied them with a copy of the Council's act anent Mr. Mitchell; and a day or two before the trial, went to Lauderdale, who, together with Lord Rothes, Lord Halton, and Sharp, was summoned. He then told Lauderdale, that he thought a promise of life had been given; the latter denied it; the former wished that that act of Council might be examined; Lauderdale said he would not give himself the trouble to look it out.

* The author of the narration of his torture; which is inserted at large in Naphtali

† Josh. ii. 14.

When the trial came on, the proof was chiefly rested on his confession, of February 16th, 1674; and many and long were the reasonings on the points of the indictment. Sir George Lockhart argued in behalf of the prisoner with great learning, and to the admiration of the audience, that no extrajudicial confession could be allowed as evidence, and that his confession was extorted from him by promises of life. The debates were so tedious that the Court adjourned to the 9th of January; they are too tedious to be inserted here. The reader will find them at large in Wodrow's history.

Having met on the day appointed, the trial was proceeded with, and the witnesses examined. Lord Rothes being shown Mr. Mitchell's confession, swore that he was present, saw him subscribe the paper, and heard him make the confession it contained, but that he did not give any assurance to the prisoner for his life; nor did he remember that there was any warrant given him by the Council to that effect. Halton and Lauderdale deponed much to the same purpose; but the Archbishop swore, that he had recognised him at first sight to be the person who shot at him, and was present at his confession before the Council; but that he either gave him assurance of his life, or a warrant to any to give it, was a false and malicious calumny. And further, in contradiction to the declaration of Nichol Sommerville, Mr. Mitchell's brother-in-law, who deponed that the Archbishop promised to secure his life, if he would prevail with him to confess, the Archbishop denied that he gave any such promise, and called it a villanous lie. Several other depositions were taken; such as Sir William Paterson, Mr. John Vanse, and the bishop of Galloway, who all swore in Sharp's favour, it being dangerous for them, at this juncture, to do otherwise.

The witnesses being examined, the Advocate declared he had closed the probation; whereupon Mr. Mitchell produced a copy of an act issued by the Council against him, on March 12th, 1674, in which the promise in question is distinctly recognised, and prayed that the register might be produced, or the clerk obliged to give extracts; but this they refused to do, on the ground of informality. "Lockhart," says Burnet, "pleaded for this, but Lauderdale, who was only a witness, and had no right to speak, refused; and so it was neglected."

The assize, forthwith, was enclosed, and ordered to return their verdict on the morrow afternoon. This accordingly being done, the sentence was pronounced, "That the said Mr. James Mitchell be taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, upon Friday the 18th of January instant, betwixt two and four o'clock in the afternoon, there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and all his moveables, goods, and gear to be escheat, and in-brought for his Majesty's use." No sooner did the Court break up, than the Lords, being up stairs, found the act recorded, and signed by Lord Rothes, the president of the Council.—"This action," says the last cited historian, "and all concerned in it, were looked on by the people with horror; and it was such a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known."

Two days after the sentence, orders came from Court, to place Mr. Mitchell's head and hands on some public place in the city; but the sentence being passed, no alteration could be made; and if Sharp had any hand in this, he missed his aim. About the same time his wife petitioned the Council, that her husband might be relieved for a few days, so that she might have it in her power to visit and take her last farewell of him, it being only twelve days since she was delivered of a child, and she being at the present affected with fever. But to this petition which might have melted a heart of stone, and which is still preserved, no attention was paid. The sentence, it seems, must be executed and that without delay. The man who had been illegally detained for four long years in prison, could not be allowed to live *four days more*; and to have granted the prayer of his disconsolate wife, was, it appears, too much for the wisdom as well as the humanity of his persecutors.

While in prison, he emitted a most ample testimony which also is to be found in Naphtali. In the first place, he testified against all profanity. Then he gives as the cause of his suffering, the words of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 14. *I have been very zealous for the Lord of hosts.* He next expresses adherence to the covenanted work of reformation, approves of *Lex Rex*, the *Causes of God's Wrath*, the *Apologetical Relation*, &c. Afterwards he speaks of magistracy in these words: "I believe magistracy to be an ordinance and appointment of God, as well under the New Testament as it was under the Old; and that whosoever resisteth the lawful magistrate in the exercise of his lawful power, resisteth the ordinance and appointment of God.* The lawful magistrate must be a man qualified according to God's appointment, and not according to the people's lust and pleasure, lest in the end he should prove to them a priest of Sodom, and governor of Gomorrah, whom God in his righteousness, should appoint for their judgment, and establish for their correction." He then comes to be most explicit in testifying against the givers and receivers of the indulgence, as an encroachment on Christ's crown and prerogative: protests before God, angels, and men, against all acts made any wise derogative to the work of God and reformation: also against all banishments, fines, and imprisonments, that the people of God had been put to during past years, describing the woful state and condition of malignants, and all the enemies of Jesus. And in the last place, he speaks very fervently anent his own sufferings and state in these words: "Now, if the Lord, in his wise and over-ruling providence, bring me to the close of my pilgrimage, to the full enjoyment of my long looked for and desired happiness, let him take his own way and time in bringing me to it. And in the mean time, O thou my soul! sing thou the song, Spring thou up, O well of my happiness and salvation, of my eternal hope and consolation: and whilst thou art burdened with this clog of the clay tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, hope, and charity, and with all the instruments that God hath given thee

* Rom. xiii. 1, &c. 1 Pet. ii. 13. Deut. xvii. 15, &c.

dig in it by præcepts and promises ; dig carefully, and dig continually, aye and until thou come to the source and head of the Fountain himself, from whence the water of life floweth : Dig until thou come to the assembly of the first-born, where this song is most suitably sung to the praise and glory of the rich grace and mercy of the Fountain of life," &c. And farther, when speaking of his mortification to the world, and other experiences, he says, " Although, O Lord, thou shouldst send me in the back tract and tenor of my life, to seek my soul's comfort and encouragement from them, yet I have no cause to complain of hard dealing from thy hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy people : *O God, my soul is cast down in me, from the land of Jordan and the hill of Hermon, &c.** Yea, though last, he brought me to the banqueting-house, and made love his banner over me, among the cold Highland hills beside Kippen, November 1673. He remembered his former loving kindness to me ; but withal he spoke in mine ear ; that there was a tempestuous storm to meet me in the face, which I behoved to go through in the strength of that provision."† Then, after the reciting of several scriptures, as comforting to him in his sufferings, he comes at last to conclude with these words : " And seeing I have not preferred nor sought after mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, liberty, and safety of thy church and people ; although it be now misconstrued by many, yet I hope that thou, O Lord, wilt make thy light to break forth as the morning, and thy righteousness as the noonday, and that shame and darkness shall cover all who are enemies to thy righteous cause ; for thou, O Lord, art the shield of my head, and sword of my excellency ; and mine enemies shall be found liars, and shall be subdued. Amen, yea and Amen.—(*Sic subscribitur,*)

" JAMES MITCHELL."

Upon the 18th of January, the day appointed, he was taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, and the sentence put in execution. In the morning he delivered some copies of what he intended to say, if permitted, at his death, which, not having liberty to deliver it to the people, he threw over the scaffold. The substance of it was as follows :

" *Christian People,*

" It being rumoured abroad, immediately after I received my sentence, that I would not have liberty to speak in this place, I have not troubled myself to prepare any formal discourse, on account of the pretended crime for which I am accused and sentenced ; neither did I think it very necessary, the fame of the process having gone so much abroad, that by a former indictment given me nearly four years ago, the diet of which was suffered to desert, in respect the late Advocate could not find a just way to reach me with the extrajudicial confession they opposed to me ; all knew he was zealous in it, yet my charity to him is such, that he would not suffer that un-

* Psalm xlii. 6.

† 1 Kings xix. 7.

warrantable zeal so far to blind him, as to overstretch the laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of a native subject; first by an extreme inquiry of torture, and then by exiling me to the Bass; and then, after all, by giving me a new indictment at the instance of the new Advocate, who before was one of mine, when I received the first indictment; to which new indictment, and debate in the process, I refer you; and particularly to these two defences of an extra-judicial confession, and the promise of life given to me by the Chancellor, upon his own and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity whereof I am content to die; and ready to lay down my life; and hope your charity to me a dying man, will be such as not to mistrust me therein; especially since it is so notoriously adminiculate by act of secret Council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of state present in Council at the making of said act, and whom the act bears to have been present; the Duke of Lauderdale, being then his Majesty's Commissioner, was likewise present;—and which act of Council was, by the Lords of Justiciary, most unjustly repelled, &c. This much for a short account of the affair for which I am unjustly brought to this place: but I acknowledge my private and particular sins have been such as deserved a worse death to me; but I hope in the merits of Jesus Christ, to be free from the eternal punishment due to me for sin. I am confident that God doth not plead with me in this place, for my private and particular sins, but I am brought here that the work of God may be made manifest, for the trial of faith, John ix. 3. 1 Pet. i. 7.; that I might be a witness for his despised truths and interests in this land, where I am called to seal the same with my blood; and I wish heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this place, so much actuated by these perfidious prelates, in opposition to whom, and testimony to the cause of Christ, I at this time lay down my life, and bless God that he hath thought me so much worthy as to do the same for his glory and interest. Finally, concerning a Christian duty, in a singular and extraordinary case, and anent my particular judgment, concerning both church and state, it is evidently declared and manifested elsewhere. Farewell all earthly employments; and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

“ JAMES MITCHELL.”

Such then was the end of the zealous and faithful Mr. James Mitchell, who beyond all doubt, was a most worthy and pious man, notwithstanding all the aspersions that have been cast upon him, not only by malignant prelates, but even by corrupt and unprincipled Presbyterians, on account, namely, of his firing at Bishop Sharp; which they think enough to explode and eclipse all the fair fame and faithful contendings of the covenanted church of Scotland. But in this Mr. Mitchell stands in need of little or no vindication; for as he himself reasons, he looked upon himself as in a state of war not having laid down his arms since the affair of Pentland, and con-

sequently, regarded Sharp as his chief enemy, since he was doubtless one of the chief instigators of the tyranny, bloodshed, and oppression, in that dismal period; he therefore, no doubt, thought he had a right to take every opportunity of cutting him off, especially as the ways of common justice were blocked up; yet all this opens no door for every private person, at his own hand, executing justice on an open offender, where there is access to a lawful magistrate appointed for that end. Besides, as he himself further reasons, the prosecution of the ends of the covenant, which was and is the overthrow of prelates and Prelacy, required such a step, and the primate being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to him in like manner; and as he was always to take his advantage, as it appeared, so he also took of him any opportunity that offered.—“For,” says he, “I, by his instigation, being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him on all occasions.” And a little farther he instances, Deut. xiii. 10. where the seducer, or enticer, to a false worship, is to be put to death, and that by the hand of the witnesses, whereof he was one; takes notice of Phinehas, Elijah; and then observes, that the bishops would say, what they did was by law and authority, but what he did was contrary to both; but he answers, “The King himself, and all the estates of the land, are obliged by the oath of God upon them, to extirpate the perjured prelates and Prelacy, and, in doing thereof, to defend one another with their lives and fortunes.”

JOHN WELWOOD.

MR. WELWOOD was born about the year 1649. He was son to Mr. James Welwood, minister of Tundergarth in Dumfriesshire, and brother to Messrs. Andrew and James Welwood, Doctors of Medicine in London. After having passed through the ordinary course of learning, he was licensed for the ministry. He forthwith preached in many different places; but we do not hear that he was ever settled minister of any parish, it being then a time when all who aimed at faithfulness in testifying against the defections of the age, were persecuted with the greatest severity. It is said, he preached some five or six sermons in his father's parish, and that these were blessed with more discernible effects of good amongst the people, than all the painfulness his father had exercised in the course of his ministry.

Besides his singular piety and faithfulness in preaching, he was most fervent in pressing to the duties of the Christian life, particularly to the setting up and keeping of fellowship and society meetings for prayer and conference, which he often frequented himself. One time, among several others, at New-house in Livingstone parish, the night being far spent, he said, “Let one pray, and be short, that we may get to our apartments before it be light:” It was the

turn of a person who exceeded many others in gifts, and before he ended, daylight was within the house. After prayer, Mr. Welwood said to him, "James, James, your gifts have the start of your graces:" and to the rest, "Be advised, all of you, not to follow him at all times, and in all things, otherwise there will be many ins and outs in your tract."

In the year 1677, there was a general meeting held at Edinburgh, both of the indulged and non-indulged clergy, procured with a view to the promotion of unity amongst them,* before which, Mr. Welwood, Mr. Cameron, and another minister, were called to account for their freedom in preaching up separation from the actually indulged. It is said they were threatened with deposition from their office as preachers of the gospel. But they declined their authority, as being no lawful judicatory of Jesus Christ, whilst thus made up of those against whom they had testified. Upon this some of them went to Mr. Hog, who was then in town, though not at the meeting, to ask his advice anent our worthy. To whom he said, "His name is Welwood; but if you take that unhappy course to depose him, he will perhaps turn out the Torwood at last."

Shortly after this meeting, which took place at the commencement of the year, it would appear he had received and complied with a call from the Parish of Tarbolton, in Ayrshire; or to use the language of the ruling party, in that period, "had intruded upon that Kirk." On the 1st of November, as we are told by Wodrow, information was laid against him to that effect before the Council at Edinburgh, who immediately appointed the Lords Glencairn and Rothes to see that he be turned out and apprehended. Whether he was taken or not, cannot now be ascertained, nothing farther anent this order having occurred to the historian just quoted, in the course of his diligent and extensive researches. It appears, at any rate, that he afterwards persisted in preaching as formerly, and the following are the principal notices relative to his labours in that capacity, which have been handed down to us.

One Sabbath morning when he was to preach, and the tent was set up for him, the laird on whose ground it was, caused it to be removed and set on the property of another. When Mr. Welwood

* In this paragraph, the text has been considerably altered from what it is in previous editions of the work. Respecting the object and pretensions of the meeting referred to, some regarding it as "a pretended general assembly," and amongst the rest, the author of the above memoir, has spoken of it in the most violent and intemperate language. But in order to explode this erroneous notion, as well as to justify the above alteration in the text, it is only necessary to quote the words of the faithful and accurate Wodrow. "*They never assumed any power of this kind to themselves, and did nothing I can find, but what was competent for a meeting of brethren, that was occasional and for consultation, and the mutual strengthening of one another's hands, and never claimed the powers of the supreme judicatory of this church.*" As to Welwood and Cameron's being cited before them, nothing is said by the above historian, in his account of that meeting. Perhaps their cases might have been frequently instanced, in the reasoning which took place on the question of *indefinite* ordination, but that they were cited as before a tribunal, is not very probable.

saw this, he said that in a short time that person should not have one furr of land. Some found fault with his saying so, anent one who was then a great professor. He answered, "let alone a little, and he will turn out in his true colours." Shortly after this, he was found guilty of adultery, and became most miserable and contemptible.

In the beginning of the year 1679, perceiving the indications of a brighter day as about to dawn upon the church, he said to one William Nicholson, in Fife, "Ye shall have a brave summer of the gospel this year; and for your further encouragement, even an old man or woman may live to see the bishops down, and yet the church not delivered: but ere all be done, we shall get a few faithful ministers in Scotland. But keep still amongst the faithful mourning remnant that is for God; for there is a cloud coming on the church of Scotland, the like of which was never heard of; and the greater part will turn to defection. But I see, on the other side of it, the church's delivery, with ministers and Christians, such as you would be ashamed to open your mouth before."

Among his last public appearances, he preached at Boulterhall in Fife, upon the text, *Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called.** Here he wished that all the Lord's people, whom he had placed in stations of distinction, there and every where, would express their thankfulness, that the words *not many* were not *not any*, and that the *whole* of them were not excluded. In the end of the sermon he said, "if that unhappy Prelate Sharp die the death of all men, God never spoke by me." The Archbishop had a servant, who upon liberty from his master on Saturday's night, went to visit his brother, who was servant to a gentleman near Boulterhall, having leave during Sabbath. Here having accompanied his brother to church, Mr. Welwood noticed him with the Bishop's livery, and when sermon was ended, he desired him to stand up, for he had some thing to say to him. "I desire you," said he, "before all these witnesses, when thou goest home, to tell thy master, that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life, are near an end; and his death shall be at once sudden, surprising, and bloody; and as he hath thirsted after, and shed the blood of the saints, he shall not go to his own grave in peace." The youth having gone home, at supper the Bishop asked him if he had been at a conventicle? he said, he was. He asked, what the text was, and what was said? The man told him several things, and particularly the above message from Mr. Welwood. The Bishop made sport of it, but his wife said, "I advise you to take more notice of that, for I hear that these men's words are not vain words."

Shortly after this he went to Perth, and there lodged in the house of one John Barclay. This it appears was the last stage in his earthly pilgrimage. Being naturally of a weak and slender

constitution, and during life exposed to many privations, as well as harassed by much concern, both as to the interests of his own soul, and the afflicted and degraded state of the church—his natural sickliness was aggravated by degrees, and at length his weakness increased so much, that at Perth he was laid aside from public duty, and lingered under what was now seen to be a consumption, until the beginning of April 1679, when he died. During the time of his sickness, while he continued able to speak, he still laid himself out for the good of souls. None but such as were looked upon as friends to the persecuted cause, knew he was in town; and his practice was to call them in, one family after another, and discourse to them about their spiritual state. His conversation was at once convincing, confirming, and edifying. Many came to visit him; and, among the rest, one Ayton, younger of Inchdarney in Fife, a pious youth about eighteen years of age; to whom, on his giving him an account of the great tyranny and wickedness of Prelate Sharp, Mr. Welwood said, “You will shortly be quit of him: and he will get a sudden and *sharp* off-going; and you will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven.” This literally came to pass the May following.*

About the same time, he said to another who came to visit him, That many of the Lord’s people should be in arms that summer for the defence of the gospel: but he was fully persuaded, that they would work no deliverance; and that, after the fall of that party the public standard of the gospel should fall for some time, so tha.

* This, it must be confessed, seems almost of necessity to infer the conclusion, that Mr. Welwood was endowed with the gift of prophecy. In so far as the prediction refers to Sharp, who was taken off in a manner quite consistent with it, there is little difficulty in accounting for it. Though, with reference to the persons by whom, and the occasion on which, his death was compassed, it certainly was not premeditated; yet, there can be little doubt, that among the covenanters in Fife, where Mr. Welwood had, for some time been, it had been spoken of as an event devoutly to be wished, and, perhaps, even projected, as what was become indispensable, not to their religious freedom merely, but to their very existence. But it is not so easy to see the grounds on which Mr. Welwood predicted, and that so accurately, the time of Inchdarney’s death, which, in point of fact, took place a few days after that of Sharp, and was caused by the shot of one of the troopers sent in pursuit of those who were supposed to be his murderers. That Inchdarney, who already was intercommuned for his nonconformity, was likely to become the victim of persecution at no very distant period, was highly probable; but how Mr. Welwood, a month before, should be able to foretell, *that he should be the first on whom the avengers of the prelate should vent their fury*, seems very extraordinary indeed. Perhaps the true explanation of the fact, is, that Mr. Welwood, in his conversation with Inchdarney, merely warned him of his death, as what was likely, from his character and the circumstances of the times, to take place at no great distance of time, and that the admirers of that good man, after the event took place, converted his words into an absolute prediction. It was quite natural, that after the Revolution, the adherents to the covenanted cause should, by means even of ill authenticated statements, do all in their power to elevate the character of their revered and suffering predecessors. By whom the above life was originally written, we are not aware; it seems, however, to have been published previously, in a separate state, and to have been adopted entire by the compiler of the Worthies.

there would not be a true faithful minister in Scotland, excepting two, to whom they could resort, to hear or converse with anent the state of the church; that they also would seal their testimony with their blood; and that after this there should be a dreadful defection and apostasy: that God would pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his church and people, wherein many of his people, who had made defection from his way should fall among the rest in this common calamity; but this stroke, he thought, would not be long: and upon the back thereof there would be the most glorious deliverance and reformation that ever was in Britain, wherein the church should never be troubled any more with Prelacy.

When drawing near his end, in conversation with some friends, he used frequently to communicate his own exercise and experience, and with regard to the assurance he had obtained of his interest in Christ: he said, "I have no more doubt of my interest in Christ, than if I were in heaven already." And at another time he said, "Although I have been for some weeks without sensible comforting presence, yet I have not the least doubt of my interest in Christ; I have oftentimes endeavoured to pick a hole in my interest, but cannot get it done." The morning ere he died, when he observed the light of the day, he said, "Now eternal light, and no more night and darkness to me." And that night, he exchanged a weakly body, a wicked world, and a weary life, for an immortal crown in that heavenly inheritance which is prepared and reserved for such as him.

The night after his exit, his corpse was removed from Barclay's house into a private room, till his friends might consult about his funeral, that so Barclay might not be put to trouble for having concealed him. It was quickly spread abroad however, that an inter-communed preacher was dead in town, upon which the magistrates ordered a messenger to go and arrest the corpse. The next day, a considerable number of his friends in Fife, came to town to attend his burial. But the magistrates would not suffer him to be interred in Perth: ordered the town militia to be raised to support their authority; and imprisoned John Bryce, boxmaster or treasurer to the guildry, for refusing to give out the militia's arms. However, they at length gave his friends leave to carry his corpse out of town, and inter it without the precincts, where they pleased; but any of the town's people, who were observed to accompany the funeral, were imprisoned. After they were gone out of town, his friends sent two men before them to Drone, four miles from Perth, to prepare a grave in the church-yard of that place. The men went to Mr. Pitcairn, the minister, and desired the keys of the church-yard, but he refused to give them. They went over the church-yard dyke, however, and digged a grave, and there the remains of this servant of God repose in peace.

It appears that only one of his sermons is in print. This is said to have been preached at Bogles-hole in Clydesdale, and is on the text, 1 Peter iv. 18. *And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear.*

There are some of his letters written to godly friends and acquaintances, yet extant in manuscript. But we cannot expect to meet with any thing considerable of the writings of Mr. Welwood, or of the succeeding Worthies, for in such a broken state of the church, they were hunted and hurried from place to place, without the least time or conveniency for writing; yea, and oftentimes what little fragments they had collected fell into the hands of false friends, and were by them either destroyed or lost.

WILLIAM GORDON OF EARLSTOUN.

WILLIAM GORDON, son to that worthy reformer, Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, in Galloway, was lineally descended from the famous Alexander Gordon who, about the beginning of the 15th century, is said to have entertained some of the followers of John Wickliffe, and who, having a New Testament in the vulgar tongue, used to read it in their meeting at the Wood of Airds, in the neighbourhood of Earlstoun. Our worthy, having the advantage of a religious education, began very early to follow Christ. As early as 1637, Mr. Rutherford in his Letters thus admonishes him: "Sir, lay the foundation thus, and ye shall not soon shrink nor be shaken: make tight work at the bottom, and your ship shall ride against all storms; if withal your anchor be fastened on good ground, I mean within the vail." Indeed, by the blessing of God, he began very early to distinguish himself by his piety and religion, as well as by a firm attachment to the Presbyterian interest, and the covenanted work of reformation; in which he continued steadfast and unmoveable till he lost his life in the honourable cause.

What hand he had in the public affairs during Cromwell's usurpation, I cannot so well say: we may suppose him, however, upon the remonstrants' side. But the first public testimony he gave after the restoration of Charles II., which history has recorded, was about 1663. Some commissioners appointed by the Council to go south and inquire into the opposition then made to the settlement of curates at Kirkcudbright and Irongray, knowing his partiality to Presbyterian principles, determined either to make him acquiesce in settling an Episcopal incumbent in the parish of Dalry, in Galloway, to which, by the once established laws, he had the right of presenting, or, if he refused to concur, which they had all reason to suspect he would, to bring him to further trouble. Accordingly, they wrote him a letter, in the following tenor.—"Finding the church of Dalry to be one of those to which the Bishop hath presented minister, Mr. George Henry, fit and qualified for the charge, and that the gentleman is to come to your parish this Sablath next to preach to that people, and that you are a person of special interest there, we do require you to cause this edict to be served, and

the congregation to convene and countenance him, so as to be encouraged to prosecute his ministry in that place. Your loving friends and servants,

“LINLITHGOW. GALLOWAY.
“ANNANDALE. DRUMLANARKE.”

To this letter Earlstoun gave them a very respectful answer, showing, upon solid reasons, why he could not comply with their demand, in the following manner:—“I have ever judged it safest to obey God, and stand at a distance from whatsoever doth not tend to God’s glory, and the edification of the souls of his people, of which this congregation is a part. And besides, my Lords, it is known to many, that I pretend to lay claim to the right of patronage of this parish, and have already determined therein, with the consent of the people, upon a truly worthy and qualified person, that he may be admitted to exercise his gifts amongst that people; and for me to countenance the bearer of your Lordships’ letter were most impiously and dishonourably to wrong the majesty of God, and violently to take away the Christian liberty of his afflicted people, and enervate my own right.”*

This was without question, what the managers wanted, and so his trouble began; for, on the 30th of July following, “The Lords of council ordered letters to be directed, to charge William Gordon of Earlstoun to compare before them, to answer for his seditious and factious carriage:” that was, his refusing to comply with Prelacy, and hear the curates, and his favouring and hearing the outed ministers. And farther, November 24, the same year, “The Council being informed, that the laird of Earlstoun keeps conventicles and private meetings in his house, orders letters to be directed against him, to compare before them, to answer for his contempt, under pain of rebellion.” But all this nowise damped the courage of this faithful confessor of Christ in adhering to his persecuted and despised gospel; and his malignant enemies passed a yet more severe and rigorous act against him; in which it was exhibited, that he had been at several conventicles, as they were pleased to call the meetings, at which Mr. Gabriel Semple, a deposed minister, preached in Corsack and Airds wood: “And being required to enact himself to abstain from all such meetings in time coming, and to live peaceably and orderly, conform to law,” he refused to do the same: They therefore sentenced him to be banished, and to depart forth of the kingdom within a month, not to return under pain of death; and bound him to live peaceably during that time,

* Here observe, that though this worthy gentleman mentions the right of patronage, yet it is with this proviso or limitation, the choice or consent of the people; otherwise, says he, it would wrong the majesty of God, take away the Christian liberty of the people, and invalidate his own right; and how unlike is this to the species of patronage and claim of patrons at this time, when nothing but absolute power and arbitrary measures will satisfy them.

under the penalty of £10,000, or otherwise to enter his person in prison.

This sentence, it would appear, he did not obey. And though we have no particular account of his after sufferings, yet we know in general he endured many hardships. In 1667, he was turned out of his house, which was made a garrison for Bannatyne and his party, and after this, almost every year produced him new troubles, until the 22d or 23d of January 1679, when he emerged out of all his troubles, arrived at the haven of eternal rest, and obtained his glorious reward, in the following manner.

Having some affairs to settle, (perhaps with a view never to return,) he could not join that suffering handful who were then in arms near Bothwell, but sent his son, who was in the action. He himself hastening forward as soon as possible to their assistance, and not knowing of their disaster, was met near the place by a party of English dragoons who were in quest of the sufferers, and, like a valiant champion of Christ, he refused to surrender, or comply with their demands. They therefore killed him upon the spot. His son being out of the way, and his friends not obtaining his body so as to inter it amongst the bones of his ancestors, he was buried in the church-yard of Glassford; and though a pillar or monument was erected over his grave, yet no inscription was put upon it, because of the severity of these times.*

Thus fell a renowned Gordon, one whose character I am unable adequately to describe: I may just say, that he was a gentleman of good parts and attainments; a man devoted to religion and godliness; and a firm supporter of the Presbyterian interest in the quarter where he lived.—The Gordons have all along made no small figure in our Scottish history; and here was a patriot, a Christian, a confessor, and, I may add, a martyr of Jesus Christ, who was no exception to the general character of his family.

MESSRS. KID AND KING.

It has not unfrequently been the lot of those who have earned the best claims to the remembrance of posterity, and especially in

* His son, Alexander Gordon, here narrowly escaped being taken, by means of one of his tenants, who knowing him as he rode through Hamilton, made him dismount, put on woman's clothes, and rock the cradle. After this, he went over to his brother-in-law, Mr. Hamilton, to represent the low case of the united societies to the churches of the Netherlands; but shortly after, being called home, he was on returning apprehended by the enemy, and put to the torture, but by means of his friend, the Duke of Gordon, his life was spared. However, he was sent to the Bass, and from thence, I suppose to Blackness, in 1683, where he continued till he was liberated at the revolution. It is to be lamented, that neither he, after this, nor his son Sir Thomas, fully followed the steps of their ancestors.

times such as that of which we are now treating, to have spent the greatest part of their lives in comparative obscurity, performing the duties of a useful avocation, with unpretending diligence, unheeded by the world, and unknown to fame, and aiming at no other reward than the approbation of conscience in this world, and that of God in the next. This seems to have been the case with the two martyrs, of whom, the order of time demands of us, now to take notice. Diligent and faithful as they no doubt had previously been, in a professional point of view, and holy and circumspect in personal conduct, it is only as sufferers in the good cause of ecclesiastical purity, and for the rights of conscience, that their names have come down to us. Having died together, we think it better to blend into one short narrative, the meagre accounts which have been transmitted of their lives and sufferings.

MESSRS. JOHN KID and JOHN KING were nonconforming ministers of the church of Scotland, and suffered many hardships during the persecuting period,—from the year 1670 to the time of their martyrdom, 1679. Mr. King was for some time chaplain to Lord Cardross; and it appears he was apprehended and imprisoned in the year 1674, but got out on a bond of security for 5000 merks, that he would appear when called. Next year he was again apprehended by a party of the persecutors, in the said Lord Cardross's, but was immediately rescued by some country people who had profited by his ministry. And yet again, he was taken a third time, near Hamilton, with about seventeen others, by bloody Claverhouse, and brought to Evandale, where they were all rescued by their suffering brethren at Drumclog. After this, he and Mr. Kid were of great service, and preached often to the honest party of sufferers, till their defeat at Bothwell, where Mr. Kid, among other prisoners, was taken and brought to Edinburgh. It would appear that Mr. King was apprehended also at the same time, somewhere west from Glasgow.* In reference to his apprehension, the following striking fact is said to have taken place:—A party of English dragoons being there, one of them on horseback called for some ale, and

* The following account of the taking of Mr. King has been received from a correspondent.

Mr. King having come to pay his respects to the Laird of Blair, in Dalry parish, near Kilwinning, to whom he formerly had been chaplain, one Bryce Blair, a farmer, who had been groom while Mr. King was there, getting notice, came and desired Mr. King to pay him a visit; to which he consented. Accordingly, having come, he preached a short word on the Saturday night following. But on the Sabbath morning a party of the enemy (said to be Crichton's dragoons) being in quest of him, and getting the scent, two of them in disguise came to an old man feeding cattle near Bryce Blair's house, and asked him whether he knew where that godly minister Mr. King was; for they were afraid he should be taken, as the enemy were in pursuit of him, and if they knew where he was they would secure him from them. The old man having more honesty than policy, cried out, "I'll run and tell him." Whereupon they rode full speed after him to the house. Finding a servant of the house waiting on Mr. King and his servant's horses, they immediately dismounted; and having driven their own horses into the standing corn, threatening him not to stir from the spot on pain

drank to the confusion of the covenanters. Another of his companions asking him at the Stablegreen port, where he was going, he answered, "To carry King to hell." But this poor wretch had not gone far, whistling and singing, till his carbine accidentally went off, and killed him on the spot. *God shall shoot at them with an arrow, suddenly shall they be wounded*, Psal. lxiv. 7.

Mr. King was taken to Edinburgh, where both he and Mr. Kid were brought before the Council, July 9th. Mr. King confessed, when examined, that he was with those who had risen in defence of their rights. Mr. Kid confessed he had preached in the fields, but never where there were men in arms, except in two places. They signed their confession, which was afterwards produced in evidence against them before the Justiciary. On the 12th, Mr. Kid was again examined before the Council, and put to the torture. It seems, indeed, he was more than once in the boots, and always behaved with much meekness and patience. Mr. King was examined on the 16th before the Justiciary, and Mr. Kid on the day following. On the 22d, they received their indictments. Their trial came on upon the 28th. On being brought before the Justiciary, upon a petition tendered by them on the 24th, advocates were allowed to plead for them,* but no exculpation was allowed. When their indictments were read, the Advocate produced their confessions before the Council as proof against them: and accordingly they were brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, on Thursday the 14th of August, and their heads and right hands to be cut off, and disposed of at the Council's pleasure.

It was on this very day, in the forenoon, that the King's act of indemnity was published, and, to grace the solemnity, the two noble martyrs, who were denied a share in it, were in the afternoon, brought forth to execution. It is related by one who was present, that, as they approached the place, walking together hand in hand;

of death, one of them took his saddle, and putting it on Mr. King's horse, said, "Many a mile have I rode after thee, but I shall ride upon thee now."

By this time the rest had surrounded the house; and Mr. King and his servant being in bed, they immediately commanded them to rise and put on their clothes. While his servant was putting on his spurs, one of the soldiers damned him, saying, was he putting spurs on a prisoner? To whom he replied he would put on what he pleased. For this the soldier gave him a blow; then another gave that soldier a blow, saying, "Damn you, Sir, are you striking a prisoner while making no resistance?" In the hurry, Mr. King's servant threw his master's wallees into a peat-loft. Thus they were both carried off.—The soldiers hired one David Cumming, in the same parish, to be their guide to Glasgow; who willingly consented. They pressed a horse for him to ride upon; but they had not gone far when the horse run mad, and jumping and striking all around him with such violence as affrighted the beholders, they were obliged to let him go; but no sooner was he returned home, than he became as calm as ever. Cumming had to go on foot to Glasgow. From thence Mr. King was sent to Edinburgh. After which his servant was set at liberty.

* A short hint of their advocates' pleadings and petition in behalf of Mr. King, in Crookshanks' History, vol. ii. p. 27.

Mr. Kid, looking about to Mr. King, with a cheerful countenance said, "I have often heard and read of a Kid sacrifice." Upon the scaffold they appeared with a great deal of courage and serenity of mind, as was usual with the martyrs in these times, and died in much peace and joy;—even a joy that none of their persecutors could intermeddle with. Their heads were cut off on another scaffold, prepared for the purpose.

Thus ended the lives of these two worthy ministers and martyrs of Jesus Christ, after having owned their allegiance to Zion's King, and given a faithful testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c., and for the covenanted work of reformation in its different parts and periods. The reader will find their dying testimonies in Naphthali, and some of their sermons in Howie's Collection.

JOHN BROWN.

THE earliest information we have of Mr. Brown, occurs in one of the celebrated Mr. Rutherford's letters, dated Aberdeen, March 13th, 1637. It is addressed to his mother, Jean Brown, a woman of great intelligence and piety, whom that worthy usually speaks of by the familiar appellation of "sister." In this letter, he refers to Mr. Brown in the following terms:—"I rejoice to hear your son John is coming to visit Christ, and to taste of his love. I hope he shall not lose his pains, or rue that choice. I had always (as I said often to you) a great love to dear Mr. John, because I thought I saw Christ in him more than in his brethren. Fain would I write to him to stand by my sweet Master, and I wish you would let him read my letter, and the joy I have, if he will appear for, and side with my Lord Jesus." In another letter to another of his correspondents, he also expresses himself as follows:—"Remember me to Mr. John Brown; I could never get my love off that man. I think Christ hath something to do with him." From these and other notices of a similar nature, we may infer that Mr. Brown was then a young man, whose talents and piety gave promise of great things to the church, but who had not as yet taken any decided part in its public concerns. At what period he was ordained minister of Wamphray, in Annandale, cannot now be ascertained. It is not unlikely that it was at no great distance of time from the date of the above letter. He does not appear to have been a member of the celebrated assembly at Glasgow, in 1638; nor to have taken any ostensible part in the proceedings of the period between that year and 1660.

While uncertain, however, as to the date of Mr. Brown's settlement, we have the best of evidence, in regard to the talents, fidelity, and success with which, for many years, he exercised his pastoral functions among the people of his charge. To them he was tenderly attached, and the feeling was mutual. In their spiritual wel-

fare, he took a deep and commanding interest; and, like the great apostle, he was ever ready to spend and to be spent for their sake. While *they*, however, had the principal share in his anxieties and cares, his exertions were not exclusively confined to them. From the scarcity, at that period, of active and zealous ministers, he felt called upon to enlarge the sphere of his diligence; and thus, not only his own people, but the inhabitants of the district in which his parish was situated, were allowed to participate in the benefits of his labours. Throughout that district, his name still lives in traditional remembrance, and is associated with all those feelings of endeared affection which the deeds and sufferings of our Scottish worthies seldom fail to excite and to cherish.

Mr. Brown continued minister of Wamphray till after the restoration of Charles II.; when, for his faithfulness in opposing prelacy, then about to be obtruded upon the church, and his fortitude and freedom in reproving some neighbouring ministers for their compliance with its institutions, contrary to the promise they had given him, he was turned out of his place.

Upon the 6th of November 1662, he was called before the Council; whether by letters requesting him to converse with them, or by a regular and legal citation, is not certain. But the same day, the Council's act against him runs thus:—

“Mr. John Brown of Wamphray, being convened before the Council, for abusing and reproaching some ministers for keeping the diocesan synod with the Archbishop of Glasgow, calling them perjured knaves and villains, did acknowledge that he called them false knaves for so doing, because they had promised the contrary to him. The Council ordain him to be secured close prisoner in the tolbooth till further orders.” He remained in prison till December 11th, in the same year, when, after Mr. Livingstone and others had received their sentence, the Council came to this conclusion concerning him, “Upon a petition presented by Mr. John Brown, minister of Wamphray, now prisoner in Edinburgh, shewing that he hath been kept close prisoner these five weeks bypast, and seeing that, by want of free air, and other necessaries for maintaining his crazy body, he is in hazard to lose his life, therefore humbly desiring warrant to be put at liberty, upon caution to enter his person when he should be commanded, as the petition bears; which being at length heard and considered, the Lords of Council ordain the supplicant to be put at liberty, forth of the tolbooth, he first obliging himself to remove and depart off the King's dominions, and not to return, without license from his Majesty and Council, under pain of death.”

Great must have been the hardships he underwent in prison. He was denied even the necessaries of life; and though, because of the ill-treatment he had met with, he was brought almost to the gates of death, yet he could not have the benefit of the free air, until he signed a bond, obliging himself to a voluntary banishment, and that for no just cause.

Upon the 23d of the same month, he presented a petition to the Council, to prorogue the time of his removal from the kingdom, in regard he was not able to provide himself with necessaries, and the weather was so unseasonable that he could not have the opportunity of a ship; which being read and considered, they granted him two months longer after the 11th of December;—in the mean time requiring him to be peaceable, acting nothing in the prejudice or the present government, &c. Next year, at the time appointed, he went over to Holland, then the asylum of the banished Covenanters of Scotland, where he lived many years, but never, that we have heard of, saw his native country more.

Here he resided partly at Utrecht and partly at Rotterdam; and in both places was usefully employed in preaching to the refugees, and to others who resorted to him for instruction. It was during his exile also, that his many elaborate pieces, practical, argumentative, and historical, were written, and these sufficiently witness that he was not idle. In particular, those concerning the indulgence, cess paying, &c. were of signal use, being sent for the support and strengthening of his persecuted brethren in Scotland, unto whom he and Mr. M^cWard contributed all in their power, that they might be kept straight while labouring in the furnace of affliction, under sore oppression and bloody tyranny. But hither did the malice of their enemies yet pursue them. For the King, by the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, in 1676, wrote to the States General, requiring them to remove them from the provinces. And although the states, at first, neither did nor could reasonably grant this demand, yet, seeing they were in danger of a rupture with the British government by persisting in a refusal, it appears they at length complied with it.

A few years before his death, he was admitted minister of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam; where, with great prudence and diligence, he exercised his clerical functions, it being always his study, by every means in his power, to gain souls to Christ. As he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God to his people, in warning them against the evils of the time, so was he likewise close in handling any text he discoursed upon, and in his application, he was most warm and searching, showing himself a most skilful workman, rightly dividing the word of truth. His sermons were not so plain but the learned might admire them; nor so learned, but the plain understood them. His fellow-soldier and companion in tribulation, M^cWard, gives him this testimony, "That the whole of his sermons, without the intermixture of any other matter, had a speciality of pure gospel texture, breathing nothing but faith in Christ, and communion with him."

The ordination of the faithful Mr. Richard Cameron seems to have been the last of his public employments; and his last discourse, before his exit from this world, was from Jer. ii. 35. *Behold I will plead with thee, because thou sayest I have not sinned,* &c. Having finished his course with joy, he died soon after in the close of the year 1679, carrying along with him the affectionate

regrets of thousands both in Scotland and abroad, who revered his character and had profited by his labours. *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.*

Mr. Brown was a man famous in his day, both for learning and faithfulness, warm zeal and true piety. He was a distinguished writer, a choice and able preacher; in controversy he was acute, masculine, and strong; in history plain and comprehensive; in divinity, substantial and correct; the first he discovers in his work printed in Latin against the Socinians, and his treatise *de Causa Dei contra Anti-Sabbatarios*, which the learned world know better than I can describe. There is also a large manuscript history, entitled, *Apologia pro Ecclesia, &c. anno Domini 1660*, consisting of 1600 pages in 4to, which he gave to Charles Gordon, sometime minister at Dalmeny, to be by him presented to the first free General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and which, accordingly, was presented to the General Assembly of 1692. Of this history, the Apologetical Relation seems to be an abridgment. His letters and other papers, particularly the History of the Indulgence, written and sent home to his native country, manifest his great and fervent zeal for the cause of Christ. And his other practical pieces, such as that on Justification, on the Romans; Quakerism the Way to Paganism; the Hope of Glory; and Christ the Way, the Truth, and the Life; the first and second parts of his Life of Faith, and Enoch's Testament opened up, &c.;—all evidence his solid piety, and real acquaintance with God and godliness.

“In estimating his character, we shall avail ourselves of the testimony of two most impartial witnesses. The first is that of a distinguished Dutch divine, Dr. Melchior Leydecker, Divinity Professor, at Utrecht, who thus expresses himself:—‘Glory be to God in the highest, who hath reserved by his grace, many Protestant and learned Divines, against prevalent errors. And hence we have the learned labours of the worthy J. Burgess, J. Owen, A. Pitcairn, and other eminent Divines, worthy to be remembered in all ages. And to those great Doctors, we may very warrantably add MR. JOHN BROWN, whose praise lives deservedly in the Churches, and whose light did for a considerable space, shine here in our Low Countries, when through the iniquity of the times, he was, because of his zeal, piety, faithfulness, and good conscience, obliged to leave his native land. Yet, was he not idle; for while he was here, he wrote with great deal of wisdom against the philosophers of this time, who would subject the Scriptures to philosophy, setting up human reason for a rule of Scripture interpretations. Moreover, he was known in our churches by his books on the perpetual morality of the sabbath, written with a great efficacy of arguments, and approved by Frederick Spanheim, that worthy and most famous Divine, besides what other treatises he wrote in English.’* ”

* Preface to Mr. Brown's work on Justification, p. 6, 7.

“The other testimony is that of the candid and impartial Mr. Robert Wodrow, who possessed the best opportunities of knowing his character. ‘I need not,’ says he, ‘enter on the character of this great man. His abilities were so well known to the Prelates that he must not be suffered any longer. He was a man of very great learning, warm zeal, and remarkable piety. The first he discovers in works printed in Latin, both against Socinians and Cocceians, which the learned world know better than to need any account of them from me. I have seen likewise a large Latin MS. History of his of the Church of Scotland; wherein he gives an account of the Acts of the Assemblies, and the state of matters from the Reformation to the Restoration; to which is subjoined a very large vindication of the grounds whereupon Presbyterians suffered. The letters he wrote home to Scotland, and the pamphlets and books he wrote, especially upon the indulgence, manifest his fervency and zeal; and the practical pieces he wrote and printed, discover his solid piety, and acquaintance with the power of godliness. Such a man could not easily now escape.’*

“Mr. Brown’s style is nervous, clear, and wonderfully correct considering the times, and the disadvantages under which he laboured. In these respects, he is decidedly superior to most of the Scottish writers of his day, and even to Owen and others of the English authors, his cotemporaries. He has, no doubt, the common fault of that period, in being rather prolix at times, and in multiplying subdivisions. One prominent feature in all his writings, particularly his practical works, is, his wonderful command of scripture quotation, reference, and allusion. In all his works there are observable the traces of a vigorous mind; a sound judgment; and a correct theological taste. Seldom common-place, frequently original; and always interesting, he cannot fail to instruct and to edify the reader who knows how to value the essential excellencies of moral truth, unadorned by the tinsel of meretricious ornament.”†

HENRY HALL OF HAUGH-HEAD.

MR. HALL of Haugh-head, (in the parish of Eckford in Teviotdale) being blessed with a religious education, began very early to lead a life of holiness, in all manner of godly conversation. In his younger years he was most zealous in opposing the public resolutions that took place in 1651; insomuch, that when the minister of the parish complied with these, he refused to hear him, and often went

* History, vol. i. p. 141.

† The above extracts are made from a well written account of Mr. Brown’s life, prefixed to a lately published edition of his work on Prayer.

to Ancrum to hear Mr. Livingstone. After the restoration, being oppressed with the malicious persecutions of curates and malignants, for his non-conformity, he was obliged to leave his native country, and went to England in 1665, where he was of singular use in propagating the gospel, instructing the ignorant, and procuring godly ministers to preach among people, who, before his coming, were rude and barbarous, though now many of them became famous for piety. In 1666, he was taken prisoner whilst coming to Pentland, to assist his covenanted brethren, and was confined with some others in Cessford castle. But he soon after escaped from thence, through the favour of his relative the Earl of Roxburgh, unto whom the castle belonged. He retired again to Northumberland, where he remained from this time till 1679, being much beloved by all that knew him, for his care in propagating the gospel of Christ; about the year 1678; the heat of the persecution in Scotland obliging many to wander into Northumberland, and Col. Struthers violently pursuing them there. Haugh-head was in the scuffle which took place near Crookham, and in which one of his dearest intimates, the gallant and pious Thomas Kerr of Hayhop, fell.—Upon this, therefore, he was obliged to return to Scotland, where he wandered up and down in the hottest time of the persecution, chiefly with Messrs. Cargill and Cameron. During this period, besides his many other Christian virtues, he signalized himself by a fervent zeal, in defence of the persecuted gospel. He was one of the four elders of the church of Scotland, who, at the council of war at Shawhead-muir, June 18, 1679, were chosen, with Messrs. Cargill, Douglas, King, and Barclay, to draw up the causes of a fast on the day following. He had, indeed, an active hand in most part of the transactions on the part of the covenanters in that period, as being one of the commanding officers in their army, from the skirmish at Drumclog, to the defeat at Bothwell-bridge.

After this, being forfeited, and diligently pursued after, he, in order to eschew the violent hands of his indefatigable persecutors, was forced to go to Holland. But he had not been there long, when his zeal for the persecuted interest of Christ, and his tender sympathy for his covenanted brethren, then wandering in Scotland, induced him to come home again, choosing rather to undergo the utmost efforts of persecuting fury, than to live at ease during Joseph's affliction; and making Moses' generous choice, rather to undergo sufferings with the people of God, than to enjoy what momentary pleasures the world could afford. Nor was he much concerned about the riches of the world: for he hesitated not to give his ground for field preachings,* when few or none else would do it.

* The Rev. Mr. George Barclay, who was a very public character at this time, and had his hand at many a useful measure, and was a blessed instrument towards the edification of many souls, used to say, The best days that ever he had in preaching the gospel were in the bounds belonging to the Laird of Haugh-head, worthy Henry Hall.

About three months after his return from Holland, he was mostly with Mr. Cargill, lurking privily about Borrowstouness, and other places on this and the other side of the Forth. At last they were taken notice of by the curates of Borrowstouness and Carriden, who presently sent information respecting them to Middleton, Governor of Blackness castle and a Papist. After consultation he immediately went after them, ordering his soldiers to follow him at a distance, by twos and threes, so as to avoid suspicion. Thus he and his man rode after them at some distance, till they came to Queensferry; where, perceiving the house at which they alighted, he sent his servant in haste for his men, putting up his horse in another house, and coming to them as a stranger, he pretended a great deal of kindness for them, desiring that they might have a glass of wine together. When each had taken a glass, and were in some friendly conversation, the Governor wearying that his men came not up, threw off the mask, and laid hands on them, saying, they were his prisoners, and commanding the people of the house in the King's name, to assist. All refused except one Thomas George, a waiter; by whose assistance he got the gate shut. In the mean while, Haugh-head being a bold and brisk man struggled hard with the Governor, until Cargill got off; and after the scuffle, as he was going off himself, having got clear of the Governor, Thomas George struck him on the head with a carbine, and wounded him mortally. However, he got out; and by this time the women in the neighbourhood, who were assembled at the gate to rescue the prisoners, convoyed him out of town.—He walked on for some time, but was unable to speak much. At last he fainted, and was carried to a country house near Echlin; but although surgeons were speedily brought, he never recovered the use of his speech. Dalziel living near by, was advertised of the matter, and came and seized him with a party of the guards, and although every one saw that the gentleman was just a-dying, yet such was his inhumanity, that he must carry him immediately to Edinburgh. He died, however, in their hands, on the way thither; and made an end of this his earthly pilgrimage to receive his heavenly crown. His corpse was carried to the Canongate tolbooth, where it lay three days without burial. His friends at length convened to do their last office to him, but that could not be granted. At last they caused him to be buried clandestinely during night; for such was the fury of these servants of Antichrist, that after having slain the witnesses, they would not suffer them to be decently interred; another lasting evidence of their insatiable cruelty.

Thus this worthy gentleman, after, in an eminent manner, having served his day and generation, fell a victim to Prelatic fury. Upon him was found, when he was taken, a rude draught of an unsubscribed paper, afterwards called the Queensferry Paper; which the reader will find inserted at large in Wodrow's History,* and the substance of it in Crookshank's History, and the Cloud of Witnesses.

RICHARD CAMERON.

MR. CAMERON was born at Falkland, in the shire of Fife, where his father was a merchant. He was originally of the Episcopal persuasion, and was some time schoolmaster and precentor to the curate of Falkland. He occasionally attended the sermons of the indulged, as he had opportunity; but at length it pleased the Lord to incline him to hear the gospel as preached in the fields; which when the curates understood, they set upon him by flattery and threats, and ultimately by more direct persecution, to make him forbear attending such meetings. But such was the working of the Lord by his Spirit upon him, that having got a lively discovery of the sin of Prelacy, he deserted the curates altogether; and now began to search more narrowly into the true state of things, that he might know what was his incumbent duty. Having discovered the sinfulness of the indulgence, as flowing from the ecclesiastical supremacy usurped by the King; and being zealously affected for the honour of Christ, which he viewed as wronged by that Erastian acknowledgment of the magistrate's power over the church, he longed for an opportunity to give testimony against it. He shortly after left Falkland, and went to Harden, the seat of Sir Walter Scott, who at that time attended the indulged meetings. Here he took opportunity, notwithstanding many strong temptations to the contrary, to witness against the indulgence. Particularly on Sabbath, when called to attend the Lady to church, he returned from the entry refusing to go into it, and spent the day in his chamber. Here he met with much of the Lord's presence, as he himself afterwards testified, and got very clear discoveries of the nature of these temptations, which were like to prevail with him before; and upon Monday, giving a reason to Sir Walter and his Lady why he went not to church, he took occasion to be plain in testifying against the indulgence, both in its origin and nature. After this, finding his service would be no longer acceptable to them, he went to the south, where he was introduced to the famous John Welch of Irongray. After having remained some time with him, Mr. Welch finding him a man every way qualified for the ministry, pressed him to accept a license to preach. This, however, he for some time refused, chiefly upon the account that having such clear discoveries of the sinfulness of the indulgence, he could not but testify against it so soon as he should have an opportunity of speaking in public. But his objections being answered by Mr. Welch, he was at length prevailed on to accept a license from the outed ministers, who were then preaching in the fields, and had not complied with the indulgence. Accordingly he was licensed by Mr. Welch and Mr. Semple, at Haugh-head in Teviotdale, in the house of Henry Hall, upon which he told them, that he should be a bone of contention amongst them; for if he preached against any national sin, it should be against the indulgences, and for the duty of separation from the indulged.

Being thus licensed, they sent him to Annandale, where the first day after, he preached, with this characteristic boldness, upon the text, *How shall I put thee among the children, &c.* Some of his audience were, it is said, savingly impressed that day, and told it afterwards, that this was the first field-meeting they ever attended; and that they went out of curiosity, to see how a minister could preach in a tent, and people sit on the ground. After this, he preached several times with Mr. Welch, Mr. Semple, and others, until 1677, when he and Mr. Welwood were called before that meeting at Edinburgh, in order to be deposed, for their freedom and faithfulness in preaching against the sinful compliance of the time.

After this he preached at Maybole, where many thousands of people were assembled, it being the first time that the* sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed in the fields. At this time he used much more freedom in testifying against the sinfulness of indulgences, for which he was called before another meeting of the indulged in Galloway; and a little after, before a presbytery of them, at Dunscore in Nithsdale: where for the third time they threatened to take his license from him. Here it was that Robert Gray, a Northumbrian, (who afterwards suffered in the Grassmarket in 1682), Robert Nelson and others, protested against them for such conduct. At this meeting they prevailed on him to promise, that for some short time he should forbear such explicit preaching against the indulgence, and for separation from them who were indulged: a promise which lay heavy on him afterwards, as will appear in its proper place.

After giving this promise, finding himself bound up by it from declaring the whole counsel of God, he became melancholy; and during the time it was to continue in force, he went over to Holland, where he had an opportunity of conversing with Mr. M'Ward and others of our banished worthies. In his private conversation and exercises in families, but especially by his public sermon in the Scots kirk at Rotterdam, he was most refreshing to many souls. In this sermon he was mostly upon the subject of conversion, the text being, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden.*† His preaching was most satisfying and agreeable to Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and others, who were sadly misinformed by the indulged, of his talents and character. In this instance he touched upon none of the disputed points, except in prayer, when lamenting over the deplorable state of Scotland by means of defection and tyranny,

On this occasion Mr. M'Ward said to him, "Richard, the public standard is now fallen in Scotland; and, if I know any thing of the

* Those who dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's supper here, were Messrs. Archibald Riddell, John Welch, Andrew Morton, Patrick Warner, George Barclay and others.

† Matt. xi. 28.

mind of the Lord, you are called to undergo your trials before us; and go home, and lift the fallen standard and display it publicly before the world; but before ye put your hand to it, ye shall go to as many of the field ministers (for so they were yet called) as ye can find, and give them your hearty invitation to go with you; and if they will not go, go alone, and the Lord will go with you." Accordingly he was ordained by Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Roleman, a famous Dutch divine. When their hands were lift up from his head, Mr. M'Ward continued his on his head, and cried out, "Behold all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and it shall be set up before sun and moon, in the view of the world."

In the beginning of 1680, he returned home to Scotland, where he spent some time in going from minister to minister, of those who formerly kept up the standard of the gospel, in the fields; but all in vain; for the persecution being then hot, in consequence of the affair at Bothwell, against all such as had not accepted the indulgence and indemnity, none of them would adventure upon the hazard, except Messrs. Cargill and Douglas, who came together, and kept a public fast day in Darmeid-muir, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, in reference to the reception of the Duke of York, that sworn vassal of Antichrist, into Scotland, after he had been excluded from England. After several meetings among themselves, towards forming a declaration and testimony, they at last agreed upon one, which they published at the market-cross of Sanquhar, June 22, 1680; commonly called the Sanquhar Declaration. After this they were obliged to separate one from another, and go to different corners of the land: and that not only upon account of the necessity of the people, who were then in a starving condition, with respect to the faithfully preached gospel, but also on account of the indefatigable scrutiny of the enemy, who for their better encouragement, had, by proclamation, 5000 merks offered, for apprehending Mr. Cameron, 3000, for Mr. Cargill and Mr. Douglas, and 100 for each of the others, who were concerned in the publication of the foresaid declaration.

After parting, Mr. Cameron went to Swine-knowe, in New Monkland, where he had a most confirming and comforting day, upon that soul refreshing text, *And a man shall be a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest.** In his preface, that day, he said, he was fully assured that the Lord in mercy to this church and nation, would sweep the throne of Britain of that unhappy race of the name of Stuart, for their treachery, and tyranny, but especially their usurping the royal prerogatives of Christ; and this he was as sure of as his hands were upon that cloth, yea, and more sure, for he had that by sense, but the other by faith.†

* Isa. xxxii. 2.

† The soundness of this principle is very questionable. I stay not to inquire, whether the assurance of sense or of faith be greatest, but I doubt whether in
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When he came to preach about Cumnock, he was much opposed by the Lairds of Logan and Hersecleugh, who represented him as a Jesuit. But yet some of the Lord's people, who retained their former faithfulness, gave him a call to preach in that parish. When he began, he exhorted the people to mind that they were in the sight and presence of a holy God, and that all of them were hastening to an endless state of either weal or woe. One Andrew Dalziel, who was in the house, (it being a stormy day,) cried out, "Sir, we neither know you nor your God." Mr. Cameron, musing a little, said, "You, and all who do not know my God in mercy, shall know him in judgment, which shall be sudden and surprising in a few days upon you; and I, as a sent servant of Jesus Christ, whose commission I bear, and whose badge I wear upon my breast, give you warning, and leave you to the justice of God." Accordingly, a few days after, the said Dalziel, being in perfect health, took his breakfast plentifully, but before he rose he fell a vomiting blood into the very vessel out of which he had taken his breakfast, and died in a most frightful manner. This astonishing event, together with the power and presence of the Lord going along with the gospel as dispensed by him, made the two Lairds desire a conference, to which he readily assented. Upon this they felt obliged to acknowledge, that they had been in the wrong with regard to him; and desired his forgiveness. He said, from his heart he forgave them what wrongs they had done to him; but for what wrongs they had done to the interest of Christ, it was not his part to forgive them; on the contrary, he was persuaded they should be remarkably punished for it. And to the Laird of Logan he said, that he should be written childless; and to Horsecleugh, that he should suffer by burning.—Both of which afterwards came to pass.

Upon the 4th of July following, being eighteen days before his death, he preached at the Grass-water side near Cumnock. In his introduction to the sermon, he said, "There are three or four things I have to tell you this day, which I must not omit, because I will be a breakfast or four-hours to the enemy, some day or other shortly; and then my work and my time will both be finished. And the first is this, As for King Charles II. who is now upon the

this case Mr. Cameron could have the assurance of faith at all. Such assurance must have a divine revelation to rest upon, else it cannot be divine faith. Now it does not appear that God ever gave a revelation about the house of Stuart by name. The usurpation of Christ's prerogative, of which the Stuarts were notoriously guilty, identified them with the Antichrist, whom God will certainly destroy in his own time. Of this there is ground for full assurance of faith. But this cannot be applied to individuals or families, until the day shall declare it. There is Antichrist still in Britain, in relation to Christ's prerogative; but instead of inferring that the reigning family shall be swept away, we should rather desire and pray that they may be convinced of the error and renounce it. There are several other passages in the life of this worthy of an exceptionable character, chiefly in relation to what is called the spirit of prophecy, on which I have nothing to add, to what I have already said.

W. M'G.

throne of Britain, after him there shall not be a crowned King of the name of Stuart in Scotland.* *2dly*, There shall not be an old covenanter's head above ground, that swore these covenants with uplifted hands ere ye get a right reformation set up in Scotland. *3dly*, A man shall ride a day's journey in the shires of Galloway, Ayr and Clydesdale, and not see a reeking house nor hear a cock crow, ere ye get a right reformation; and several other shires shall be little better. And *4thly*, The rod that the Lord will make instrumental in this, will be the French and other foreigners, together with a party in this land joining with them: but ye that stand to the testimony in that day be not discouraged at the fewness of your number: for when Christ comes to raise up his own work in Scotland, he will not want men enough to work for him."

During the week following, he preached in the parish of Carluke, upon these words, *Shall the prey be taken from the mighty?* &c.† And the Sabbath following, at Hind-Bottom, near Crawford-John, on these words, *Ye will not come to me that ye may have life.* In the course of this sermon he fell into tears, and the greater part of the multitude likewise wept, so that few dry cheeks were to be seen among them. After this, to the day of his death, he kept his chamber door almost always shut until night. The mistress of the house where he staid, having been several times at the door, and having got no access, at last forced it up, and found him very melancholy. She earnestly desired to know how it was with him. He said, "That weary promise I gave to these ministers has lain heavy upon me, and for this cause my carcass shall dung the wilderness, and that ere it be long." Being now near his end, he had such a large earnest of the Spirit, and such a longing desire for full possession of the heavenly inheritance, that he seldom prayed in a family, asked a blessing, or gave thanks, but he requested patience to wait until the Lord's time should come.

The last Sabbath ‡ he preached was along with Mr. Cargill in Clydesdale, from the words, *Be still, and know that I am God,* &c.§ On that day he said, he was sure the Lord would lift up a standard against Antichrist that would go to the gates of Rome, and burn it with fire, that blood should be their sign, and *no quarter* their word; and earnestly wished that it might begin in Scotland. At their parting, they agreed to meet the second Sabbath after this at Craigmead—But he was killed on the Thursday after. And the Sabbath following, Mr. Cargill preached in the parish of Shots, upon that text, *Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?*

During the last night of his life, he was in the house of William

* King James II. never took the coronation oath of Scotland.

† Isa. xl. 24.

‡ Another account bears, that his last sermon was preached at the water of Renan in Galloway, and that it was a very prophetic one. But though he might have preached there, yet according to the time and place, it does not appear to have been the last sermon that he preached.

§ Psal. xli. 10.

Mitchel of Meadowhead, at the water of Ayr, where twenty-three horse and forty foot had continued with him for a week. That morning a woman gave him water to wash his face and hands; and having washed, and dried them with a towel, he looked at his hands, and laid them on his face, saying, "This is their last washing, I have need to make them clean, for there are many to see them." At this the woman's mother wept. He said, "Weep not for me, but for yourself and yours, and for the sins of a sinful land, for ye have many melancholy, sorrowful, and weary days before you."

The people who were with him were in some hesitation, whether they should abide together for their own defence, or disperse and shift for themselves. But that day, being the 22d of July, they were surprised by Bruce of Earlshall; who, having got command of Airley's troop and Strahan's dragoons, upon notice given him by Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree,* came furiously upon them, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when lying at the east end of Airs-moss.—On seeing the enemy approaching, and no possibility of escape, they all gathered round him, while he uttered a short prayer, in which he repeated this expression thrice over, "Lord, spare the green and take the ripe." When ended, he said to his brother, with great intrepidity, "Come, let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies; this is the day that we will get the crown." To the rest he said, "Be encouraged all of you to fight it out valiantly, for all of you that shall fall this day, I see heaven's gates open to receive you."

The enemy approaching, they immediately drew up, eight horse being with him on the right, the rest with valiant Hackston on the left, and the foot in the middle: and thus they all behaved with much bravery, until overpowered by superior numbers. At last Hackston was taken prisoner, and Mr. Cameron killed on the spot, and his head and hands cut off and taken to Edinburgh. His father being in prison for the same cause, they carried them to him, and barbarously inquired at him, if he knew them. He took his son's hands and head, and kissed them, and said, "I know, I know them; they are my son's, my own dear son's; it is the Lord, good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." After which, by order of the Council, his head was fixed upon the Nether-bow port, and his hands beside it, with the fingers upward.†

* It is said Earlshall got £500, and Ochiltree 10,000 merks, for their conduct in this affair. But it deserves to be remarked, that some time after, about two o'clock afternoon, the castle of the latter took fire, and was, with the charters, plate, and all, burnt down to the ground. The son said to the father, while it was burning "This is the vengeance of Cameron's blood." That house was never built—For the new house, estate, and all, are gone from the family to others.

† "The headless body was thrown into a hole in Airs-moss. Upon a green hillock in the moss a simple tombstone marks his grave. And solemn recollec-

Thus this valiant soldier and minister of Jesus Christ came to his end, after he had been not only highly instrumental in turning many souls to God, but also in lifting up a faithful standard for his royal Lord and master, against all his enemies, and the defections and sinful compliances of the time. One of his and Christ's declared enemies, when he took out his head at Edinburgh, gave him this testimony, saying, "There's the head and hands of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." And wherever the faithful contendings of the once famous covenanted church of Scotland are honourably made mention of, this, to his honour shall be recorded of him.

When he was slain, there was found upon him a short paper, or bond of mutual defence, which the reader will find inserted in Wodrow's History, and in the Appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses. There are a few of his letters now published in Mr. Renwick's Collection of Letters. Seven of his sermons are to be found in print, among which is that preached at Carluke, entitled Good News to Scotland, published in 1733. He wrote also a defence of the Sanquhar Declaration, but we can give no account of this ever being published. Some more of his sermons were published.

AN ACROSTIC ON HIS NAME.

Most noble Cameron ! a renown,
 And fame of thee shall ne'er go down :
 Since with bold zeal thou didst pursue—
 To Zion's King loyal and true.
 Ev'n when the dragon spued his flood,
 Resist thou didst unto thy blood :

Ran swiftly in thy Christian race,
 In faith and patience, to the place
 Christ has prepared for those, like thee,
 He knew, would not his standard flee.
 A pattern of heroic zeal,
 Rather to suffer than to fail,
 Didst show thyself with might and main,

tions have often been elicited at Cameron's grave, and sublime expressions uttered on the hallowed spot. Here a little afterwards, did Peden sit down. He meekly raised his eye to heaven and ejaculated, 'O to be wi' Ritchie.' Peden too, had his full share of troubles, and when these troubles were over, his ashes, at length reposed not far from Cameron's.

"These evil days came to a crisis. The sword of persecution at last was sheathed. And but for the single-hearted sufferings of these virtuous men—but for their resistance to tyranny—the proudest genius amongst us, perhaps even now, might have been *clanking a chain, or adoring a wafer.*" See *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Character*, p. 51.

SCOTS WORTHIES.

Counting that dross, others thought gain.
A faithful witness 'gainst all those
Men, that did the truth oppose ;
Even thou with Moses didst esteem
Reproaches for the God of heav'n ;
On him alone thou didst rely,
Not sparing, for His cause, to die !

DAVID HACKSTON OF RATHILLET.*

DURING his younger years Mr. Hackston is said to have been without the least sense of any thing religious, until it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to incline him to attend the gospel then preached in the fields, by which means he was savingly impressed, and became a true convert, so that after mature deliberation on the controverted points of religion in that period, he embarked himself in the noble cause, for which he suffered, with a full resolution to stand and fall with the despised, persecuted people, of Jesus Christ.

There is no account of any public appearance made by him amongst that party, till the 3d of May 1679, when we find him, with other eight gentlemen, going in quest of one Carmichael, a bankrupt Merchant of Edinburgh, who by means of the Archbishop, had got commission to harass and persecute all he could in the shire of Fife, for nonconformity ; but not finding him, when they were ready to drop the search, they providentially met with their arch-enemy himself. Whenever they descried his coach, one of them said, " It seems that the Lord hath delivered him into our hand ;" and proposed they should choose a leader, whose orders the rest would implicitly obey. Upon this they chose Mr. Hackston as their leader, but he refused, not only because he was by no means clear as to the lawfulness of the enterprise, but also, and more especially upon account of a private difference subsisting betwixt Sharp and him ; which he thought would give the world ground to think that the deed in question was done out of personal pique and revenge, of which he professed himself entirely free. They then chose another, and forthwith came up with the coach ; and after having got the Bishop with much reluctance to come out, they ordered him to pray ; but instead of that, seeing Rathillet, who had never alighted from his horse, at some distance, he crept towards him on his hands and feet, and said, " Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me."—To this he answered, " I shall never lay a hand on you." At last after many wounds he was killed ; and every one judged of the action as their inclination moved them. It was how-

* An estate in the Shire of Fife.

ever, wholly charged upon Rathillet and his brother-in-law, Bal-four of Kinloch, although the former had no active hand in it.

He, no doubt, countenanced and joined with the individuals by whom it was perpetrated, but in so far as he was personally concerned, he did not even assist them, upon the occasion, with his advice. Having retired from the spot to a house at some miles distance, they spent the succeeding night in inspecting the papers which were found upon the primate. In the morning they seem to have separated into two companies, the rest remaining in Fife, and six including Rathillet proceeding to the north in the direction of Dumblane and Perth. Shortly after, having returned by Fintry, Kilsyth, &c. they made for Lanark, and at length joined the Covenanters at Evandale, about the end of May. Here, a declaration being drawn up to the approbation of Mr. Hamilton and the other leaders, Rathillet with Mr. Douglass were appointed to proclaim it. They accordingly went to the market-cross of Rutherglen, and upon the anniversary of the Restoration, the 29th of May, published the said testimony; and having returned back to Evandale, they were with the party when attacked by Claverhouse, upon the first of June, near Drumclog. Here Mr. Hackston being appointed one of the commanding officers, behaved with much valour and gallantry during that skirmish. After this he was a very useful instrument among the faithful remnant, as is evident from his repeated protests against the corrupt and Erastian party, and he had an active hand in most of the public transactions among them, till that fatal day the 22d of June, when he and his troop of horse were the last upon the field of battle at Bothwell-bridge.

Having been previously declared a rebel to the King, (though no rebel to Zion's King) and a proclamation issued, wherein a reward was offered of 10,000 merks to any who could inform of or apprehend him, or any of those concerned in the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr. Hackston, upon the proclamation after Bothwell, was obliged to retire out of the way for about a year. In this season he did not neglect to attend the gospel in the fields, wherever he could have it faithfully dispensed, and by degrees doing so more openly, and having been with that little party who attended Mr. Richard Cameron at Airmoss, and who were surprised by Bruce of Earlsall, he was after a gallant resistance, and after the death of several revered friends, overpowered and taken. Being commander-in-chief of the little band, and seeing the enemy approaching, he rode off to seek some ground of more advantage. The rest followed; but seeing they could go no farther, they turned and drew up quickly: eight horse being on the right, fifteen on the left; and the foot, who were but ill armed, in the middle. He then asked, if they were all willing to fight? They all answered, they were. A strong party of the enemies' horse coming hard upon them, the horse fired, killed and wounded several of them, both horse and foot. After this they advanced to the enemies' very faces, when, after giving and receiving fire, Hackston being in the front and finding the horse behind him broke, rode in among them,

and out at a side, without any damage; but being assaulted by severals, with whom he fought a long time, they following him, and he them by turns, he at length stuck in a bog. Here the foremost of the troopers, one Ramsay, following him, and being now on foot they fought with small swords, without much advantage on either side. But at length closing, he was struck down by three on horseback who came behind him: and falling after he had received three wounds on the head, they saved his life, and he submitted. He was, with the rest of the prisoners, carried to the rear, where they gave them the testimony* of being brave men. He was thence brought to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, where Dalziel threatened to roast him for not satisfying him with his answers. After which he and other three prisoners were taken to Edinburgh, where, by order of the Council, they were received by the magistrates at the Watergate, and he set on a horse's bare back, with his face backward, and the other three laid on a goad of iron, and carried up the street to the Parliament Close, Mr. Cameron's head being borne on a halbert before them. Here he was taken down, and the rest loosed, by the hands of the hangman.

He was immediately brought before the Council, and after his indictment was read by the Chancellor, he was examined. This examination, and his answers thereto, being elsewhere† inserted at large, need not be rehearsed very fully here. Being asked, "If he thought the Bishop's death murder?" he told them, "that he was not obliged to answer such questions; yet he would not call it so, but rather say it was not murder." Being further asked, "If he owned the King's authority," he replied, "That though he was not obliged to answer, yet as he was permitted to speak, he would say something to that: and 1st, That there could be no lawful authority, but what was of God, and that no authority stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God, and then, that he knew of no authority nor judiciary this day in these nations, but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful; and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were setting murderers, sorcerers, and such others, at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and made it their whole work to oppress, kill, and destroy the Lord's people." Bishop Paterson asked, "If ever Pilate, and that judicature who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges?" He said, "He would answer no perjured prelate in the nation." Paterson replied, "He could not be called perjured, since he never took that sa-

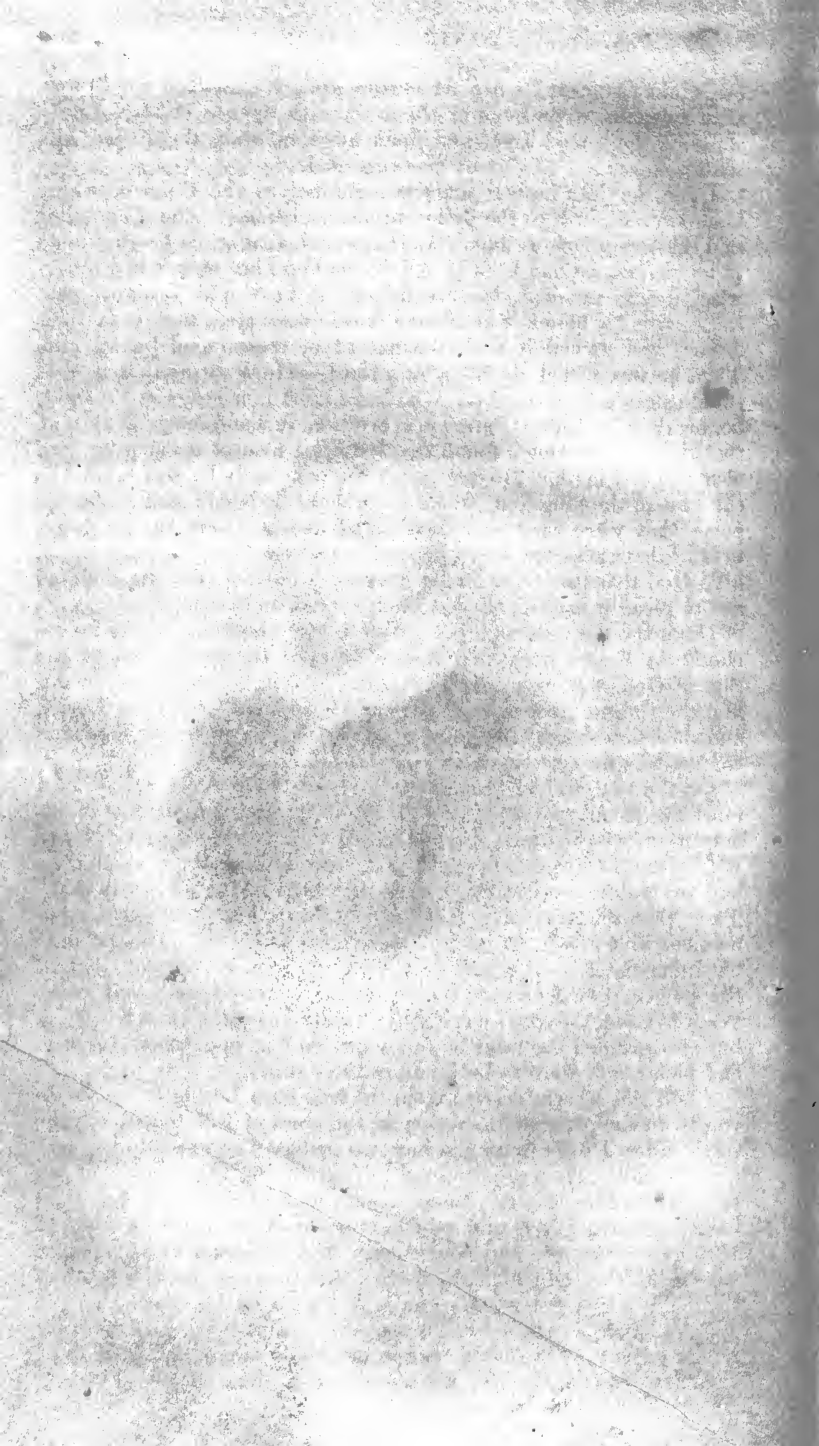
* Some of these bloody enemies said, that this handful were men of the greatest courage that ever they set their faces to fight against; and that if they had been as well trained, horsed and armed, as they were, they would surely have put them to flight. And few of them altogether escaped. Their shots and strokes were deadly, and though there were but nine of the covenanters killed, yet there were twenty-eight of the enemy who either were killed or died of their wounds in a few days. See *Walker's Memoirs*, p. 56.

† See the Cloud of Witnesses.



—Swan Sc.—

ALEX.^d HENDERSON.



crilegious covenant." Mr. Hackston said, "That God would own that covenant, when none of them were to oppose it." Notwithstanding these bold, free, and open answers, they threatened him with torture: but this he nowise regarded.

Upon the 26th he was again brought before the Council, where he answered much to the same purpose as before. The Chancellor said, he was a vicious man. He answered, that while he continued to be vicious, he had been acceptable to him; but now, when otherwise, it was not so. He asked him, If he would yet own that cause with his blood, if at liberty?—He answered, that both their fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before him. Then he was called by all a murderer.—He answered, that God should decide betwixt them, who were most murderers in his sight, he or they. Bishop Paterson's brother, in conference, told him, that the whole Council found that he was a man of great parts, and also of good birth. He said, that for his birth he was related to the best in the kingdom, which he thought little of; and as for his parts, they were very small; yet he trusted so much to the goodness of that cause for which he was a prisoner, that if they would give God that justice, as to let his cause be disputed, he doubted not to plead it against all that should speak against it.

Upon the 27th he was taken before the justiciary, where he declined the King's authority as an usurper of the prerogative of the Son of God, and consequently declined them, as exercising under him the supreme power over the church, usurped from Jesus Christ, and therefore declined them as open enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power, belonging to Him only.

On the 29th he was brought to his trial, when the Council, in a most unprecedented way, appointed beforehand the manner of his execution: well knowing that his judges would find him guilty. Upon Friday the 30th, being brought again before them, they asked, if he had any more to say.—He answered, "what I have said I will seal." They then told him, they had somewhat to say to him; and commanded him to sit down and receive his sentence. This he did; but immediately told them, they were all murderers: for that all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that these years bygone, they had not only tyrannized over the church of God, but also grinded the faces of the poor; so that oppression, perjury, and bloodshed, were to be found in their skirts.

Upon this he was carried from the bar, on a hurdle drawn backwards, to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh. None were suffered to be with him but two bailies, the executioner, and his servants. He was permitted to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people. Being come upon the scaffold, his right hand was struck off, and a little after his left; which he endured with great firmness and constancy. The hangman being long in cutting off the right hand, he desired him to strike on the joint of the left; which being done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and suffered to fall down again with his whole weight, upon the lower scaffold, three times, and then fixed

at the top of the gallows. Then the executioner, with a large knife, cut open his breast, and pulled out his heart, before he was dead, for it moved when it fell on the scaffold. He then stuck his knife in it, and shewed it on all sides to the people, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor." At last, he threw it into a fire prepared for that purpose; and having quartered his body, his head was fixed on the Nether Bow, one of his quarters, with his hands, at St. Andrews, another at Glasgow, a third at Leith, and a fourth at Burntisland.—Thus fell this champion for the cause of Christ, a sacrifice to Prelatic fury, to gratify the lust and ambition of wicked and bloody men. Whether his courage, constancy, or faithfulness, had the pre-eminence, it is hard to determine.

ROBERT KER OF KERSLAND.

ROBERT KER of Kersland, being born of a very religious family, began early to discover a more than ordinary zeal for religion. His first public appearance for the cause and interest of Christ, was in November 1666, when he, Caldwell, and some others of the Renfrew gentlemen, gathered themselves together, and marched eastward to join Colonel Wallace, and the little handful who renewed the covenants at Lanark. Here having heard that General Dalziel was by that time got betwixt them and their friends, they were obliged to dismiss. This, however, did not escape the managers; and the Laird of Blackstoun, one of their own number, having upon a promise of pardon, informed against the rest, thus redeemed his own neck by accusing his neighbour.—But of this he had nothing to boast afterwards.

Kersland was, after this, obliged to retire out of the way; and the next year he was forfeited in life and fortune, and one of his estates given to Lieutenant-General Drummond of Cromlie, and another to William Blair of that ilk; which estates they unjustly held till the Revolution.*

After this, to elude the storm, he thought fit to go over to Holland, and live with his family at Utrecht; where he had the advantage of hearing the gospel, and other excellent conversation. In that place he continued near three years. At length his friends

* On the 19th of July 1690, we find, the Parliament declared, that, "all sentences pronounced by the Justice Court in absence, for *perduellion*, or any other crime before the year 1669, were from the beginning null and void;" restored "all persons or their representatives so forefaulted by the Justices *in modum justitiæ*, and particularly the representatives of Muire of Caldwell, Ker of Kersland, and Mr. William Veitch minister of the gospel," and rescinded the act of Parliament *anno* 1669, "in so far as it ratifies these forefaultures." See Act. Parl. as quoted by Dr. M'Crie—Life of Veitch, p. 97.

thinking it necessary that he should come home to settle some affairs, his lady returned in the end of 1669, and himself soon after. To his unspeakable grief, he found when he came to Edinburgh, that she was laid in a fever. She was lodged in the house of a woman who was a favourer of the sufferers. And though *he* was concealed in a more private place, and only used to come in the evenings to visit his sick lady; yet Cannon of Mardrogate, whose treachery and apostasy was not then discovered, having got notice of it, immediately gave information to the Chancellor, upon which, orders were procured from Lauderdale, to search the house, on pretence that Mr. Welch was keeping conventicles in the Lady's chamber: But the design was for Kersland himself, as the sequel will declare. Accordingly a party came; and finding no conventicle, were just about to retire; when one Murray having particular notice from Mardrogate to that effect, and having a torch in his hand, provided for the purpose, said, he behoved to search the room; and so went straight and brought him out, charging him to render his arms. Kersland told him he had no arms but the Bible, which he had then in his hand;—and that was enough to condemn him in these times. At parting with his lady, she shewed much calmness and composure, exhorting him to do nothing that might wound his conscience out of regard to her or her children, and repeated the text of Scripture, *No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God.*

He was forthwith taken to the guard, and then to the Abbey; where a committee of the Council, that same night, was assembled for his examination. When brought before them, he was asked concerning the lawfulness of the appearing at Pentland. This, in plain terms, he owned to be lawful, and what he thought duty.—Upon which he was immediately imprisoned. When going away, the Chancellor upbraided him with what passed betwixt him and his lady; which he suffered with much patience.

He was near three months prisoner in Edinburgh; and from thence was sent to Dumbarton castle, where he continued nearly a year and a half. He was then ordered to Aberdeen, where he was kept in close prison, without fire, for three months during winter. From Aberdeen he was brought to Stirling castle,* and there con-

* During the progress of his confinement in some of these different places, it would appear he had been joined by his family, and that at *Stirling* they had been subjected to the most cruel usage, whilst at the same time labouring under severe bodily affliction. There is preserved a draught of a petition to the Privy Council, in which, after mentioning that he had been confined for five years in different prisons, he says, “in the very coldest of this season, and in such a time when some of them were wrestling under heavy and sad sickness, other enduring pains of the stone gravel so excessive as cannot be expressed, were my thus pained children extruded out of the castle with all the rest, except one daughter, who with myself and tender wife, and one servant were thrust up to another room, that is known to be intolerable for smoke and cold.” The petition concludes with a request for “a change of imprisonment to Edinburgh Castle,” with the view of having an operation performed on the child afflicted with the stone.

tinued some years; and then was, a second time, taken to Dumbarton, where he continued till October, 1677. The Council then confined him to Irvine, and allowed him some time to transport himself and family, then at Glasgow, to that place.

Coming to his family at Glasgow, he was visited by many friends and acquaintances; and the same night, in conveying the Lady Caldwell and her daughter, he was taken by some of the guards, and kept in the guard-house till next day. The commanding officer would then have dismissed him, but first he behoved to know the Archbishop's pleasure, who immediately ordered him a close prisoner to the tolbooth. The Archbishop took horse immediately for Edinburgh: Lady Kersland followed after, if possible, to prevent misinformation.—In the meantime, a fire breaking out in Glasgow, the tolbooth being in danger, and the magistrates refusing to let out the prisoners, the well-affected people of the town got long ladders, set the prisoners free, and Kersland among the rest, after he had been eight years in confinement. After the hurry was over, he inclined to surrender himself, but hearing from his lady of the Archbishop's design against him, he retired and absconded during that winter.* In the spring and summer following, he kept company with the persecuted ministers, heard the gospel preached in the fields, and was at communions, particularly that at Maybole. And about the beginning of harvest, 1678, he returned to Utrecht, where he continued until the day of his death.

Shortly before this event, his dear acquaintance, Sir Robert Hamilton, being with him, and signifying that he might be spared as another Caleb to see the good land when the storm was over; he, amongst his last words, said to him, "What is man before the Lord? yea, what is a nation?—as the drop of a bucket or the small dust in the balance: yea, less than nothing, and vanity. But this much I can say in humility, that through free grace, I have endeavoured to keep the post that God had set me to. These fourteen years I have not desired to lift the one foot, before God showed me where to set down the other." And so, in a few minutes he finished his course with joy, and fell asleep in Jesus, Nov. 14, 1680, leaving his wife and five children in a strange land.

It were superfluous to insist here upon the character of the renowned Ker. It is evident to all, he was a man of a great mind, far above a servile and mercenary disposition.—He was, as we have seen, for a number of years, hurried from place to place, and guarded from prison to prison. He endured all this with un-

The date of this petition was 1675. And on the back of it there is a note in which the petitioner signifies that after the draught was made, he hesitated as to its being his duty to present it, "being diffident of treating or tampering with those so dreadfully given up men." See Note by Dr. M'Crie in Veitch's Life, &c. p. 422.

* It would appear, by the acts of Council, that he was retaken about the end of that year, and liberated without conditions: which was a thing very uncommon at this time. Vide Wodrow's History, vol. i.

daunted courage.—He then lost a good estate for the cause of Christ: and though he got not the martyr's crown, yet he, beyond all doubt, obtained the sufferer's reward! *

JOHN WELCH.

PERHAPS it may excite a stronger interest in the following memoir, when we say that the subject of it escaped a violent death, than if we could say, that he sealed his testimony with his blood upon the scaffold. Inconsistent however with the character of the times as such a result was, and little to be expected from the part which he acted, the former of these was certainly the case. Though ever foremost in the ranks of non-conformity, and the object of perpetual concern and frequent pursuit to the enemies of religious freedom and presbyterian government, he was notwithstanding, privileged to die in peace. His death having happened in 1681, this is the proper place to introduce an account of him.

The reader is no doubt aware that he was the son of Josias Welch, Minister of Temple-patrick in Ireland, and grandson of "the incomparable John Welch of Ayr," of whom some account has been already given in this work. He was consequently great grandson to the illustrious reformer, John Knox; and of a truth he was no dishonour to these distinguished ancestors. The date of his birth we have not been able to ascertain. But as his father who died in 1634,† was then only "in the flower of his youth," it was most probably not many years previous to that period. With re-

* It has been thought somewhat strange, that the posterity of such ancient and religious families as this and Earlstoun, should be now extinct in their houses and estates. But this need be no paradox, for the condition of the covenant, or promise of property, is,—“If thy children will keep my covenant, and testimony, their children shall also sit upon thy throne for ever, and shall return unto the Lord thy God, and obey his voice; thy God will bring thee unto the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it.” Now the contrary practices must produce the contrary effects: and none more remarkable than those who apostatized from the profession, principles, and piety of their ancestors. It is said, that Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlstoun, fell into a profligate, and irreligious life, and for Donald Ker, Kersland's only son, he was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in Flanders, 1692. And as for John Crawford, alias Ker, who married his sister, and with her received the estate of Kersland, he got a patent to be a rogue, from Queen Anne and her ministry, by virtue of which he feigned himself sometimes a Jacobite, and sometimes an old Dissenter, or Cameronian, (as he called them,) upon whom he gives high encomiums. What correspondence he might have with some of those who had been officers in the Angus regiment, I know not; but it is evident from the minute of the general meeting, that he was never admitted into the community of the old Dissenters; for though he attended one or more of their meetings, yet he was refused, and so could never influence them to publish any of their declarations.

† See Life of Josias Welch.

gard to his education, and the circumstances of his early years, we are also left in uncertainty, and even the time of his appointment to the parish of Irongray must be left to conjecture. That it was previous and perhaps several years previous to the restoration, seems most probable.

Certain it is, that Irongray being the birth place of his grand, father, and the parish within which the family estate of Collieston was situated, would present many attractions to his youthful mind. And during the period he was allowed to labour in it, as appears from the testimony of a cotemporary and neighbour,* "he had the greatest success in his ministry of any in the country." That period however was at length cut short by the same exercise of arbitrary power which deprived nearly four hundred parishes in the south and west of Scotland of their beloved pastors.

Mr. Welch had in 1661 concurred with his brethren in the presbytery of Dumfries, in resisting, as unconstitutional and unscriptural, the order for celebrating as a holiday, the 29th of May. And in 1662 he was one of seventeen out of nineteen, of which the presbytery consisted, (two only having conformed) who were compelled by the Glasgow act, as it is called, to abdicate their charges and desert their homes. His departure from the scene of his labours is said to have been in a high degree affecting, and is thus described by Mr. Blackadder, his fellow sufferer, who seems to have been an eye witness of what took place. "He was accused for having in his sermon called the Parliament a drunken Parliament. An order was sent to Maxwell of Munches, Steward-depute of Galloway, to apprehend him, who came on Sabbath night to his house at Irongray; but as he was to preach on Monday at Holywood communion, he begged to stay; which liberty, Maxwell, though a papist, civilly granted. Almost all the parish was convened, and many others about, who waited along with some ministers to convoy him a little on his way. There was great sorrowing and outcrying of the multitude beside the water of Cluden, where he was to take horse. It was with great difficulty he got from among them, who were almost distracted, and cried most ruefully with tears. But he being resolute, would not be detained, and after two or three of the ministers had kneeled down and prayed, he got to horse, the people still holding him. The ministers and he rode quickly through the water to win from among them, many both men and women ran on foot after him, and followed on the road a good space with bitter mourning and lamentation."

In addition to this it may be added as an instance of the strong regard which his people had for him, and the keen regret they felt at his departure—that a few months after, when a curate was to be inducted into the parish, and the edict was to be intimated from the pulpit, the people opposed it so violently that even though supported by military, the party could not get admittance to the church.

* Mr. Gabriel Semple in a MS. Memoir formerly quoted.

For this some of them were apprehended and even fined or imprisoned.

After his ejection Mr. Welch and his family took up their abode for some time in the house of Mr. Nelson of Corsack, in the parish of Parton, an excellent gentleman, and a great supporter of the presbyterian interest. Here in company with Mr. Gabriel Semple, to whom also Mr. Nelson extended his hospitality and protection, he commenced the practice of preaching in the fields. This practice, soon after, became very general, being followed by several others of the ministers ejected from the Dumfries presbytery, but Welch and Semple were the first who set the example, by preaching in Corsack wood. In this state they continued for about a year working to each other's hands, "for while the curates were pursuing the one in the country, the other was preaching in the woods." As might have been expected, they were numerously * attended; whilst the curates, by whom their places were now filled, could muster but very scanty audiences. This circumstance stimulated the government to more oppressive measures, which only had the effect of adding despair to the resolution of the suffering covenanters. They still continued to wait upon the sermons of the ejected ministers, who began by degrees, as it would seem, more boldly and avowedly to preach the gospel. As for Mr. Welch, if Letters of Council against him and others can be relied on as a source of information, he even returned to his own parish, and regularly exercised the public duties of his office. The proclamation referred to is dated 25th January 1666, and charges him as follows: "particularly the said Mr. John Welch does presume frequently, at least once every week, to preach in the parish of Irongray in the presbytery of Dumfries, and himself and those who frequent his conventicles do convene together, armed with swords and pistols, at the which meetings he also baptizes children that are brought to him by disaffected persons, and at some times he comes into the Sheriffdom of Air, especially at the latter end of July last, and did keep a conventicle at Galston-muir, where he baptized many children. Likewise the said Mr. John did keep another conventicle at Shirraland in Plinnick parish about the 1st of November last, where he baptized the children of James Mowat and many other persons. As also upon the 11th of July last, he kept another conventicle in the same place, where he baptized the children of John Chalmers," &c. It proceeds in conclusion to charge him and his brethren to compare before the Council, under pain of rebellion, to answer as to the foresaid matter. To this proclamation, however, we have every reason to believe that he and his brethren paid no regard. It is probable they afterwards became somewhat more guarded. But the next account which we have of our worthy represents him as in Edinburgh at the

* It would appear that so early as the third Sabbath on which they preached at Corsack, they were obliged to repair from the house or court to the garden, and afterwards finding it too small for the numbers who flocked around them, they had recourse to the fields. See Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway.

time of the insurrection which ended at Pentland. Thither, it would seem he had come in company with Mr. Robertson, with the view it is probable of advising with Mr. Blackadder and other friends, then in the capital. On his way he had called at the house of Mr. William Veitch, and prevailed on him to embark in the same cause. The result of their consultation was, that, whilst one individual hesitated, Welch, Blackadder and the rest determined to assist their brethren. Upon this Mr. Welch, in company with Mr. Robertson and Colonel Wallace, went straight to Pentland, and after the battle we find that the latter and he left the field together, and passed the night thereafter in a neighbouring barn. How he fared immediately after this, and whence he betook himself, we have no means of knowing. For the four years immediately succeeding this we lose all traces of him. In common with many others he was declared a traitor for his accession to the affair of Pentland. He was henceforth the object of almost continual pursuit. He was hunted as a partridge upon his native mountains, while he preached the gospel in every place to which he had access. Amongst others we find that in the year 1670, he held a famous conventicle at Livingseat in the parish of Carnwath, the upper part of it. Many hearers came from Clydesdale and West Lothian, and were severely fined for so doing. One Vernon, an amiable and pious young man, who was present, refusing to depose upon oath what he knew of the persons present, was committed a close prisoner, ordered to be laid in irons and fed on bread and water. Some persons of quality interfering for his liberation, he was with difficulty let go. After this Mr. Welch was also different times preaching at Kinkel near St. Andrews, and had numerous hearers from that city, university and neighbourhood.* It appears that he also went into Perthshire, for we find by an act of Council 1672, that the laird of Balhousie is fined in a thousand pounds sterling for having been present (or, according to other accounts, because his son was present) at a conventicle kept by Mr. Welch, on his premises.

In the summer of 1674, we find him perambulating Fife, and gathering immense assemblies, sometimes eight or ten thousand. And besides the above, Mr. Blackadder has recorded some instances of the power and demonstration with which his eloquence, on these occasions, came home to the heart. "At one time, having removed

* The following extraordinary circumstance relative to his preaching here is thus recorded by Wodrow: "A profligate youth being at the university of St. Andrews, came to sermon in Kinkel Close, about a mile from that city, where Mr. Welch was preaching, and in his spite and mockery threw somewhat at him, which hit him. He stopt and said he did not know who had put that public front on a servant of Christ, but be he who he would, he was persuaded there would be more present at his death, than were hearing him preach that day, and the multitude was not small. This turned out to be Philip Standfield, son to Sir James Standfield of Newmilns by Haddington. This unhappy youth was tried and condemned and executed for the murder of his father. Mr. Standfield acknowledged this in prison after he was condemned, and that God was about to accomplish what he had been warned of.

all the impediments that might hinder persons from embracing the terms of salvation, he said at the conclusion, 'I must enter my protestation in my Master's name, against any here, who will not close with the offer, and give their consent.' Upon this a woman in the company cried, 'hold your hand, Sir, do it, for I give my consent.' Among Mr. Welch's converts in Fife was the Countess of Crawford. She was daughter to the Earl of Annandale, and sister to the Duke of Hamilton. This took place at Duraquhair near Coupar, and hard by her own house, where the power of God was manifested, to the checking the conscience, and awakening the hearts of many. On that occasion, there was about 8,000 persons present, and the honourable lady declared she was constrained to close with the offer then made. The impression was lasting, and evinced by much fruit of piety which shone forth in all her walk as a Christian.

On this same sabbath it appears there were no less than other three conventicles met in the county of Fife, unknown to each other; and it was calculated that above 16,000 people were hearing field sermons in one day. Such an occasion was too inviting to be let pass unimproved by the persecutors, and Mr. Welch too distinguished a person to be overlooked. A party of life guards, therefore, under the command of Masterton of Grange, after proceeding to the Lomond hills to disperse a conventicle held by Mr. Wellwood, marched straight to Duraquhair, intending to attack Mr. Welch; but the people had got notice, and hurried him away. A great body of them escorted him as far as Largo, where they hired a boat; and he, and his wife, and some others landed safely under night at Aberlady bay, and got to his own house at Edinburgh. So he escaped their hands, by lurking and shifting, till he went to Galloway.

Another of Mr. Welch's meetings was at Falkland wood, on a day when a number of gentry were present. The Curate of Falkland came forth on this occasion, and some with him, in a boasting swaggering way, offering to debate with him, after preaching. But if Mr. Welch had not, by his composed and calm words, restrained the people, they would have debated the curate at that which would have done his turn, before he could have begun. This frolic attempt Mr. Welch took with such meekness as became a man of God. At this time Chancellor Rothes was in Fife, on the day of one of Mr. Welch's meetings. He was at his own church in Leslie, where there was no body but his own family. Seeing the place empty, he raged, and swore, and threatened to horse and scatter them, but after he had blasted awhile, he fell from his resolution and staid at home.

In the summer of this year, however, we find that the most severe measures were taken against numbers who attended this and similar meetings, and as an instance of the importance attached by the ruling party to the labours of our worthy, we find that the laird of Reddie was fined in 2,000 merks, for having harboured him, "a declared traitor," in his house.

After this we lose sight of Mr. Welch till 1676, when the

intercommuning having passed, the persecution against him and his brethren became so close and severe, as to induce their retiring to England. Even here, however, the malice of their enemies pursued them. Orders were sent from the King and Bishops' courts, to the gentlemen on the borders, to banish them from their neighbourhood. But the English gentlemen made no great haste, and so the ministers were sheltered during the winter. Mr. Welch, who before leaving Scotland had been most diligently enquired after, took a house on Tweedside, where he dwelt for sometime very pleasantly. From this retirement he returned with others to the south and west of Scotland, in the spring of 1677, and during the summer of that year was active as before, in dispensing the word and bread of life. He bore a part with several other ministers, in the famous communion which was celebrated in the fields, near the water of Girvan, and within the parish of Maybole. At this sacrament thousands, we are told, were present, and much success* attended the word then preached. During this year he was also instrumental in inducting a Mr. Gilchrist into the parish of Carsphairn, from which however he was dispossessed by an act of the Council, and ordered to be brought a prisoner to Edinburgh.

At this period it would seem, in consequence of the great price † which was set upon his head, Mr. Welch usually travelled about, with a few friends, armed for his and their own defence. This fact was much insisted on to the discredit of the presbyterians in general, as if the whole of them were in arms; it was, however, simply as has now been stated.

After this in 1678, Mr. Welch, along with Messrs. Blackadder, and Dickson, observed the ordinance of the Lord's supper at East-Nesbit by Dunse. Mr. Blackadder giving account of this says, "we entered on the administration of the holy ordinance, committing it, and ourselves, to the invisible protection of the Lord of hosts, in whose name we were met together. The place where we convened was every way commodious, it was a green and pleasant haugh fast by the water side. The communion tables were spread on the green by the water side, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order." "From Saturday morning, when the work began," says Mr. Blackadder, "till Monday afternoon, we suffered not the least molestation or affront from enemies, which appeared wonderful. We desired not the countenance of earthly

* With respect to the success which attended Mr. Welch, in preaching the gospel, a hearer of his, John Stevenson, at the time a farmer in Dailly parish, gives the following testimony, from his own experience. "In 1678, I heard Mr. Welch preach from 2 Cor. v. 20. 'We pray you, in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled unto God,' by means of which I was made to see my infinite need of reconciliation, and my whole heart was made cheerfully to accept of Christ on his own terms, in all his offices, and to give myself to the Lord in a perpetual covenant, and to take him as given in the promise to be my Lord, and my God. I solemnly called the heavens and the earth, the sun and the Minister, to bear witness that I had heartily entered into this everlasting covenant with Christ."

† This was so high as 3,000 merks. See Wodrow, II. 13.

kings; there was a spiritual and divine majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was indeed the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes. The ordinance of the last supper, that memorial of his dying love, till his second coming, was signally countenanced and backed with power and refreshing influence from above. Blessed be God, for he visited his heritage when weary. The tables were served by some gentlemen, and persons of the gravest deportment. Mr. Welch preached the action sermon, and served the two first tables, as he was ordinarily put to do, upon such occasions. The table service was closed by Mr. Welch, with solemn thanksgiving; and solemn it was, and sweet and edifying, to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as all parts of the service; all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and praying with a joyful voice, to the Rock of their salvation. It was pleasant as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison, along the hills. There were two long tables, and one short one across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table, there were sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day. Few such days were seen in the desolate Church of Scotland.

The next place at which Mr. Welch was called to officiate was at a communion in Irongray parish, during the summer of the same year. "On the sabbath morning," says Mr. Blackadder, "the congregation sat down on the Whitehill in Irongray, about three miles above Dumfries. The meeting was very numerous, greater than that at East-Nesbit, there being more gentlemen, and strangers from far and near it. Arnot, late minister of Tongland, lectured in the morning. Mr. Welch preached the action sermon as was his ordinar. The rest of the ministers exhorted and took their part at the table service. The whole was closed in the evening without disturbance. It was a cloudy and gloomy day, but the heavy clouds retained their moisture, and did not break, as it were to accommodate the work." Towards the close of the service, a false alarm having arisen, the people gave ample proof of their zeal, for the good cause, by the readiness they evinced to die in its defence.—As a point of prudence no intimation was given where the Monday's work was to be kept. The tent was erected on another hill-side, near the head of the parish, four miles from the place of the sabbath meeting. The people seemed nothing diminished; and the very next sabbath, Mr. Welch collected a great multitude, on Dalscairth-hill, in the parish of Troqueer, and the next at Glencaber, in Holywood, and preached in both places. Mr. Welch, about the same time, kept another communion near Kirkcudbright. He also celebrated a communion at Colmonel, in Ayrshire; the last he observed in Scotland, and one of the largest. Many came to it in their best furniture, and posture of defence, expecting violence, as the council had got notice of it. There were a great many ministers officiating, and considerable apprehension was entertained, but all the

people dismissed in peace. He was, shortly after, invited to Kilmarnock, but as they had an indulged minister there, he refused to go. Few of them went to parishes where the indulged were settled, for though they were against the indulgence, yet they did not wish to show their sentiments, by what looked more like a provoking bravado than an edifying testimony. Besides, the people of Kilmarnock were stiff, and would not alter the place of meeting, and therefore he would not give in to their humour.

Towards the end of this season, the disputes regarding separation from the indulged beginning to run high amongst the field preachers, Mr. Welch engaged in several unsuccessful attempts to allay the ferment, by counselling the younger and more violent preachers to adopt more moderate sentiments. In the spring of next year, he renewed his ministerial labours in the field, and held a conventicle at Langside, for attending which, several individuals, but especially Lady Fleming of Fern, and Mrs. Anderson, wife to the then provost of Glasgow, were severely fined.

The next intimation which we have of Mr. Welch, represents him as sent for by his insurgent brethren previous to the battle of Bothwell bridge, and as arriving with a considerable number of troops from the west. With respect to the part he acted on this occasion, different individuals according to their particular sentiments will be inclined to hold different opinions. Even those, however, who may be disposed to condemn the moderation he contended for, must allow that his conduct was dictated by the purest motives, and by a conscientious desire to further the cause of God and of truth. The result unhappily proved that it was also characterized by wisdom, since there can scarcely be a doubt that the divisions which in vain he attempted to heal, were the source of the defeat which the covenanters experienced on that eventful day.

After this Mr. Welch seems to have retired to England; and the following notice extracted from the history of Kirkton, another of his fellow sufferers, may serve both to illustrate his character, and the subsequent events of his life. "He was a godly, meek, humble man, and a good popular preacher, but the boldest undertaker that ever I knew a minister in Christ's Church old or late; for notwithstanding all the threatenings of the state, the great price of £500 set upon his head, the spite of bishops, the diligence of all blood hounds, he maintained his difficult task of preaching upon the mountains of Scotland many times to many thousands, for near twenty years, and yet was kept always out of his enemies' hand.* It is well known that bloody Claverhouse, upon intelligence

* In reference to this the following anecdote, which shows at the same time his wonderful intrepidity and self-possession, is worthy of being noticed: "Being pursued with unrelenting rigour, he was one time quite at a loss where to go, but depending on Scottish hospitality, and especially on the providence of God, he in an evening called at the house of a gentleman of known hostility to field preachers, and to himself. He was kindly received. In the course of conversation Welch was mentioned, and the difficulty of getting hold of him. Says the stranger, 'I know where he is to preach to-morrow, and will give you him by the hand.' At

that he was lurking in some secret place, would ride forty miles in a winter night, yet when he came to the place, he always missed his prey. I have known Mr. Welch ride three days and two nights without sleep, and preach upon a mountain at midnight on one of the nights. He had for some time a dwelling house near Tweedside, and sometimes when Tweed was strongly frozen the preached in the midst of the river, that either he might shun the offence of both nations, or that two kingdoms might dispute his crime; he was eminently useful on the borders. He used to say to his friends who counselled him to be more wary, that he believed God would preserve him as long as he continued among dangers, but whenever he betook himself to safety, then his time should come, which accordingly came to pass, for after Bothwell in 1679, when all forsook field meetings, he went to London and there died" on the 9th of January 1681.*

He was honourably buried near his grandfather. He published a small but excellent work after he was ejected, entitled, 'Directions to the parish of Irongray.' It was reprinted at Glasgow in 1769; from this we extract a few hints illustrative of his character.

"DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,

"As the great consideration of the account that I have to make for every one of you, at the bar of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the great day of judgment, has made me, while I was among you, to be free with your souls, and to declare to you the whole counsel of God, according to the measure of light and grace, that he hath given me, to catechise, and visit you from house to house, to take you particularly engaged to be the Lord's, and to point out to every one your hazard and danger, and to encourage you; I say as the terror of the Lord did persuade me to this, lest I should be found guilty of the blood of any of your souls; so did the love that I carry to you, and the affection and love that ye did bear to me, constrain me to do all that I did; and I am so far from ruing and re-

this the gentleman was exceeding glad, and enjoyed the company of his guest with great cordiality. They set off next morning: when they arrived at the congregation, they made way for the minister and also for his host. He desired the gentleman to sit down on the chair, where he stood and preached. During the sermon the gentleman seemed much affected. At the close Mr. Welch gave him his hand, which he cheerfully received, and said, 'You said you was sent to apprehend rebels, and I a rebellious sinner have been apprehended this day.'"

* In token of the deep regret which this event excited amongst his friends, in Scotland, we quote the following passage from Blackadder's Memoirs.

Mr. Blackadder having at the request of his old parishioners, paid them a visit at Troqueer, had announced his intention to preach to them on the following sabbath. The place fixed upon for the meeting, was Dalskairth, and a vast assembly from Galloway, Annandale, and Nithsdale, including almost the whole town of Dumfries, were collected to hear him. Previous to this, "there had been some report of Mr. Welch's removal come to the country, (though not certain), but when the country people saw the minister entering the pulpit, with a mourning band about his hat, they raised a heavy groan, and several cried out of sorrow for some time, which did also much affect him, and did occasion a very

pening any pains I was at in this work, that I rather find ground to lament and bewail my short comings, and to confess before the Lord, I have not been half so serious and instant with you for your turning to God, that ye might live, as I ought and might have been, and that I have not so considered the weight of your immortal souls as I ought to have done. Dear friends, ye know that by the laws of the land, we are put under a necessity either to comply with episcopacy contrary to our covenanted engagement, or to be no more permitted to labour among you, being by act of council banished out of the parish and presbytery; and now knowing that after our departure grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock, therefore we have judged it our duty, to leave you this small legacy and testimony of our care and affection, which is as a legacy by a man dead in law as to his office among you, and all that I crave is, that ye would accept in love and make it your own."*

DONALD CARGILL.

MR. CARGILL seems to have been born about the year 1610. He was the eldest son of a most respectable family in the parish of Rattray. After having been some time at school in Aberdeen. he went to St. Andrews, where, having finished his course of philosophy, he was pressed by his father to study divinity, with a view to the ministry; but this, through tenderness of spirit, he refused, telling his father, that the work of the ministry was too great a burden for his weak shoulders; and requesting him for any other employment he pleased. But his father still continuing to urge him, he resolved to set apart a day of private fasting, to enquire the Lord's mind. And after much wrestling with God, by prayer, the third chapter of Ezekiel, and chiefly these words in the first verse, *Son of man, eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel, made a strong impression upon his mind, so that he durst no longer refuse his father's desire, but dedicated himself to the sacred office.*

moving discourse, by way of preface. He put them in mind of the great days of the gospel they had enjoyed, both of old and under the by past persecution; that God had now taken home some of the most eminent servants who laboured more abundantly than many, whom now their eyes should see no more in this world. But withal, he told them, that, the living Fountain was still to the fore, and pressed them to improve that well, especially now when all the streams were running dry, and when the labourers that remained on the field were few, like the grapes on the outermost boughs, after the gleaning of the vintage. After sermon all the Irongray people came about him to condole. He took them kindly by the hand, one by one, and promised a visit to their parish; but his heart being overcharged with sorrow, he could offer them no comfort then." Crichton's Mem. of Blackadder, p. 261.

* Mr. Welsh's Directions, or an abridgment of them, well deserve to be printed as a tract; the last edition was published by Mr. Bryce, Glasgow.

After being licensed, he obtained a call to the Barony church of Glasgow. It was so ordered, that the very first text the presbytery required him to preach from, was that in Ezekiel, just mentioned,—a circumstance by which he was the more confirmed, that he had God's call to the ministry. The parish had been long vacant, from two ministers of the resolution party, viz. Messrs. Young and Blair, having opposed the settlement of such men as had been called by the people. In reference to Mr. Cargill's call, they were in God's providence, bound up from their wonted opposition. But Mr. Cargill himself, perceiving the unconcerned behaviour of the people under the preaching of the Word, was so much discouraged, that he resolved to return and not accept the call, saying, they were a rebellious people. Some of the ministers solicited him to stay, but in vain. But when the horse was brought, and he was just going to begin his journey, being in the house of Mr. Durham, and saluting several Christian friends that came to see him away, upon taking farewell of a certain godly woman, she said to him, "Sir, you have promised to preach on Thursday, and have you appointed a meal for poor starving people, and will you go away and not give it? if you do, the curse of God will go with you." This so moved him, that he durst not proceed as he intended, but sitting down, he desired her and others to pray for him. Thus he remained and was settled in that parish, where he continued to exercise his ministry with great success, to the unspeakable satisfaction both of his own people, and of all the godly that heard and knew him, until Prelacy was restored by the unhappy restoration of Charles II.

Upon the 29th of May following, the day consecrated as a commemoration of this restoration, he had occasion to preach in his own church, it being his ordinary week-day's sermon, and seeing an unusual throng of people who came to hear him, thinking he preached in compliance with that solemnity, upon entering the pulpit, he said, "We are not come here to keep this day upon the account for which others keep it. We thought once to have blessed the day, wherein the King came home again, but now we think we shall have reason to curse it; and if any of you come here in order to the solemnizing of this day, we desire you to remove." And, enlarging upon these words of Hosea, *Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as other people,** &c. he said, "This is the first step of our going a-whoring from God; and whoever of the Lord's people this day are rejoicing, their joy will be like the crackling of thorns under a pot, it will soon be turned to mourning; he (meaning the King) will be the woefullest sight that ever the poor church of Scotland saw; wo, wo, wo unto him, his name shall stink while the world stands, for treachery, tyranny, and lechery."

This language highly enraged the malignant party against him; so that he was obliged to abscond, remaining sometimes in private houses, and sometimes lying all night without, in the neighbour-

* Hos. ix. 1.

hood, yet never omitting any proper occasion of private teaching, and other ministerial duties. At length, when the churches were vacated of presbyterians by the act of 1662, Middleton sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him, who came to the church but found him not, he having providentially just stepped out of the one door a minute before they came in at the other; upon which they took the keys of the church door with them, and departed.—In the meanwhile the Council passed an act of confinement, banishing him to the north of the Tay, under penalty of being imprisoned, and persecuted as a seditious person.—But this sentence he no ways regarded.

During this time, partly by grief for the ruin of God's work in the land, and partly by the inconveniences and labours to which he was exposed, his voice became so broken, that he could not be heard by many together. This was a sore discouragement to him to preach in the fields; but one day Mr. Blackadder coming to preach at Glasgow, he essayed to preach with him, and standing on a chair, as his custom was, he lectured on Is. xlv. 3. *I will pour water on him that is thirsty*, &c. The people were afraid, knowing his voice to be broken, lest they should not hear. But it pleased the Lord to restore his voice to such a distinct clearness, that none could easily exceed him; and not only his voice, but his spirit was so enlarged, and such a door of utterance given him, that Mr. Blackadder, on succeeding him, said to the people, "Ye that have such preaching, have no need to invite strangers to preach to you; make good use of your mercy." After this he continued to preach without the city, a great multitude attending and profiting by his ministry, being wonderfully preserved in the midst of dangers.

In October, 1665, the enemy made search for him in the city. But he, being informed, took horse, and rode out of town. At a narrow pass of the way, he met a good number of musqueteers. As he passed them, turning to a way on the right hand, one of them asked him, "Sir, what o'clock is it?" he answered, "It is six." Another of them, knowing his voice, said, "There is the man we are seeking."—Upon hearing this, he put spurs to his horse, and escaped.

For about three years, he usually resided in the house of Margaret Craig, a very godly woman, where he lectured morning and evening to such as came to him. And though they searched strictly for him here, yet providence so ordered it, that he was either casually or purposely absent; the Lord was often so gracious as to give him some notice of approaching hazard. Thus, one Sabbath, going to Woodside to preach, as he was about to mount his horse, having one foot in the stirrup, he turned about to his man, and said, "I must not go yonder to-day."—And in a little a party of the enemy came thither in quest of him; but missing the mark they aimed at, they fell upon the people, and apprehended several of them.

Another of his remarkable escapes was on a search made for

him in the city, where they came to his chamber, but found him not, he being providentially, that night, in another house.—But what is most remarkable, being one day preaching privately in the house of a Mr. Callender, they came and beset the house; and the people put him and another into a window, closing the window up with books. Had they removed but one of the books, they would certainly have found him. But the Lord ordered that they did it not; for as one of the soldiers was about to take up one of them, the maid cried to the commander, that he was going to take her master's books, and he was ordered to let them be.—So narrowly did he escape this danger.

Thus he continued till the 23d of November 1668, when the Council, upon information of a breach of his confinement, cited him to appear before them on the 11th of January thereafter. Being apprehended and brought before the Council, he was strictly examined, and in this examination was most singularly strengthened to bear faithful testimony to his Master's honour, and his persecuted cause and truths; yet by the interposition of some persons of quality, his own friends, and his wife's relatives, he was dismissed; and having presently returned to Glasgow, there performed all the ministerial duties, as when in his own church, notwithstanding the diligence of persecutors in again searching for him. Next year, we find, that upon his supplication to that effect, he was released from the order for his confinement beyond the Tay, on binding himself "not to reside in Glasgow upon any occasion whatever, nor in the town of Edinburgh and suburbs thereof, without warrant from the Lords of Session and Exchequer."*

Immediately previous to the battle of Bothwell, notwithstanding all the searches that were made for him, and they were both strict and frequent, he preached publicly for eighteen Sabbath days to multitudes, consisting of several thousands, within little more than a quarter of a mile from Glasgow, and yet without interruption.

At Bothwell, being taken by the enemy, and seeing nothing but present death for him, having received several dangerous wounds in the head, one of the soldiers asked his name; he told him it was Donald Cargill; another asked him, if he was a minister? He answered, he was; whereupon they let him go. When his wounds were examined, he feared to ask if they were mortal, desiring, in submission to God, to live, and judging that the Lord had yet further work for him.

Some time after the battle, he was pursued from his own chamber out of town. But he was no sooner out than he saw a troop of dragoons just opposite to him;—back he could not go, soldiers being posted every where to take him; upon which he went forward near by the troop, who looked to him, and he to them, until he got past. On coming to the place of the water at which he intended to go over, he saw another troop standing on the other

side, who called to him, but he made no answer. And going about a mile up the water, he escaped, and preached next Sabbath at Langside, without interruption. At another time, being in a house beset with soldiers, he went through the midst of them, they thinking he was the goodman of the house.

About this time,* he fell into deep exercise of mind anent his call to the ministry; but by the grace of God, he soon after emerged out of it, and also got much light anent the duty of the day, being a faithful contender against the sinful compliance of ministers in accepting the indulgence.

There was also about this time, in Rutherglen, a certain woman who, from some domestic occurrences, was brought under sad exercises and desertion; so that she was led to question her interest in Christ, was often tempted to destroy herself, and even sundry times attempted it. Being before known to be an eminent Christian, she was visited by many, but without success; still crying out she was undone; that she had denied Christ, and he had denied her. After continuing a long time in this state, she cried out for Mr. Cargill, who came; but for several visits was obliged to leave her as he found her, to his no small grief. However, after setting apart some days on her behalf, he came again; but finding her still rejecting all comfort, still crying out, that she had no interest in the mercy of God, or merits of Christ, but had sinned the unpardonable sin; he, looking in her face for a considerable time, took out his Bible, and naming her, said, "I have this day a commission from my Lord and Master, to renew the marriage contract betwixt you and him; and if ye will not consent, I am to require your subscription on this Bible that you are willing to quit all right, interest in, or pretence unto him:" and then he offered her pen and ink for that purpose. She was silent for some time; but at last exclaimed, "*O! salvation is come unto this house.* I take him; I take him on his own terms, as he is offered unto me by his faithful ambassador." From that time her bands were loosed.

One time Mr. Cargill, Mr. Smith, and some other friends, being met in a friend's house in Edinburgh, one of the company told him of the general bonding of the Western gentlemen for suppressing field meetings, and putting all out of their grounds who frequented them. After sitting silent for some time, he answered with many sighs and groans, "The enemy have been long filling up their cup; and ministers and professors must have time to fill up theirs also; and it shall not be full till their enemies and they be clasped in one another's arms; and then, as the Lord lives, he will bring the wheel of his wrath and justice over them altogether."

Some time after the beginning of the year 1680, he retired toward the Firth of Forth, where he continued until the scuffle at

* It appears that it was about this time he resolved to go over to Holland, but we have no certain account what time he staid there; from the sequel of the following narrative, it could not be long.

Queensferry,* where worthy Haughhead was killed, and he himself wounded. But, escaping from thence, a certain woman found him at the south of the town, and tying up his wounds, conducted him to the house of Robert Puntens, in Carlowrie, where a surgeon dressed them, and where he reposed in their barn all night. From thence he went to the south, and next Sabbath preached at Cairn-hill, near Loudon, notwithstanding his wounds; for no danger could stop him from going about doing good. His text was in Heb. xi. 32. *And what shall I more say, for time would fail me to tell of Gideon, &c.* At night, some persons said to him, We think, Sir, preaching and praying go best with you when your danger and distress are greatest. He said, it had been so, and he hoped it would still be so, that the more his enemies thrust at him, the more sensibly the Lord had helped him; and then he repeated the words,—*The Lord is my strength and song, and has become my salvation*,—in the 118th Psalm, which was the Psalm he sung upon the scaffold.

After this, he and Mr. Cameron met and preached together in Darmeid-muir, and other places, until Mr. Cameron's death at Airmoss, and then he went to the north, where, at the Torwood, near Stirling, in the month of September following, he had a most numerous meeting. Here it was, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication, against some of the most violent persecutors of that day, and the king among the rest. Previous to this, it is said, he was very remote in his walk, and spoke very little in company; only to some he said, he had a tout to give with the trumpet that the Lord had put in his hand, which would sound in the ears of many in Britain, and other places in Europe. It is said, that nobody knew what he was to do that morning, except Mr. Smith, to whom he imparted the thoughts of his heart. In the forenoon he lectured on Ezek. xxi. 25, &c. and preached on 1 Cor. v. 13. and then having discoursed some time on the nature of excommunication, he proceeded to the sentence: † after which, in the afternoon, he preached from Lam. iii. 31, 32. *For the Lord will not cast off for ever.*

The next Lord's day, he preached at Fallow-hill, in the parish of Livingstone. In the preface, he said, "I know I am and will be condemned by many, for excommunicating those wicked men, but condemn me who will, I know I am approved of by God, and am persuaded, that what I have done on earth, is ratified in heaven;

* See life of Haughhead.

† The nature and form of this sentence is perhaps unknown to some of our readers—we shall therefore subjoin a short abstract of it, as pronounced on the above occasion. "I, being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do, in his name and by his Spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Charles the Second, King," &c. upon these grounds—1. His high mocking of God. 2. His great perjury. 3. His rescinding all laws for establishing the reformation. 4. His commanding armies to destroy the Lord's people. 5. His being an enemy to true protestants. 6. His granting remissions and pardons for murderers. 7. For his adulteries," &c. See Hind Let Loose, p. 170.

for, if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my work, it was that.* And I shall give you two signs, that ye may know I am in no delusion; 1st, If some of these men do not find that sentence binding upon them, ere they go off the stage, and be obliged to confess it, and, 2dly, If they die the ordinary death of men; then God hath not spoken by me.†

On the 22d of October following, a long and severe proclamation was issued against him and his followers, wherein a reward of 5000 merks was offered for apprehending him.—Next month, Governor Middleton, having been frustrated in his design upon him at Queensferry, laid another plot for him. He employed for this purpose, one James Henderson in Ferry, who, by forging letters, in name of Mr. Adam of Culross, and other serious Christians in Fife, invited Mr. Cargill to come and preach to them at the hill of Beith. With these letters, he went to Edinburgh, and, after a most diligent search, found him in the West Bow. Mr. Cargill being willing to answer the call, Henderson proposed to go before, and have a boat, ready at the Ferry, and that he might know them, he desired to see Mr. Cargill's clothes, Mr. Skeen and Mr. Boig being in the same room. In the mean time he had Middleton's soldiers lying at the Mutton-hole, about three miles from Edinburgh. Mr. Skeen, Archibald Stuart, Mrs. Muir, and Marion Hervey, took the way before, on foot: Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig being to follow on horseback. Whenever they came to the place, the soldiers spied them; but Mrs. Muir having escaped went and stopped Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig, who fled back to Edinburgh.

After this remarkable deliverance, Mr. Cargill, seeing nothing for him but treachery and tyranny, retired for about three months to England, where the Lord blessed his labours to the conviction and edification of many. It was during his absence that the sect of Gibites arose, so called from John Gib a sailor in Borrowstounness, who with other three men, and twenty-six women, vented and

* Notwithstanding this strong language which, we have no doubt, expresses the actual state of his feelings on the subject, this step of Cargill's has been very generally and perhaps justly condemned, and that too even by the most decided advocates for presbyterian discipline. The judicious and faithful Wodrow pronounces it to be "plainly disagreeable to the rules of the Church of Scotland." He farther declares in consistency with the above narrative that Mr. Cargill was perfectly alone in this matter—that it was approved at the time by none but his own immediate followers, who now set up themselves in distinction to the other presbyterians in Scotland, and therefore he argues that it cannot be any good ground for reproach and obloquy being cast upon the Scottish church, or on the principles for which as a whole it had suffered so much.

† The first of these was clearly verified, in the case of Lord Rothes, and the second was verified, in the remembrance of some yet alive. Every person knows that Charles II. was poisoned. His brother, the Duke of York, died at St. Germain's in France. The Duke of Monmouth was executed at London. The Duke of Rothes died raving under the dreadful terror of that sentence. Sir George M'Kenzie died at London, and all the passages of his body running blood. General Dalziel died with a glass of wine at his mouth, in perfect health. See Walker's Remarks, p. 10.

maintained the most strange delusions. Upon his return he was at no small pains to reclaim them, but with little success. They were shortly after this all taken and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. After a conference with them at Darnsgavel, in Cambusnethan parish, Mr. Cargill came and preached next Sabbath at Underbank wood, below Lanark, and from thence he went to Loudon-hill, where he preached upon the 5th of May, being a fast. Here he intended only to have preached once, and to have baptized some children. His text was, *Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, &c.** When sermon was over, and the children baptized, more children were brought, so that his friends pressed him to preach in the afternoon. This he did, from these words, *Weep not for me, &c.†* In the mean while the enemy at Glasgow getting notice of this meeting, seized all the horses about town, and mounted in quest of him; yea, such was their haste, that one of the soldiers, who happened to be behind, riding furiously down Stockwell Street, rode over a child and killed her on the spot. Just as Mr. Cargill was praying at the close of the service, a lad apprized them of the enemy's approach. They having no sentinels as was their ordinary, were surprised, so that some who had been at Pentland, Bothwell, Airs-moss, and in other dangers, were more than ever seized with fear. In this confusion Mr. Cargill was running straight on the enemy; but some of his friends stopped him and haled him to the moss, to which they fled. The dragoons fired hard, but none of them were either killed or taken.

From Loudon-hill Mr. Cargill took a tour through Ayrshire to Galloway, preaching, baptizing, and marrying some people, but staid not long till he returned to Clydesdale. One day after his return, he designed to have preached at Tinto-hill, but the Lady of St. John's Kirk gave it out to be at Home common. He being in the house of John Liddel, near Tinto, went out to spend the sabbath morning by himself: and seeing the people all passing by, he inquired the reason; which being told, he rose and followed them to the place, about five miles off. The morning being warm, and the heights steep, he was very much fatigued before he got there, where a man gave him a drink of water out of his bonnet, and this was the best entertainment he got that day, for he had tasted nothing in the morning. Here he lectured on the 6th of Isaiah, and preached on these words, *Be not high-minded, but fear, &c.‡* From thence he went to Fife, baptized many children, preached one day at Daven common, and then returned to the Benry-Bridge in Cambusnethan, where he received a call at the hands of two men, to go back to Galloway, but could not answer it.

Mr. Cargill had run fast towards his end, which now hastened apace. Having left the Benry-bridge, he preached a day at Auchingilloch, and then came to Dunsyre common, between Clydesdale and

* Matt. xix. 28.

† Luke xxiii. 28.

‡ Rom. xi. 20.

Lothian, where he delivered his last sermon upon that text, Isa. xxvi. 20. *Come my people, and enter into your chambers, &c.*

Some time that night, through the persuasion of Messrs. Smith and Boig, he went with the Lady of St. John's Kirk, as far as Covington mill, to the house of one Andrew Fisher. In the mean time, James Irvine of Bonshaw, having got a general commission, marched with a party of dragoons from Kilbride, and next morning, by sun rise came to St. John's Kirk, and having searched it, he searched also the house of one Thomson, and then came to Covington mill, where he apprehended him, with his two companions. On finding them he exclaimed, "O blessed Bonshaw; and blessed day that ever I was born! that has found such a prize! a prize of 5000 merks for apprehending of him this morning!" They were marched hard to Lanark, and put into jail, until they got some refreshment. They then brought them out in haste, got horses and set them on their bare backs. Bonshaw tied Mr. Cargill's feet below the horse's belly, with his own hand, very hard; at which he looked down to him, and said, "Why do you tie me so hard, your wickedness is great. You will not long escape the just judgment of God; and, if I be not mistaken, it will seize you in this very place;" a prediction which accordingly came to pass next year.

They forthwith came to Glasgow in great haste, fearing a rescue of the prisoners: and while waiting at the tolbooth till the magistrates came to receive them, one John Nisbet, the Archbishop's factor, said to Mr. Cargill in ridicule, three times over, "Will you give us *one word more*?" (alluding to an expression he used sometimes when preaching); to whom Mr. Cargill said in reply, "*Mock not, lest your bands be made strong.* The day is coming, when you shall not have one word to say, though you would." This also came quickly to pass; for, not many days after, he fell suddenly ill, and for three days his tongue swelled, so that though most earnest to speak, he could not command one word, and died in great torment and terror.

From Glasgow they were taken to Edinburgh, and, July 15th, were brought before the Council. Chancellor Rothes (being one of those whom he excommunicated at Torwood) raged against Mr. Cargill, threatening him with torture and a violent death. To him he said, "My Lord Rothes, forbear to threaten me, for die what death I will, your eyes shall not see it."—This also came to pass; for he died the morning of that day, in the afternoon of which Mr. Cargill was executed.*

When before the Council, he was asked, if he acknowledged the King's authority? he answered, that as the magistrate's authority

* In whatever light this event may be regarded, the following details respecting it may perhaps be interesting to the reader. "When Rothes found himself dying, he sent for some of his Lady's ministers, for the Dutchess of Rothes was a presbyterian. Accordingly he had the assistance of John Carstairs and George Johnstone, both presbyterian clergymen. They spoke with plainness and firmness to the dying Duke. They described with freedom the wickedness he had done,

was then established by act of parliament, and explanatory act, he denied the same. Being also examined anent the excommunication at Torwood, he declined to answer, as being an ecclesiastical matter, and they a civil judicatory. He owned the lawfulness of defensive arms, in cases of necessity, and denied that those who fought at Bothwell were rebels. Being interrogated anent the Sanquhar Declaration, he declined to give his judgment until he had more time to consider the contents thereof. He further declared, he could not give his sense of the killing of the Bishop; but that the scriptures say, upon the Lord's giving a call to a private man to kill he might do it lawfully; and gave the instances of Jael and Phinehas. These were the most material points on which he was examined.*

While he was in prison, a gentlewoman who came to visit him, told him, weeping, "That his heaven-daring enemies were contriving a most violent death for him; some, a barrel with pikes to roll him in; others an iron chair red hot, to set him in," &c. But he said, "Let you nor none of the Lord's people be troubled for these things, for all that they will get liberty to do to me, will be to knit me up, cut me down, and chop off my old head, and then fare them well; they have done with me, and I with them for ever."

He was again brought before the Council on the 19th, but refused to answer their questions, except anent the excommunication. There was a motion then made to spare him, being an old man, and to send him a prisoner to the Bass for life. This being put to a vote, was rejected by the casting vote of the Earl of Rothes, who doomed him to the gallows, there to die like a traitor.

Upon the 26th he was brought before the justiciary, and indicted in common form. His confession being produced in evidence against him, he was brought in guilty of high treason, and condemned, with the rest, to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, and his head placed on the Nether Bow. When they came to these words in his indictment, *having cast off all fear of God*, &c. he caused the clerk to stop, and pointing to the Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, said, "The man that hath caused that paper to be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from my infancy; but that man, I say, who took the Holy Bible in his hand, and said, 'It

Roths said to Carstairs, "we all thought little of what that man Cargill did in excommunicating us, but I find that sentence binding upon me now, and it will bind to eternity."

Johnstone was asked to pray. While he prayed several noblemen and prelates were listening in a neighbouring apartment. A nobleman said to one of the Bishops, "That must be a presbyterian minister who is praying. Deil ane o' you can' pray as they do—No though it were to keep a soul from hell."

Some of the noblemen were much affected. The Duke of Hamilton said—"We banish these men from us, yet when we come to die we call for them—This is melancholy work!" See Lights and Shadows of Scottish character, p. 208—9.

* See his examination, &c. at large in Wodrow's Hist. vol. ii. p. 184.

would never be well with the land, until that book was destroyed, I say, he is the man that hath cast off all fear of God." The Advocate stormed at this, but could not deny its truth.

When their sentence was announced by sound of trumpet, he said, "That is a weary sound, but the sound of the last trumpet will be a joyful sound to me, and all that will be found having on Christ's righteousness."

Being come to the scaffold, he stood with his back to the ladder, and desired the attention of the numerous spectators; and after singing from the 16th. verse of the 118th psalm, he began to speak to three sorts of people; but being interrupted by the drum, he said, with a smiling countenance, "Ye see we have no liberty to speak what we would, but God knoweth our hearts." As he proceeded, he was again interrupted. Then, again, after a little pause or silence, he began to exhort the people; and to show his own comfort in laying down his life, under the assurance of a blessed eternity, expressing himself in these words, "Now, I am as sure of my interest in Christ, and peace with God, as all within this Bible and the Spirit of God can make me; and I am fully persuaded, that this is the very way for which I suffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many: therefore, I entreat you, be not discouraged at the way of Christ and the cause for which I am to lay down my life, and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him as it can desire to be; and now this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever mine eyes did see. Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God, but ere long they shall be enraged one against another, to their own confusion." Here the drums beat a third time. Then setting his foot on the ladder, he said, "The Lord knows I go on this ladder with less fear, and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach."—When up, he sat down, and said, "Now I am near the getting of the crown, which shall be sure, for which I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and made me triumph over devils, men, and sin. They shall wound me no more, I forgive all men the wrongs they have done me: and I pray the sufferers may be kept from sin, and helped to know their duty." Then having prayed a little within himself, he lifted up the napkin, and said, "Farewell all relations and friends in Christ; farewell acquaintances and earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproach, and sufferings. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into thy hands I commit my spirit." Having then prayed a little more, the executioner turned him over while praying; and so he finished his course, and the ministry that he had received of the Lord Jesus.

Take his character from Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, who was his contemporary.—He was affectionate, affable, and tender-hearted, to all such as he thought had any thing of the image of God in them; sober and temperate in his diet, saying commonly, It was well won that was won off the flesh; generous, liberal and

most charitable to the poor; a great hater of covetousness; a frequent visitor of the sick; much alone, loving to be retired; but when about his Master's public work, laying hold of every opportunity to edify; in conversation, still dropping what might minister grace to the hearers; his countenance was edifying to beholders; often sighing with deep groans: preaching in season, and out of season, upon all hazards; ever the same in judgment and practice. From his youth he was much given to the duty of secret prayer, for whole nights together; wherein it was observed, that, both in secret and in families, he always sat straight upon his knees, with his hands lifted up; and in this posture (as some took notice) he died with the rope about his neck.

Besides his last speech and testimony, and several other religious letters, with the lecture, sermon, and sentence of excommunication at Torwood, which are all published, there are several other sermons, and notes of sermons, both in print and manuscript, some of which have been published. Yet if we may believe Walker, the author of Remarkable Passages, &c. who heard several of them preached, they are nothing to what they were when delivered; and however pathetic they may yet be, they are doubtless far inferior to what they would have been, had they been corrected and published by the worthy author.

AN ACROSTIC ON HIS NAME.

Most sweet and savoury is thy fame,
 And more renowned is thy name,
 Surely, than any can record,
 Thou highly favoured of the Lord!
 Exalted thou on earth didst live;
 Rich grace to thee the Lord did give.

During the time thou dwelt'st below,
 On in a course to heaven didst go.
 Not casten down with doubts and fears,
 Assur'd of heaven near thirty years,
 Labour thou didst in Christ's vineyard;
 Diligent wast, no time thou spar'd.

Christ's standard thou didst bear alone,
 After others from it were gone.
 Right zeal for truth was found in thee,
 Great sinners censur'dst faithfully.
 In holding truth didst constant prove,
 Laidst down thy life out of true love.

June 21, 1741.

W. W.

WALTER SMITH.

MR. SMITH, the intimate friend of the preceding Worthy, was born in the parish of St. Ninian's, Stirlingshire. He was an eminent Christian and a good scholar. He went over to Holland and studied some time under the famous Leusden, who had a great esteem for him, as being one both of high attainments and great experience in the serious exercise and solid practice of Christianity.

In 1679, he made no mean figure among the little handful of the Lord's suffering people, who rose in their own defence at Bothwell Bridge. He was both chosen clerk to the council of war, and also a commanding officer among them; and had the honour not only to witness against the sinful compliance of the Erastian party, which then foisted themselves in amongst them; but was also one of the three who were appointed to draw up the Causes of the Lord's wrath against the land, with a new declaration which they then intended to have published.*

After the overthrow and dispersion of the covenanters which ensued, it appears that Mr. Smith went over to Holland. He had not however staid long, for we meet with him again with Mr. Cargill at Torwood, in September 1680; after which, he was very helpful to him by his conversation, and advice in difficult cases, sometimes praying for him in families when he was fatigued with sore travel, and also on public preaching days presenting for him.

He had a longing desire to preach Christ crucified, and the word of salvation through his name. Mr. Cargill had also a desire that he should enter upon this work, and for that end, it is said, had written to two ministers to meet him at Cumberhead in Lesmahago, Clydesdale; but ere the day came, they were both in the enemy's hands. However, Mr. Smith followed the example of our blessed Lord, in going about doing good, and to many persons by spiritual conversation, was a singular example of true piety and zeal; and was of more use to many than most part of the ministers of that day.

A little before his death, he drew up twenty-two rules for fellowship meetings, which at that time greatly increased from the river Tay to Newcastle, and which afterwards settled into a general and quarterly correspondence, that so they might speak one with another, and appoint general fasting days through the whole community, wherein their own sins, and the prevailing sins and defections of the times were acknowledged.† Mr. Cargill said, that these society-meetings would increase more and more for a time: but when the judgments came upon these sinful lands, there would

* See a more full account of this in Wilson's Relation of Bothwell Bridge, p. 13.

† The reader will find an account of these their transactions in their own register, now published of late, under the title of Faithful Contendings Displayed.

be few society-meetings, when there would be most need, through carnality, security, darkness, deadness, and divisions.

Mr. Smith at length approached the evening of his life, and the end of his labours. For having been with Mr. Cargill when he preached his last sermon in Dunsyre common, he was next morning, by wicked Bonshaw, apprehended at Covington mill. He was, with the rest of the prisoners, carried from Lanark to Glasgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, where upon the 14th of July, he was brought before the Council, and examined. Being asked if he owned the King and his authority as lawful? He answered, "He could not acknowledge the present authority the King is now invested with, and the exercise thereof, being now clothed with a supremacy over the church." Being interrogate, If the King's falling from the covenant looses him from his obedience, and if the King thereby loses his authority? he answered, "He thought he was obliged to perform all the duties of the covenant, conform to the word of God; the King is only to be obeyed in terms of the covenant." Being further interrogate anent the Torwood excommunication, he declared, "He thought their reasons were just."

On the 19th he was again brought before them, and interrogate, If he owned the Sanquhar declaration? It was then read to him, and he owned the same in all its articles, except that he looked not upon these persons as the formal representatives of the presbyterian church, as they called themselves. And as to that expression, The King should have been denuded many years ago, he did not like the word *denuded*; but said, What the King has done justifies the people's revolting against him. As to these words, where the King is called an usurper and a tyrant, he said, "Certainly the King is an usurper," and wished he was not a tyrant.

Upon the 26th, he was with the rest, brought before the Justiciary, where, being indicted in common form, their confessions were produced as evidences against them, and they were all brought in guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, upon the 27th, their heads to be severed from their bodies, those of Messrs. Cargill, Smith, and Boig, to be placed on the Nether Bow; and those of the others on the West Port; all which was done accordingly.

Immediately after Mr. Cargill was executed, Mr. Smith was brought upon the scaffold, where he adhered to the same cause, and declared the same usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, and in like manner died with great assurance of his interest in Christ, declaring his abhorrence of all defection. He went up the ladder with all cheerfulness, and when the executioner was to untie his cravat, he would not suffer him, but untied it himself, and, calling to his brother, he threw it down, saying, "This is the last token you shall get from me." After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and said, "I have one word more to say, and that is, to all who have any love to God and his righteous cause, that they would set time apart, and sing a song of praise to the Lord, for what he has done for my soul, and my soul saith, 'To him be

praise." Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying, and died in the Lord, with his face bending upon Mr. Cargill's breast. These two cleaved to one another, in love and unity, in their life; and between them, in their death, there was no disparity. *Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.*

The now glorified Walter Smith, was a man no less learned than pious, faithful, and religious. His old master, the professor of divinity at Utrecht in Holland, when he heard of his public, violent death, or martyrdom, gave him this testimony, weeping, saying in broken English, "O Smith! the great, brave Smith! who exceeded all that I ever taught. He was capable to teach many, but few to instruct him." Besides some letters, and the forementioned twenty-two rules for fellowship meetings, he wrote also *Twenty steps of national defection*; all which are now published; and if these with his last testimony, be rightly considered, it will appear that his writings were inferior to few of that time.

ROBERT GARNOCK.*

ROBERT GARNOCK was a native of Stirling, and was baptized by the faithful Mr. James Guthrie. In his younger years, his parents took much pains to train him up in the way of duty; but soon after the restoration, the faithful ministers being turned out, curates were put in their place, and with them came ignorance, profanity, and persecution.—Some time after this, Mr. Law preached at his own house in Monteith; and Mr. Hutchison occasionally at Kippen. And Mr. Garnock being one Saturday's evening gone out to his grandmother's house in the country, and having an uncle who frequented these meetings, went along with him, and next Sabbath went with great difficulty, through frost and snow, and heard Mr. Law at Monteith: which sermon, through the divine blessing, wrought much upon his mind.—Thus he continued for some time, going out in the end of the week to hear the gospel, and returning in the beginning of the next week to Stirling; but did not let his parents know any thing of the matter.

Upon hearing a proclamation, however, read at the cross, exhibiting, that all who did not attend upon the curates, were to be severely punished; he was much troubled in his mind, and hesitated whether to go to a field preaching which was to be next Sabbath, or not.

* What relates to the life of this worthy, is extracted from an account written by himself when in prison, and yet in manuscript; what concerns his trial and martyrdom, has been collected from history and other writings.

But "At last," says he, "the Lord inclined my heart to go, and put that word to me, 'Go for once, go for all, if they take thee for that which is to come.' So I went there, and the Lord did me good; for I got, at that sermon, that which led me to determine that although they had rent me in a thousand pieces, I should not have said what I had said before. So the Lord made me follow the gospel; and though I knew little then what I meant, yet he put it in my heart to keep by the honest side, and not comply or join with enemies of one kind or another; yea, not to strengthen their hands any manner of way. When I was asked, why I would not keep watch (or stand sentry) on the town, as it was commanded duty? I told them, I would not lift arms against the work of God. If I ever carried arms, it should be for the defence of the gospel."

After this he became a persecuted man, and was obliged to leave the town. His father being a blacksmith, and he having learned the same trade, went for some time to Glasgow, and followed his occupation. From Glasgow he returned home; and from thence went again to Borrowstounness, where he had great debate, as himself expresses it,—“about that woful indulgence: I did not know the dreadful hazard of hearing the indulged, until I saw they preached at the hazard of men's lives. This made me examine the matter, until I found out that they were directly wrong, and contrary to Scripture, had changed their head, had quitted Jesus Christ as their head, and had taken their commission from men, owning that perjured adulterous wretch as head of the church; receiving their commission to preach in such and such places from him, and those bloody thieves under him.”

From Borrowstounness he returned to Falkirk, and from thence to Stirling, where he remained for some time under a series of difficulties. After having got off when taken with others at Shieldbrae, while going to visit Mr. Skeen, he was taken to the castle, kept all night, and used very barbarously by the soldiers. At eight o'clock next morning he was taken before the provost, who not being then at leisure, he was imprisoned till the afternoon. But by the intercession of Mr. Colin M'Kenzie, to whom his father was smith, he was got out. "I had much of the Lord's kindness at that time," says he, "although I did not then know what it meant; and so I was thrust forth into my wandering again."

About this time he intended to go to Ireland; but being disappointed, he returned to Stirling, where he was tossed to and fro for some time; and yet he remarks he had some sweet seasons in this condition; though heavy trials ensued unto him from professors, because he testified against every kind of compliance with the current of the times. Upon this account, he and the society-meeting he was in, could not agree. He therefore left them and went to one in the country; which he says, "were more sound in judgment, and of an undaunted courage and zeal for God and his cause; for the life of religion was in that society."

At this time he fell into great temptations by the devices of Satan. But from these dreadful oppressions he was at length through

God's goodness delivered : although, as yet, he knew but little of experimental religion. Then indeed, says he, " The world thought I had religion : but to know the hidden things of godliness was as yet a mystery to me. I did not know any thing as yet of the new birth, or what it was spiritually to take the kingdom of heaven by violence." This serves to show, that one may do and suffer many things ostensibly for Christ, and yet at the same time be a stranger to the life and power of religion.

But anon he falls into another difficulty. A proclamation being issued, that all betwixt thirteen and sixty should pay poll-money, word was sent his father, that if he would pay it, he should have his liberty ; which was no small temptation. But this he absolutely refused, and told his father, when urged by him to do it, that if four-pence would pay it, he would not give it. His father said, he would give it for him ; to whom he answered, if he did, he needed never expect consideration for it from him. For what followed this, hear his own words : " And, Oh ! but the Lord was kind to me then ; and his love was better than life. I was tossed in my wanderings and banishment with many ups and downs, till I came to Edinburgh, where I heard of a communion to be on the borders of England ; and then I went to it. O ! let me bless the Lord, that ever trysted me with such a lot as that was, for the 20th, 21st, and 22d of April 1677, were the three most wonderful days with the Lord's presence that ever I saw on earth. O ! but his power was wonderfully seen, and great to all the assembly, especially to me. O ! the three wonderful days of the Lord's presence at East-Nisbet in the Merse. That was the greatest communion, I suppose, these twenty years. I got there, what I will never forget while I live. Glory to his sweet name, that ever there was such a day in Scotland. His work was wonderful to me both in spirituals and temporals. O ! that I could get him praised and magnified for it. He was seen that day sitting at the head of his table, and his spikenard *sending forth a pleasant smell*. Both good and bad were made to cry out, and some to say with the disciples, *It is good for us to be here*. They would have been content to have staid there ; and I thought it was a begun heaven to be in that place."

After this, he went home to Stirling, and got liberty to follow his employment for some time. But lo ! another difficulty occurred ; for while the Highland host was commanded westward in the beginning of 1678, all Stirling being required to be in arms ; most people obeyed, but he refused, and went out of town with a few others to hold a meeting for prayer. When he returned, his father told him, he was passed by for the first time, but it behoved him to mount guard to-morrow. He again refused : his father was angry, and urged him by the practice of others. He told his father, that he would hang his faith upon no man's belt. And on the morrow, when the drums beat to mount the guard, he again for the same purpose as before, went out of the town under a heavy load of reproach, even from professors, which was no easy matter to bear. Orders were forthwith given to apprehend him ; but he escaped

He now wandered from one place to another, until the beginning of August 1678, when he came to the communion at Maybole; and what his exercise was there, he thus tells us, "I was wonderfully trysted there; but not so as at the other. I went to the first table, and then went and heard worthy Messrs. Kid and Cameron preach at a little distance from the meeting, who never left the fields till they sealed and crowned their gospel with their blood. I cannot say but the Lord was kind to me there, on the day after, and on the fast day in the middle of the week after that, near the borders of Kilmarnock parish, where a division arose about the indulgence, which to this day is never yet done away. After my return home, I was made to enter into covenant with him, upon his own terms, against the indulgence and all other compliances; and because, through the Lord's strength I had resolved to keep my bargain, and not join with them, it was said, I had got new light, and I was much reproached, yet I got much of the Lord's kindness when attending the preached gospel in the fields, to which I would sometimes go twenty miles."

Having thus wandered to and fro for some time, he went to Edinburgh to see the prisoners, and then returned to Stirling at the end of a week. Late on Saturday night, he heard of a field-preaching; and seeing the soldiers marching out of town to attack the people at that meeting, he armed himself, and, with a few others, also went thither. They soon arrived near the place; but the soldiers coming forward, the people still, as they approached, seeing the enemy, turned off. At this, Garnock, the minister, and a few others who were armed, took to a hill above Fintry, beside the craigs of Ballglass, and the enemy coming forward, drew up in the best posture the time and place would allow, and sung a psalm. Immediately a trooper coming up, commanded them to dismiss, but they refused. This was repeated several times, till at last the captain of the foot came forward, and gave them the same charge; which they still refused. He therefore commanded a party of his men to advance, and fire upon them: which they did once or twice, and which was by this little company returned with much courage. At last the whole party, consisting of forty-eight foot, and sixteen horsemen, fired, but they, who amounted as he thinks to not above eighteen that had arms, still kept their ground. After several volleys given on both sides, one of the sufferers stepped forward, and shot away one side of the captain's periwig, at which the foot fled; but the horsemen, taking advantage of the rising ground, surrounded them and took some prisoners. The rest fled. Garnock was hindermost, being the last on the field of action, and says, he intended not to have been taken but rather killed. One of the enemy having come after him, accordingly he resolved either to kill or be killed before he surrendered,—catching a pistol from one for that purpose. But another coming to his assistance, the trooper fled off, and so they escaped to the other side of a precipice, where they staid till the enemy marched off to Stirling with their prisoners.

After the fray, Garnock staid till the evening, and spoke with some friends and the minister, who dissuaded him all they could from going to Stirling. But being now approaching the end of his pilgrimage state, with Paul in another case, when going up to Jerusalem, he could not be prevailed upon. So he went to town; and entering it about one in the morning, got into a house at the foot of the Castle-hill, and there got his arms left with much difficulty: but, as he was near the head of the Castle-hill, he was apprehended by two soldiers, lying in wait for those who had been at the meeting, and brought to the guard. He was then brought before Lord Linlithgow's son: who asked him if he was at the preaching? he told him he was at no preaching. He then said, he was a liar. Garnock said, "I am no liar; and seeing ye will not believe me, I will tell no more: prove the rest." Linlithgow said, he would make him do it. But he answered, he should not. Then he asked his name and trade, his father's name, and where they dwelt? all which he answered. He then ordered them to keep him fast. At night he was much abused by the soldiers; some of them who had been wounded in the skirmish, threatening him with torture, gagging in the mouth, &c. all which he bore with much patience. In the morning, a serjeant came to examine him; but he refused to answer. At last, the commanding officer came and asked him, If he was at that skirmish? He answered, "For being there I am taken; and whether I was there or not, I am not bound to give you an account." So he went out, and in a little returned with the provost, who thought to surprise him by asking, Who of Stirling folk was there? he answered, "Stirling folk are both your neighbours and mine; and though I had been there you might account me very imprudent to tell; for though you think it your duty to ask, it is not mine to answer, and I think you should rather commend me for so doing." After several other things anent the affair, he was commanded to close prison; and none, not so much as his father, allowed to speak with him; but he did not want company during that time; for, says he, "I had a sweet time of it! the Lord's countenance was better unto me than all the company in the world."

The forementioned skirmish had taken place May 8th, 1679; and upon the 19th of the same month, he was put into the common prison, amongst malefactors. And thus he passed the time with much pain and trouble, till the 10th of June, when the Fifemen being routed in the skirmish at Bewly bog, and being brought in prisoners on the 11th; they were thereby much thronged. He continued here, however, till after the defeat at Bothwell on the 22d, when there ensued no small confusion by tendering and pressing a bond of conformity, against offensive arms, in which he had his share.

Upon the 13th of July, he was brought forth, and in company with about 100 more prisoners, under a strong guard, taken to Edinburgh, and put into the Grayfriars church-yard, amongst the Bothwell prisoners: where he was more vexed both by the enemy and his fellow-sufferers, than ever. An account of this is here

given in his own words: "Some of my neighbours desired the bond, so they put it to me, but I refused. However, the most part of them took it. Nay, there were some of them supplicated for any bond. This made some of us conclude it was our duty to testify against it; which piece of employment was put upon me, against which some of the prisoners obtested. So I was rendered odious: but many a day the Lord was kind to me in that yard, and kept me from many a fear and snare; his love was sweet unto me. The men complained of us to the commanders, who sent for me and examined me, on the bond and other things: they said, I should be gagged, and every day I was vexed with them, until almost the whole prisoners petitioned for it. There was as good as seventy ministers sent into the yard to take it; and they said it was not a head to suffer upon: when they had done, they sent in two gentlewomen with the commission; and they set upon me: I told them, if every one of them had as much of it as I had, they would not be so busy to press it: for before this, the bloody crew came to the yard, and called on me, and asked if I would take the bond. I said, No. They said, I would get no other sentence.—So I was sore put to it: I would often have been at the doing of something; but the Lord would not suffer me. So, in his strength, I fought on against my own heart and them all, and overcame. But, O! the cross was sweet and easy unto me. There needs none fear to venture on suffering in his way and strength. O happy days, that ever I was trysted with such a thing! My bargaining with lovely Jesus was sweet unto me. It is true, affliction for the present seems not joyous but grievous; but afterwards *it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness to those who are exercised thereby*. I never knew the treachery of ministers, and their dreadful hypocrisy and double dealing in the matters of God, before that time, and I could never love them after that; for they made many one rack their conscience in taking that bond. I was brought out of the yard, October 25, with a guard of soldiers; when coming out, one Mr. White asked, if I would take the bond? I, smiling, said, No. He, in way of jeer, said I had a face to glorify God in the Grassmarket. So I bade farewell to all my neighbours, who were sorry; and White bade me take good night with them, for I should never see them more. But I said, Lads, take good heart; for we may meet again for all this. So I was brought before the Council-court. They asked, if I would take the bond? I said, No. Some of them said, May be he does not know it; but Hatton said, He knows it well enough. So one of them read it. I asked, if they would have me subscribe a lie to take away my life; for I never was in rebellion, nor intended to be so. They said, they would make another bond for me. I answered, they needed not trouble themselves; for I was not designed to subscribe any bond at this time.

Q. "Will you rise in rebellion against the King?" A. "I was not rising in rebellion against the King." Q. "Will you take the bond never to rise against the King and his authority?" A. "What is the thing ye call authority? They said, If they, the soldiers, or any

other subject, should kill me, I was bound not to resist. I answered, 'That I will never do.'" Q. "Is the Bishop's death murder?" A. "I am a prisoner; and so no judge." Q. "Is Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" A. "I am not bound to give my judgment in that." "Then one of them said, 'I told you what the rebel rascal would say: you will be hanged, Sir.' I answered, 'you must first convict me of a crime.' They said, 'You did excommunicate prisoners for taking the bond.' I said, 'That was not in my power; and moreover, I am now before you, prove it if ye are able.' They said, 'They would hang me for rebellion.' I said, 'You cannot: for if you walk according to your own laws, I shall have my liberty.' They said, 'Should we give a rebellious knave, like you, your liberty? you should be hanged immediately.' I answered, 'That lies not yet in your power:' so they caused quickly to take me away, and put me in the iron-house of the tolbooth. Much more passed, that, I must not spend time to notice.

"So they brought me to the iron-house, to fifteen of my dear companions in tribulation; and there we were a sweet company, being all of one judgment. There serving the Lord, day and night, in singleness of heart, his blessing was seen amongst us; for his love was better than life. We were all with one accord trysted sweetly together: and O it was sweet to be in this company, and pleasant to those who came in to see us until the indictments came in amongst us. There were ten got their indictments. Six came off, and four got their sentence, to die at Magus Muir. There were fifteen brought out of the yard, and some of them got their liberty offered, if they would witness against me. But they refused; so they got all their indictments; but all complied, save one, who was sentenced to die with the other four at Magus Muir."

In this situation he continued till November 13th, when he was, by the intercession of some friends, brought to the west galleries on the other side of the tolbooth. Here he remained till called again before the Council; after which, he was again committed to close prison. One night, being again called forth by one of the keepers, one Mr. John Blair being present, accosted him thus, "Wherefore do ye refuse the bond?" He answered, "I have no time now for that matter." "But out of that place," said Blair, "you shall not go, for the covenants and the 13th of the Romans bind you to it." I answered, "No; they just bind me to the contrary.—What if Popery should come to the land, should we bind ourselves never to defend the true religion?" He said, "we were loosed then." I said, "No; Presbyterians are taken by their word, and they abide by it; and that ere all were done, it should be a dear bond unto them; as for my part, I would rather go to the Grassmarket, and seal it with my blood." After this, the keeper of the tolbooth abused him in a very indiscreet manner, saying, that if there were no more men in the world, he should be hanged; and that he was an ignorant fool; neither ministers nor men could convince him. He then ordered to take him off to close prison, where he was again as much vexed with a company of bonders as ever; who

were not only become lax in principle, but in duty also : so he plainly told them, " You are far from what you were in the iron-house, before you took the bond ; then you would have been up at duty by two or three in the morning ; now you lie in bed till eight or nine in the day." They said, " It was true enough ;" but said no more.

After these persons got their liberty, he was put up with some others, some of whom were kept in for debt. And then, he says, the Lord was kind to him ; he resolved never to make any compliance ; and in this was made to *eat meat out of the eater, and sweet out of the strong*. But some gentlemen, prisoners for religion, in the chamber he was in before, having prevailed with the keeper to send him back to them about the beginning of 1680, the old temptation to compliance was renewed afresh ; for these gentlemen, when they could do no more, brought ministers to the rooms to preach, and make him hear them ; which he positively refused. At last, they brought a minister, one of his acquaintance ; him that should have preached the day he was taken.* But hearing that he had made some compliance with the enemy, he would not go to the next room to hear him make exercise, till he knew the certainty of the matter. After which he came to another room where they had some conference. A short sketch of it is here subjoined in his own words. " He asked after my welfare ; and if I was going out of prison ? I told him, ' I blessed the Lord for it, I was well, and was not going out yet.' After some conversation anent field-preachings, particularly one by worthy Mr. Cameron at Monkland, which he condemned, he asked, Why I did not hear ministers ? I answered, ' I desire to hear none but what are faithful : for I am a prisoner, and would gladly be in the right way, not to wrong myself.' He said, ' Wherein are they unfaithful ?' I said, ' In changing their head, quitting the Lord's way, and taking on with covenant breakers, murderers of his people, &c.' He said, ' How can you prove that ?' I said, ' Their practice proves it.' He said, ' That these were but failings ; and did not perjure a man ; and it is not for you to cast off ministers ; you know not what you are doing.' A. I do not cast them off ; they cast off themselves, by quitting the holding of the ministry of Christ : Q. How prove you that ? A. The 10th of John proves it : for they come not in by the door. You may put me wrong ; but I think, that in Gal. i. 6. *I marvel, that ye are so soon removed from him that called you, &c.* you may read that at your leisure, how Paul had not his gospel from men, nor by the will of men. He said, ' Lay by these : but what is the reason you will not hear others ?' I said, ' I desire to hear none of these gaping for the indulgence, and not faithful in preaching against it.'"

Speaking anent Messrs. Cameron and Cargill, this person then said to him, that the former was no minister, and the latter was once

* Whether this was Mr. Law, after the revolution, minister at Edinburgh, Mr. Hutcheson, or another, is not ascertained.

one, but had quitted it ; and that they received their doctrines from men, their hearers, who said, “ You must preach such and such doctrines, and we will hear you,”—to all which, Garnock gave pertinent answers. “ The minister then said, ‘ Robert, do not think I am angry that you come not to hear me ; for I desire not you, nor any of your faction, to come and hear me, for I cannot preach to all your humours.’ I said, it was all the worse for that. He said, none of these faults would cast off a minister : They were but failings, not principles. I said, I could not debate ; but I should let any Christian judge, if it was no principle for a minister to hold Christ head of the church. I told him, that there was once a day I would have ventured my life at his back for the defence of Christ’s gospel ; but not now : and I was more willing to lay down my life now, for its sweet and dear truths, than ever I was. He said, ‘ the Lord pity and help thee.’ I said, I had much need of it. And so he went away, and rendered me odious. This, amongst other things, made me go to God, and engage in covenant with his Son never to hear any of those who betrayed his cause, till I saw evidences of their repentance. And I would have been willing to have quitted all for that ‘ chiefest among ten thousand.’”

Thus he continued, till, as he says, he got bad counsel from some friends to supplicate for liberty ; who persisted so far as to draw up a supplication, and bring him it to subscribe. But when they had got him to take the pen in his hand, “ The Lord bade me hold,” says he ; “ and one came and bade me take heed. So I did it not ; for which I bless his holy name. But this lets me see, there is no standing in myself. Had it not been his free love, I had gone the blackest way ever one did.”

The night before gallant Hackston was executed, being down stairs, and hearing of the manner in which he was to be executed, he went up stairs, and told him of it. But the keepers hearing, came to persuade him to the contrary, and put Garnock in irons.

Though such was their intention, it would appear he was not put in irons till some time after, when a young woman, taken at the Ferry on the occasion when Haughhead was killed, being conveyed out of prison in a gentleman’s habit, he and another were blamed for it, though entirely innocent. For this, therefore, they were laid in irons ; the other soon after got his liberty ; but Garnock in this state continued for some time longer, it being intended to send him off with some soldiers to Tangiers. But the Lord having otherwise determined, they could not get as many of the Council convened at the time as to get an order made out ; and so he remained enduring the same conflict as before with those of his fellow-prisoners who complied, and got off ; who persecuted him by every means in their power, disturbing him in his devotions, and assailing him with every form of reproach.

To relate all the trials and difficulties he underwent, during his imprisonment, for nearly two years and a half, with the remarkable goodness of God towards him, would be more than can conveniently be done at present. I shall only extract a few of his own expres-

sions concerning himself and his condition towards the end of his narrative.

“I have had a continued warfare, and my predominants grew mightily on my hand, which made my life sometimes heavy; but among the many sweet nights and days I have had, was that 23d in the evening, and 24th in the morning, of August 1681. The Lord was kind to me. That was the beginning of mornings indeed, whereon I got some of the Lord's love, and whereon I got an open door, and got a little within the court, and there was allowed to give in what I had to say, either as to my own soul's case, or the case of the church, which is low at this day. I have indeed had some sweet days since; but I have misguided them, and could not keep in with him: for my corruptions are so mighty, that sometimes I have been made to cry out, *Woes me that ever I was born a man of strife and contention to many. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* But the Lord maketh up all again with his love: so that I have no ground but to be for God while I live, and bless his name that ever honoured me with this dignity of suffering for his name and cause.

“What will become of me, is yet uncertain. For any thing I know, I will be tortured and my life taken, and so will get no more written. As to any that read it, I beg of them to shun all that is evil in my life, as they wish to shun hell; and if there be any thing in it that is for use, I request the Lord that he may bring it home upon them when I am gone, and make it useful for them that read it. So I bid you all farewell, desiring none of you may slight your time or duty as I have done; but shun the appearances of evil, cleave to that which is good, and spend much of your time with God. Be not idle night nor day, and give not over much sleep unto yourselves.—O! Sirs, If you would be prevailed with to spend time for God, it would be the sweetest and most desirable service ever you took in hand. O be persuaded to fall in love with him, who is, without compare, *the chiefest among ten thousand, yea, altogether lovely.*—Take him for your all, and bind yourselves hand and foot to his obedience. Let your ears be nailed to the posts of his doors, and be his servants for ever.

“And now, seeing I get no more time allowed me here on earth, I close with my hearty farewell to all friends: and pray the Lord may guide them in all truth, and keep them from dreadful snares that are coming through this covenanted land of Scotland. So I bid you all farewell, and be faithful to the death. I know not certainly what may become of me after this: but I look and expect, that my time in this world is now near an end, and so desire to welcome all that the Lord sends. Thinking presently to be called in before God's enemies, I subscribe it.

Sept. 28th, 1681.

ROBERT GARNOCK.”

Thus did he conclude his narrative in the immediate prospect of martyrdom. We therefore now come to notice somewhat anent his trial and death. According to his expectation above expressed.

he was brought before the Council, October 1, where having disowned the king's authority, and refused them as judges, he was on the 7th brought before the Justiciary, and indicted, as follows: "That he did before the Council, on the 1st of October, decline the authority of the King and Council, and called the King and Council tyrants, murderers, perjured, and mansworn, declaring it was lawful to rise in arms against them: and gave in a most treasonable paper, termed, *A Protestation and Testimony against Parliamenters*; wherein he terms the members of parliament idolaters, usurpers of the Lord's inheritance; and protests against their procedure in their hell-hatched acts: which paper is signed by his hand, whereby he is guilty of treason. And further, gave in a declaration to the Council, wherein the said Robert Garnock disowns the King's authority and government, and protests against the Council as tyrants. Therefore," &c. His own explicit confession, and the papers he had given in, being turned against him, there was no difficulty of probation. But before the assize were enclosed, he, with five others, who were indicted along with him, delivered to the jury, a protestation and warning, wherein "they advise them to consider what they are doing, and upon what grounds they pass a sentence upon them. They declare they are no rebels: they disown no authority that is according to the word of God, and the covenants the land is bound by. They charge them to consider how deep a guilt covenant-breaking is: and put them in mind they are to be answerable to the great Judge of all for what they do in this matter: and say they do this, since they are in hazard of their lives, and against them. It is a dangerous thing to pass a sentence on men merely because of their conscience and judgment, only because they cannot in conscience yield to the iniquitous laws of men: That they are free subjects, never taken in any action contrary to the present laws. Adding, that these whom they once thought should or would rule for God, have turned their authority for tyranny and inhumanity; and employ it both in destroying the laws of God, and murdering his people against and without law, as we ourselves can prove and witness when brought in before them. After two years' imprisonment, one of them most cruelly and tyrant-like rose from the place of judgment, and drew a sword, and would have killed one of us;* but Providence ordered it otherwise; however, the wound is yet to be shown. The like action was never heard or read of.—After reminding them of the case of David Finlay murdered at Newmills, of Mr. Mitchell and James Lermonth, who was murdered after he was three times freed by the assize, they add, that after such murders, they cannot see how they can own them as judges, charging them to notice what they do; assuring them their blood will be heavy upon them: Concluding with Jer. xxvi. 15. and charging them not to take innocent blood on their heads." This

* Probably this was Garnock, who, though a private man, was honoured of the Lord to be a public witness.

paper was "Subscribed at Edinburgh, October 7th, 1781." by ROBERT GARNOCK, D. FARRIE, JA. STEWART, ALEX. RUSSELL, PAT. FOREMAN, and C. LAFSLAY.

Notwithstanding all this, however, they were brought in guilty, and sentenced to be executed at the Gallow-lee, betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, upon the 10th instant: Foreman's hand to be cut off before, and the heads and hands of the rest after death, and to be set upon the Pleasance port.

What his deportment and exercises were at the place of execution, we are at a loss to describe; but, from what has been already related, we may safely conclude that it was truly noble and Christian. And that the reader may learn somewhat of his exercises, temper, and disposition at the time, I shall extract a few sentences from his last speech and dying testimony.

"I bless the Lord, that ever he honoured the like of me with a bloody gibbet and bloody winding sheet for his noble, honourable, and sweet cause. O will ye love him, Sirs? O he is well worth the loving, and quitting all for. O for many lives to seal the sweet cause with: if I had as many lives as there are hairs on my head, I would think them all little to be martyrs for truth. I bless the Lord, I do not suffer unwillingly nor by constraint, but heartily and cheerfully. I have been a long time prisoner, and have been altered of my prison. I was amongst and in the company of the most part who suffered since Bothwell, and was in company with many ensnaring persons; though I do not question their being godly folk; and yet the Lord kept me from hearkening to their counsel. Glory, glory to his holy and sweet name. It is many times my wonder how I have done such and such things; but it is he that has done: he hath done all things in me: holy is his name. I bless the Lord I am this day to step out of time into eternity, and I am no more troubled, than if I were to take a match by marriage on earth, and not so much. I bless the Lord I have much peace of conscience in what I have done. O but I think it a very weighty piece of business to be within twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled. Indeed the Lord is kind, and has trained me up for this day, and now I can want him no longer. I shall be filled with his love this night; for I will be with him in paradise, and get a new song put in my mouth, the song of Moses and the Lamb: I will be in amongst the general assembly of the first-born, and enjoy the sweet presence of God and his Son Jesus Christ, and the spirits of just men made perfect; I am sure of it.

"Now my Lord is bringing me to conformity with himself, and honouring me along with my worthy pastor Mr. James Guthrie: although I knew nothing when he was alive, yet the Lord hath honoured me to protest against Popery, and to seal it with my blood: and he hath honoured me to protest against Prelacy, and to seal it with my blood. The Lord has kept me in prison to this day for that end Mr. Guthrie's head is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine must go

on another. Glory, glory to the Lord's sweet name, for what hath done for me.

"Now I bless the Lord, I am not, as many suspect me, thinking to win heaven by my suffering. No, there is no attaining of it but through the precious blood of the Son of God. Now, ye that are the true seekers of God, and the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent and run fast. Time is precious; O make use of it, and act for God; contend for truth, stand for God against all his enemies; fear not the wrath of man; love one another; wrestle with God; mutually, in societies, *confess your faults one to another; pray one with another; reprove, exhort, and rebuke one another in love.* Slight no commanded duty: Be faithful in your stations, as you will be answerable at the great day: seek not counsel from men; follow none further than they hold by truth.

"Now, farewell, sweet reproaches for my lovely Lord Jesus: though once they were not joyous but grievous, yet now they are sweet. And I bless the Lord for it, I heartily forgive all men for any thing they have said of me: and I pray it may not be laid unto their charge in the day of accounts: and for what they have done to God and his cause, I leave that to God, and their own conscience. Farewell all Christian acquaintance, father, mother, &c. Farewell sweet prison for my royal Lord Jesus Christ, now at an end. Farewell, all crosses of one sort or another; and so farewell, every thing in time, reading, praying and believing. Welcome eternal life, and the spirits of just men made perfect: Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: into thy hands I commit my spirit.—*Sic subscribitur.*

"ROBERT GARNOCK."

Accordingly the foregoing sentence in all its parts, was executed upon them all,* except Lapsley, who got off. And so they had their passage from the valley of misery into the celestial country

* The faithful and pious Mr. Renwick was present, and was much affected at the execution; and after it he assembled some friends, lifted their bodies in the night, and buried them in the West Kirk. They also got their heads down; but, day approaching, they could not make the same place, but were obliged to turn aside to Lauriston yards, in which one Alexander Tweedie, then in company with them, was gardener, and there they interred them. This place being uncultivated for a long time, they lay till October 7, 1728, when another gardener, trenching the ground, found them. They were lifted, and by direction were laid on a table in the summer-house of the proprietor; and a fair linen cloth being laid over them, all had access to come and see them. On the 19th they were put into a coffin covered with black, and by some friends carried to Gray-friars' churchyard, and interred near the martyrs' tomb, it being nearly forty-five years since their separation from their bodies. They were reburied on the same day, Wednesday, and about four o'clock afternoon, the same time at which they went to their resting-place: and attended, says one present, "with the greatest multitude of people, old and young, men and women, ministers and others, that ever I saw together." And there they lie, waiting a glorious resurrection on the morning of the last day, when they shall be raised up with more honours than at their death they were treated with reproach and ignominy.

above, to inhabit the land *where the inhabitants say not, I am sick, and the people that dwell therein are forgiven their iniquities.*

Thus died Robert Garnock, in the flower of his youth; a young man, but an old Christian. His faithfulness was as remarkable as his piety, and his courage and constancy as both. He was inured to tribulation almost from his youth, during which he was so far from being discouraged at the cross of Christ, that, in imitation of the primitive martyrs, he seemed rather ambitious of suffering. He always aimed at honesty; and, notwithstanding all opposition from pretended friends and professed foes, he was, by the Lord's strength, enabled to remain unshaken to the last: for though he was well nigh foiled, yet with the faithful man he was never vanquished. May the Lord enable many in this apostate, insidious, and lukewarm generation, to emulate the martyr; in imitation of him who now inherits the promise, *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*

ROBERT M'WARD.

MR. ROBERT M'WARD was a native of Galloway, and born in Glenluce. After having gone through the preparatory course of learning at the university, he was ordained minister of the gospel at Glasgow, where he continued in the faithful discharge of his duty, until the year 1661, when he with others began to observe the design of the then government to overturn the whole covenanted work of reformation. In the month of February that year, he gave a most faithful and seasonable testimony against the glaring defections of the time, in a sermon delivered in the Tron Church, upon a week day; a sermon which was afterwards made the ground of a severe prosecution. His text was in Amos iii. 2. *You have I known of all the families of the earth, &c.* He had preached upon it for some time upon the week-days; and after he had run over personal sins, he came to the general and national iniquities then abounding. Having then enlarged on these things with much eloquence, and in a most moving way, he gives pertinent directions to mourn, and consider, to repent, and return, to wrestle and pour out their souls before the Lord, encouraging them to these duties from this, "That God will look upon these duties as their dissent from what is done prejudicial to his work and interest, and mark them among the mourners of Zion." But what was most noticed, was that with which he closed this sermon, "As for my part, saith he, as a poor member of the church of Scotland, and an unworthy minister in it, I do this day call you who are the people of God to witness, that I humbly offer my dissent to all acts which are or shall be passed against the covenants and the work of reformation in Scotland. I protest that I am desirous to be free of the guilt thereof; and pray that God may put it upon record in heaven."

The noise of this sermon quickly spread abroad, and Mr.

McWard was brought to Edinburgh under a guard, and imprisoned. Very soon after, he had an indictment given him by the King's Advocate for treasonable preaching and sedition. What the nature of the indictment was, we may easily guess from the scope of his excellent sermon. Being allowed lawyers, his process became very long and tedious. Upon the 6th of June, he was brought before the parliament, where he had a public opportunity to give proof of his eminent parts and solid judgment. His eloquence was owned by his very adversaries; and he defended both by scripture and reason, the expressions in his sermon.

Although his excellent speech had not the influence that might have been expected, yet doubtless it had some, for the House delayed coming to an issue at this time. Indeed he expected a sentence of death, which no way damped him, but his Master had more, and very important work for him, elsewhere. Whether it was in consequence of orders from Court to shed no more blood, or for other reasons, is not known; but his affair being delayed for some time, he upon some encouragement given him of success, gave in a supplication to parliament, wherein he exchanges the words protest and dissent, which he had used in his sermon, for those of testifying, declaring, and bearing witness; and yet at the same time avers, that he is not brought to this alteration, so much from fear of his person, as from an earnest desire to remove out of the way every occasion of stumbling, that there may be the more ready access, without prejudice of words, to ponder and give judgment of the matter: and withal, humbly prostrates himself at their honours' feet, to be disposed of as they shall think fit.

This supplication, with what went before, might have softened the persecutors; yet it had no effect. Mr. Sharp and his friends resolved now to be rid, as much as they could, of the most eminent presbyterian ministers; and therefore he was banished, which indeed was the highest thing they could do unless they had taken his life. Upon the 5th or 6th of July, the parliament gave him for answer. "That they pass sentence of banishment upon the supplicant, allowing him six months to tarry in the nation; one of which only in Glasgow, with power to him to receive the following year's stipend, at departure."

His Master having work for him elsewhere, he submitted to this sentence, transported himself and his family to Rotterdam, where for a while, upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Petre, (author of the *Compendious Church History*,) he was employed as minister of the Scots congregation there, to the no small edification of many; and that not only to such as had fled thither from the rage and fury of persecutors, but also to those who resorted to him and Mr. Brown, for their advice towards carrying on and bearing up a faithful testimony against both right and left hand extremes, with every other prevailing corruption, and defection of that day, it being a day of *treading down in the valley of vision*.

The rage of his persecutors followed him, even into a strange land; for about the end of the year 1676, the King, under the in-

fluence of the Primate, wrote to the States-General to cause removal out of the Provinces, James Wallace, Robert M'Ward and John Brown. But the States, considering that Messrs. M'Ward and Brown had already submitted to the Scots law, and having received the sentence of banishment out of the King's dominion, had come under *their* protection, could not be prevailed on to remove them, and to this effect wrote to their ambassador at the Court of England, to signify the same to his Majesty.

After this, Mr. M'Ward was concerned in ordaining the faithful Richard Cameron, when in Holland, in 1679, and sent him home, with positive instructions to lift up a free and faithful testimony against every encroachment made upon the church of Christ, and particularly the indulgences, against which he himself never failed to witness.

He remained at Rotterdam, until his death which happened about the year 1681, or 1682. When in his last sickness, it is said he desired Mr. Shields and some other friends to carry him out that he might see a comet which then appeared; and when he saw it,* he blessed the Lord that he was about to close his eyes, and was not to see the woful days that were coming on Britain and Ireland, but especially on Scotland. He shortly after died, and entered into his Master's joy, after he had been twenty years absent from his native country.

It were altogether superfluous to insist upon the character of this faithful minister and witness of Jesus Christ, seeing that his own writings do fully evidence him to have been a man of great eloquence, and singular zeal. While in Holland, he wrote several pieces, which are said to be the following: The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland, published about 1679; Earnest Contendings, published in 1723; Banders disbanded: with several Prefatory Epistles to some of Mr. Brown's Works. He wrote also many other papers and letters, but especially, a History of the Defections of the Church of Scotland, which has never hitherto been published. Some accounts say that Naphtali was written by him.

* For a hundred years after this period, it was a prevailing opinion, even among well informed and religious persons in Scotland, that there was something portentous in the appearance of a comet; and the *aurora borealis*, within my own recollection, have excited great alarm, as "signs in the heavens" of something dreadful that was to happen. It is not surprising that such men as Mr. M'Ward were impressed with the common sentiment. They had learned from Christ's words, that "signs in the heavens" were connected with "distress of nations;" and though they made perhaps an improper application of the prophecy, we cannot wonder at their mistake. Astronomical science was then little cultivated in Scotland; and few were aware that the revolutions of a comet are as regular as those of the moon, though its orbit may be so large as to admit of its appearance only once in hundreds of years.

JAMES WALLACE OF ACHENS.*

To the attentive reader of the previous memoirs, the name of Colonel Wallace, as having commanded the insurgent forces at Pentland, must already be familiar. The prominent part which, on that occasion, he fulfilled, the disinterested motives from which he must have acted, his well known attachment to the presbyterian cause, together with the general excellence of his character, both in a religious and moral point of view, justly entitle him to a place amongst the Scottish Worthies.

In common with many others who have merited the grateful remembrance of posterity, little is known of his early life. He was descended from one of the most ancient and respectable families in Ayrshire. In the record of his trial after the battle of Pentland, he is styled "James Wallace of Achens;" † an estate which is situated in the parish of Dundonald, and which, together with the lands of that name, had been the property of his ancestors for many generations.

The lands of Dundonald were, we find, disposed of in 1640, just two years previous to the first notice of our worthy, which history has recorded, and perhaps about the time, or shortly after he entered on the duties of active life. He seems early to have made choice of the military profession, and having distinguished himself in the parliamentary army during the civil war, was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1642, he belonged to the Marquis of Argyle's regiment, and was sent to Ireland to quell the disturbances in that country. In 1645 he was recalled to assist in opposing the victorious progress of Montrose, and shortly after this was taken prisoner at the battle of Kilsyth. In 1650, when Charles II. came to Scotland the Parliament ordered two regiments of Life Guards to be embodied, one of horse and the other of foot, to be composed of "the choicest of the army, and fittest for that trust." Lord Lorn was appointed Colonel, and Wallace Lieutenant-Colonel, of the foot regiment of guards. In the discharge of this office, the colours which were entrusted to him, bore this remarkable inscrip-

* This Memoir, in consistency with the order of time which is followed throughout the work, ought to have been introduced at an earlier stage of it. The proper place for it is between the lives of Mitchell and Wellwood. But being overlooked at the time when these were in the Printer's hands, its importance as an addition to the work, has induced the Editor to insert it here.

† Opposite to the village and castle, (of Dundonald) is a very beautiful bank of wood, upwards, in most places, of 100 feet in height, and extending near a mile to the north-west. In a grand curvature of this bank, and on a gentle eminence, stands the house of Auchens, for a long period the residence of the Wallaces of Dundonald. About 1640 this estate came into the possession of Sir William Cochrane of Lowdon (Cowdon) knight, who was afterwards created earl of Dundonald. At the Auchens are the remains of a small orchard which was once in high reputation. The pear, known in Scotland by the name of Auchens, derived that name from this place. See Statist. Acc. of Dundonald parish.

tion, "Covenant for Religion—King and Kingdoms," and, as has been well remarked, when he afterwards appeared at Pentland, it could scarcely be said that he deserted his standard, or changed his *device*.

He was present at the battle of Dunbar, so disastrous to the Scots, and was taken prisoner on that occasion. In a petition read in Parliament on the 30th of December that year, Lord Lorn says, "In respect my Lieutenant-Colonel has, in God's good providence, returned to his charge, whose fidelity in this cause is well known both in Ireland and in this kingdom, and that his losses are very many and great, I do humbly desire that your Majesty, and this high Court of Parliament, may be pleased in a particular manner to take notice of him, that he may not only have a company appointed him, but likewise something may be done for his satisfaction of his former losses." Upon this petition the committee of bills reported "that Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace may be referred to the Committee of Estates, that he may be assigned to some part of the excise, or maintenance, forth of the shire of Ayr, or any other of the shires in the south;" and the house referred the petition, and the several members thereof, to the consideration of the Committee of Estates, "that such course may be taken thereanent as they shall think fitting."

It is probable that he lived retired after the Restoration, until the year 1666, when his attachment to the presbyterian religion, and the liberties of his country, induced him to take part with those who had recourse to arms in defence of that cause. On joining them he was unanimously chosen as the person best qualified to take the command.

In the appearance which he made at this time, and in accepting the dangerous post to which he was chosen, Wallace could be actuated only by the most disinterested motives. He had no private quarrel to revenge; he had given no personal offence to the government; and, as he was not involved in the circumstances which led to the first rising, he had no cause to be alarmed for his own safety. The prospects, when he first engaged in the design, were far from being flattering, especially to one of his knowledge and experience in military affairs, and he had it in his power to retire, as others did, after he saw the real state of those who were in arms. Nor was his conduct, during the short time that he commanded, discreditable to his military talents; especially when we take into consideration the small number of men which he had under him, the miserable manner in which the most of them were equipped, and the want of inferior officers to conduct them. "Wallace himself was a gentleman godly and resolute; but such an undertaking was for a man of miracles." By the line of march which he chose, he gave an opportunity to the friends of the cause, in the most populous counties, if they had been disposed, to join its standard. He prevented General Dalziel from obtaining that advantage which he sought, for attacking him during his march. If the government had been disposed to suppress the insurrection without bloodshed,

he gave them an opportunity of accomplishing this by the moderate letter which he sent to the General of the royal forces. The ground which he chose on Rullion Green, and the disposition which he made of his men, was the very best, when he had to oppose an enemy three times the number of his own troops. By fighting at the time he did, instead of delaying, as he knew he could easily do, he provided for the better escape of his men, in the event of their being worsted; and, indeed, the loss actually sustained was less than it would in all probability have been, if, without engaging, he had disbanded his army during the night. The battle of Pentland-hills was a well-fought field, not a disgraceful rout, like that which afterwards happened, under a very different leader, at Bothwell-bridge.

On the loss of the battle, Colonel Wallace left the field in company with Mr. John Welch, and taking a north-westerly direction along the hills, escaped the pursuit of the enemy. After riding to a sufficient distance, they turned their horses adrift, and slept during the remainder of the night in a barn. Having concealed himself for some time, Wallace at last got safely out of the kingdom. The battle of Pentland was fought on the 28th of November, and on the 4th of December, the Privy Council issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from harbouring or corresponding with him, or any of those who had been in arms with him, under the pain of being treated as accessory to the late rebellion. And, on the 15th of August, Wallace, and six others who had absconded, were found guilty and condemned to be executed as traitors, when they should be apprehended, and all their lands and goods to be forfeited to his Majesty's use. This sentence was ratified by Parliament in 1669, and was rescinded at the Revolution.

For several years Wallace was obliged to wander from one part of the continent to another for the sake of security. For the same reason he assumed the name of Forbes. From the examination of James Mitchell, we learn, that, in the year 1670 he was on the borders of Germany. When he thought the search after him had relaxed, he took up his residence at Rotterdam; but he was not allowed to remain there undisturbed. On the 27th of June 1676, Charles wrote to the States General, requiring them, agreeably to an article in a treaty between the two countries, to cause Wallace, with Messrs. M'Ward and Brown, ministers, to remove from their territories, as persons guilty of lese-majesty against the King of Great Britain. Of this transaction, which has already been alluded to in the lives of Brown and M'Ward, we shall here introduce a more detailed account. Mr. Brown, in a paper of information which he gave in to the States General, after referring to the refusal of the States to comply with a similar demand in 1670 mentions that the present application had been instigated by one Henry Wilkie, whom the king had placed at the head of the Scottish factory at Campvere, who was displeased because many of his countrymen, with the view of enjoying the ministry of Messrs. M'Ward and Brown, had repaired to Rotterdam, and brought their

shipping there in preference to Campvere, by which means his salary was impaired. Mr. Brown denies, that either he or his colleague was ever convicted of treason, and begs the States to require, from Sir William Temple, the English ambassador, a copy of the sentence pronounced against them; as this would show that the article in the treaty did not apply to them, and might be the means also of freeing Wallace from a prosecution, which had commenced principally on their account. "But," continues he, "it may be hinted to Sir William Temple, that James Forbes, *alias* Wallace, is a brave and skilful soldier, and may create more trouble to the King at home in Scotland, if he be forced to remove hence, than he can do by remaining here in the Netherlands, and discharging the office of an elder in the Scottish church at Rotterdam." The States General were satisfied that they were not bound by the treaty to remove the ministers; and they instructed Lord Beuningen, their ambassador at the court of England, to represent to his Majesty, that they hoped he would not require them to put away persons who had complied with the sentence of banishment pronounced against them; and to wave, in the best and discreetest manner, the fore-mentioned matter, as being in the highest degree prejudicial to their country. But instead of the affair being dropped, other letters were sent from England repeating the demand in stronger language, and Sir William Temple left Nimeguen, where he was employed in the negociations for a peace then going on, and came to the Hague, for the express purpose of urging a categorical and speedy answer. Upon this the States General, to prevent a quarrel with Great Britain, judged it prudent to yield; but they failed not to represent their sense of the injustice of the claim made upon them. In their letter of the 22d of January 1677, they say:—"We are willing to testify how sensible we are of the honour of your friendship and good will, and that we prefer it to all other considerations, assuring your Majesty that we will not fail to cause the said M^r Ward, Brown, and Wallis, to depart, within the time mentioned in the treaties, from the bounds of this country. We find ourselves, however, obliged to represent to your Majesty, that we believe you will agree with us that the obligation of the treaties is reciprocal; and that, according to the laws of this country, we cannot by our letters declare any person fugitive or a rebel, unless he has been recognised as such by a sentence or judgment of the ordinary criminal court of justice, and that your Majesty could not pay any regard to any letters of ours making a similar declaration, unless accompanied by such sentence or judgment. And as thus, we cannot require of your Majesty to remove any one from your kingdoms as a rebel or fugitive on a simple declaration made by our letters, so we assure ourselves, Sir, that your Majesty will not in future require us by simple letters to remove any person from our territories, before he be declared a fugitive or rebel, according to the ordinary forms of the laws and customs of your Majesty."

The following is the resolution to which the States General came, as translated from an authenticated copy of the original in Dutch.

SCOTS WORTHIES.

By the resumpt delivered on the report of M.M. van Heuckelom and others, their High Mightinesses' commissioners for foreign affairs, having, in compliance with, and for giving effect to that Resolution Commissorial of the 16th instant, examined and discussed the memorial of Sir [W.] Temple, baronet, envoy extraordinary of his Majesty the king of Great Britain, requesting their High M. would be pleased to ordain their said commissioners to enter into a conference with him ; as also a missive of the king of Great Britain, dated at Whitehall the 29th of December last, *stilo Angliæ*, respecting his Majesty's former letters of the 27th June and 18th of November before, concerning three Scotsmen, James Walles, Robert M'Ward, and John Brown ; and having conferred with the said Amb. Ext., Temple, regarding the contents of it, and having also seen the *retroacta*, and exhibited and heard read a draught of a missive, drawn out and committed to paper by the commissioners of their H. M. for an answer to the missives of His Majesty of Great Britain of the 27th of June, 18th November, and 29th December last, respecting the foresaid Scotsmen : It is found good hereby to declare, that although the foresaid three Scotsmen—have not only not behaved and comported themselves otherwise than as became good and faithful citizens of these states, but have also given many indubitable proofs of their zeal and affection for the advancement of the truth, which their H. M. have seen with pleasure, and could have wished that they could have continued to live here in peace and security ;—considering the risk they run, however, and considering with what pressing earnestness his Majesty has repeatedly insisted, by three several missives, and verbally through his envoy extraordinary, and with great reason apprehending a breach between his M. and these States, as Sir [W.] Temple has expressed himself on the subject in terms that cannot be mistaken, they feel themselves necessitated, in order to obviate so great an evil at this conjuncture, to cause the foresaid three Scotsmen—withdraw from this country ; and that consequently notice shall be given to the foresaid James Walles, Robert M'Ward, and John Brown, in order that they may be able to avail themselves of the good intentions of their H. M. in having their property properly disposed of before the 5th of March next ;—and for this end, an extract of this resolution of their H. M. shall be sent to the counsellors of the States of Holland and Westfriesland, in order that due notification may be given, and the foresaid James Walles, &c. may regulate their proceedings accordingly. They shall also find enclosed, for their behoof, separate instruments *ad omnes populos*, word for word with the following, which shall be sent to the foresaid commissioners of the council of the H. and M. the States of Holland, to be put into the hands of the foresaid James Walles," &c. The instrument or testimonial referred to in the preceding decree runs in the following terms :—“ The States General of the United Netherlands, to all and every one who shall see or read these presents, health. Be it known and certified that James Wallace, gentleman, our subject, and for many years inhabitant of this state, lived among us highly esteemed for his probity, submis-

sion to the laws, and integrity of manners. And therefore we have resolved affectionately to request, and hereby do most earnestly request, the Emperor of the Romans, and all Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, States, Magistrates, or whomsoever else our friends and all that shall see these presents, that they receive the said James Wallace in a friendly manner, whensoever he may come to them or resolve to remain with them, and assist him with their counsel, help, and aid; testifying that for any obliging, humane, or kindly offices done to him, we shall be ready and forward to return the favour to them and their subjects whensoever an opportunity offers. For the greater confirmation whereof, we have caused these presents to be sealed with our seal of office, and signed by the president of our assembly, and have ordered them to be countersigned by our first secretary, in our assembly, the sixth day of the month of February, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and seventy-seven."

With what reluctance the States took this step appears from the report which Sir William Temple made to his court. "The business of the three Scotch ministers,"* says he, "hath been the hardest piece of negotiation that I ever yet entered upon here, both from the particular interests of the towns and provinces of Holland, and the general esteem they have of Mackaird being a very quiet and pious man; but chiefly from the firm persuasion they have of not being obliged to it by any bare letter of his majesty, without any sentence having passed against them, by which they are adjudged rebels and fugitives. And, on the contrary, after a sentence of banishment against Mackaird and Brown, which, they say, is by all writers esteemed wholly to extinguish their subjection, and consequently his Majesty's right of declaring them rebels after they are banished and become subjects to another state. But I found the king's honour so far engaged in this matter, by three several letters which must have been public, that I have left no sort of arguments unessayed with the prince, the pensioner, and deputies both of the provinces and towns, to procure his Majesty's satisfaction, and make it pass for a thing so necessary to despatch, that it hath taken up two long debates in the States of Holland these two days past, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other business but the levies of monies necessary for the campaign."

Mr. Brown was allowed to remain in the country, on the attestation of a physician that his health would be endangered by his removal. It is not improbable that Mr. M'Ward also remained, in the way of keeping himself concealed for a short time; but Wallace was obliged to remove, and took up his residence either on the borders of France, or of the Spanish Netherlands. During this seclusion he addressed the following pious and well-written letter to

* Wallace is here spoken of as a minister by mistake, but it is evident from the correspondence, that both parties were quite aware of his real profession.

“the Lady Caldwell.” We quote it as throwing light on his character and circumstances.

“ELECT LADY, AND MY WORTHY AND DEAR SISTER,
 “YOURS is come to my hand in most acceptable time. It seems that all that devils or men these many years have done (and that has not been little) against you, to daunt your courage, or to make you in the avowing of your Master and his persecuted interests to lower your sails, has prevailed so little, that your faith and courage is upon the growing hand, an evidence indeed as to your persecutors, of perdition, but to you of salvation and that of God. It seems when you at first by choice took Christ by the hand to be your Lord and portion, that you wist what you did; and that, notwithstanding of all the hardnesses you have met with in bidding by him, your heart seems to cleave the faster to him. This says you have been admitted unto much of his company and fellowship. My soul blesses God on your behalf, who hath so carried to you that I think you may take those words amongst others spoken to you, ‘You have continued with me in my afflictions: I appoint unto you a kingdom.’ It seems, suffering for Christ, losing any thing for him, is to you your gain. More and more of this spirit may you enjoy, that you may be among the few (as it was said of Caleb and Joshua) that follow him fully, among the overcomers, those noble overcomers mentioned, Revel. ii. and iii. among those to whom only (as picked out and chosen for that end) he is saying, ‘You are my witnesses.’ Lady, and my dear sister, I am of your judgment; and I bless his name that ever he counted me worthy to appear in that roll. It is now a good many years since the Master was pleased to even me to this, and to call me forth to appear for him; and it is true those forty years bygone, (as to what I have met with from the world) I have been as the people in the wilderness; yet I may say it, to this hour, I never repented my engagements to him, or any of my ownings of him; yea these rebuts, to say so, I got from men were to me my joy and crown, because I know it was for his sake I was so dealt with; and this, it being for his sake, I was ready in that case (as Christ says) when men had taken me upon the one cheek, for his sake, to turn to them the other. Never was I admitted to more nearness, never was my table better covered, than since I left Rotterdam. Let us take courage, and go on as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, enduring hardness. O for more faith! O for more faith among his people! As to this people, there is nothing to be seen in their way that is promising of any good; but, on the contrary, O! I fear the Lord has given them up unto their own hearts’ lusts. They do indeed walk in their own counsels. That same spirit of persecution, and these same principles, that are among you are here; but as God is faithful, they shall be all broken to pieces, and turned back with shame, that hate Zion. Wait but a little; they are digging the pit for themselves. The Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of the people shall trust in it. Let us

mind one another. My love to all friends whom you know I love in the Lord. God's grace be with you, and his blessing upon your little ones, whom he hath been a father to. In him I rest,
 Yours as formerly,

JA. WALLACE.

The good lady to whom this letter was addressed was the widow of William Mure of Caldwell, an intimate friend of Wallace, and a defender of the same cause.* What became of the writer of it immediately, and for some time after, we are not informed. It would appear, however, that he ventured back to Holland, and died at Rotterdam in the end of the year 1678, "lamented of all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance, who were many;" and, in particular, by the members of the congregation of which he was a ruling elder. To the last he testified his deep interest in the public cause which he had owned, and his satisfaction in reflecting on what he had hazarded and suffered for its sake. The following extracts from two letters of M^cWard, his intimate friend and companion in suffering, whilst they describe the circumstances of his death, will also afford ample testimony to the high and merited respect which attended him while living.

"Great Wallace," says he, in writing to Cargill, "is gone to glory. I shut his eyes while he went out of my sight, and was carried to see God, enjoy him, and be made perfectly like him in order to both." In writing to Mr. Blackadder he speaks in the following terms:—"I doubt not but you have heard of the removal of worthy and great Wallace, of whom I have no doubt it may be said, he hath left no man behind him in that church, minister, or professor, who hath gone through such a variety of temptations, without turning aside to the right hand or to the left. He died in great serenity of soul. He had lived abroad such an ornament to his profession, as he was not more lamented by us than by all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance (who were many) as having lost the man, who as a mean was made use of by the Lord to keep life amongst them; yea, the poor ignorant people of the congregation of Rotterdam (besides the more serious and knowing amongst them) bemoan his death, and their loss as of a father. And they have good reason; for I must say, he was the most faithful, feckful, compassionate, diligent, and indefatigable elder in the work of the

* William Mure of Caldwell succeeded his brother James in 1654, and married Barbara, daughter of Sir William Cunninghame of Cunninghamehead. In 1666 he came out at the head of a company with the intention of joining Colonel Wallace, but was unable to effect his purpose. Having made his escape into Holland, he was forfeited in absence, and his estate given to General Dalziel, September 3, 1675. Mrs. Mure having neglected to take infertment before the forfeiture, was deprived of the liferent provided for her by her marriage-settlement; in consequence of which, she was reduced to the necessity of supporting

Lord, that ever I knew at home or abroad; and as for his care, solicitude, and concernedness, in the work and people of God, I may say, the care of all the churches lay more upon him than upon hundreds of us, so that the Church of God hath lost more in the removal of that man than most will suffer themselves to believe. Only we who know it, have this to comfort ourselves, that the residue of the spirit is with Him who made him such, and that the Great Intercessor lives to plead his own cause, and the causes of his people's soul. I forgot to tell you, that when the cause for which he had suffered was mentioned, when it was scarce believed he understood or could speak, there was a sunshine of serene joy looked out of his countenance, and a lifting up of hands on high, as to receive the confessor's crown, together with a lifting up of the voice with an *aha*, as to sing the conqueror's song of victory. And to close, I must tell you also, he lived and died in a deep detestation of that wretched indulgence, and of all the ways of supporting it and this abrupt account of his death you may give to our friends. In a word, as a compound of all, he fell asleep in the furnace, walking with the Son of God, and now his bones will rise up with the bones of the other great witnesses buried in a strange land, as a testimony against the wrong done to Christ, and the violence used against his followers by this wicked generation, whom the righteous Lord in his time, from him who sitteth upon the throne to the meanest instrument that hath put the mischiefs he framed into a law in execution, will make a generation of his wrath, of special wrath, which must answer and keep proportion unto the wrongs done to the Mediator."

To these statements of one who had been a witness of his life as well as his death, and who had the best possible opportunity of estimating his worth, it seems quite superfluous to make any addition, by attempting a formal declaration of his character. Whether regarded as a public or private individual, as a gentleman or a patriot, a soldier or a Christian, he deservedly ranks high. He appears to have left behind him a son who, up to the year 1680, was still in possession of his father's estate, the sentence of forfeiture not having, at that period, been executed. Whether it was then put in force, and what was the after history of the family, we have not ascertained.

herself by the labour of her own hands. Having returned to Scotland after her husband's death, she was imprisoned, along with one of her daughters, on suspicion of having had a conventicle in her house, and treated with great inhumanity. Caldwell died at Rotterdam on the 9th of February 1670.

JOHN PATON.

CAPTAIN PATON, as he is usually called, was born at Meadowhead, in the parish of Fenwick, and shire of Ayr. He was brought up in occupations of husbandry till he was near the state of manhood. Of the way in which he went at first to a military life, there are various accounts. Some say, he enlisted as a volunteer, and went abroad to the wars in Germany, where, for some heroic achievement, at the taking of some city, he was advanced to a Captain's post; and when he returned home, he was so far changed that his parents scarcely knew him. Other accounts bear, that he was with the Scots army who went to England in January 1643-4, and was at the battle of Marston-muir: at which he is said, to have contracted an asthmatical disorder which continued ever after.

But whichever of these accounts be certain, he must have returned very suddenly home; for it is said, that in 1645, when the several ministers in the western shires were called out upon the head of their parish militia, to oppose Montrose's insurrection, he was summoned by Mr. William Guthrie, or as some say, taken by him from the plough, and in the office of a captain, behaved with much gallantry, among the covenanters, particularly upon their defeat by Montrose at Kilsyth, which occurred as follows.

Montrose, having on the 2d of July obtained a victory over the covenanters, advanced over the Forth; upon the 14th, he encamped at Kilsyth near Stirling, and upon the 15th, encountered the covenanters' army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Baillie. At the first onset, some Highlanders, going too far up the hill, were environed by the covenanters, and like to have been worsted; but the old Lord Airly being sent by Montrose with fresh supplies of men, the covenanters were obliged to give way, and were turned over into a standing marsh, where there was no possibility either of fighting or escaping. In this hurry, one of the Captain's acquaintance, when sinking, cried out to him, for God's sake to help; but when he got time to look that way, he could not see him; he was gone through the surface of the marsh, and could never be found. Upon this disaster, the swiftest of the covenanters' horse got to Stirling: the foot were mostly killed on the spot, and in the chase, which, according to some historians, continued for the space of fourteen miles, the greater part of the covenanters' army being either drowned or killed.

In this extremity, the Captain, so soon as he could get free of the bog, with sword in hand, made the best of his way through the enemy, till he reached the two Colonels Hacket and Strachan. Then all three rode off together: but they had not gone far till they were encountered by about fifteen of the enemy, all of whom they killed except two. When they had gone a little farther, they were again attacked by about thirteen more, and of these they killed ten, so that only three of them made their escape. - But

upon the approach of about eleven Highlanders more, one of the Colonels said, in a familiar dialect, "Johnny, If thou dost not something now, we are all dead men." To him the Captain answered, "Fear not; for we will do what we can before we either yield or flee before them." They killed nine of them, and put the rest to flight.

About this time the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people. Montrose having defeated the covenanters at five or six different times, the Committee of Estates began to bethink themselves, and for that end saw cause to recall General Leslie, from England, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons. To oppose him, Montrose marched southward: but was routed by Leslie at Philiphaugh, upon the 13th of September. Many of his forces were killed and taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with much difficulty.* After this Mr. William Guthrie and Captain Paton returned home to Fenwick.

Thus matters went on till the year 1646, when there arose two factions in Scotland, which were headed by Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Argyle. The one party aimed at bringing down the king to Scotland; the other opposed it. However, the levies went on, and Duke Hamilton, with a potent army marched to England. In the mean while, General Middleton attacked a handful of the covenanters, assembled at the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Mauchline, a small village in the shire of Ayr. At this place were Messrs. William Adair, William Guthrie, and John Nevay, ministers, together with the Earl of Loudon, who solicited Middleton to let the people dismiss in a peaceable manner. This he promised to do. But in a most perfidious manner, he fell upon them on the Monday after. This occasioned some bloodshed on both sides; for Captain Paton afraid of these malignants, notwithstanding all their fair promises, caused his people from Fenwick to take arms with them; which accordingly they did, and on the present occasion made a stout resistance. It is said, that the Captain that day killed eighteen of the enemy with his own hand.

Duke Hamilton and his army being defeated, he himself beheaded, and the English pursuing their victory, Cromwell and his men entered Scotland, and thus the engagers were quite dispersed. Upon this some of the stragglers came to the west, plundering as they went, and took up their residence in the muirs of Loudon, Eaglesham, and Fenwick. The Captain therefore again bestirred himself: and taking a party of men, he went in quest of them, and

* Although Montrose got off at this time, yet when he made another insurrection in 1650, he was routed by a few troops under the command of the fore-mentioned Colonels Strachan, Hacket, and Ker, and he himself afterwards taken and brought to Edinburgh, where he was condemned to be hanged, May 31, on a gallows thirty feet high, his head to be cut off, and placed on the tolbooth, and his legs and arms to be sent to other towns in the kingdom; a sentence which was executed accordingly. See the History of Civil wars, p. 30. Montrose's Memoirs, p. 517, &c.

having found a number of them at the house of Lochgoin,* he gave them such a fright, though without any bloodshed, as made them give their promise never again to trouble that house, or any other in the bounds, under pain of death. They then went off without any further molestation.

Charles I. having been beheaded, January 30, 1648-9, and Charles II. called home from Breda in 1650, the Scotch Parliament, upon notice of an invasion by England, appointed a levy of 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse, for the defence of the king and kingdom. Among these it behoved the Captain again to take the field, for he was now become too famous to be hid in obscurity.

Accordingly Cromwell having entered Scotland in the month of July, several skirmishes ensued betwixt the English and Scotch army, till the Scots at length, upon the 3d of September, were totally routed at Dunbar. After this, the act of classes being repealed, the church and state began to look as suspiciously on one another as on the common enemy. There were in the army, on the protestors' side, Colonels Ker, Hacket, and Strachan, and of inferior officers, Major Stuart, Captain Arnot, Captain Paton, and others. The contention came to such a crisis, that Colonels Ker and Strachan left the army, and with some other officers, many of them esteemed the most religious and best affected in the army, came to the west. They proceeded so far as to give battle to the English at Hamilton, but were worsted: the Lord's wrath having gone forth against the whole land, because of the Achan in the camp, of our Scottish Israel.

The King being no longer able to hold out against the English, withdrew his forces to England; and about the end of August 1651, had Worcester surrendered to him. But the English army following hard after, totally routed them upon the 3d of September; which made the King fly out of the kingdom.

After this the Captain returned home, took the farm Meadowhead, where he was born, and married. And here he no less excelled in the duties of the Christian life, than as a soldier in the camp; and being under the ministry of that faithful man Mr. William Guthrie, he became a member of his session; and continued so till that bright and shining light of the church was turned out by Charles II. after the restoration, when the yoke of supremacy and tyranny was wreathed about the neck both of church and state. After this period matters continued to grow worse, till 1666, when upon some insolencies committed in the south by Sir

* The farm house of Lochgoin is situated in the upper part of the barony or Rowallan, parish of Fenwick, about two miles to the south east of Kingswell inn, which forms a stage on the road between Glasgow and Ayr. The grounds around it are so marshy as to render it almost inaccessible during winter. It must thus, have afforded a very secure retreat to those who fled from the grasp of intolerance, and at the period referred to in the text, was frequently resorted to with this view. It was the residence of the worthy compiler of this work and of his ancestors before him. It is still inhabited by his descendants, who are remarkable for the same simplicity of character for which he was distinguished.

James Turner, the people rose in their own defence. This rising it is well known began in Dalry, a small village of Galloway. They proceeded from thence to Dumfries, and from thence by a very gradual progress to Pentland, where they were routed. On their way they were joined by Colonel Wallace with several parties from Ayrshire; by Captain Arnot with a party from Mauchline; by Lochart of Wicketshaw, with a party from Carluke; by Major Ler-
mont, with a party from Galston; and by Captain Paton, who now behoved to take the field again, with a party of horse from Loudon, Fenwick, and the adjoining places. Being assembled in Ayrshire they went eastward, renewed the covenants at Lanark, from thence proceeded to Bathgate, then to Collinton, and so on till they came to Rullion, near Pentland, where they were, upon that fatal day, November 28th, attacked by General Dalziel and the King's forces. At the first onset, Captain Arnot, with a party of horse, fought a party of Dalziel's men with good success; and after him another party made the General's men fly; but, upon their last rencounter, about sunset, Dalziel, being repulsed so often, advanced the whole left wing of his army upon Colonel Wallace's right, which was obliged at length to give way. Here, Captain Paton, who was all along with Arnot hitherto, behaved with great courage and gallantry. But the Colonel's men being flanked in on all hands by Dalziel's men, were broken and overpowered, so that the Captain and other two horsemen from Fenwick were surrounded, five men deep, through whom, however, they successfully made their way and escaped.

When Dalziel saw him go off, he commanded three of his men to follow him, giving them marks whereby they should know him. Shortly after, they came up with him; and there being a great slough or stank in the way, he immediately caused his horse leap it, faced about, and with his sword in hand, stood still, till the first, coming up, endeavoured to make his horse jump over also. Upon this the Captain with his sword* clave his head in two; and his horse being marred, fell into the bog, with the other two men and horses. He then told them to take his compliments to their master and tell him he was not coming that night; and immediately can off, and got safe home.

After this, Christ's followers and witnesses, particularly such as had been accessory to the rising at Pentland, were reduced to many hardships, so that they were obliged to resort to the wildernesses, and other desolate and solitary places. The winter following, Captain Paton and about twenty others had a very remarkable deliverance from the enemy.—Being assembled at Lochgoin, on a certain night, for fellowship and godly conversation, they were prevented from falling into the enemy's hand, being warned by the old man of the house, who dreamt of their approach, and that just with as much time as served them to make their escape, the enemy being within forty fells of the house.

* This sword, it is believed, is yet in preservation, at the house of Lochgoin, where it has been often exhibited to the curious stranger as an interesting relic of the persecuting times.

During this period, the Captain sometimes remained at home, and sometimes in such remote places as could best conceal him from the fury of the persecutors. He married a second wife, by whom he had six children, who continued still to possess the farm of Meadowhead and Artnock, until the day of his death.

He frequented the pure preached gospel wherever he could obtain it; and was a great encourager of the practice of carrying arms for its defence, which he took to be a proper mean in part to restrain the enemy from violence. But things growing worse, fresh troops of horse and companies of foot being poured in upon the western shires, to suppress field-meetings, and being thus, with those of whom the apostle speaks, *destitute, afflicted, and tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; and they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth,** the covenanters were again forced to rise in 1679.

The suffering remnant, under the command of Mr. Robert Hamilton, having got the victory over Claverhouse on the 1st of June at Drumclog, in which skirmish there were about thirty-six or forty of that bloody crew killed, went on, the next day to Glasgow in pursuit of the enemy: But proving unsuccessful, they returned back; and on June 3d formed themselves into a camp, and held a council of war. On the 4th they rendezvoused at Kyperidge, and on the 5th went to Commissary Fleming's park, in the parish of Kilbride; at which time, Captain Paton, who had not been idle, hitherto, having joined them with a body of horsemen from Fenwick and Galston, with many others, they were greatly increased.

Hitherto they had been of one heart and mind; but a certain party from Carrick, with Mr. Welch, and some other ministers who favoured the indulgence, having arrived, they never afterwards had day to do well. and at last were defeated at Bothwell-bridge, upon the 22d June following.

The protesting party were not for joining with those of the Erastian side, till they should declare themselves against all and every defection whatever; but Mr. Welch, and his party, found means in a little to get rid of such officers as they feared most opposition from. Orders being given to Rathillet, Haughhead, Carmichael, and Smith to go to Glasgow, to meet with Mr. King and Captain Paton; they obeyed. When there, they were led out of town, as they apprehended, to hear sermon, but at last upon inquiry it was answered, that they were to go and disperse a meeting of the enemy at Campsie. Upon going there, however, they found no such thing; which made them believe that the whole was a stratagem to get rid of the faithful officers. Upon this therefore they returned.

The faithful officers were Hamilton, Hackston, Hall, Paton, Balfour, Smith, Carmichael, Cleland, Henderson, and Fleming. Their ministers were Messrs. Cargill, Douglas, Kid, and King; for Mr. Cameron was then in Holland.

* Heb. xi. 37, 38.

In the contendings of the protesting with the Erastian party, Captain Paton had no small share, until the fatal day, when they were made to flee before the enemy. The Captain at this time was made a Major, or, according to some accounts, particularly that of Wilson, a Colonel. However, as he did not enjoy this honour long, we find him still spoken of, afterwards, by the name of Captain Paton.

After the defeat at Bothwell he made the best of his way homeward; and having a fine horse, which with all his furniture he had borrowed from the sheriff of Ayr, he gave it to one to take home to his master. On the way, however, it was robbed of its fine mounting, by some individual, designing by this most base and shameful action, to stain the character of an honest and good man.

The sufferers were now exposed to new hardships, and none more so than Captain Paton. He was not only declared a rebel by proclamation, but a round sum being offered for his head, he was more hotly pursued than ever, and that even in his most secret lurking places. About this time he had another most remarkable deliverance from his blood-thirsty enemies: which fell out in this manner.

The Captain, with a few more, being one night quartered in the house of Lochgoin,* at a time when one Captain Inglis was lying with some soldiers at the Dean of Kilmarnock's, a party being out in quest of some sufferers, came to Meadowhead, and from thence went to another remote place in the muirs of Fenwick, called Croilburn; but finding nothing there, they proceeded to Lochgoin, as apprehending they could not miss their object there; and that they might come upon the place more securely, they sent about five men by a way, in which the main body could not approach undiscovered.

The sufferers had watched all night, by turns, and about day-break, the Captain retired to the far end of the house to rest. In the meanwhile, on a sudden, and ere they were aware, Serjeant Rae came to the inner door of the house, and cried out, "Dogs! I have found you now." His four men took to the spence, James and John Howie happening to be at the time in the byre, among the cattle. Mrs. Howie, seeing none but the serjeant, cried to them to take to the hills, and not be killed in the house. She then took hold

* This house, as already hinted, was always a harbour and succour to our late sufferers, for which, after this period, the family were not only pillaged and plundered to the number of ten or twelve times during that period, but what is more, both James Howie the possessor, and John Howie his son, were by virtue of a proclamation, May 5, 1679, declared rebels, their names inserted in the fugitives' roll, and put on the parish church doors. They were thus obliged to betake themselves to close hiding, and were exposed to many imminent dangers. They were, however, so fortunate as to survive the Revolution, but never acceded to the revolution church. The said James Howie when dying, November 1691, emitted a latter-will or testimony, wherein he not only gave good evidence of his own well-being and saving interest in Christ, but also a most faithful testimony to Scotland's covenanted reformation, and that in all the parts and periods of it.

of Rae, as he was coming boldly forward to the door of the place in which they were, and ran him backward to the outer door, giving him such a hasty turn as made him lie on the ground. In the meanwhile, the Captain being alarmed, got up, and put on his shoes, and they all got out. By this time the rest of the party were up. The serjeant fired his gun at them; which one, John Kirkland, answered by firing his. The bullet passed so near the serjeant, that it took off the knot of hair on the side of his head. The whole crew being alarmed, the Captain and the rest took the way for Eaglesham muirs, they following. Two of the men ran with the Captain, and other two stayed by turns, and fired on the enemy, the enemy firing on them likewise.

After being pursued for some time, John Kirkland stooped down on his knee, and aimed so well, that he shot the serjeant through the thigh, which made the foremost to stop as they came forward, till they were again commanded to run. By this time the sufferers had gained some ground; and being come to the muirs of Eaglesham, the four men went to the heights, and caused the Captain, who was old and not able to run, to take another way by himself. At last, he got a mare in a field, and took the liberty to mount her. But ere he was aware, a party of dragoons going to Newmills was at hand; but he passed by them very slowly, and got off undiscovered; and at length having given the mare her liberty, he went to another of his lurking-places. All this happened on a Monday morning; and on the morrow the persecutors returned, plundered the house, drove off the cattle, and left almost nothing remaining.

About this time he met with another deliverance. Having a child removed by death, the incumbent of the parish, knowing the time when the corpse was to be interred, gave notice to a party of soldiers at Kilmarnock, to come up and take him at the burial of his child. But some persons present persuaded him to return, which accordingly he did, when but a little distant from the church-yard.

He was not only a sufferer himself, but as great a succourer of his fellow sufferers, as his circumstances could admit. Several of his companions in tribulation resorted to him on certain occasions, such as Hackston, Balfour, and Cargill. It is said, that Mr. Cargill dispensed the sacrament of baptism to twenty-two children in his barn at Meadowhead, shortly after the engagement at Bothwell-bridge.*

But being now near the end of his pilgrimage, and having about the beginning of August 1684, come to the house of Robert Howie of Floack, in the parish of Mearns, (also one of his hiding places,) he was at length apprehended by five soldiers, before he or any in the house were aware. He had no arms, but the inmates of the house offered him their assistance. Indeed they were in a condition to have rescued him, yea, he himself, once in a day could have ex-

* This seems to have been when he made a tour through Ayrshire to Galloway. A little after they were surprised by the enemy on a fast day near Loudon-hill, upon May 5, 1681.

tricated himself from double the number. But he said, it would bring them to further trouble, and as for himself, he was now become weary of life, and being now well stricken in years, his hidings were become irksome; that he was not afraid to die, for he had got time to think thereon for many years; and as to his interest in Christ, of that he was sure. They took him to Kilmarnock, but knew not who he was till they came to a place on the high way, called Moor-yett, where the goodman of the house seeing him in these circumstances, said, "Alas! Captain Paton, are you there!" Then to their joy, they knew who they had got into their hands. He was carried to Kilmarnock, (where his eldest daughter, being about fourteen years of age, got access to see him) then to Ayr, then back to Glasgow, and soon after to Edinburgh.

It is reported that General Dalziel having met him there, took him in his arms, saying, "John, I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way, before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty; but now it is too late. But be not afraid, I will write to his Majesty for your life." The Captain replied, "You will not be heard." Dalziel said, "Will I not! If he does not grant me the life of one man, I shall never draw a sword for him again." And it is said, that, having spoken some time together, a man came up and said to the Captain; "You are a rebel to the King." To whom he replied, "Friend, I have done more for the King than perhaps thou hast done." Dalziel said, "Yes John, that is true," (perhaps alluding to Worcester,) and struck the man on the head with his cane, till he staggered, saying, He would learn him other manners than to use a prisoner so. After this the Captain thanked him for his courtesy, and they parted.

His trial was not long delayed. Mr. Wodrow says, that on April 16th the Council adjudged a reward of £20 Sterling to Cornet Lewis Lauder, for apprehending him. He was brought before the Justiciary, and indicted for being with the rebels at Glasgow, Bothwell, &c. The advocate passed over his being at Pentland, and insisted on his being at Bothwell. The Lords found the libel relevant and for probation they referred to his own confession before the Council. The assize had no more to cognize upon, yet brought him in guilty. And the Lords condemned him to be hanged at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, on Wednesday, the 23d of April.

He was prevailed on to petition the Council; upon which he was respited till the 30th, and from that till the 9th May, when he suffered according to his sentence. Dalziel no doubt was as good as his word; for it is said, he obtained a reprieve for him from the king; but that coming to the hands of Bishop Paterson, it was kept up by him till he was executed. It seems they had a mind to spare him; but as he observed, in his last speech, the prelates put an effectual stop to that. During the last eight days he lived, he got a room to himself, that he might more conveniently prepare for death; which was a favour at that time granted him above many others.

What his conduct or deportment at the place of execution was,

we are now at a loss to say ; only it is believed it was such as well became such a valiant servant and soldier of Jesus Christ. An evidence of this we have in his last speech and dying testimony, wherein, among other things, he says, " You are come here to look on me a dying man, and you need not expect that I shall say much, for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, though I may say as much to the commendation of God in Christ Jesus, as ever a poor sinner had to say. I bless the Lord I am not come here as a thief or murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, and hate bloodshed, directly or indirectly ; and now I am a poor sinner, and never could merit any thing but wrath ; and I have no righteousness of my own, all is Jesus Christ's, and his alone. Now, as to my interrogations, I was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwell. The council asked me, If I acknowledged authority ? I said, All authority according to the word of God. They charged me with many things as if I had been a rebel since the year 1640, at Montrose's taking, and at Mauchline muir. ' Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.' " In the next place, he adheres to the scriptures, the covenants, and the whole work of reformation ; and then says, " Now, I leave my testimony as a dying man against that horrid usurpation of our Lord's prerogative and crown-rights ; I mean that supremacy established by law in these lands, which is a manifest usurpation of his crown, for he is given by the Father to be head to the church." * And further, he addressed himself in a few words to two or three sorts of people, exhorting them to be diligent in duty ; and then, in the last place, he saluted all his friends in Christ, whether prisoned, banished, widows, or fatherless, wandering or cast out for Christ's sake and the gospel's. He forgave all his enemies, in the following words : " Now, as to my persecutors, I forgive all of them, instigators, reproachers, soldiers, privy council, justiciaries, apprehenders, in what they have done to me : but what they have done in despite against the image of God in me, who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them, but I wish they may seek forgiveness of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedly." He then leaves his wife and six children on the Lord, takes his leave of worldly enjoyments, and concludes, saying, " Farewell, sweet scriptures, preaching, praying, reading, singing, and all duties. Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, I desire to commit my soul to thee in well-doing. Lord receive my spirit." †

Thus another gallant soldier of Jesus Christ came to his end. The actions of his life, and his demeanour at death, fully indicate that he was of no rugged disposition, as has been by some asserted of our late sufferers ; but rather of a meek, judicious, and Christian conversation, tempered with true zeal and faithfulness for the cause of Zion's King and Lord. He was of a middle stature,

* Colos. i. 18.

† The reader may see his last speech at full length in the Cloud of Witnesses.

strong and robust, somewhat fair in complexion, with large eyebrows. But what especially distinguished him, was courage and magnanimity of mind, which accompanied him upon every emergency. Though his extraction was but mean, it might be truly said of him, "That he lived a hero, and died a martyr."

ROBERT BAILLIE OF JERVISWOOD

DISTINCT altogether from the sufferings he endured, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood is justly entitled to the remembrance of posterity, on account of his highly respectable rank, and his distinguished talents and virtues. He was born of an ancient and honourable family—a family long known as the supporters of civil and religious liberty, and of this family he proved himself, for the time, no unworthy representative. The testimony of some of his most illustrious cotemporaries prove him to have been one of the best men and greatest statesmen of his time.

This, however, so far from blunting the sword of persecution, or defending him from its stroke, only pointed him out as an object the more proper, because the more prominent, for the malice and fury of those who, in the period referred to, were waging war against liberty and religion. That he fell a sacrifice, indeed, to persecuting intolerance, and died a martyr to the principles of reformation, to his zeal against popery, and arbitrary power, there is not the least reason to doubt.

In common with many others of his rank and station, he had long been an object of suspicion to the reigning party. His family had frequently been harassed and disturbed by parties of soldiers, despatched in pursuit of presbyterians. And in short it appeared that a pretext was all that was wanting, to bring this excellent man to trouble, and even to death. Such a pretext was unfortunately at length given, by his generous interference in behalf of a distressed and persecuted relative, the Reverend Mr. Kirkton.

Being in Edinburgh in June 1676, and hearing that Mr. Kirkton was illegally arrested, and without a warrant, by a Captain Carstairs, one of the most devoted instruments of the then administration, he thought it his duty to interpose for his rescue. For this he was immediately called before the Council, and upon giving them an account of the affair, would have been immediately saved from all farther trouble on account of it, but that the infamous Sharp declared, that if Carstairs were not supported, and Jerviswood made an example of, there would be no prosecuting of the fanatics. On the next Council day, therefore, Jerviswood was fined £500, and kept four months in prison before he was released.

After this, he was permitted to live unmolested for several years, till August 1684, when he was prosecuted before the justiciary Lords, for having been concerned in the Rye-house plot. It would appear he had gone to England, some time after his late prosecution, and had taken a part in the plans which were proposed by the Patriots of that country, to emancipate Britain, from the galling despotism under which it lay. By what means he was discovered and apprehended, we have not ascertained. Certain it is however, that he then appeared in a dying condition; and had the commissioners spared him only a few weeks longer, they would have escaped the indelible blot of inhumanity, which adheres to them, as having brought him to a violent and ignominious death. He was carried to the bar in his night gown, attended by his sister, who sometimes gave him cordials; and not being able to stand, was obliged to sit. His indictment bore, in general, his carrying on a correspondence to debar his royal highness, the king's only brother, from the right of succession. He was ordered to purge himself by oath, which he refused. The court fined him in £6000. It might have been thought that when he was fined in this large sum, he had received his final sentence, but he was still kept shut up in prison, and denied all attendance and assistance. Bishop Burnet tells us, that the Ministers of State were most earnestly set on Baillie's destruction, though he was now in so languishing a condition, that if his death would have satisfied the malice of the court, it seemed to be very near. He further says, that all the while he was in prison, he seemed so composed and cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks or Romans, or rather of the primitive Christians, and first Martyrs in those best days of the Church. But the Duke who was then commissioner was not satisfied with all this, so he was brought before the Council on the 23rd of December, to be tried capitally. Here it is needless to enter into a minute detail of the trial. Suffice it to say that every mean was resorted to, whether legal or not to insure his conviction, an object which it was not difficult to accomplish before such judges. Among other things the deposition of Mr. William Carstairs, (not the Captain Carstairs formerly mentioned,) which was given by him after an hour's torture by the Thumbkins, and which he expressly provided should not be employed in proof, was nevertheless pled against him. When Mackenzie the king's advocate, had done with his charge, Mr. Baillie made a most impressive answer. Among other things he said, "There is one thing which vexes me extremely, and wherein I am injured to the utmost degree, and that is for a plot to cut off the King, and his royal highness, and that I sat up nights to form a declaration, to palliate or justify such a villany. I am in probability to appear in some hours before the tribunal of the great Judge; and in presence of your Lordships, and all here, I solemnly declare, that I was never prompted or privy to any such thing, and that I abhor and detest all thoughts and principles for touching the life and blood of his sacred majesty, or his royal

brother." Then looking directly to Mackenzie, he said, "My Lord, I think it very strange you charge me with such abominable things; you may remember when you came to me in prison, you told me such things were laid to my charge, but you did not believe them. How then, my Lord, came you to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence. Are you now convinced in your conscience, that I am more guilty than before?—you may remember what passed betwixt us in the prison." The whole audience fixed their eyes upon the Advocate, who was in no small confusion, and said, "Jerviswood, I own what you say; my thoughts then were as a private man, but what I say here, is by the special direction of the privy council;" and pointing to Mr. William Paterson the clerk, added, "He knows my orders." Jerviswood replied, "well, if your Lordship has one conscience for yourself, and another for the Council, I pray God forgive you: I do." Then turning to the Justice general he said, "My Lord, I trouble your Lordship no further."

Next morning, the 24th of December, the Jury brought him in guilty; and the lords condemned him to be hanged at the Market cross of Edinburgh, between two and four that afternoon, his head to be cut off, and fixed on the Netherbow port, and his body to be quartered; one of the quarters to be put on the tolbooth of Jedburgh, another on that of Lanark, a third on that of Ayr, and a fourth on that of Glasgow. When the sentence was passed, he said, "My Lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp, but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." He was then sent back to his apartment in the prison, and leaning on the bed, he fell into a rapture at the assured prospect of a blessed eternity: and being asked after a short silence how he did, he answered, "Never better, and in a few hours I shall be well beyond all conception. They are going to send me in pieces and quarters; they may hack and hew my body as they please, but I know assuredly nothing shall be lost; but that all these my members shall be wonderfully gathered, and made like Christ's glorious body." During the few hours he had still to live, his carriage and behaviour were most becoming and Christian. At his execution he was in the greatest serenity of soul, possible, for a person on this side of heaven; though extremely low in body. He was not able to go up the ladder without support; when on it he began to say, "my faint zeal for the protestant religion has brought me to this;" but the drums interrupted him. He had prepared a speech to be delivered at the scaffold, but was hindered; however, he left copies of it with his friends; and we insert some hints from it: "As for my principles with relation to government," says he, "they are such as I ought not to be ashamed of, being consonant to the word of God, and confessions of faith of the reformed churches. I die a member of the church of Scotland, as it was constituted in its best, and purest times. I bless God this day, I know in whom I have believed, and to whom I have committed my soul, as a faithful keeper. I know I am going to my God, and my chief joy. My

soul blesseth God, and rejoiceth in him, that death cannot separate between me and my God. I leave my wife and children* upon the compassionate and merciful heart of my God, having many reiterated assurances, that God will be my God, and the portion of mine. I bless and adore my God, that death for a long time hath been no terror to me, but rather much desired; and that my blessed Jesus hath taken the sting out of it, and made the grave a bed of roses, to all that have laid hold on him by faith, which worketh by love. I have had sharp sufferings for a considerable time, and yet I must say to the commendation of the grace of God, my suffering time hath been my best time, and when my sufferings have been sharpest, my spiritual joys and consolations have been greatest. Let none be afraid of the cross of Christ, his cross is our greatest glory; wo be to them, that are instrumental to banish Christ out of the land. And blessed are they who are instrumental by a gospel conversation, and continual wrestling with God, to keep Christ in the nation; he is the glory of a land, and if we could but love him, he would not part with us. Wo be to them, that would rather banish Christ out of the land than love him. God pour out his Spirit plentifully on his poor remnant, that they may give God no rest, till he make his Jerusalem the joy and praise of the whole earth. I have no more time; but they who love Christ, I hope have minded me in my affliction, and do mind me now, and will mind my wife and children. I go with joy to him, who is the joy and bridegroom, to him, who is the Saviour and Redeemer, of my soul. I go with rejoicing to the God of my life, to my portion and inheritance, to the husband of my soul. Come Lord."

The character of this gentleman was very high. Dr. Owen, who was acquainted with him, said to a friend, "you have truly men of great spirits in Scotland, there is for a gentleman, Mr. Baillie of Jarviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I ever almost met with." And says Bishop Burnet, giving an account of him, "thus a learned and worthy gentleman after twenty months hard usage, was brought to such a death, in a way so full in all the steps of it, of the spirit and practice of the courts of the inquisition, that one is tempted to think, that the steps taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised in them."

JOHN BROWN OF PRIESTHILL.

THE farm of Priesthill, is situated in the parish of Muirkirk, and district of Kyle, in Ayrshire, and about a hundred and forty years

* Nine children.

ago, was possessed by John Brown, commonly called the Christian Carrier.

His house, which stands to this day, is on the brow of a hill, behind which rises an extensive tract of heath, moss hags and rocks, some of which command a view of several counties. The house is of stone, and is covered with heather. The inside must have been comfortable according to the taste of the time; and John Brown had it respectably furnished, for a person of his rank. But wealthy farmers and graziers of the present day would scarcely call it comfortable. It had no grate; the fire was burned on the floor; and having no openings in the wall, the smoke rose tardily to the chimney top. Yet dark and smoky as it was, many found it a *little sanctuary*; not only for refuge, but for God's presence.

John Brown was only a boy when, in the year 1662, upwards of three hundred ministers were deposed, in one day, by the infamous act of Charles II. which we have already so often referred to. He often described, however, the distress that prevailed in the country on that occasion; and the anguish and weeping throughout the churches, on the sabbath, when the ministers preached their farewell sermons. It was heart-rending to part with men, so remarkable for grace, eminent for gifts, many of them learned, and all of them singularly dear to their people. But there was no alternative. The iron hand of power was stretched forth, to carry into effect the decision of injustice and folly, and with consummate recklessness, alike of individual feeling, and of public good, these worthy men were driven at once from their people, and their homes.

It was from these banished ministers that John Brown received his superior education. He was intended for the Church, had not an uncommon difficulty of expressing his sentiments to strangers prevented him from prosecuting his studies. But what was strange—in prayer he was gifted in an extraordinary measure. In such scriptural language, and at the same time with such variety, fluency and affection, did he pour forth his soul, that he appeared almost superhuman.* Many have a gift of prayer whose lives bespeak them far from the kingdom of heaven. Such was not Priesthill. His actions with men were just and judicious; so much so, that he was intrusted, when a very young man, with the produce of the neighbouring shepherds, to carry to market, and dispose of, and bring back what they required in return. It was in this capacity, he got the name of the *Christian Carrier*; and he was thus often the first that brought them tidings of the mischief that was framed, or framing against the Presbyterians.

He was merely a youth at the rising of Pentland; and not having been either at the battle of Drumclog or Bothwell, he could evade with ease the ensnaring questions that every traveller was required to answer; by which means he passed to and fro unmolested; although he did not attend the curate of Muirkirk, who was a

* See Wodrow.

silly, easy creature, and did not make so many complaints of his parishioners as some did.

John Brown's good education was not lost. Besides being a source of enjoyment to himself, it was a benefit to the youth for miles around him, who were then much neglected. No faithful minister was left to instruct them. The fathers, who used to tell the children what great things the Lord had done for Scotland, were either banished or had suffered death. To counteract the bad example of the wicked, who now walked on every side, since vile men were high in place, every Monday night he met with these young persons and instructed them from the Bible and the Confession of Faith. In summer, they assembled in a sheep bught; and in winter, they formed a wide circle around a large fire of peats and candle-coal, that blazed in the middle of the spence floor. The effects of the substantial information these rustics got is felt to this day in that neighbourhood.*

It was about the year 1680, that Priesthill got acquainted with Isabell Weir, in the parish of Sorn. She was a very superior woman, though her disposition was the very reverse of his. She was lively and humorous, and could cheer up his grave countenance, till he was as animated as herself: at other times she would sit and listen to the good sense of his conversation with the simplicity of a child. She saw him often, for he had frequently business to transact with her father, when he passed to and from Ayr. They often talked of Zion's trouble; and, what was remarkable, when he sought her in marriage, he told her he felt a foreboding in his mind that he would one day be called to seal the Church's testimony with his blood. "If it should be so," she nobly answered, "through affliction and death I will be your comfort. The Lord has promised me grace, and he will give you glory."†

About this time, the indulged ministers had gone so far in defection, that the more conscientious sufferers felt the necessity of formally separating from them, and their being none they could hear, after the death of Cameron and Cargill, they resolved to form themselves into societies to meet quarterly, of members delegated from their weekly prayer-meetings. The second of these quarterly meetings took place at Priesthill, February, 1682, where they made a contribution to send a young man to Holland, to be licensed as preacher to them. And the fruits of this brought forward Mr. Renwick, of glorious memory.

About two months after this, Priesthill was married by Mr. Peden, who happened to be in Kyle baptizing children. The marriage took place in a glen, near the house. When Isabell and her company arrived at the spot, they were surprised at the assembly

* In this good work our worthy was not alone. He was assisted we find by two brothers, David and William Steel, who were also among the persecuted in that district of country.

† Crookshank.

gathered. Mr. Peden welcomed her, and said, "These are to be witnesses of your vows. They are all friends, and have come at the risk of their lives to hear God's word, and to countenance his ordinance of marriage." After all was over, Mr. Peden took Isabell aside, and said, "You have got a good husband, value him highly; keep linen for a winding-sheet beside you; for in a day when you least expect it, thy master will be taken from the world. In him the image of our Lord and Saviour is too visible to pass unnoticed by those who drive the chariot wheels of persecution through the breadth and length of bleeding Scotland. But fear not, thou shalt be comforted."*

There is something in the human heart that portends the evil day far away. She could not think it possible, that one so blameless as her husband could be considered an enemy by any one. However, the kind warning had this good effect on them both, that none of the trifles that make such havoc upon domestic peace were regarded by them.

John Brown had, by a former wife, a little girl about five years of age, who, on the morning after his marriage, lifted the latch of the spence door, and finding Isabell alone, said, while she covered her face shyly with her arm, "They say ye are my mother:" "What if I should be your mother?" replied Isabell. "Naething, but if I thought ye were my mother, I would like to come in a-side you a wee," said Janet, with artless simplicity. "I hope I will be your mother, my bairn, and that God will give me grace to be so, and that you will be a comfort to me and your father." And she proved so. When but a child she was a help and pleasure to them; She would watch her father's return, and as soon as she saw his pack horse† at a distance, coming along the bent, she would announce the joyful tidings. Then the gudewife hastened, and made ready his milk porridge, had them dished, covered with a clean cloth, and warm water to wash his feet, a blazing fire, a clean hearth; and she and Janet would go out and welcome him home, and help him off with his horse's load.

The domestic peace and comfort of Priesthill is talked of to this day; and many anecdotes are told, and one among the rest, that illustrates the precept of hospitality to strangers, for thereby men have entertained angels unawares. The second year after his marriage, one night in the beginning of winter, John Brown had gone to a neighbour's house: The family at home were preparing the wool of their flocks for hoden gray cloth; to sell at Lowrie's fair in

* From incidents and anticipations of this kind, some have weakly imagined, that this worthy minister was endowed with the gift of prophecy; whereas, no more appears, than that he possessed a natural, or, if you will, a spiritual sagacity, by which he could perceive that, in the temper of those times, a man of John Brown's decision of character, and zeal for divine institutions, was not likely to escape the fury of the enemy.

† Carriers in those days were unacquainted with the luxury of wheel carts; and there were no toll-roads on which wheels could turn.

Hamilton. The shepherd carded the black and white wool together, for the women to spin: Janet and the herd boy were teasing for the carder: The gudewife sat nursing her first born son at one side of the fire; when the dog, which lay at full length at the other, started up, and ran to the door, barking at the approach of a stranger. Isabell thought it would be her husband returned, and was about to rise to meet him. Janet and the herd were almost as soon at the door as the dog, and calling to him, "Whisht, Collie, whisht, ye mu'na speak to the unco mau." The herd caught the dog in his arms, and returned with him into the house, while Janet followed, leading a stranger, first looking to her mother for encouragement, and then to her guest. She led him to her father's chair with a courtesy that seemed to give rise to strong emotions in his heart.

The stranger was young in years, of a little stature, and fine fair countenance, but he was pale with fatigue and sickness. His shoes were worn out; a shepherd's plaid hung round him, seemingly for disguise, for by his dress and speech he seemed of a superior rank. While the servants gazed on him, the gudewife did not know whether she should welcome him as a sufferer, or consider him as a spy; so she left Janet to perform the kind offices the stranger required, while she lulled her boy to sleep, by singing a verse of an old song.

While the gudewife sang, the stranger's face brightened up, and he more cheerfully accepted the child's endearing attentions, who placed him in the warmest corner, helped him off with his dreeping plaid, imitating all the kind offices she had seen her mother perform to her father, to the no small amusement of the rest of the family. On the stranger it had a different effect. He burst into tears, and cried, "May the blessing of him that is ready to perish rest upon you, my dear bairn. Surely God has heard my cry, and provided me a place to rest my head for a night. O that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people and go from them; for they be an assembly of treacherous men."

Just as he had finished, John Brown entered. He gazed at him, and with great deference bade him welcome to his house. "Do you know me?" said the stranger. I think I do, said John Brown. It was in this house that the societies met that contributed to send you to Holland, and now I fear they have not received you as they ought. "Their reproach has not broken my heart," said Mr. Renwick, (for it was he, though he was not named before the family,) "but the excessive travelling, night wanderings, unseasonable sleep; frequent preaching in all weathers, especially in the night, has so debilitated me, that I am unfit often for my work. The reproach of those who called me to the ministry, I look upon as a device of the enemy to stop the Lord's work; but blessed be his grace that has kept me from mixing anger or scorn of them with my sorrow. Some have declared, that I will never be honoured of the Lord to do his poor remnant good. But one thing I know, and may say, that the Lord has done me good. Oh! let none fear a suffering

lot. Enemies think themselves satisfied that we are put to wander in mosses, and upon mountains; but even amidst the storms of these last two nights, I cannot express what sweet times I have had, when I had no covering but the dark curtains of night. Yea, in the silent watch, my mind was led out to admire the deep and inexpressible ocean of joy, wherein the whole family of heaven swim. Each star led me to wonder what he must be who is the Star of Jacob, of whom all stars borrow their shining. Indeed, if I may term it, I am much obliged to enemies, they have covered me many a table in the wilderness, and have made me friends where I never expected them."*

When he ceased speaking, every one of the family strove to do him kindness. The shepherd brought him clean hose and shoes; the herd his new night-cap: the lasses left their wheels and washed his feet: the gudwife prepared him a warm supper; while little Janet, worn out, was fast asleep at his side.

In those days, hospitality was with many, in reality what it ought to be, purely exercised for God's glory, and without display of grandeur. The motives were like silver tried; it was at the risk of all, even life. Hence, the joy of such pure intercourse was sweet, beyond description. As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth the face of man his friend. Renwick and Priesthill talked of the sufferings of the church, her testimony, her covenanted cause, and her ultimate triumph. Yes, they had more comfort in the faith that Christ would one day be head over all things, King of kings, and Lord of lords, than the wicked have, when corn and wine do most abound.

They comforted themselves in these hopes, and with the assurance that the Lord would one day return to Scotland, and that the place of his feet would be glorious. Mr. Renwick remained another night with them, and was greatly bettered in his health. It was a time of refreshing to the family, from on high. Soon after he left Priesthill, his followers and he published their Apologetic Declaration. In this paper which made its appearance under the most trying circumstances; circumstances that might well justify the boldest and most decided language, there may be seen a spirit, that dared to be free from tyranny; a spirit that would, one day, speak terrible things in righteousness.

But although this effort of freedom was like the child threshing the mountain, and its consequence apparently the same, save, that the church on its account suffered much; the court party made it a pretence for sending more soldiers on the country, particularly about Lanark; and the better to execute this, gave them liberty to shoot all they thought suspicious, so that it was not long till there was scarce a moss or mountain in the West of Scotland but was flowered with martyrs.†

The society that met at Priesthill was soon broken up. John Wilson, and John Smith of Lesmahago, were shot by Colonel

* Renwick's Letters.

† Renwick's Letters to Sir Robert Hamilton.

Buchan and the Laird of Lee, in February, 1685. John Brown of Blackwood, in the same parish, was shot in the beginning of March following, by Lieutenant Murray, after the promise of quarter. The pure snow, then on the ground, was stained with his blood. His corpse was buried, under cloud of night, near to the spot where he was treacherously slain.

Murray might murder such as godly Brown,
But could not rob him of that glorious crown
He now enjoys. His credit, not his crime,
Was non-compliance with a wicked time.

These lines are inscribed on the stone that covers his grave.*

After this, our worthy could not continue his business of Carrier, though he had no hand in the Apologetic Declaration. His opinion, (and his conduct was consistent with it,) was, that he ought to live as in an enemy's country, and *without sin*. Yet he was often obliged to take to the high lands of Kyle, and of Lanarkshire, and to bear the chilling cold of March and April winds, in order to avoid the more bitter blast of persecution. Still, however, amidst the storms of nature, and of the political heavens, he had the rainbow of the covenant around his head, and enjoyed a freedom and pleasure of which his enemies could not deprive him.

On one of those days, when driven from his home, he fled for refuge to a deep ravine, or moss hag, that had been formed by the current of a water-spout, carrying shrubs, soil, moss, and all before it, to the dale land beneath, leaving a frightful chasm, amidst a vast field of heath. Its deep mossy sides made it inaccessible to strangers: only the neighbouring husbandmen knew where the brackens hid the rocks, whose shelvy sides conducted to the bottom. In the sides of this natural alley, were dens and caves, sufficient to hide a large company. In one of these, Priesthill intended to spend the day in prayer; and had begun to pour out his soul, in the words of Lamentations iii. 40, &c. when a sweet sound reached his ear, that seemed to proceed from another part of the place. At first it was in a soft under voice, as afraid to be heard, but soon rose above all fear, joined with others; and he heard the following Psalm distinctly sung:—

Because I am brought very low,
Attend unto my cry;
Me from my persecutors save,
Who stronger are than I.

From prison bring my soul, that I
Thy name may glorify.
The just shall compass me when thou
With me deal'st bounteously.

“It is the hallowed sound of praising God: and by some fellow-

* Cloud of Witnesses. A very interesting account of the death of John Brown appeared in Blackwood's Magazine, some time after this was written.
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sufferers ;" said John Brown, as he arose from his knees, to search them out. And to his no small joy, he found David and William Steel, his neighbours, and Joseph Wilson from Lesmahago, in the cleft of a rock that jutted half-way into the ravine. The Steels had had a narrow escape the day before this. And it was to avoid such harassing that they now fled to the ravine. Nor did they flee in vain. They found, to their sweet experience, this dreary waste a Bethel ; and in their harassings and hidings, as it was with Moses on the mount, they felt nearest God when farthest from creature comforts. All day, they read God's word and prayed by turns ; and during the dark and silent watches of the night, by turns they prayed and praised.

The seventy-fourth Psalm was deeply imprinted on their memories, from its being remarkably descriptive of their situation. The whole of it was sung about midnight ; and while the wind carried the sound to the dale land below, faith carried the matter up to heaven. It entered the ear of the God of sabaoth, through the highly exalted Intercessor, and he sent the Comforter to uphold them with peace and joy, in believing that it was *Jesus' cause* they were suffering for. Though counted as slaughter sheep, they were fed in green pastures, and drank of that river of life, whose divine influences refreshed their souls, in a manner past all understanding. They felt a peace that made them loath to part. Every one was sensible that the presence of God had been with them. And in this spirit these poor hunted saints spent the time till morning dawned and the lark arose above their heads, joining his note with theirs, in praise to God for the light of another day.

William Steel, who escaped death from the persecutors, and lived many years after the Revolution, said often, if ever there was a time in his life that he would wish to enjoy over again, it was especially that day and night he spent in the moss hag. They all thought it would be their last meeting on earth. He was the first that ascended from the ravine, to look if the enemy were in view ; and it being a clear morning, and no person in sight, they all followed, and were standing to consult on the separate paths they would take home, to prevent them from being seen, when they were struck silent by a voice, sweeter than any thing they had ever heard, passing over the ravine, singing these words :—

Oh ! let the prisoners' sighs ascend
 Before thy sight on high ;
 Preserve those by thy mighty power,
 That are ordained to die.

ten : but the writer has confounded the name of John Brown of Blackwood parish, with that of his namesake of Priesthill ; and the house on the Muir, with that in Muirkirk.—The house on the Muir was where Caldwell, Kersland, and the gentlemen of Renfrewshire, rendezvoused on their way to join Colonel Wallace, and the company who fell at Pentland. Wodrow, Vol. i. Appendix.

And again, while they still stood speechless, another voice sung, in tones of exultation :—

Though ye have lain among the pots,
Like doves ye shall appear,
Whose wings with silver, and with gold
Whose feathers covered are.

After standing for some time looking at one another, some of them thought they had left other worshippers in the moss hag. Others thought that the sound echoed from a greater distance. "Whoever or wherever the words come from, we have little concern," said John Brown; "one thing we may take comfort from; they are God's words to his church in affliction; and that is our situation. Who lye among the pots? We scullions, black in the opinion of our enemies. But God sees us not as man sees us, but compares us to doves; doves on the wing, whose feathers of gold and silver are best seen while they fly. It may be, we are on the wing to an eternal world, and this Bethel meeting is preparing us to mount up with wings like eagles. If so, let us keep in mind, that we have nothing to boast of, but grace, grace: unto it is our acknowledgment." While he spoke, his countenance beamed the pleasantest ever they had seen; and when he parted from them, they stood and looked after him. It was the last time they saw him in life, and the last they heard him speak. "He had a most uncommon talent in communicating information and consolation to others, and when he came himself to be tried, he was not left a cast-away." *

Charles being now dead, and James, Duke of York, having now thrown off the mask, the suspicion of the reformers, that Prelacy was to be handmaid to the introduction of Popery in Scotland, was verified. For this purpose he enlarged the commission of Claverhouse, and created him Viscount of Dundee; and none was better fitted to drive *fell Ruin's ploughshare* through every thing that could make life desirable.

This person so infamous for his cruelty, had now an opportunity of displaying it on the person of our worthy. A garrison being fixed at Lesmahago, according to the barbarous policy of the times, Claverhouse came unexpectedly there, late on the last night of April, 1685, and having heard of John Brown's piety and non-conformity, by six o'clock next morning he was at Priesthill. A proof how he thirsted after the blood of such men!

John Brown, as usual, had arisen with the dawn, and had offered up the morning sacrifice. His wife often told how remarkably the Psalm, sung that morning, tended to gird up the loins of their minds. It was as follows:

PSALM xxvii. 1—4.

The Lord's my light and saving health;
Who shall make me dismayed?

My life's strength is the Lord; of whom
Then shall I be afraid?

When as mine enemies and foes,
Most wicked persons all,
To eat my flesh against me rose,
They stumbled and did fall.

Against me though an host encamp,
My heart yet fearless is:
Though war against me rise, I will,
Be confident in this.

One thing I of the Lord desired,
And will seek to obtain,
That all days of my life I may
Within God's house remain;

That I the beauty of the Lord
Behold may and admire,
And that I in his holy place
May reverently inquire.

The chapter read was John xvi., equally suitable; and his prayers were like those of one lost to the world, and entered into the holy of holies, through the rent veil of the Redeemer's flesh.

How good it is, when the Lord comes, to be found watching in the way of doing our duty, was experienced in no small measure by the family at Priesthill. After worship, the gudeman went to the hill to prepare some peat ground; the servants were also out, and engaged at some distance in their wonted employments. Of a sudden Claverhouse surrounded the helpless man with three troops of dragoons, and brought him down to his own house. He left his implements of industry with great composure, and walked down before them more like a leader than a captive.

Meanwhile Janet had alarmed her mother by telling her that a great many horsemen were coming down the hill with her father. "The thing that I feared is come upon me; O give me grace for this hour," said her mother, hastily taking up her boy, and wrapping him in her plaid, and taking Janet by the hand, she went out to meet her foes; praying in secret as she went.

The leisurely way of examining persons by law, in which there was some semblance of justice, was now departed from. Claverhouse simply asked John Brown, Why he did not attend the curate, and if he would pray for king James. It was remarkable that, though a stammerer in speech to strangers, this morning he answered Claverhouse distinctly. He said he acknowledged only Christ as supreme head of the Church, and could not attend the curates, because they were placed there contrary to His law, and were mere creatures of the bishops, and the bishops were creatures of the king; and he being a Papist, and himself a Protestant Presbyterian, who, along with all ranks in the nation, had sworn and covenanted to God, that no Papist should bear rule over these lands; he neither could nor would pray for him. But if he repented,

and turned from his wicked way, he would acknowledge, obey, and pray for him.* Upon hearing this Claverhouse said, "Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die:"† which command, John immediately complied with, and that in such a manner as filled the troops with amazement. On his family, it had a different effect. His wife, who was great with child, with another in her arms, and Janet at her side, stood while he prayed "that every covenanted blessing might be poured upon her and her children, born and unborn, as one refreshed by the influence of the Holy Spirit, when he comes down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers upon the earth."

There is a light in the Christian's life that discovers the spots of the wicked, and torments them before the time. When Claverhouse could bear his prayers no longer, and had succeeded, after interrupting him twice, with the most blasphemous language, to raise him from his knees, John Brown said to his wife—"Isabell,

* Some readers will be surprised that so holy a man should have refused to pray for the king, seeing we are so plainly commanded to pray for kings, and all in authority over us. In the present state and circumstances of this kingdom, it is not easy with some persons to perceive the force of the reasons which induced our persecuted forefathers to refuse obedience to this command. One thing, however, is very evident from their history, that they refused obedience, not to divine, but only to arbitrary human authority, and when it was considered a test of their compliance with what was sinful. It is probable that the apostle Paul himself would have refused to pray for Nero as emperor, had he been commanded to do so at the point of the sword, as a test of his acknowledging him as Head of the Church. He would have prayed like Stephen for his enemies and murderers; but certainly he would not have acknowledged, nor would he have done any thing that so much as seemed to acknowledge, the ecclesiastical supremacy of the emperor. Now this is the plain fact of the case, with regard to our fathers in the reign of Charles II. Praying for the king was enforced at the point of the bayonet; and compliance was understood by both parties to be a renouncing of a fundamental principle of the Scottish Reformation, which incurred the guilt of both hypocrisy and perjury. Charles was not content with being acknowledged head of the state. He would be head of the church too; and James, his successor, would have resigned the headship of both to the Pope.

But with *their* convictions, they could not even pray for Charles as head of the state, without gross hypocrisy; for they believed that by his violation of his solemn engagements to the nation, he had forfeited all right to the sovereignty. This, it must be allowed, is a delicate question; and one at all times of difficult application; but if the worthy men whose conduct is the subject of this note, were wrong either in the conception or application of the principle, their error was adopted and followed up into practice, by the whole nation, a few years after; and this is now universally approved by Protestants of all denominations. The fact is, the strict Covenanters saw the cloven foot of Popery and arbitrary power in the administration of Charles II. almost from the beginning, and still more in that of his brother James. They refused to submit to it, or to come under any oath that should bind them to an approbation of Popery and tyranny, or even to utter a word in their prayers that could imply such a thing. Surely these were at least honest men; and they were more noble than those of their countrymen, who, after having made many compliances, and sworn many oaths to the reigning family, felt themselves compelled to throw them off. "Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?"

† Wodrow and Crookshank.

this is the day I told you of, before we were married ;” and added, with his usual kindness, “ You see me summoned to appear, in a few minutes, before the court of heaven, as a witness in our Redeemer’s cause, against the Ruler of Scotland. Are you willing that I should part from you ?” “ Heartily willing,” said she, in a voice that spoke her regard for her husband, and her submission to the Lord, even when he called her to bow before his terrible things. “ That is all I wait for : O death, where is thy sting ! O grave, where will be thy victory !” said John Brown, while he tenderly laid his arms around her, kissed her and his little boy, and lastly Janet ; saying to her, “ My sweet bairn, give your hand to God as your guide ; and be your mother’s comfort.”—He could add no more ; a tide of tenderness overflowed his heart. At last, he uttered these words, “ Blessed be thou, O Holy Spirit ! that speaketh more comfort to my heart than the voice of my oppressors can speak terror to my ears !” Thus, when the Lord brought his witness to be tried, he discovered a magnanimity which, as he fell, conquered his persecutors.*

* Perhaps the reader will be pleased to have the following account of this atrocious circumstance, differing in some slight particulars from that in the text, but equally graphical—inserted for his perusal. “ After he had distinctly and pertinently answered some questions, Claverhouse said to him, ‘ Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die !’ Brown went to his prayers ; but, when in the fervour of devotion, he was thrice interrupted by Graham. When he rose from his knees, he said to his wife, who was present (with one child in her arms, and another at her side ;) ‘ Now, Isabell, the day is come of which I told you when I first proposed marriage to you.’—‘ Indeed, John,’ replied the poor woman, ‘ if it must be so, I can willingly part with you.’—‘ *This*,’ said the collected man, ‘ is all I desire. I have no more to do—but to die. I have long expected it.’

“ Poor Brown then kissed his wife and the children.—‘ God bless you all,’ said he, ‘ May all purchased and promised blessings be multiplied.’

“ ‘ No more,’ vociferated Claverhouse. ‘ You six there,’ counting past six soldiers, ‘ shoot him instantly !’ They fired—the poor man fell.—‘ What thinkest thou of thy husband *now*, woman ?’ fiercely demanded the ruffian Graham. ‘ I ever thought much good of him,’ sobbed the poor widow ; ‘ and *now more than ever*.’—‘ Wretch !’ growled out Claverhouse, ‘ it were but just to lay *thee* beside him !’—‘ If you were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that far,’ cried the poor woman,—‘ But how will you answer for this morning’s work ?’ ‘ To *man* I can be answerable,’ thundered out the renegade ; ‘ and, as for *God*, I will take *him* in my own hand !’

“ He then marched off, leaving the poor widow with her husband’s mangled corpse ! She set the children on the ground. She gathered up his scattered brains—she tied up his head—and covering his body with a plaid, she sat and wept over him ! She would not leave the bloody corpse, sobbing and solitary, she sat till some neighbours approached.

“ These neighbours buried John Brown at the end of the house of Priesthill. A monument was erected, which yet stands, on the spot where he fell.

“ Thus, without law, or *leave*, without even the *sham* of a *soldier jury*, was murdered in cold blood, a peaceable, and pious man ! Many lamented the *carrier*, and none more than the children in the vicinity. The manners of Brown were bland and benevolent. Many a young soul he won to the Saviour, and many a young foot paced miles to meet with John Brown on a Sabbath.

“ We are led, by *witching* descriptions, to varnish the crimes of a court. We are led, by *witching* descriptions, to colour the cruelty of a captain. And the co-

If, in the Christian's life, there is a light that discovers the spots of the wicked; so, in the martyr's heroic grappling with death, there is a *heat* that scorches them past enduring. It was doubtless under this feeling that Claverhouse ordered six of his dragoons to shoot him, ere the last words were out of his mouth: but his prayers and conduct had disarmed them from performing such a savage action. They stood motionless. Fearing for their mutiny, Claverhouse snatched a pistol from his own belt, and shot him through the head. . . . And while his troops slunk from the awful scene, he, like a beast of prey that tramples and howls over a fallen victim, insulted the tender-hearted wife, while she gathered up the shattered head, by taunting jeers: "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" "I ever thought mickle good of him," said she, "and now more than ever." He, seeing her courage, said, "It were but justice to lay thee beside him." She replied, "If ye were permitted, I doubt not your cruelty could go that length; but how will ye answer for this morning's work?" With a countenance that belied his words, he answered, "To men I *can* be answerable; and as for God, I will take *him* in my own hands:" Thus saying, he hastily put spurs to his horse, and left her with the corpse. She tied up his head with her napkin, composed his body, covered it with her plaid, and when she had nothing further to do or contend with, she sat down on the ground, drew her children to her, and wept over her mangled husband.

But think not, reader, she was miserable; it is only when we have brought on ourselves our afflictions, that we are miserable under them. Nor think that she was alone. Are not angels ministering spirits to believers in their troubles? And being spirits they are well fitted for the service. They can reach the spirit with healing on their wings. They soothe, they comfort the afflicted widow. They bring God's promises to mind, saying, "Fear not, for thy Maker is thy husband. For the Lord has called thee as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit. Thy God saith, For a moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee. O thou afflicted, tossed with tempests, and not comforted, behold I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. Thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be their peace. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord." There are also kindred spirits with angels, here on earth, in whom the Most High God puts his Spirit, to speak a word in season to the weary soul.

The mourners of Priesthill did not long want friends. The re-

venanted canaille, as, perhaps, they may be called, are cancelled with a sneer! But, *here*, in a moor or a moss, and in the most *trying* circumstances of humanity, —*here* stand exemplified, by an humble *carrier* and his wife, more resolution—more rational piety—more virtuous love, and more sublime submission, than all the parasites in *print* will be ever able to bestow on the last of the Stuarts!" See *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Character*, pp. 66—68.

port of the foul deed circulated rapidly, creating dismay and abhorrence. Who now could think themselves safe, when John Brown was thus treated, who was not otherwise obnoxious to government than in not attending the curate, and he several miles distant? The first who arrived on the spot was David Steel's wife, one well fitted to comfort in the most trying dispensation. She ran up to the group, and throwing her arms around them, saluted Isabell thus, "Wow woman! and has your master been taken from your head this day? and has he won the martyr's crown? and has God taken you and your children under his *own care*, saying, I will be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless? No wonder though ye are overcome and astonished at his doings." This salutation aroused and strengthened the widow. She remembered the words of Mr. Peden, and she arose from the ground to search out the linen he had warned her to prepare. About this time David and William Steel, with his wife, also arrived and assisted Isabell to bring in and wrap up the precious dust. All was done, while the silence of death reigned over the household.

After breakfast, David Steel took the Bible, and, in the ordinary course of the family, began the worship of God by singing the remaining part of the consolatory psalm sung in the morning:—

For he, in his pavilion, shall
Me hide in evil days;
In secret of his tent me hide,
And on a rock me raise.

And now, even at this present time,
Mine head shall lifted be,
Above all those that are my foes,
And round encompass me:

Therefore, unto his tabernacle
I'll sacrifices bring
Of joyfulness; I'll sing, yea, I
To God will praises sing.

And followed also the footsteps of his friend by reading the xviith chapter of John.

Those in affliction read and sing in a faith that those who are at ease know nothing about. Every word of God comes home just as if he spoke with a voice in their ear. It was with such acts of faith on God's promise that Isabell received with composure her visitors, many of whom came at the risk of their lives to condole with her.

As was said of the protomartyr Stephen, "devout men carried him to his burial," so it was with John Brown, for literally God's hidden ones carried him forth, and laid him in his grave, on the very spot where he fell. And as the disciples, after they had seen the Lord ascend, returned unto Jerusalem rejoicing, in like manner did the company at Priesthill rejoice, and had their "song in the night."

How different the case of the wicked! Had a miracle opened

the eyes of Claverhouse, as it did the eyes of the prophet's servant, to have seen John Brown's soul from "insult springing," at the moment his body fell a mangled corpse, he would have seen himself changed from a powerful oppressor, like Haman, to a mean servant, only fit, as an instrument, to clothe the humble sinner at the king's gate in royal robes, and a glorious crown, and usher him in to the city Shushan, as a man whom the King delights to honour. It was not granted that his eyes should be opened by a miracle, or by faith in God's written testimony. But God's vicegerent, *conscience*, even in this life, speaks out awful things of righteousness and judgment to come. "He afterwards acknowledged that John Brown's prayer made such an impression on his spirit, as he could never get altogether worn off, when he gave himself liberty to think."* Thus, "mischief haunts the violent man, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live half his days."

The poor widow of Priesthill and her children did inherit the earth, and had a name long after that of her oppressors was not.—About forty years ago, a gentleman riding to Edinburgh fell into conversation with a respectable-looking country woman, on the road, and learning that she was a grand-daughter of John Brown, he on that account made her ride behind him into the city. So much was the memory of the Christian Carrier respected. And what was a proof of the harmony of his family, she could not tell whether she was of the first or the second wife's children. None of them now reside at Priesthill, but their house stands, and the broad flat stone that covers their father's grave, is shown, with this inscription,

In death's cold bed, the dusty part here lies
Of one who did the earth as dust despise :
Here in this place from earth he took departure ;
Now he has got the garland of the martyr.

Butcher'd by Clavers and his bloody band,
Raging most rav'nously o'er all the land,
Only for owning Christ's supremacy,
Wickedly wrong'd by encroaching tyranny,
Nothing how near so ever he to God
Esteem'd, nor dear for any truth his blood.

How long his widow continued to survive him cannot now be ascertained. The above are all the facts we have learned respecting him and his. We have thought them well worthy of a place in this collection. And doubtless though the day of his birth is now sunk in oblivion, though his condition in life was humble and obscure, it deserves to be had in everlasting remembrance that on the first morning of summer 1685, he fell a victim to persecuting cruelty, died a martyr to freedom of conscience, and from his mortal tenement, shattered by the hand of death, triumphantly ascended to that peaceful world where the fires of intolerance are never lighted, and the voice of calumny never heard!

* Wodrow.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL EARL OF ARGYLE.*

IN the year 1681, matters in Scotland, both with regard to church and state, were come to the very lowest pass. On the one hand the generality of the presbyterian ministers having so far complied with the indulgence, that those who strictly adhered to the principles maintained by Cameron and Cargill, had not freedom to submit to them; and they on the other having none now to officiate among them as ministers, since the martyrdom of the latter, judged it expedient, in their then distressed circumstances, to form themselves into societies; and the better to maintain the common cause of religion and liberty, they united a general correspondence, to be kept up through the shires severally, and all the shires conjunctly, in which those who owned their testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and Tyranny, resided. By this means, though still the more open to the resentment of their persecutors, they attained to a better understanding of one another, and were in a capacity to contribute more to their mutual advantage. They had their first general meeting on the 15th of December this year at Logan house, in the parish of Lesmahago, and shire of Lanark, and there they agreed upon their testimony against the last parliament, and against the duke of York a Papist, as being commissioner. This they appointed to be published at the market-cross of Lanark, on the 12th of January, next year. They held their general meetings once a quarter, or oftener, as they could most conveniently.

But what constituted the worst and most striking feature of the time, was the prosecution of the famous Earl of Argyle, for his explication of the test,† the enactment of which he had previously opposed in parliament. Indeed no occurrence, in that period, exposes in a more glaring light the tyranny of the administration which then prevailed. This nobleman was the representative of one

* The intelligent reader will no doubt perceive that this is the same article (only much enlarged) which, in the previous editions, formed part of the supplement to the work. We think there can be but one opinion as to the propriety of ranking the illustrious subject of it among the Worthies of Scotland; and adhering to the order of time, which has been followed, throughout the work in general—this seems to be the proper place for introducing an account of him.

† The avowed object of this test, which was to be imposed on all persons exercising any civil or military functions, the royal family excepted, was to secure the permanence of the Protestant religion. But to the declaration of adherence to the Protestant faith was added a recognition of the King's supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters, and a complete renunciation in civil concerns of every right belonging to a free subject. An adherence to the Protestant religion, according to the confession of it referred to in the test, seemed to some inconsistent with the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and that clause of the oath which related to civil matters, much as it declared against endeavouring at any alterations in the church or state, seemed incompatible with the duties of a counsellor, or a member of parliament. It was upon these grounds that the Earl of Argyle thought it necessary to declare in what sense he received it. See Fox's History.

of the most ancient and powerful families in Scotland—a family which had already supplied a martyr in the cause of religious freedom, and which had early been distinguished by its support of reformation principles. In his youth he had performed many remarkable services to the crown against the usurper and his adherents. For twenty years of his life he had faithfully served his country in some of the highest stations in the kingdom, and now, in consequence of the offices he held, being required to take the test oath his conscientious explication of it was made the pretext, “on which he was found guilty of high treason, his blood tainted, his family declared ignoble, his estate forfeited, his honour extinguished, and himself condemned to die as a traitor—as indeed he did die some years after this.”

In the parliament by which this test was enacted, he had, it was thought, incurred the displeasure of the Duke of York, then Commissioner,* by insisting on a clause which must have been fatal to the claims of a popish successor. Means were therefore soon after resorted to, to deprive him of his rights and property, upon false and iniquitous pretences. With the view of defending himself against these measures, he obtained leave and went to the country to procure the necessary deeds and papers. And upon his return, at reaching Glasgow, he was apprized that during his absence, he, along with President Stair, had been excluded from the session. This, however, was only the first, in a series of acts, by which his overthrow was accomplished.

On coming to Edinburgh, he was ordered by one of the clerks of Council to attend next council-day, being the 3d of November, and take the test. The Earl, upon this, went to the Duke, and complained of the order, since the time appointed by the parliament was not yet expired. But all was to no purpose. The Duke wanted to get rid of him, as standing in the way of his designs. Matters, however, were so managed, that the Earl, with the approbation both of the Duke and Council, was permitted to take

* In a manuscript volume of the indefatigable Wodrow, we have the following account of the origin of the dislike with which Argyle was regarded by the Duke of York, afterwards James II. “The Lord Ross gave me the following account of the dryness that fell in betwixt the Duke of York, and the last Marquis [Earl] of Argyle. When the Duke made his known progress from Edinburgh to Stirling, Ross commanded the troops that attended him. The Marquis had a house there, where he entertained the Duke, and suite very kindly and magnificently. The Duke pleased to thank the Earl of Argyle for his civility and kindness; and to ask him wherein he was able to show the sense he had of the favours he had done him. The Earl humbly thanked his highness for his goodness; and said his favour was more than a recompense. The Duke replied: ‘My Lord, if you will do one thing you may be the greatest man in Scotland.’ The Earl begged to know what that was, the Duke said ‘it was a thing in doing which he would greatly oblige him. The Earl again humbly desired to know what it was. The Duke answered, that all he desired of him was, that he would change the *worst* religion in the world for the *best*. The Earl gave him a very cutting reply; and after that the Duke was still (ever) cold to him.” *Analecta*, vol. 6. p. 101.

the oath with an explanation, which indeed was no more than the Council themselves had done, which makes their treatment of him the more base and unaccountable. Accordingly, on the 3d of November, his Lordship came to the Council, and, with a loud voice, made the following explanatory declaration: "I have considered the test, and am desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths; therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly I take it in as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion; and I do declare, I mean not to bind up myself, in my station, and in a lawful way, to wish and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the church, or state, not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty; and this I understand as a part of my oath." Then the oath was administered to him; and immediately he took his place as a privy-counsellor. Next day he waited on his Royal Highness, by whom he was told, that his explication did not please him; that he thought it was to be a short one like Queensberry's, and added, "Well, it passed with you, but it shall pass so with no other." The Earl understood this as an acceptance; and that, if he had committed any fault, the Duke had passed it over, and would push the matter no farther. But in this, he was mistaken; for a design was formed to prosecute him for high treason on account of his explanation; and the same day Argyle was called before the Council, as a Commissioner of the Treasury, again to take the test. Whether this was not requiring a vain repetition of the oath, must be left to the reader. The Earl offered to take the test as before; whereupon a member of the Council desired the words might be repeated. His Lordship, observing a design upon him, declined repeating, till, being urged by the Duke, he told, that he had a note of it in writing, to prevent mistakes, which was produced and read. Argyle would have signed it; but perceiving their intentions, he waved this. He was then removed; and, after they had concerted their measures among themselves, he was called again, and told, that he had not given the satisfaction required by the act of parliament, and so could not sit in Council, nor act as a Commissioner of the Treasury. His Lordship made a proper reply, and retired. Next morning he waited on the Duke, and expressed his surprise that what he had said in his explication should be thought a crime. The Duke said, that the words were unnecessary and groundless, and that he was not tied up by the oath as he imagined; and, after a pause, added, "As I have already told you, you have cheated yourself, you have taken the test." Then the Earl answered, that he hoped his Highness was satisfied. The Duke then complained, that the Earl had not voted the Council's explication. Argyle answered, that he was not present at the debates. The duke insisted that he could not but understand the affair; and added, with a frown, *That he with some others, had designed to bring trouble upon a handful of poor Catholics, that would live peaceably however they were used; but it should light upon others.* This was plain dealing, and showed what was to be

expected when he should have the whole management in his own hands. They parted, after the Duke had laid his commands on him, not to go out of town till he saw him again ; which he promised to observe.

The design against the Earl being now formed, he was ordered that same night to continue at Edinburgh till next council-day, which was November 8, when the Council sent one of their clerks to command him to enter himself prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh before twelve o'clock next day. This also he complied with. They then ordered the Advocate to pursue him for treason, or such other crimes as should be thought most convenient, upon the paper presented by him to the Council anent the test, and at the same time they wrote an account of their proceedings to the King ; but it is remarkable they ordered him to be prosecuted even before they had any permission from the King. On the 22d of November, the King's letter, dated on the 15th, was read in Council, in which he signified his approbation of their proceedings against the Earl ; only requiring them to acquaint him, before they came to any sentence. But before the Council had this return, Argyle was summoned to answer a charge of leasing-making and depraving the King's laws. And such was the baseness of his Lordship's prosecutors, that they pretended, nay, one of them told him, that nothing was intended but to take his heritable offices from him : and when the Duke of York was told, that it was a hard measure, upon such grounds, to threaten such a person with forfeiture of life and fortune, he exclaimed, " Life and fortune ! God forbid."* And if he was privy to the designs then formed, he acted in this only suitably to his religion. On receiving the King's letter, they appointed the Advocate to form an indictment for treason and perjury against him, to which he was required to answer before the Lords of Justiciary on the 12th of December next

On the 12th of December his Lordship was brought before the Justiciary, consisting of the Earl of Queensberry, Justice-general, Lords Nairn, Collington, Forret, Newton, and Kirkhouse. The indictment was read, in which he was charged with declaring against and defaming the act enjoining the test, by insinuating that the parliament had imposed a contradictory oath, and that the said oath was inconsistent with itself, and with the Protestant religion, and consequently that the King and Parliament had acted inconsistently with the Protestant religion ; and for treasonably invading the royal legislative power. An unbiassed reader by comparing this nobleman's explication with his indictment, will see, that the crimes charged upon him, were without any solid foundation. Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Dalrymple pleaded with great accuracy and

* The disgusting ease with which James in his Memoirs speaks of Argyle's case ; his pretence that he put his life in jeopardy, only with a view to seize his property, seem to destroy all notions of this prince's having had any honour or conscience ; nor after this can we give much credit to the declaration that Argyle's life was not aimed at." Note from Mr. Fox's Common-place Book.

judgment for him, so that the debates continued till nine at night. There were but four Lords, with the justice general, at the debates. The Lord Nairn who was then old and infirm, could not continue all the time of the trial, and so went home to bed. Two of the Lords, Collington and Kirkhouse, insisted that the Earl was not guilty of leasing-making and treason; the other two, Newton and Forret, insisted that he was. Queensberry not choosing to give the casting vote against the Earl, Nairn was brought from his bed to the Court, (that numbers might supply the want of law and reason,) and gave his vote against them. It was two in the morning before the case was over, and then they adjourned till next day, when the Lords pronounced their interlocutor, in which they declared the Earl's defences, with respect to perjury, to be sufficient, but not with respect to treason and leasing-making.

The paper delivered by him, containing his explication of the test, was then produced as evidence against him; whereupon the jury withdrew, and in a little brought in their verdict, *That the Earl of Argyle was guilty of treason, leasing-making, and leasing-telling, but not guilty of perjury.* The Council upon this met, and wrote an account of what had passed to the King; from all which it is evident, that a design was formed against the Earl's life. Bishop Burnet says, "No sentence, in our age, was more universally cried out on, than this." All people spoke of it, and of the Duke who drove it on, with horror.

The friends of the Earl were of opinion, that he ought to provide for his safety. A gentleman was therefore despatched to Court, who, as soon as the King's mind, in answer to the Council's letter, was known, came off, and outrode the bearer of it. By him Argyle found, that the sentence of death was to be passed upon him, and that the King would be prevailed with to yield to the execution; nay, before the gentleman's arrival, his lordship had notice, that on the 21st he was to be sent to the common jail, to which persons used to be removed before their execution. The Duke had refused to hear any application in his favour; soldiers were ordered into town, his guards were doubled upon him, and strict orders given to confine him to his room. Yet notwithstanding this, he was still unwilling to attempt his escape. Some letters from London at length induced him to resolve upon this step; and, on Tuesday the 20th, about eight in the evening, he came out in disguise, and got off undiscovered.*

* With respect to the mode of the Earl's escape the following curious statement will be read with interest:—"On the 20th of December, 1681, he makes his escape out of the castle in his *lakie's livery cloaths*, being accompanied by Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step daughter (to witt Baccarra's daughter), in carrying up her train behind her, who was led by a gentleman out of his chamber in the castle, down to the utter guards, and there took coach waiting for her; the Earl steps up on the hinder part of the coach as her lakie, and coming for-gainst the Weigh-house slips off and shifts for himself."—Law's Mem. p. 210.

"It is reported," says the Editor of the above work, "that in his agitation dropt the lady's gown when about to pass the centinel at the castle gate; but

When out, he rode without stopping, to a country alehouse, near to the house of Mr. Pringle of Torwoodlee, who, by agreement, was to meet him there, and conduct him to Mr. Veitch's house in Northumberland. Here he assumed the name of Mr. Hope; and, in company with Mr. Pringle, proceeded on his journey.

They at length arrived safe at Mr. Veitch's while he was at Berwick visiting his friends.* The beginning of the following week, Mr. Hope, Mr. Veitch, and two servants, set out for London; but

she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and in a pretended rage threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of 'careless loon,' &c., which so besmeared him that his features were not recognised."—Ibid.

To this lady the Earl shortly after addressed a poem, of which the following is the commencement:

“ Daughter, as dear as dearest child can be,
Lady Sophia, ever dear to me;
Our guardian angels doubtless did conspire
To make you gain, and me to give, this hire
Not to requite—that I can never do,
But somewhat suitable from me to you.

“ I am not rich—guineas tempt not your eyes,
Yet here are angels you will not despise.
You came an angel, in the case, to me
Expressly sent to guide and set me free.
The great gate opened of its own accord,†
That word came in my mind—I praise the Lord.
He that restrained of old the Shechemites,‡
I hope will now the cruel Benjamites,
Priests that do want the pity of laymen,
Judges and counsellors that cry amen!
When I was out I knew not where I went:
I cried to God, and he here angels sent.
If ye desire what passed since to me,
Read through the book of Psalms, and think on me.” &c. &c.

* But for the kindness of a favouring Providence, the circumstance of Mr. Veitch's absence might have proved fatal to the Earl's escape. How it was counteracted, and how and in what circumstances his safety was at length secured, will appear from the following extract from Veitch's Memoirs, written by himself.

“ The news of the Earl's escape coming to Berwick, by an express, some officers who had read it at the post-house, perceiving Mr. Veitch in town, turned back to where the Governor was, telling him that *he* might have a hand in Argyle's escape, and that this was worthy his consideration. They unanimously concluded it proper to double the guards, and then to go to the mayor to get a warrant to search.

“ In the mean time Mr. Veitch, knowing nothing of the news, or of their resolutions, went confidently along the street to his lodging (in order to his going out of town), in company with Mr. Temple, his landlord. They see the mayor, who was brother-in-law to Mr. Temple, going up the street a little before them; upon which Mr. Temple says, ‘Yonder is the mayor going to repay your visit yesternight, and take his leave of you.’ When we came into the hall where Mr. Lowk the mayor was standing, he says, ‘Mr. Veitch, I'm come to tell you great and strange news: the Earl of Argyle is escaped out of Edinburgh castle, and it is thought he is either for his own Highlands or London.’ Mr. Veitch

† Acts xii. 10.

‡ Chron. iii. 5.

they were obliged to part with the two servants on the road, to prevent suspicion: for the alarm of the Earl's escape was now general, and a reward of £500 was offered to any one who should apprehend him. However, he and Mr. Veitch got safe to Batter sea, near London, where they were conducted to the house of Mr. Smith, a sugar-baker, whose lady was a gentlewoman of great piety, prudence, and generosity. He continued concealed in and about London till he got over to Holland.

smiling at it as a mere story, he added, 'You need not doubt it, for I have read the express just now at the post-house.'

'The main guard was just over against the lodging, and the drums beating, the mayor says, 'Let us go up stairs and see what's the matter!' He, opening the casement, was told, that it was for doubling the guards. Still looking out, he perceives the governor and the officers with an additional party of guards coming up. The governor comes to a barber's shop below the house, inquires at him if Mr. Veitch lodged in that house: he declared he knew nothing of it. Well, says he, 'Hold your peace.' The fellow, when he is gone, putting to his half-door, and going down street, came about to a back entry of Mr. Temple's house, and, calling him down, tells him the story. At which Mr. Temple came quickly up stairs, and acquainted us that all this was a-doing to secure the town, in order to the searching for Mr. Veitch and Argyle, if he was with him. At this the mayor, like one in a surprise, and without speaking one word, hastens down stairs and goes home, thinking they would presently be at him for a warrant, which, according to the law of the place, he could not give without the two other justices. One of these he knew was gone to Newcastle. And he sends his boy to the other, desiring him in all kindness quickly to go out of town, and not to return that night. The boy was not well come back, when the governor and officers came to him, requiring a warrant. 'O,' says he, 'by all means:' and calling his boy, 'Run,' says he, 'for these two justices, and bring them hither quickly.' The boy after a while returning, told that they were both out of town, and would not be home till to-morrow. 'Well,' says the mayor to the governor, 'you know I can give you no warrant till they come, and you, having doubled the guards, may secure all till then.'

'Mean time Mr. Temple carried Mr. Veitch through back ways to the curate's beadle's house, whose wife, being a friend, undertook to secure him. Here he dined with a Captain Mitchel, who had a large tobacco ship lying near one of the gates of the town-walls, and had liberty from the mayor and governor that the gate might not be shut as the rest, until ten o'clock at night. In the afternoon, the mayor came in surprisingly upon Mr. Veitch, bringing some bottles of wine with him, and upon his man leaving the room, he tells him all he had done for his security, drinks a glass to his safe delivery, and said smilingly,

I can do no more for you but commit you to your fanatic friends,' and then took his leave. Mr. Veitch desired him to send to him Samuel Shell, the town-solicitor, which he did; and he, being Mr. Veitch's acquaintance formerly at London, was very ready to do him service, and told him, that that night his brother, the town-clerk, had a child to be buried with torches; that all the leading persons, who were his friends in town, would be there, and that they would then consult upon the best way for his escape. This, accordingly, they did, and having caused two honest boatmen lay their boat to the off-side of the tobacco ship forementioned, betwixt seven and eight o'clock at night, two merchants (when they knew all was ready) went out at the gate, talking about the cargo buying, to blind the two centinels that stood upon the wall above the door; and, finding no difficulty, came back and took Mr. Veitch, and put him in the ship's boat, which the skipper had laid at the quay; which carried him out to the far side of the ship, and put him in the other boat, which landed him in Tweedmouth, where he had left his horse. Here he found two friends, who accompa

The deliberations in Holland, says Burnet, among the English and Scots that fled thither, came to ripen faster than was expected. Lord Argyle had been quiet ever since 1683, and had lived mostly in Friesland, though he came frequently to Amsterdam, and met with several of his countrymen who lay concealed there; the chief of whom were, Lord Melvill, Sir Patrick Hume, and Sir John Cochrane. With these his lordship communicated all the advices he received. In short, upon the death of the late King, he judged

ried him six miles on the way, to Mr. Luke Ogle's, the outed minister of Berwick, who laughed heartily at the story. It being Thursday's night, he engaged him to stay till Sabbath, and perform an old promise to Hall of Ittal and his lady, of giving them a Sabbath day's sermon; to which he assented.

“But going to bed after this confusion, and falling asleep, he dreamed that his house at Stanton, more than thirty miles off, was on fire. This made him awake in great consternation, and think of altering his resolution, and taking his journey home on the morrow's morning. He wished it were near rising time that he might go; but hearing the clock strike two, and that it was not seasonable to trouble the family until six o'clock, he fell asleep and dreamed the same over again, awaking all in a sweat. He took the doubling of his dream to be a clear call to go home, which next morning he did, making his apology to Mr. Ogle, and desiring him to excuse him at the laird and lady's hands. It being a violent frost, and the day short, he could not ride above twenty miles, so that, next day being Saturday, it was near night ere he got home. About a mile and half from his own house, in going up a lane, he saw two men and three fine horses meeting him, the foremost of whom, Torwoodlee's man, rode fast up to him, saying, ‘O, Sir, you are long looked for at your house;’ which made him ask, ‘What is the matter? Is my wife and family well?’ ‘Yes,’ says he, ‘but there is a stranger longs to see you, viz. Argyle; and your wife and he have been sending about the country these two days to find you.’ Then he saw that the dream was a clear call to bring him home.

“After meeting, and talking about matters with Argyle, Mr. Veitch undertook to do his best for bringing him safe to London, and advised to send his two servants to-morrow morning, being the Sabbath, to Newcastle, to stay there until farther orders.

“He therefore took Argyle, in disguise, along with him, to Millburn-grange, where he was to preach that Sabbath-day. And on Monday morning brought him to a friend's house between Newcastle and Newburn, where he left him till he went to Newcastle, and bought three horses for him and his servants. Having done this, he ordered the two servants to go to a change house in the way to Leeds, seventeen miles from Newcastle, and he and Mr. Hope crossed the Tyne at Newburn, and went to a by-inn over against Durham. They called the next day for the servants and took them along. On Thursday's night they came to Leeds, where Mr. Veitch was well acquainted. The next day they went to Roderam, thinking to lodge four or five miles beyond it that night, but the day being very rainy, and Argyle complaining he was wet to the skin, and seeing we must needs take up at Roderam, we resolved to take the post-house, as least suspected, rather than a by-inn.

“We were not well in our chamber, and had got some faggots to dry us, when a livery-man, well mounted, and calling for the ostler, asked briskly, ‘Come there not here some gentlemen shortly?’ This put us all in fear; but, after inquiry, turned out to be some gentleman's servant, who having seen us before them on the road, and thinking we might call at the post-house, and take up the best rooms, sent forward this fellow to see. Mr. Veitch, calling for a flaggon of ale, a bottle of wine, and some bread, asked the landlord and landlady to drink with them, talked a little, and inquired for several gentry in the country, and how far they lived from that place, telling them that they were relations to some of the neighbouring gentry in Northumberland. This he did, that the landlord and

he had a favourable opportunity to attempt the rescue of his country, from that Popery and slavery wherewith it was threatened by the accession of the Duke of York; and, therefore, resolved to make a descent upon Scotland, where he hoped to be joined by a number sufficient for answering his design; and at the same time prevailed with the Duke of Monmouth to make a descent upon England. But Argyle wanted money, which could not but be a great baulk to this undertaking; however, that want was supplied

landlady might know they were Englishmen, which happened well; for, while at supper, the post-boy coming in from Doncaster, gave his master a letter from the post-master there, which, after he had read, he reached to Mr. Veitch, who was sitting at the table head as the chief gentleman of the company, having Argyle's page, now in disguise, standing at his back. This Mr. Veitch having read at great leisure, and being almost nonplussed what to think or say; (the narrative of it being, That Argyle was escaped out of the castle, and that there was £500 sterling bid for him, to whoever should apprehend him, and thus addressing the postman: 'if you find him and apprehend him in your road, let me go snips with you; and if I find him you shall go snips with me'), he at length broke out by way of laughter, and said, 'Mr. Hope, here are admirable good news for you and me: the Earl of Argyle is escaped; we, that are travelling southward, may come to light upon him; for, if he be come to England, he will readily take by-ways, and if we hit upon him, £500 reward will do us good service; only I fear he rides much in these moonlight mornings: I could find in my heart to give my landlord a bottle of sack to let his ostler direct us early in the way to Clowny and I promise him, if we find the prize he shall share in the reward.' To this the landlord replied, 'The ostler is at your honour's service.' So Mr. Veitch called for a bottle of sack, to drink to their good success. They went early in the morning away, and ere they came to Clowny they dismissed the ostler and breakfasted at that place. After which Mr. Veitch sent the servants to the Plume of Feathers at Nottingham, and set Argyle upon the horse that carried the cloke-bag. They rode that Saturday's night to Mr. Willis's house at Glapwel, and staid there till Monday. It was one of Mr. Veitch's haunts, and he preached all the Sabbath to the meeting.

"In the mean time Mr. Veitch, thinking upon the alarm given, and that things looked more dangerous and difficult-like, thought fit to advise with an honest old Oliverian, Captain Lockyer, (one of Colonel Blood's accomplices at that time) about their safe-getting to London, who generously offered to conduct my Lord Argyle safely thither, which he did; bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr. Smith a sugar-baker's house, whose lady was a very pious, wise, and generous gentlewoman. They were rich and had no children. The servants sent to Nottingham were ordered for London, to a place where they should stay till further orders

"Mrs. Smith, being informed who Mr. Hope was, concealed it from her husband and all others, and he passed for an ordinary Scots gentleman. In a day or two she sent down a note to Major Holmes, one of her chief confidants, in the city, to provide two chambers, at a good distance from one another, where two friends of hers might be quiet and retired for a while; and when he sent her word they were ready, she sent them off to the Major's lodging during night. None of them knew the Major; but, they being set in an outer room to wait for his coming, whenever he came into the room, he knew Argyle, and, getting him in his arms, said, 'My dear Lord Argyle, you are most welcome to me.' At which my Lord seemed to be concerned, and said, 'Pray, Sir, where did you know me?' 'My Lord,' says he, 'I knew you since that day that I took you prisoner in the Highlands, when you was Lord Lorn, and brought you to the castle of Edinburgh; but now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me, to serve you.' He then sent each of them to their several chambers, where they lurked a considerable while."

by means of a rich widow in Amsterdam, who furnished him with £10,000 sterling. With this he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, a purchase which was very dexterously managed by one who traded at Venice, as if intended for the service of that republic.

On the 7th of April, 1685, there was a meeting at Amsterdam, at which were present the Earl of Argyle, Mr. Charles Campbell his son, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, William Denholm of West Shields, George Hume of Bassinden, John Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. George Wishart, William Cleland, James Stuart, advocate, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot.

On the 28th the parliament sat down, and this was just a few days before Argyle set sail from Holland.

The Earl of Argyle, being ready for his expedition, and the Duke of Monmouth having engaged that he would not stay in Holland ten days after him, embarked, on the 1st of May, with three ships, and a considerable number of arms, and in three days reached Orkney. They had not above 300 men in all.

From Orkney they steered their course by the inside of the western islands; and, had they got in time to Islay, would have surprised Ballachen with a party of 400 or 500 men; but they just came an hour too late. They next dropt anchor near Tobermory in Mull, where they were detained three days, which was very much to their disadvantage. From Mull they sailed to Kintyre; and here they were disappointed of many whom they expected to join them. However his lordship, and those with him, published a declaration, which had scarcely the wished-for effect.

On the 11th of June, the parliament passed an act, after a great multitude of acts of parliament, and other unexampled persecutions, after the Earl's landing, which they called, "An address against the arch-traitor Archibald Campbell, some time Earl of Argyle," wherein they beg, that the Earl's family, the heritors, ringleaders, and preachers, that joined him, should be for ever declared incapable of mercy, and of bearing any honours or estate in the kingdom, and that all subjects be discharged from interceding for them any manner of way.

His Lordship, having arrived at Tarbet, published a declaration to his clan. There he was joined by 1000 men, under Sir Duncan Campbell; and having modelled his little army into three regiments, each consisting of about 500 men, he determined to have attacked Ballachen, who had not above 600 men with him: but Sir John Cochrane, and others with him, would not go in with this proposal. A council of war was called, where it was resolved, contrary to the Earl's sentiments, to invade the Lowlands.

The Earl being disappointed in all his attempts, and finding it impracticable, either to rally his friends, or return to Argyleshire, attempted to disguise himself under the appearance of a countryman: but he fell into one difficulty after another, till he was attacked at the water of Inchinan, on the 17th of June, by two of the

militia, who laid hold of him, one on each side, all on horseback. He grappled with both, and one of them with the Earl, went to the ground. His Lordship got up, and rid himself of them both by presenting his pocket pistols; and would have made his escape, had not five more come and knocked him down with their swords.—When they knew who he was, they seemed to be much concerned; but durst not let him go. He was then brought in prisoner to Glasgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, under a strong guard; and, according to the order of Council, dated June 20th, was carried up the street with his hands bound, bareheaded, and in the midst of Captain Graham's guards; the hangman went before him, the horse guards before and behind; and thus his Lordship was conducted in dismal procession to the castle, and there laid in irons.

There was a great debate at Edinburgh, whether to bring him to trial for his present attempt, or to execute him on the sentence pronounced in 1681; but such was the zeal of the present managers, that they would not seem to call the justice of their former sentence in question, (though, by the way, all the world must look upon it as the most unrighteous sentence that could be passed;) and therefore they looked upon him as already condemned.

On the 29th, a letter from the King was read in Council, ordering them to bring the Earl to condign punishment within the space of three days after the receipt of it, and in the mean time to bring him to a confession, with respect to his associates and correspondents. In consequence of this, his Lordship was ordered to be beheaded next day, and his head to be affixed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh. He declared in the morning to a friend, that he had more joy and comfort this day, than the day after he escaped out of the castle.

His Lordship's demeanour, before his execution, was both pious and edifying. He spent the 28th of June, which was the Sabbath before his death, in a most becoming way. The manner in which he took leave of his sister, the Lady Loudon, was very moving.

His Lordship dined with a grave and becoming cheerfulness in the castle. And being used to sleep a little after meat, he retired to his closet, and laid himself down on a bed, and, for about a quarter of an hour, slept as sweetly and pleasantly as ever. The time being come when he must for ever leave the castle, he was by the Council's permission, allowed two Episcopal ministers, Mr. Annand, and Mr. Charteris, for they would not permit Presbyterian ministers to wait on him. Their discourse, and prayers on this tragical occasion, were very pertinent and becoming; and his Lordship delivered a very judicious and pious discourse to the spectators, in which, among other things he said, "*Job tells us, Man that is born of a woman, is of few days, and full of trouble; and I am a clear instance of it. I shall not now say any thing of my sentence or escape,—nor of the ground of my return;—that which I mainly intend to say now, is, to express my humble, and I thank God, cheerful, submission to the divine will, and my willingness to forgive all men, even my enemies. I know afflictions spring not out of the dust, are not only foretold, but promised to Christians, and are not only toler-*

able but desirable ; for God chastises his own, to refine and not to ruin them, whatever the world thinks. I know many, like Hazael,* go to excesses they never thought they were capable of. Let rulers and others seriously read these Scriptures,† and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good. For me, I hope, by God's strength, to join with Job,‡ and the Psalmist,§ and to trust,|| and pray,¶ and hope, as they did.** I do hereby forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cause of my being brought to this place,—and pray that God may forgive them." When he had ended he turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand repeated the words louder to the people, as he did when his Lordship spoke to the same purpose from the north side, and said, "This nobleman dies a Protestant." The Earl stepped forward again, and said, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." Having taken his leave of his friends, he at last kneeled down, and embracing the maiden,†† said, "This is the sweetest maiden I ever kissed, it being the mean to finish my sin and misery, and my inlet to glory, for which I long." Then he prayed a little within himself, thrice uttering these words, "Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory ;" and lifting up his hand, which was the signal, the executioner did his work.

Thus died the noble Earl of Argyle, not only a martyr to the Protestant religion, but also bearing his last testimony against Prelacy as well as Popery. His too great compliances with the managers, previous to the affair of the test, lay heavy upon him at the last : but nothing grieved him so much as the unhappy vote he gave against Mr. Cargill. Passing these things, as he was executed, not on account of his late attempt, but in pursuance of a sentence passed three years before, for his explication of the self-contradictory test, his death was looked upon as no better than murder. It took place on the 30th of June, 1685.

On the 6th of July, Monmouth's army was defeated near Bridgewater, and himself soon after taken and beheaded.

As soon as the Marquis of Athole and the Earl of Breadalbane heard of Argyle's fate, they exercised the greatest severity against his friends. Four or five gentlemen of the name of Campbell, after having received quarter and protection when they surrendered, were sent to Athole by one of Argyle's near relations. The Marquis ordered them and eighteen more to be put to death. He would have proceeded in that work, had not even the Council discharged

* 2 Kings viii. 13. ◆

† Prov. i. 20. &c. 2 Chron. xxv. 6—15. Prov. xxiv. 10—12. and xxviii. 10. and Isa. lix. especially verse 15.

‡ Chap. xiii. 15. § Psalm xxii. 4. || As Psalm cxlviii. 11.

¶ As Psalm lxxiv. 19, &c. cxviii. 6, &c. and Luke i. 74, 75.

** Psalm xciv. 15.

†† The instrument for beheading.

more lives to be taken. Parties were afterwards sent to pull down houses, break millstones, and burn woods; and the whole shire of Argyle was dreadfully depopulated, harassed, and plundered, for thirty miles round Inverary. The Earl's estate was given to strangers, his children brought to extreme necessity, his creditors defrauded, and his brother, Lord Neil Campbell, forced to go at the peril of his life to America, leaving his lady and family behind. In a word, the heritors and gentlemen of the name of Campbell, being generally averse to Popery and Prelacy, were universally oppressed throughout the kingdom.

RICHARD RUMBOLD.

COLONEL RUMBOLD as he is usually styled, was one of the most distinguished of Argyle's officers, in the unfortunate attempt of that nobleman upon Scotland. And though an Englishman by birth, yet considering that he owned the same principles, was taken on the same occasion, and suffered in the same cause with the Earl himself, it is hoped a short account of him will not be unacceptable in the present work.

Rumbold it appears, had early betaken himself to the profession of arms, and in the days of the Commonwealth had held a commission in the republican army. When his services in this capacity were superseded, he had recourse to business, and in the year 1683, followed the profession of a malster, and possessed the farm of Ryehouse in the neighbourhood of London. It was hence that a conspiracy, entered into by some of the adherents of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who met at Rumbold's, was called the Ryehouse plot. In this cabal it is but justice to his memory to observe, that Rumbold himself denied all active participation. On its discovery, however, as was natural, he became obnoxious to suspicion, and fled into Holland. Here with many others, he was brought into contact with Argyle and Monmouth, and readily entered into their patriotic design. When that design was ripe for execution, he in company with the former of these noblemen, and his Scottish friends, set sail for Scotland on the first of May, 1685; and during the short and eventful campaign that ensued on their arrival in that country, proved himself of much use, both in the council and the field. In the very outset of the operations, he successfully attacked the castle of Ardkinglas. On occasion of the disastrous retreat through Dumfriesshire, he with many others strayed from the main body of the oops from ignorance of the country. And shortly after this, it appears he fell into the hands of the enemy, and was taken prisoner.

“Of the manner and place,” says Wodrow, in which he was thus taken, “I have no distinct idea, but am told that being attacked by

the militia, he made his way easily through them, and was like to get off, till one of them wiser than the rest came up, cut his horse's legs, and so disabled him, that he was no longer of any use. The Colonel was then oppressed by numbers, and terribly wounded." On being taken, he was immediately ordered by the Council, to be conducted to the castle of Edinburgh in a cart, with a rope about his neck, fettered and bareheaded.

The hangman's man led the cart; Captain Graham attended with a guard, their drums beating and colours flying; and next day the Advocate was ordered to prosecute him before the Justiciary.

On the 25th, the Council recommended to the Lords of Justiciary to meet for his trial, and to cause him to be executed in the following manner, on his being found guilty: viz. "that he be taken from their bar to the low council-house, and from thence, led down by the hangman, with his hat on, to the scaffold, when there, to be drawn up to the gibbet with a rope about his neck, and immediately let down again, his heart cut out by the hangman, and shown to the people on the point of a bayonet, or dagger, saying, 'Here is the heart of a bloody traitor and murderer;' that then it be thrown into a fire prepared for the purpose on the scaffold; and after this, that his head be cut off, and shown to the people in the same manner, and that then his body be quartered, one part of it fixed at the port or tolbooth of Glasgow, another at Jedburgh, a third at Dumfries, a fourth at the Newtown of Galloway, and his head at the Westport of Edinburgh." We may easily conceive from this act, how he would be treated at his examination before the Council. Many were the insults to which he was exposed. He bore these base insults, however, with much composure, owned the cause for which he appeared, and expressed his joy in suffering. When one of them called him "a confounded villain," he replied with the utmost sedateness, "I am at peace with God through Jesus Christ; to men I have done no wrong; what then can confound me?"

On the 26th, accordingly, he was arraigned before the Justiciary, brought in guilty, condemned, and executed. He was so weak when brought to the scaffold, that, not being able to walk alone, he was supported by two officers. When, in his last speech, he blessed God that it was on no ill account, but for owning and adhering to the Lord's distressed work and interest, that such a lot was carved out for him, the drums beat; at which he shook his head, and said, "will they not suffer a dying man to speak his last words to the people!" and then went on declaring his confidence in the righteousness of the cause he was engaged in; and spoke as follows—"I confess, enemies think they have got their foot on the neck of the Protestant interest now; but I am persuaded it is as true as I am this day entering into eternity, that Christ shall be glorious in these lands, and even in poor Scotland, and that shortly: and it is like, many who see me die this day may be witness thereof: yea, he shall govern these nations with a rod of iron, and that to the terror of his enemies." After this he prayed, and, when praying for the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and other superstitions, the drums

beat again. He forgave the executioner, and all men, and, when he had again prayed within himself, he gave the signal, and was executed according to the sentence.

Thus died Richard Rumbold, a good man and a patriot. The prayer which he uttered on the scaffold, and which is preserved in Wodrow, bespeaks his piety. His patriotism was evident in the whole tenor of his life. He denied all part in the conspiracy with which he was charged. He acknowledged his having heard many propositions at West's chambers about killing the two brothers; and said that it would have been easily executed near his house; upon which some discourse followed how it might have been managed: but he affirmed also that it was only talk, and that nothing was either planned or so much as resolved on. He was a man however of liberal sentiments, and owned that he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when the king departed from the legal measures of government, the people had a right to assert their liberties, and to restrain him. He farther said, "he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride upon the rest."

THOMAS ARCHER.

ANOTHER of those who were executed, in consequence of the Earl of Argyle's unsuccessful attempt, was the Rev. Thomas Archer. He was the brother of a Mr. John Archer, who, on different occasions, suffered severely, during the persecuting period; and judging from the usual place of his brother's residence, was probably a native of Fifeshire. The following particulars respecting him, are given by Wodrow, on the authority of persons who had the happiness of his acquaintance.

He was born about the year 1653. Very early in life the Lord began to incline his heart to piety, and when little more than a child, an eminent Christian and minister of the period gave him this character,—*That he made a conscience of lifting his bonnet.* Not that he spoke literally in this expression, but that he thereby declared that even with regard to the minute actions of life, which others in general viewed as beneath their notice, Mr. Archer's conduct, was distinguished by a holy tenderness, and flowed from religious principle. Yet notwithstanding this, it appears that about the time of his finishing his preparatory studies, he was not without deep and solemn exercises about the state of his soul; at length, however, he got comfortably out of these, and afterwards through life, enjoyed much of the peace and serenity of the Christian.

In taking his degrees at the University of St. Andrews, where

he studied, he received the highest applause from the masters who examined him; who declared that they had not for many years met with his equal in learning. And we may reasonably suppose, that his diligence and success in prosecuting the branches of study which still remained, would be no less conspicuous. It appears he had entered into the family of Lady Riddel in the capacity of Chaplain, and it was while there that he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel. As such, he was not by any means so acceptable as his previous success might have led us to anticipate. His sermons were sound, methodical, and judicious, but his manner was uninteresting, and thus, especially with vulgar hearers, he was less a favourite than those who were far inferior to him in point of talent.

The first of his sufferings of a public nature took place about the year 1682. Being resident in a gentleman's family in the Merse, pursuing the studies of his profession, and occasionally exercising his function as a preacher of the gospel, he was on a pretext founded on this latter circumstance, seized, brought in prisoner, and for some months confined in the Canongate tolbooth. At length, a sentence of banishment was pronounced against him. He was compelled to sign a bond, never to return to his native country, and retired to Holland.

Whilst there, he continued to prosecute his favourite studies, and such was his reputation for learning, that he was employed to correct the Dutch edition of "Poole's Critics" then printing. There also, in token of their deep sense of his excellent endowments, he received ordination, from the Scots Ministers who were then resident in that country.

What were the circumstances which immediately led him to connect his fortunes with those of the banished Earl, we are not informed. This at least is probable, that but for the assurance that his bond was cancelled, through the intervention of friends in Scotland, he would never have consented to violate its terms. Such an assurance being given him, it is not at all wonderful that a youth of his gallantry and spirit, should have engaged in the enterprize in question.

Having, at all events, returned to Scotland in 1685, it appears, that on the Earl's defeat he crossed the Clyde, and was in the engagement at Muirdyke, where Sir John Cochran commanded. His horse stumbling, he fell to the ground, and his pursuers might easily have made him prisoner; but such was their barbarity, that before he could recover himself, one of them poured a pair of balls into him and severely wounded him. During the time he lay in this state he was robbed of his Bible, his watch, and some money, and after bleeding almost to death, he was at length carried by his friends into a farm house, where he was soon after apprehended and brought a prisoner to Paisley.

Thence he was carried to Glasgow, where for some days he remained in great agony from his wounds. He was then, by order of council, removed to Edinburgh.

Being sisted before the council, he was bitterly reproached for

breaking his bond. This gave him much pain, and he regretted much his having been made to believe, that it was cancelled. He was therefore, on the 13th of July thereafter, given over into the hands of the criminal court.

While in prison, much interest was used with the men in power, to procure his liberation. It was represented that he was dying of his wounds, and the attestations of Physicians were not awaiting to confirm the fact. The Duke of Queensbury was even addressed on the subject by his own son, but without effect. It seemed that nothing would satisfy them but his blood. When no intreaty could prevail in his behalf, a design was formed to have him secretly conveyed out of prison. The sentinels were bribed, and every thing ready for the accomplishment of the project, but he himself refused his acquiescence, declaring that he reckoned himself a dying person, and that since he could not serve his master in any other manner, he thought it his duty not to decline a testimony for him and for his truth, by a public death.

On the 12th of August he was brought before the Justiciary. He had been summoned on two previous occasions, but was unable to attend from bodily weakness. His indictment was read, charging him with treason. His own declaration was adduced in proof. He was brought in guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on the 14th of the same month, two days after. His execution, however, was delayed till the 21st, on account of his bodily weakness. Even after the delay which had taken place, he still continued so weak, that he behaved to be carried to the scaffold in a chair. Indeed it was evident to every one, that even independent of his sentence he was a dying man, and that in all probability, a very few hours would have carried him to heaven, even though he had been spared, from a violent death.

The following particulars of his behaviour, on the solemn occasion, are related in Wodrow's History; where, also, his dying testimony (characterized as it is by much solidity and judgment) is given at large: "On coming out of prison he said, 'I bless my God I have now no more to do but to die.' When upon the scaffold, he first of all prayed, then read the 65th chapter of Isaiah, and then expressed himself to the following purport:—'There is a great confluence of people here: and I hope there are many who desire to be justified by this kind of death, and I wish there were more. By reason of my weakness and sickness you cannot expect a long discourse, nor with such utterance as this auditory requires. As to the grounds whereupon my sufferings, at this time, are stated, I need not enlarge. They are well known. I shall only say this. as my design was upright, so were my motives in coming to Scotland in such a time and manner. They may call it insurrection and rebellion, but the Lord knows there was no such thing. My motives were the great apprehensions I had of Popery, and my regard to the kingdom and interests of Christ here; and I wish every one were concerned with the evil and hazard of Popery.'

"Here the Baillie in attendance interrupted him; upon which he

added, ' I only refer you to Revelation xiv. 9—11 ;' and said to the Baillie, ' You cannot deny but Popery is hazardous.' He replied, ' It is true ; but there is no fear of it here, blessed be God.' Mr. Archer said, ' I wish to God it be so ;' and then continued his discourse in the following terms :—' What I have further to say is, that as Christ hath a kingdom wherein and over which he reigneth as King, so he will suffer none to usurp that power, (which is his own prerogative, and which he will not give unto another) to constitute and appoint officers contrary to his Institution.' When entering on this subject, the Baillie again interrupted him, saying, ' Sir, if you hold not off your principles and reflections, I will cause to beat the drums.' Mr. Archer went on : ' Well, then, I hope none of you who are the people of God, need stumble at our fall, as if God would let the work rest at us ; for he has other means, ways, and instruments, besides us to make use of : for it may be well known to you from Scripture, that the people of God have got many backsets one after another, but the Lord has waited for their extremity, which he will make his opportunity, and for this take notice of Micah iv. 10. *I will bring them to Babylon, and there will I deliver them.* So I pray and intreat you all to be concerned for your souls' interest. As for my part, I know I have no more to do as to that. Fear of death does not fright or trouble me : I bless the Lord for my lot.'

" After this he again prayed, and having sung the 73d Psalm from the 24th verse to the end, he submitted to death with great cheerfulness and joy. He died in the thirty-third year of his age. In him the Church of Scotland lost a burning and shining light ; one who might long have been useful as a minister of Christ, and who, by his talents and learning, might have adorned a chair in any university."

JOHN NISBET OF HARDHILL.

JOHN NISBET was born about the year 1627. He was the son of James Nisbet, and was lineally descended from Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill, who, about the year 1500, joined those called the Lollards of Kyle ; when a persecution being raised against them, he fled over seas, and took a copy of the New Testament, in writing, along with him. Some time after, he returned home, and digged a vault in the bottom of his own house, to which he retired, serving God, reading his new book, and instructing such as had access to him out of it.

But to return to our worthy : John Nisbet being somewhat advanced in years, and having the advantage of a tall, strong, well built body, and of a bold, daring, manly spirit, went abroad and joined the military. Having spent some time in foreign countries

he returned to Scotland, and swore the covenants at the same time that King Charles, upon his coronation, swore them at Scone, viz. 1650. Then, having left the military, he came home and married Margaret Law, one who proved a true and kind yoke-fellow to him all the days of her life, and by whom he had several children, three of whom survived himself.

In the month of December, 1678, she died on the eighth day of her sickness, and was buried in Stone-house church-yard. This behoved to be done in the night, that it might not be known, and because none would do it, but such as might not appear in the day time. The curate getting knowledge of it, threatened to take the corpse up, burn it, or cast it to the dogs; but some of the persecuted party sent him a letter, assuring him, that if he touched that grave, they would burn him and his family, and all he had; so he forbore.

Mr. Nisbet had early applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, and, through the grace of God, was so successful, that he not only became well acquainted with practical religion, but also attained no slight knowledge on points of principle. This proved of unspeakable advantage to him in all that occurred to him afterwards, in maintaining the testimony of that day.

Having married, he took up house at Hardhill in the parish of Loudon, and in this place behaved with much discretion and prudence. No sooner did Prelacy and Erastianism appear on the field, in opposition to our ancient and laudable form of church-government, at the restoration of Charles II. than he took part with the Presbyterian side. And having, in 1664, had a child baptized by one of the ejected ministers, (as they were called,) the curate of the parish was so enraged, that he declared his resolution from the pulpit, to excommunicate him next Lord's day. But here the Lord's hand interposed; for before that day came, the curate was landed in eternity.

Being thus active for true religion, and a great encourager of field-meetings, Mr. Nisbet was, with the rest of Christ's faithful witnesses, obliged to go without the camp, bearing his reproach. When that faithful remnant assembled together, who renewed the covenant at Lanark in 1666, his conscience summoned him to join them. This being known, and he threatened for it, he resolved to follow the persecuted people still farther, and so kept by them in arms till their defeat at Pentland Hills, upon the 28th of November, and, in that engagement behaved with great courage and resolution. He was so severely wounded, that he was stript for dead among the slain; but such was the providence of God, that having more work for him to accomplish, he was still preserved.

Having espoused Christ's cause by deliberate choice, he uniformly displayed an excellent spirit, a temper most noble and generous; and, as Solomon says, was *more excellent than his neighbour*. Travelling on one occasion, through a muir, some time after this, on a snowy day, one of his old neighbours, who was seeking sheep, met him, and cried out, "O, Hardhill, are you yet alive? I was told

you were going in a pilgrim's habit, and that your bairns were begging, and yet I see you look as well as ever;" and taking out a six-dollar offered it to him. John seeing this, took out a ducat, and offered it to him, saying, "I will have none of yours, but will give you if you please; for you may see that nothing is wanting to him that fears the Lord; and I would never have thought that you (calling him by his name) would have gone so far with the enemies of God, as to sell your conscience to save your gear. Take warning H. go home and mourn for this, and all your other sins, before God; for, if mercy do not prevent, you will certainly perish." The poor man thanked him, put up his money, and went home.

After his remarkable escape at Pentland, he returned home, and probably continued there (not without enduring many hardships) till the year 1679, when, from his fame for courage, wisdom, and resolution among the sufferers, who were assembled at Loudon hill to hear the gospel, on the first of June, he was sent for, on their being attacked by Claverhouse at Drumclog, to come in all haste to their assistance. Before he, and those who went for him, were got half way, they heard the platoons of the engagement, and yet they rode with such alacrity, that they just came up as the firing was over. Upon their approach, Hardhill cried to them to jump the ditch, and get over upon the enemy, sword in hand. This they did accordingly with so much resolution, that in a little they obtained a complete victory, in which Hardhill had no small share, by his vigorous activity in the latter end of the skirmish.

After this, the suffering party, knowing that they were fully exposed to the rage of their persecuting foes, resolved to abide together; and, by way of following up their success, sent a party to Glasgow in pursuit of the enemy, among whom Hardhill was one. From this time he continued with them, till that fatal day, June 22d, when they fled and fell before the enemy, at Bothwell Bridge. "Here," says Wodrow, "he was a Captain, if I mistake not." Being sent with his party, along with those who defended the bridge, he fought with the greatest gallantry; stood so long as a man would stand by him, then made his retreat just in time, and, through the goodness of God, escaped at this time also.

After this, being denounced as a rebel, and a large reward offered to such as would apprehend him, the enemy seized all he had, deprived his wife and four children of their living, and turned them out of doors. He was thus reduced to be of those mentioned, Heb. xi. 38. *who wandered about in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.* Thus he lived, for nearly five years, suffering all manner of hardships, and not accepting deliverance, that he might preserve to himself the free enjoyment of the gospel, as preached in the fields. Being a man of public spirit, and very staunch upon points of testimony, he became very popular among the sufferers, and was by them often employed as one of their commissioners to the general meetings, which they had erected some time before this, that they might the better understand the mind of one another in carrying on their testimony

A very remarkable incident happened to him about this time. The Sabbath night, eight days before he was taken, as he and four more were travelling, it being very dark, and no wind, but a thick small rain; behold, suddenly the clouds clave asunder, towards east and west, over their heads, and a light sprang out beyond that of the sun, which lasted above the space of two minutes. They heard a noise, and were much amazed, saying one to another, "What may this mean?" To this he answered nothing, only uttering three deep groans. One of them asked him what it might mean. He said, "We know not well at present, but within a little we shall know better: yet we have a *more sure word of prophecy*, unto which we would do well to take heed:" and then he groaned again, saying, "As for me, I am ready to live or to die for Him, as he in his providence shall call me to it, and bear me through in it: and although I have suffered much from prelates, and false friends, these twenty-one years, yet now, I would not for a thousand worlds I had done otherwise; and if the Lord spares me, I will be more zealous for his precious truths; and if not, I am ready to seal his cause with my blood; for I have longed for it these sixteen years, and it may be I will ere long get it to do. Welcome be his will, and if he help me through with it, I shall praise him to all eternity." This made them all wonder, he being a very reserved man; for although he was a strict observer of the Sabbath, a great examiner of the scripture, and a great wrestler in prayer, yet he was so reserved as to his own case and soul's concerns, that few knew how it was with him as to that, until he came to prison.

All this did not escape the knowledge of the managers, as is evident from Earlston's answers before the Council, in 1683; and we find, that one of the articles that John Richmond suffered for, at the cross of Glasgow, March 19th, 1684, was his being in company with John Nisbet. It therefore made the search after him and other sufferers more desperate. Whereupon, in the month of November 1685, having retired to a certain house called Midland, in the parish of Fenwick, where were assembled for prayer and other religious exercises, on a Saturday's night, other three of his faithful brethren, viz. Peter Gemmil, a younger brother of the house of Horsehill, in the same parish; George Woodburn, a brother of the Woodburns, in the muirs of Loudon; and one John Fergushill from Tarbolton, upon notice that a party of Colonel Buchan's dragoons, were out in quest of them, they resolved on the Sabbath morning to depart. But Fergushill being unable to walk by reason of some infirmities, they were obliged to go back with him, after they had gone a little way from the house, and were apprehended.* The way and manner of this, with his answers both at Ayr and before the Council at Edinburgh, as they stand in an old manuscript given under his own hand, while he was a prisoner, is as follows.

* In reference to this event, the following extract from a manuscript Memoir of his own life, by Mr. Nisbet's son, then a young man, about sixteen years of

“First when the enemy came within sight, we seeing no way of escape, John Fergushill went to the far end of the house, and the other two and I followed. And ere we were well at the far end of it, some of the enemy were in the house. In a little after, they came and put in their horses, and went to and fro in the house for more than an hour: and we four still at the far end of the house. We resolved with one another to keep close till they should just come on us, and if it should have pleased the Lord to have hid us there, we resolved not to have owned them; but if they found us out, we resolved to fight, saying one to another, it was death at length. They went all out of the house, and had their horses drawn

age, cannot but be interesting to the serious reader. This manuscript, it may be premised, so far as I know, was never published. It is in a neat old-fashioned hand, not very easily read, and though anonymous, it bears strong evidence of being quite authentic. From stating that the author's father was at the Battle of Bothwell, and that he was executed on the 4th of December 1685, which is known to be the date of Hardhill's execution, and above all from the following statements, as to the mode and occasion of his apprehension, there can be no doubt that it was written by the person to whom we have ascribed it. It appears that there were no less than nine of his nearest relations, who sealed with their blood the same testimony for which Hardhill suffered. Among these there were a Thomas and John Nisbet, besides some others of different names. The extract is as follows:

“On the 7th of November 1685, my father, with other three, was desired to go and end a controversy in one of their Christian societies, raised by a person of a turbulent and divisive spirit; upon which he left me to the kind care of Providence, and went on his intended journey. But behold the wonderful disposal of a wonder-working God! for early on Sabbath morning, he and the other three were seized by forty of the enemy. The night before, I went to the Earl of Loudon's house; and being concealed all night in one of the office-houses, in my sleep I dreamed of all the passages of trouble my father was in. I awoke with much sorrow of spirit, and immediately rose and essayed prayer. But alas, alas, I was dead, lifeless and overwhelmed with such a flood of sorrow, that I could do nothing all that day but sigh to the breaking of my heart. At night I was taken into the hind's house, where two of the young ladies, viz. Lady Mary and Lady Jean, came, and sat down by me, and seeing me in such sorrow, asked me if I had got any meat. It was told them that I would eat none all that day. Upon which they opened their skirts, wherein they had some meat, and both very kindly urged me to eat. But I would eat none. They asked what was the matter with me? I told their Ladyships I knew not, but I was waiting till the Lord, in his kind providence, would send me an interpreter. At which the young ladies burst forth into tears; and then one of them says, ‘Then I must be that sorrowful interpreter, for early,’ said she, ‘this morning, forty of the enemy came upon your father, George Woodburn, John Fergushill, and Peter Gemmil, near to Fenwick Kirk; they have killed the other three, and your father has received seven wounds, and is taken prisoner; and he is this night in Kilmarnock tolbooth.’ At the hearing of which sad news I was struck to the heart. But the honourable and worthy ladies now heartily sympathized with me, and did all they could to comfort me. But I could not take any notice of what they said, or what they did, for such was my sorrow, that words could have no weight with me. I arose immediately and went out to the fields. But kind Providence ordered the matter so, that though very dark, I met with an eminent Christian, William Woodburn, my father's much honoured friend, who counselled me to acquiesce in, and submit to the sovereign will of God, ‘who will be a father to the fatherless;’ said he, ‘and though your father and my brother be our near and dear friends, yet they are not too

forth ; but in a little time they came back,* titling one to another, cried for a candle to search the house with : and came within a yard of us, with a light burning in their hand. According to our former resolution, we did resist them, having only three shot, and one of them misgiving. Upon this they fired above twenty-four shot at us ; and when we had nothing else, we clubbed our guns, till two of them were quite broken, and then went in grips with them ; and when they saw they could not prevail, they all cried, to go out and fire the house. Upon this we went out after them, and I received six wounds in the going out. After which, they getting notice what I was, some of themselves cried out to spare my life, for the Council had offered 3000 merks for me. So they brought me towards the end of the yard, and tied my hands behind my back, having shot the other three to death. He that commanded them scoffingly asked me, What I thought of myself now ? I smiled, and said, I had full contentment with my lot ; but thought I was at a loss, that I was in time, and my brethren in eternity. At this he swore, and said he had reserved my life for a further judgment to me. When we were going towards Kilmarnock, the Lieutenant † called for me ; and he and I went before the rest ; and discoursed soberly about several things. I was free in telling him what I held to be sin, and what I held to be duty ; and when he came to Kilmarnock tolbooth, he caused slack my arms a little, and inquired if I desired my wounds dressed ; and, at the desire of some friends in the town, caused bring in straw and some clothes for John Gem-

dear to suffer for Christ, and seal his noble and honourable cause with their blood. And therefore we are to be still and know that he is God who has done this thing.' Upon this blessed advice and seasonable counsel, the weight of my burden was much taken off, my sorrow alleviated, and all fretting at the dispensation prevented. I spent a part of this night in looking to the Lord, that my father might be remarkably countenanced and strengthened to be faithful unto the death ; ament which I had much freedom and satisfaction. Yet there was one part of my fears that I could not get over, which was, lest his body should be quartered like worthy Rathillet, Jerviswood, and Rumbold. And indeed the enemy had it in their view, still clamouring all the time he was among their hands, that he should be quartered quick. But behold the over-ruling and constraining power of God gloriously displayed in my father's favour ; for they could not stretch their impotent malice and cruelty to a greater height than hanging ; which he suffered on the 4th of the next month, for no other crime but his faithful adherence to God's work and interest, and against the defections, sins, and apostacies of the age."

W. M'G.

* Here it was commonly said, that after the enemy went off at the first, they met with two persons, one of whom told them, they were good seekers, but ill finders, or somewhat to that purpose ; which made them return. It has also been said, that one of these men confessed this at his death. However this be, people could not help observing, that not many years ago three of the offspring of the person blamed, lost their lives by fire, near the same place where these three gallant martyrs were killed. Whether it had any reference to that, God knoweth, we cannot determine. Only we may say ; *The Lord is known by the judgment he executeth*, Psalm ix. 16.

† Lieutenant Nisbet, a cousin of our Worthy

mel * and me to lie upon, but would not suffer us to cast off our clothes. On Monday, on the way to Ayr, he raged against me, and said that I had, the blood of the three men that were killed yesterday, on my head: and that I was guilty of, and the cause of all the troubles that were come on the poor barony of Cunningham, first and last. But, when we came near the town, he called me out from the rest, and soberly asked me, What he should say to the superior officers in my behalf? I told him, that if the Lord would keep me from wronging truth, I was at a point already in what he put me to, as to suffering. When we first entered the tolbooth of Ayr, there came two, and asked some things at me, but they were to little purpose. Then, I was taken out with a guard, and brought before Buchan. He asked me, If I was at that conventicle? I told him, I looked upon it as my duty. How many armed were there? I told him, I went to hear the gospel preached, and not to take up the account, of what men were there. Where went they? I told him, It was more than I could tell. Do you own the King? I told him, while he owned the way and work of God, I thought myself bound, both to own and fight for him; but when he quitted the way of God, I thought I was obliged to quit him. Will you own the Duke of York, as King? I told him, I would not, for it was both against my principles and the laws of the nation. Was you clear to join with Argyle? I said, No. He held me long, and spake of many things. We had the musters through hands, Popery, Prelacy, Presbyterianism, malignants, defensive and offensive arms, there being none in the room but he and I. I thought it remarkable, that all the time from Sabbath to this present, I had and have as much peace and quietness of mind, as ever in my life. O help me to praise Him! for he alone did it. Now, my dear friends and acquaintance, cease not to pray for me while I am in the body, for I may say I fear nothing but that through weakness, I wrong the truth. And my last advice is, that ye be more diligent in following Chris-

* This John Gemmel was brother to the martyr who was killed at Midland, where Mr. Nisbet was apprehended, and being lying of a fever in a house in the same parish, called Derwholling, he was that day taken by some of the same party, together with the goodman of the house, Thomas Wylie, and his son William Wylie, for reset. They were all taken to Ayr, where the said Thomas Wylie died. While in Ayr, it is said, this John Gemmel dreamed one night that he should be banished, and his fellow-sufferer Hardhill, hanged; which accordingly came to pass.—They were taken to Edinburgh, and examined, and the fore-said William Wylie was required to take the oath of allegiance, but refused. They ordered him to take the test oath, but this he refused also. They asked his reasons. He said, he had taken more oaths already than he had well kept, and it there should come a change of government, where stood he then? Bishop Paterson's brother came, and clapping his hand on his shoulder, said, "William, as sure as God is in the heavens, you'll never see a change of government." But in this he proved a false prophet. However, he and John Gemmel were, with eleven more, banished to Barbadoes, and sold for slaves there, where they continued for about three years, and at last purchased their liberty, and returned home at the Revolution. The first known person they saw, after their landing at Irvine, was Lieutenant Nisbet, by whom they had been apprehended.

tian duties. Alas ! that I was not more sincere, zealous, and forward for His work and cause, in my day. Cease to be jealous one of another, and only let self-examination be more studied ; and this, through his blessing, will open a door to more of a Christian soul exercise, and more of a soul exercise, through his blessing, will keep away vain jangling, that does no way profit, but gives way to Satan and his temptations.

“ When I came to Edinburgh, I was, the first night, kept in the guard. The next night, I was brought into the council house, where were present Lords Perth, Linlithgow, and Bishop Paterson, with some others. They said they looked upon me as acquainted, with all that was done amongst these rebellious persons ; therefore the Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council would take it as a great favour, that I would be free in telling them, what I knew might conduce to the peace and security of the nation. I told them, when I came to particulars, I should speak nothing but truth, for I was more afraid to lie than to die : but I hoped they would be so much Christians as not to bid me tell any thing that would burden my conscience. Then they began thus : What did ye in your meetings ? I told them, we sung part of a psalm, read a part of the scripture, and prayed time about. Why call ye them fellowship and society meetings ? *A.* I wonder why you ask such questions, for these meetings were called so when our church was in her power. Were there any such meetings, at that time ? *A.* There were, in some places of the land. Did the ministers of the place meet with them, in these ? *A.* Sometimes they did, and sometimes they did not. What mean you by your general meetings, and what do you do at them ? While I was thinking what to answer, one of themselves told them more distinctly than I could have done, and jeeringly said, looking to me, When they have done, then they distribute their collections. I held my peace all the time. Where keep ye these meetings ? *A.* In the wildest muirs we can think of. Will you own the King’s authority ? No. What is your reason ? you own the scriptures and your own Confession of Faith ? *A.* That I do with all my heart. Why do you not own the King’s authority ? (naming several passages of Scripture, and that in the 23d chapter of the confession.) *A.* There is a vast difference ; for he being a Roman Catholic, and I being not only brought up in the Presbyterian principles from my youth, but also sworn against Popery. What is that to you, though he be Popish, he is not bidding you be a Papist, nor hindering you to live, in your own religion ? *A.* The contrary does appear ; for we have not liberty to hear a gospel preaching, but we are taken, killed, and put to the hardest of sufferings. They said, it was not so, for we might have the gospel, if our wild principles would suffer us to hear it. I said, they might say so, but the contrary was well known through the land ; for ye banished away our faithful ministers, and thrust in such as live rather like profligates than like ministers, so that poor things neither can nor dare join with them. Are ye clear to join with Argyle ? No. Then one of them said, Ye will have no King but Mr. James

Renwick; and asked, if I conversed with any other minister upon the field than Mr. Renwick: I told them I conversed with no other.—And a number of other things passed that were to little purpose.

“This is a true hint of what passed betwixt them and me. As for their drinking healths, never one of them spoke of it to me; neither did any of them bid me pray for the King; but they said, they knew I was so much of a Christian that I would pray for all men. I told them, I was bound to pray for all, but prayer being instituted by a holy God, who was the hearer of prayer, no Christian could pray when every profligate bade him; and it was no advantage to their cause, to suffer such a thing.

“How it may be afterwards with me, I cannot positively say, for God is a free Sovereign, and may come and go as he pleaseth. But this I can affirm, that he has not forsaken me since I was prisoner, but has ever waited on, to supply me with all consolation, as my necessity required; and now, when I cannot lay down my head, nor lift it without help; still of all the cases I ever was in, I had never more contentment. I can now give the cross of Christ a noble commendation. It was always sweet and pleasant, but never so sweet and pleasant as now. Under all my wanderings, and toilings, a prison was still terrifying to me. But immediately at, and ever since, my taking, Christ so shined upon me, that he and his cross are to me far beyond whatever he was before. Therefore let none stand at a distance from their duty for fear of the cross, for now I can say from experience, that it is as easy, yea, and more sweet, to lie in prison in irons, than it is to be at liberty. But I must forbear.”

Upon the 26th, he was ordered by the Council to be prosecuted. Accordingly on the 30th he was arraigned before the Justiciary, his own confession being the only proof against him. It runs thus: “John Nisbet of Hardhill, prisoner, confesses, when examined before the Council, that he was at Drumclog, had arms, and made use of them against the King’s forces; that he was at Glasgow; and that he was at a field-meeting within these two months, betwixt Eaglesham and Kilbride.” The which being read, he adhered to, but refused to subscribe it. The assize brought him in guilty; and the Lords sentenced him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, December 4th, betwixt two and four in the afternoon; his lands, goods, and gear, to be forfeited to the King’s use.

It was inserted by the Council in his confession, that the reason why he could not join with Argyle, was, that he had been told Argyle and his party were against all kingly government. Mr. Wodrow thinks this false, and that it was only foisted in, by the Clerk of Council. But in this he seems to be mistaken; for in one of Hardhill’s papers, left behind him by way of testimony, he gives this as the first reason for his not joining with Argyle; and as his second, that the societies could not espouse Argyle’s declaration, as the state of the quarrel was not concerted according to the ancient plea

of the Scottish covenanters, and because it opened a door to a sinful confederacy.

His sentence was, accordingly, executed. He appeared upon the scaffold with great courage and composure, and died in much assurance, and with a joy which none of his persecutors could intermeddle with. It was affirmed by some who were present at his execution, that the scaffold gave way and came down, which led some to flatter themselves, that his life would, by law, be spared. But he behoved not thus to escape. Immediately the scaffold was reared up, and the martyr executed.

In his last testimony, which is inserted in the Cloud of Witnesses, after a recital of many choice scripture texts, which had been comforting and strengthening to him in the house of his pilgrimage, he comes to say, "Now, my dear friends in Christ, I have always, since the public resolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their interest, thought it my duty to join with the Lord's people, in witnessing against these sinful courses, and now see clearly, that it has ended in nothing less than the making us captains, that we may return to Egypt by the open doors, that are made wide to bring in Popery, and set up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land, to defile it. Wherefore, it is the unquestionable and indispensable duty of all who have any love to God, and to his Son Jesus Christ, to witness faithfully, constantly, and conscientiously, against all that the enemies have done, or are doing to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation, and banishing Christ out of these lands, by robbing him of his crown rights. And however it be, that many, both ministers and professors, are turning their back upon Christ and his cause, reproaching and casting dirt upon you and the testimony of the day; yet let not this weaken your hands; for I assure you it will not be long to the fourth watch, and then he will come in garments dyed with blood, to raise up saviours in mount Zion, and to judge the mount of Esau; and then the cause of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the malignants, Prelates, and Papists, shall be for stubble; the flame thereof shall be great. But my generation-work being done with my time, I go to him that loved me; and washed me from all my sins."

He then goes on declaring, that he adhered to the Scripture, Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, and all the pieces of reformation attained to in Scotland, from 1638, to 1649, with all the protestations, declarations, &c. given by the faithful since that time; owns all their appearances in arms at Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, Airmoss, &c. against God's stated enemies, and the enemies of the gospel, and for kingly government, as appointed and emitted in the word of God. And withal adds, "But I am persuaded Scotland's covenanted God will cut off the name of Stuart, because they have stated themselves against religion, reformation, and the thriving of Christ's kingdom and kingly government in these lands: and although men idolize them so much now, yet ere long, there shall be none of them to tyrannize, in covenanted Britain, any more."

He then proceeds to protest against Popery, Prelacy, the granters

and accepters of the indulgence ; and to exhort the people of God to forbear contention, and censuring one another ; to keep up their sweet fellowship and society meetings, with which he had been much comforted. And concludes, bidding farewell to his fellow-sufferers, to his dear children, and Christian friends, to his wanderings and contendings for truth : welcomes death, the city of God, the blessed company of angels, and the spirits of just men : but above all, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands he commits his spirit.

Shortly after having finished his last speech, he was taken out to the Council, and from that to the place of execution. All the way thither he had his eyes lifted up to heaven. He appeared inwardly to rejoice, and his face was seen to glow with rapture. He spoke but little till he came to the scaffold. When there he cried out, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, my soul doth magnify the Lord. I have longed these sixteen years to seal the precious cause and interest of precious Christ with my blood, who hath answered and granted my request, and has left me no more to do, but to come here and pour out my last prayer, sing forth my last praises of him in time, on this sweet and desirable scaffold ; mount that ladder, and then I shall get home to my Father's house, see, enjoy, serve, and sing forth the praises of my glorious Redeemer for ever, world without end." He then resumed the heads of his testimony, and enlarged on what he owned and disowned ; but the drums being beat, little could be heard ; only with difficulty he was heard to say, "The covenanted God of Scotland hath a dreadful storm of wrath provided, which he will surely pour out suddenly and unexpectedly, like a thunderbolt, upon these covenanted lands, for their perfidy, treachery, and apostacy ; and then men shall say, they have got well away that got a scaffold for Christ." He exhorted all to make use of Christ for a hiding place ; for "blood shall be the judgment of these lands." He sang the first six verses of the 34th psalm, and read the eighth chapter of the Romans, and prayed with great presence of mind, and very loud. He then went up the ladder, rejoicing and praising the Lord. And so, upon the 4th of December, 1685, in the 58th year of his age, ended that race, which he had run with faith and patience.

He was a man of strong memory, good judgment, and great self-denial. It is said of him, that under his hidings in a cave, near his house, he wrote out the whole of the New Testament. This transcription he made, according to some accounts, from an old copy, which one of his ancestors is said to have written in the time of Popery, when the scriptures were not permitted to be read in the vulgar tongue.

Being very particular for the testimony of the day, he was sometimes censured as too harsh and rugged in principle. But this was altogether groundless ; for in one of the forementioned manuscripts, he has these words : "Now, as for reports, that were spread of me, I declare, as a dying person going out of time to eternity, that the Lord never suffered me in the least to incline, to follow any one of

those persons, who were drawn away to follow erroneous principles. Only, *I thought it still my duty to be tender of them*, as they had souls, wondering always wherefore I was right in any measure, and they were left to fall in such a manner. *I could never endure to hear one creature rail and cry out against another*, knowing we are all alike by nature." And afterwards, when speaking of Argyle's declaration, he further says, "Let all beware of refusing to join with ministers or professors on account of personal infirmities, which are apt to raise prejudice among certain persons. But it shall be found a walking contrary to the word of God, and so contrary to God himself, to join either with ministers or professors, that hold it lawful to meddle with sinful things; for the holy scriptures allow of no such thing. He is a holy God, and all that name the name of God must depart from evil."

There is a manuscript drawn up by him on what he calls the twenty-six steps of defection; wherein he is most explicit in proving from scripture, the sinfulness of the land's apostacy, both national and personal, from the date of the public resolutions to the time of his death. He was, by some, thought too severe in his design, of killing the prisoners at Drumclog. But in this he was not altogether to blame; for the enemy's word was, "No quarter;" and we find, it grieved Mr. Hamilton much, when he beheld some of them spared, after the Lord had delivered them into their hand. *Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.** Yea, Hardhill himself, seems to have had clear grounds and motives for this, in one of the above-mentioned steps of defection.



JOHN CARSTAIRS.

THIS eminent individual, who was the father of Principal Carstairs so distinguished after the Revolution, was born on the 6th of January, 1623. He was, consequently, the cotemporary of most of the Worthies of whom an account has already been given; and both from his merits and his sufferings deserves to be commemorated along with them. Of his parentage, and the place of his birth, we can give no account. His descent, we have no doubt, was highly respectable. After prosecuting with honour and success the various branches of learning at the university, he was licensed in due course, and became one of the ministers of the Inner High Church of Glasgow, some time previous to the year 1652, at which period he is mentioned as colleague to the learned and pious Mr. Durham.† With this excellent man he was connected also by another tie, being married to a sister of his wife, who was the widow of

* Psalm cxxxvii. 8

† See page 218.

the famous Zachary Boyd, and one of the daughters of Mure of Glanderston. This highly respectable relationship was in no way dishonoured by Mr. Carstairs' talents and character. He is described as having been "singularly pious;" and, with the example of his eminent colleague before his eyes, was, no doubt, equally distinguished by fidelity and zeal, in the discharge of his ministerial duties.

In common with the great proportion of his faithful brethren, he was ousted from his living by the act of 1662. Indeed, he was destined, in a very special manner, to feel the effects of that oppressive measure. He was one of the seven leading ministers in the West of Scotland, whom the Parliament, immediately after, took to task, with the view of extorting their acquiescence to the institution of Prelacy; thereby expecting, that all those to whom the influence of their example might extend, would be led to comply likewise. Being cited by the Chancellor to appear before him, and having obeyed the summons, they were, first of all, threatened severely for their alleged disloyal principles, and particularly for some expressions, which, he said, they had used in preaching. In reply to this they fully vindicated their loyalty in general, and desired particular statements to be made, as to any thing blameworthy, in their sermons. No instances, however, could be given; and the interview was closed by insinuations to the effect that their only way of escape would be, by complying with Episcopacy. Being determined on this ground not to yield, they were commanded to remain at Edinburgh till the Parliament should meet. This they accordingly did; and after being again dealt with in private to no purpose, they were regularly cited to appear, before that assembly. There was still no matter, that could be formed into a libel against them. But now, with the view of finding such grounds, they are brought before the Lords of Articles, and, as a test of their loyalty, are required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, as it stood in the Act of Parliament. Upon this they desired time to advise, and with difficulty obtained a few days. They felt themselves placed in a dilemma. On the one hand, if they received the oath without explication, they might thereby be reckoned obliged to comply with Episcopacy, as it acknowledged a right in the King to order the external government of the church. On the other hand, if they refused it altogether, they feared being charged with denying the civil authority of him, whom they owned as their lawful sovereign. They, therefore, resolved to offer an explication of what they held to be implied in the oath, and if allowed, to take it in that sense: or, if this were refused by the legislature, they made up their minds, cheerfully to suffer. Having, accordingly, prepared a statement to that effect, in writing, it was signed by six of them, including Carstairs, and tendered to the Parliament. Immediately on being read, it became the subject of the most violent discussion. It was arraigned, as a presumptuous restriction of the act of legislature, and the six ministers who had signed were it immediately committed to prison. They were confined three in a chamber, to

the great prejudice of their health; and nobody was permitted to have access to them. Thus they continued for several weeks, during which great pains were taken to induce them to take up their paper and swear the oath as it stood. Amongst others, the pious and excellent Leighton, a rare exception, certainly, to the bishops of those days, was sent to reason with them. But under every application of art and of argument, they remained unshaken in their purpose. At length it came to a vote whether to indict them criminally or banish them; and the latter having carried, they were condemned to bear company with their brethren, exiled the preceding year, and to remain in confinement till the time of their departure should be fixed upon by the Council. Mean time, however, the Commissioner's rage against them having cooled a little, and more moderate views being adopted with respect to them, they began to be treated with greater lenity. They were favoured with more liberty, in their confinement. Their friends were admitted to see them, and some of them, particularly Mr. Carstairs, even allowed to go into the country, for the benefit of his health. Indeed, so rigorous had been the treatment to which they were exposed, that even before the above sentence, he fell so dangerously ill in consequence of it, that, upon the testimony of physicians, he was sent to reside at Dalkeith. He thus escaped, for a time, the decision which was ultimately come to with respect to his five brethren.* They, it seems, remained at the command of the Council till the Parliament rose; when, at the desire of the prelates, they were denuded of their charges, deprived of their livings, and, in terms of the recently passed enactment, banished from the bounds of the Presbyteries where they had severally resided.

It would appear that Mr. Carstairs, though not included by name in this sentence, did not resume his duties. He seems to have regarded himself as ousted from his church, either by this or some other deed of Council, as is evident from a letter of his, written on the occasion now about to be described. His mode of life, during the two years following his release from confinement, seems to have been peculiarly quiet and inoffensive. All his circumspection, however, could not prevent his enemies from assuming a pretext, again to trouble and oppress him. Being called, in the spring of 1664, by the most earnest invitation, to visit his brother-in-law, Mr. Wood of St. Andrews, then dying; and having signed, as a witness,† to the testimony which that eminent saint emitted in his hearing; he was immediately after, at the instigation of the primate, whose vile insinuations, with respect to the deceased, that testimony belied, cited to appear before the Council. With this citation, which charged him most unjustly, with keeping conventicles, and disturbing the public peace, he thought it prudent, for many reasons, not to comply. But, that his non-compliance might not be attributed to contumacy, disloyalty, or any wrong motive, he wrote a letter to the Chancel-

* See this fact stated in Wodrow.

† See Life of James Wood

lor, vindicating his conduct and character, from the imputations brought against him; and giving a most interesting account of the circumstances, attendant on the emission of Mr. Wood's testimony.

Whither he betook himself after this, we have no means of ascertaining. The next notice which we have of him is in the year 1666. Residing, during the previous two years, among some friends in the West, it would appear he was induced by their importunity, and much against his own mind, to join the party who, under the direction of Mure of Caldwell, and Kerr of Kersland, proceeded to join the insurgents at Pentland. This party, it is well known, was prevented, by the intervention of Dalziel's army, from joining their friends, and separated on the way. Mr. Carstairs after this, with many of his fellow-sufferers, fled to Holland, the great resort of the persecuted in those days, and there he remained till the year 1672. Immediately on his return, towards the end of that year, he was cited before the Council, but on finding caution to appear when called again, under the penalty of two thousand merks, was in the mean time liberated.

Here again we lose sight of our Worthy for a season, and it is not till the year 1680, that he is again brought into public view. In consequence of some expressions, in letters and papers, found in the possession of Mr. Skene, who was executed in that year, Mr. Carstairs was suspected of favouring the principles and doctrines, (some of them no doubt very extravagant, and untenable,) for which that individual was condemned. Upon this he was called before the Commission, but, clearing himself of the suspicions entertained of him, by the strongest protestations against the principles referred to, and owning the lawful authority of the King, he was again set at liberty. It will no doubt occur to the reader, as being not a little wonderful, that during such a protracted period, he and his fellow-sufferers in similar circumstances, were able to procure a subsistence for themselves and families, after being excluded from their livings. For this, it would appear, they were indebted mainly to the kindness of friends, and the goodness of providence. Mr. Carstairs indeed was invited in the year 1677, to become pastor of the Presbyterian church at Rotterdam. But this appointment he declined, and it was afterwards accepted by Mr. Robert Fleming, who had been minister at Cambuslang.

After this, the next notice which occurs of Mr. Carstairs, refers to the year 1781. From this it may be inferred, that the place of his usual residence about that period, was Edinburgh. In July of that year, we are informed, that the Earl of Rothes being on his death-bed, "appeared concerned about views of eternity, and that the Rev. Mr. Carstairs, upon his desire, waited upon him, and prayed with him, the duke of Hamilton and many others of his noble relations being present; and that few were present without being affected very sensibly."* It is said, that the Duke of York, on

* A somewhat different relation of this fact is given in a note to the life of Cargill; the difference, however, is trifling, and does not materially affect the fact itself.

bearing that Presbyterian ministers had been with the Chancellor, uttered this remarkable expression, "that all Scotland were either Presbyterian through their life, or at their death, profess what they would."

During the latter years of his life, it would appear, that Mr. Carstairs employed himself occasionally, in preparing for the press, the works of some of his eminent friends. He had already in 1658, ushered into the world, by a very interesting preface, the excellent work of Mr. Durham on the Revelation. In 1682, we find him performing the same office, in regard to his sermons on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, which he dedicated to Earl Crawford. He took a deep interest in the publication of Calderwood's history, and from his correspondence with M^r Ward relative to that work, it appears, that he wrote the preface to it. He also wrote a preface to Durham's "Unsearchable riches of Christ," and from the following expressions in a postscript to that preface, dated February 4, 1685, and from other circumstances, it is probable he died soon after, perhaps the following year. "I heartily wish," says he, "that this mite of service, may be acceptable to the saints, it being not improbable, that it may be the last service of this kind, that I shall have access to do them."

What follows, is contained in a manuscript preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh:—"The last words of Mr. John Carstairs, sometime minister of the gospel at Glasgow, as they were taken from his own mouth when a-dying, Anno 1685 or 1686, by Mr. William Crichton, sometime minister of the gospel at Edinburgh."

"Being asked how it was with him, he answered, that he laid aside all his duties and all his performances whatsoever, and that he had betaken himself to the righteousness of Jesus Christ and rested thereon; and that thereby he concluded that within a little he should be as well and much better than ever in the best frame of soul he was in, being made holy as God is holy, and knowing him as he was known of him. Being asked as to the public matters of God, and the times, he said that it was a very great depth; 'but if I be not far mistaken of the word and ways of God, the heart of God is not towards these men; and that, notwithstanding all their successes and prevailings of a long time, against the people and work of God.' He was persuaded, *tandem bona causa triumphabit*, (that at length the good cause would triumph.) He exhorted all his friends to walk humbly with God, to lay on the dust before him, to wait patiently on him, and to shun all manner of compliance with this generation, the sooner the better, the straiter the better, the more universal the better. For himself, he blessed the Lord that he had in some measure preserved him; for God had made him many a time willing to have laid his head upon the block, if so be God had called him thereunto. He said, he blessed the Lord he had these twenty or thirty years, no challenges for any mints he had made, at the service of the Lord in the gospel; but he had made many for his shortcomings therein. He left his children and family

on God, who had given him them, and would be their portion. 'If it were possible, that Christ and his interest in the world could ruin, I had much rather and fall with him, (said he,) than stand with any or all the powers in the world; but, as I am persuaded that these cannot perish, so I am confident in the Lord, these shall revive in all the churches of Christ.'"*

Thus it appears that Mr. Carstairs was a martyr in purpose, if not in reality, and that at death, as in life, he bore the most ample and consistent testimony to that covenanted system, of religious truth, and ecclesiastical government, for which he had lost so much earthly comfort, and for which many of his brethren had suffered martyrdom!

JOHN BLACKADDER.†

MR. BLACKADDER was the lineal descendant, and representative of the ancient, and honourable family of Tulliallan, and heir in right to the baronage of that name. His grandfather, Adam Blackadder of Blairhall, having married Helen, daughter of the celebrated Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, left behind him as the only fruit of that marriage, John Blackadder the father of our Worthy, who was his eldest son, and born in the year 1615. The place of his birth is uncertain, and of his early history very little has been recorded. He himself mentions, that he studied at Glasgow, under Principal Strang, who was his maternal uncle. Under his auspices it is probable, that his clerical, as well as literary studies, were conducted, as Mr. Strang filled the theological chair until 1640.

His talents and attainments, whatever they were, seem to have gained him no academical distinctions beyond his fellows, and he has left no specimens that can enable us to judge of his literature. At what time he took his degree, or terminated his studies, is nowhere mentioned; but with the advantages he possessed, we may conjecture, that when he quitted his uncle's tuition, he was not unprepared for the duties of his profession. He could not be deficient in classical or biblical learning, and was in no great danger of having contracted, any material flaw in his theology. Although episcopacy was then in its zenith, it is not likely that he was either tainted with its sentiments, or, that he conformed to its ceremonies

* Manuscript xxxiii. Jac. I. 25. act. 119. as quoted by Dr. M'Crie,—Life of Veitch, pp. 16, 17.

† With regard to this memoir, the Editor has thought proper, to depart from his usual plan, and, instead of amending and enlarging the old text, to supply one almost entirely new. This he has done, by simply abridging Mr. Crichton's memoirs of Blackadder, a work lately published, and which well deserves, as it will richly repay, the perusal of every admirer of the Scots Worthies.

There was a national antipathy to these which never could be conquered. The principles of presbytery remained unextinguished, amidst all the innovations made on its forms. In the university of Glasgow, there were both regents and students who testified their aversion to the prelatial ritual, by withdrawing from religious ordinances, because they could not submit to the posture of kneeling, in receiving the sacrament of the supper.

Mr. Blackadder having passed trials, and obtained the stamp of the church on his qualifications for the ministry, received a call, in 1652, to the parish of Troqueer, near Dumfries. His connection with that part of the country was probably through some relations he had there. His wife, whom he married in 1646, belonged to Dumfries; and was the daughter of Mr. Haning, a wealthy and respectable merchant.

About the time he became a licentiate, the fierce disputes between Resolutioners and Protestors had begun to irritate and divide the church. Vacancies were keenly contested, both parties being eager to promote their own faction; and settlements were sometimes obstructed by violent and unseemly tumults. But so acceptable were his probationary specimens as a preacher, that his admission to Troqueer met not a single exception. He was nominated by the unanimous voice of the people. He received ordination from the presbytery of Dumfries, and was admitted to his benefice June 7, 1653.

Mr. Blackadder commenced his labours with a resolution to enforce rigidly the discipline of the church. His first exertions were directed to the suppression of profaneness and immorality among the people. In this work of renovation, it was necessary to begin with the eldership, who had lapsed into the vices of the time, and suffered all sessional discipline to fall into decay. Having therefore organised the session to his mind, Mr. Blackadder's next anxiety was the state of his parishioners. As they had been little accustomed to discipline, he resolved to acquaint them with its end and use; and to lay the moral axe to the root of the evil, he commanded the session records to be produced, and all who were then under process, or in arrears of scandal, to be cited anew. He appointed teachers to expound the scripture to weak capacities, and reason with heretical persons. He instituted weekly preachings, and gave regularly two sermons each Sabbath. His Sabbath discourses were calculated chiefly for their instruction in the elementary parts of religion, the depravity of man, and redemption through the atonement of Jesus Christ. His weekly exercises were addressed to converts, for building them up in faith and newness of life: and so popular did these become, that not only his own congregation, "but several honest and godly persons from other parishes attended them."

He exhorted all that could read, to provide themselves with bibles; and those who could not, to go and hear the scriptures read in neighbouring families. Every half-year he catechised the parish, and visited private families as often. In these examinations,

which he did not perform "in a slight and overly manner," he studied not merely the edification, but the temper and dispositions of the people. To cultivate a religious intercourse in this way, appeared to him not less useful, and no less essential, than to inculcate instructions from the pulpit.

He formed a plan, with two of his brethren, Mr. Welch of Irongray, and Mr. Johnstone of Lochrutton, of occasionally visiting each other's parishes. This he proposed to the presbytery as a general overture, to which they did agree. These united labours were attended with considerable success. "Much real effect and fruit followed them, both in the conversion of sinners and the confirmation of believers. He also instituted societies or meetings for family prayer and Christian fellowship. At these conferences, he chose to preside himself, thinking his attendance necessary, at least "until they should be bred to manage that duty aright, and with that decorum and godly prudence which the solemnity required."

These pious exertions had the happiest effect on the morals of the parish. Scarcely two years had elapsed, when a visible reformation was accomplished in the suppression of vice and dissemination of religious knowledge. Household prayer, formerly little in use, became familiar and easy, and an accession of numbers was gained to the congregation.

Visitation of the sick was a department of his ministry on which he bestowed much attention. At all times, day and night, he was ready to visit the house of mourning. He blamed the tardy humanity of friends, who defer clerical assistance till earthly remedies have lost their power, and then, as a last resource, and when every other refuge fails, apply to the consolations of religion. The man of God is thus importuned to repair to the couch of affliction; to support the dying man under the agonies of dissolution, as if prayer could fit him for heaven by a charm, or operate as a safe and expeditious absolution before stepping into eternity. It was lest this prevalent, but mistaken notion, should render his visits fruitless, that he chose rather to anticipate messages of invitation; convinced, that when taken in time, occasions of distress may be made subservient to the best purposes. The proper discharge of this duty appeared to him one of the most difficult and delicate parts of his work. It required prudence to suit his addresses to the different tempers and circumstances of men; to speak home to their conscience with freedom, but with discretion; to warn the sinner of his peril without exciting unnecessary alarm; to unfold the promises of divine grace, so as to leave no encouragement for presumptuous hopes, or groundless security. Even when compelled to assume the sternness of rebuke, he strove to avoid harshness of expression; to temper his censure with kindness, that it might be seen to proceed from concern rather than displeasure, and that it might not inflict an additional pang on a soul already chastened and bleeding. With the obstinate and incorrigible, he studied less delicacy. Though it was painful and disagreeable to perform the office of an accuser, yet he chose rather to speak severe

truths with reluctance, than leave any to expire in hopeless and hardened insensibility. The attempt might be unpromising, perhaps fruitless, but he had done his part; and if sinners preferred to venture on the hazard of eternal perdition, they might depart, at least, with confusion on their face and a witness in their conscience.

In ordinary intercourse with his people, Mr. Blackadder was reserved. His company was frequently requested at feasts, marriages, and baptisms; but he judged it more becoming, in general, to decline, yet always, by "giving a discreet refusal."

Such is an outline of Mr. Blackadder's ministry at Troqueer, during an incumbency of nine years. And thus he continued faithfully to discharge the trust committed to him, until he was, with many others of his faithful brethren, thrust out by the act of Glasgow, in 1662. This act was preceded by several encroachments, on the liberties of the church, well calculated to excite the suspicion and alarm of the faithful ministers. The moment these encroachments were announced, Mr. Blackadder was at his post, to sound a warning from the watchtowers of Israel. As he judged it better to inspire his flock with right sentiments, than to put instruments of defence into their hands, he resolved "to handle the subject of church government in a familiar way, especially as he found them ignorantly deficient in some of these points." Three Sabbath afternoons in succession he devoted to the elucidation of this topic, "in which he demonstrated from scripture the unlawfulness of prelacy, and cleared the divine right of presbytery as to its substance; proving it to be the form nearest to the apostolic ages, and the practice of the earliest Christians."

The last Sabbath on which he was occupied in making these political commentaries, was the day (May 4, 1662) that the new bishops were to be consecrated at Edinburgh. The report of this intended ceremony having arrived, Mr. Blackadder turned the attention of his audience more pointedly to the subject. In the conclusion of the sermon, he entered his protest before the whole congregation, addressing them in the following words.—"Ye have just heard from the word of God, that this prelacy has no warrant therefrom, but is contrary thereto; and that these three nations have abjured the same in a solemn covenant with God. Yet we hear it is intended to bring in prelacy again, and obtrude it upon this poor church, as they have done already in England. We hear also that the prelates are to be consecrated, as they call it, this day in the Abbey Church at Edinburgh, by some who went to England to get consecration there: and, therefore, I, as a member and minister of the Church of Scotland, do solemnly declare and enter my dissent in heaven against this dreadful course of defection; and do protest, that I may be free of this grievous guilt, and of all the sad consequences and disasters that may follow the inbringing of prelacy upon this church; whereof I require you all, my present hearers, to witness."

The parliament had ordained the 29th of May to be observed as a religious anniversary, for commemorating the king's birth, and

“blessed restauration.” These events happening on the same day, by design or accident, were marked among other presages of future glory. This act was the first that created general disturbance, “and became the cause of many an honest man’s suffering.” The presbytery of Dumfries gave it a decided and unanimous refusal; in the first place, because it was inconsistent with the rules and usage of the church. But the act was objectionable on other grounds, since in the preamble, their whole proceedings for twenty-three years were denominated rebellion. To admit this was to condemn all they had done for their religious liberties, and to transfer to themselves all the blood shed in the civil wars.

The determination of the presbytery reached the Commissioner, who despatched a military force to Dumfries, with instructions to bring the whole of the refractory court prisoners to Edinburgh. A troop of fifty horse, under Captain Scott, arrived on Saturday afternoon; but found that several of the ministers had departed for Edinburgh, to consult with their friends privately on this emergency. Among these were the two ministers of Dumfries, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Henderson. In their absence, Mr. Blackadder was requested, by the magistrates, to supply the vacancy, and had consented to preach. But on the arrival of the military, the council judged it advisable to dispense with his services, “fearing he might come to hazard by his free speaking.” He was not, however, to be deterred by this friendly caution from stating his sentiments boldly in his own church. Expecting a visit from “the gentlemen of the guard,” he caused the gallery to be cleared and kept empty for their accommodation. In the choosing and handling of his subject, Hosea ix. 10—12. he gave his congregation to understand that he would not permit his free speech to be intimidated or restrained by the presence of such unusual auditors. The remarks more especially applicable to the occasion, he reserved to the conclusion of the discourse, wherein he adverted pointedly to those abominations that were the causes of God’s departure, and stated some of the sad prognostics of this alienation, and denounced the prophetic woes of the text against the instruments of these fatal defections. The guard sat with composure, but there were great apprehensions he would be seized between sermons. He returned, however, to the manse unmolested, and finished his afternoon’s discourse, which was delivered in the same style of intrepid observation, without suffering the smallest interruption. The audience was calmly dismissed to “the admiration of some, and the disappointment of others more maliciously disposed.” “The gentlemen of the guard courteously saluted the minister,” showing no symptoms of irritation, and offering no violence to his person.

On Monday an order was sent round to all the clergy, within the bounds, to present themselves before the commander, and march next day as prisoners to Edinburgh. This proving inconvenient, Tuesday being the usual meeting of the presbytery, “his Lordship” was graciously entreated to postpone their departure till Wednesday. When the business of the court was finished, the ministers,

as their custom was, repaired to the inn to dine. After dinner, four of the gentlemen of the guard waited upon them in an adjoining apartment, to know their minds relative to their intended journey. They were politely asked to join the brethren, and taste of the beverage, which was the ordinary conclusion of their graver discussions. This civil invitation was readily accepted, and the business of their mission amicably arranged. The captain, fearing a tumult, as he had come upon an ungracious errand, requested that they would privately leave the town by ten o'clock next morning; he and his men being to follow at a convenient distance. On the way, they "carried very soberly, and behaved with abundant discretion," giving the ministers liberty to take lodgings where they pleased, sending only an escort of horsemen to conduct them back to the party next morning. When within half a mile of Edinburgh, the commander desired them to ride in before him, and enter the city by themselves, as he was unwilling to be exposed to popular clamour on their account, and felt ashamed of his commission, that obliged him to treat them as prisoners. The ministers, though nothing afraid to give their testimony all possible notoriety, agreed to this proposal, promising to alight and remain at his inn.

Middleton, apprized of their arrival, sent orders, with permission to the prisoners to choose their lodgings wherever it might be most convenient,—only to confine themselves strictly to their chambers till called for. On being called, he charged them with obstinacy, and counteracting the statute; and threatened to lay them in irons, or transport them to his majesty's new plantations in America. But their resolution was immovable. They were offered free dismissal, provided they would agree and subscribe to observe it next year; in which case, it was the pleasure of their Lordships to pass them for that time, although their disobedience merited severer treatment. To this proposal, they returned a decided negative. The two ministers of Dumfries were remanded to prison,—the rest confined to their several apartments, to ruminate a few days longer on the proposition.

After having been again interrogated by the court, if they would promise simply to preach on the day in question, which all but Mr. Blackadder and another agreed to do, the brethren were allowed to return to their parishes, a favour which, it seemed, was procured by some of Mr. Blackadder's friends.

When he returned to Troqueer, he found some of his brethren repenting of their weakness, and wishing that, like him, they had preferred the dungeon. He, however, resolved to make a prudent and discreet use of his exemption. Not wishing to mortify such of his neighbours as had not the like privilege, he took occasion, at the time of the anniversary, to absent himself on business. He had proposed a journey to Edinburgh, but was nearly surprised by a party of the life-guards who were then ranging in Galloway, and had seized five ministers in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright. They came to Troqueer with orders to apprehend him; but having notice of their approach, he took horse and fled. On his return, some days

after, he had a rencontre with the same troop, and narrowly escaped. He had alighted at a small change-house on a solitary moor near Garriston ; but was luckily admonished of his danger, by the noisy jollity within. Afraid to proceed, as he was ignorant in what direction they were travelling, and might be overtaken, he judged it wisest to remain ; and drawing his horse "into a little hollow at the back of the yard," he held it there until they had finished their wassail.

As the tenure of his office now became uncertain, Mr. Blackadder thought himself called upon before quitting his charge, to warn them against countenancing the ministry of those who would be intruded into the church by the bishop. Compliance in that case would be a consenting to their office and doctrine ; a justifying, or, at least, an approving of the cruel extrusion of honest and conscientious ministers ; and an entailing of spiritual bondage on themselves and their posterity. On the last Sabbath of October, he preached his farewell sermon. This was a day of anxious expectation throughout the country, and made an impression on the minds of those who witnessed it never to be forgotten.

The church of Troqueer stood (as it now does) upon a gentle eminence on the banks of the Nith, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, which, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, presents a delightful variety of local scenery. "On the morning of that memorable Sabbath," says Mr. Crichton, "Mr. Blackadder had risen early for prayer and private communion. He stepped forth to meditate on the subject of the day. There was a gloom and heaviness in the atmosphere, that seemed to correspond with the general melancholy. A fog, or thick haze, that covered the face of the earth as with a gray mantle, had retired from the vale of Nith toward the mountains. As he paced his little garden, with slow and pensive step, his contemplations were suddenly interrupted by the tolling of the morning bells, several of which, in the adjacent parishes, were distinctly audible from the uncommon stillness of the air. These hallowed chimes, once the welcome summons to the house of prayer, now sounded like the knell of their expiring liberties, reminding him how many of his brethren were, like himself, preparing to bid their last adieu, amidst the tears and blessings of their people. At this signal of retirement, he betook himself to the duties of the closet, to hold nearer intercourse with heaven, and fortify his soul for the solemn occasion.

"The people, at an early hour, had been straggling on the height, but kept aloof from the church, unwilling to put their minister to hazard by convening in multitudes, which had been discharged as a breach of peace and good order. They collected, by degrees, in small scattered groups, about the church-yard, occupied in dark conjectures, and waiting the minister's approach with extreme anxiety. Mr. Blackadder made his appearance with his wonted firmness and composure, and with the same placid serenity of countenance for which he was remarkable. The audience was not numerous, but every feature appeared settled into a deep and earnest concern.

Most of them were dissolved in tears, and at many parts of the discourse, there were loud and involuntary bursts of sorrow.

“Towards the middle of the sermon, an alarm was given that a party of soldiers from Dumfries were on their march to seize him, and had crossed the bridge. Upon this he closed hastily; pronounced the benediction, and retired to his chamber. The military surrounded the church-yard; and, as the people departed, they took down the names of all those who belonged to Dumfries, or any of the other parishes, as the law had affixed a penalty of twenty shillings Scots on every person absent from his own church. They offered violence to none, and went away without entering the manse, being assured that no strangers were there. When they were gone, the minister assembled the remains of the congregation in his own house, and finished the sermon, ‘standing on the stair head; both the upper and lower flat being crowded to the full.’

“The people seemed sorry to depart, lingering in suspense about the doors, expressing their concern for his safety, and their willingness to shed their blood in his defence. Mr. Blackadder conjured them to have regard to the peace of the country, and give no handle to their adversaries by any disturbance. ‘Go,’ said he, ‘and fend for yourselves: the hour is come when the shepherd is smitten, and the flock shall be scattered. Many are this day mourning the desolations of Israel, and weeping, like the prophet, between the porch and the altar. God’s heritage has become the prey of the spoiler; the mountain of the house of the Lord as the high places of the forest. When the faithful pastors are removed, hirelings shall intrude, whom the Great Shepherd never sent, who will devour the flock, and tread down the residue with their feet. As for me, I have done my duty, and now there is no time to evade. I recommend you to Him who is able to keep you from falling, and am ready, through grace, to be disposed of as the Lord pleases.’”

The last week of his incumbency at Troqueer, he employed in visiting and comforting his parishioners. He left it on Saturday, and rode to Caitloch in Glencairn parish, to seek a residence beyond the bounds of the presbytery. Next day, the soldiers attacked the manse in quest of him, and behaved with great insolence to his wife and family. One of his sons, then a child, narrates, with much simplicity, what happened on this occasion.—“A party of the King’s life-guard of horse, called Blew-benders, came from Dumfries to Troqueer to search for and apprehend my father, but found him not, for what occasion I know not; whether he staid beyond the set day for transporting himself and numerous family of small children ten miles from his parish church; or because he was of the number of those who refused to observe the 29th of May. So soon as the above party entered the close, and came into the house, with cursing, swearing, and damning, we, that were the children, were frightened out of our little wits, and ran up stairs, and I among them; who, when I heard them all roaring in the room below, like so many breathing devils, I had the

childish curiosity to get down upon my belly, and peep through a hole in the floor above them, to see what monsters of creatures they were; and it seems they were monsters indeed for cruelty; for one of them perceiving what I was doing, immediately drew his sword, and thrust it up, with all his force, where I was peeping, so that the mark of the point was scarce an inch from the hole, though no thanks to the murdering ruffian, who designed to run it up through my eye. Immediately after, we were forced to pack up, bag and baggage, and remove to Glencairn, ten miles from Troqueer. We, who were the children, were put into cadgers creels, where one of us cried out, coming through the Bridgend of Dumfries, 'I'm banish't, I'm banish't.' One happened to ask, 'Who has banish't ye, my bairn?' he answered, 'Byte-the-sheep has banish't me.'

It was in the beginning of November 1662, when Mr. Blackadder removed his young family to their new habitation in Glencairn. In this sequestered parish he hoped to prolong his usefulness unnoticed and unmolested. For the first three months he discontinued to preach, except occasionally in churches which had not been displanted. Although he did not, like some of his brethren, immediately commence field preaching, or private lecturing; this was entirely from a dislike to furnish any new matter of offence, and from no persuasion that forcible deposition denuded him of his clerical rights. A mere paper proclamation, or even an act of Parliament, he held incompetent to nullify the ceremony of ordination, or the call of the people; and, therefore, the hallowed union between them and their flocks still subsisted, though nominally dissolved.

After some time, therefore, he resumed his public duties. He confined himself at first to his own house, giving private exhortations, sometimes twice, often thrice a-day, to multitudes, who resorted, in private, to seek those instructions which the rigour of the laws had now converted into a state crime. He revived associations for Christian fellowship and godly conference, which were hastening into disusage. His exertions, he observes, were attended with greater success here, than formerly in his own congregation. In February 1662, he ventured back to his old parish, but found his place occupied by a curate. He visited, catechised, and lectured privately, an encroachment which the episcopal incumbent threatened to resent. After this he returned no more until many years and many toils had intervened.

On the 25th of January 1666, letters of council were directed against him and about a dozen of his confederates, among whom were Welch, Semple, Arnot, and Peden, for presuming to preach, pray, baptize, and perform other acts of the ministerial function. It was charged to his account, "that he had oft-times convened great numbers in the parish of Glencairn and neighbouring parishes, sometimes to the number of a thousand and upwards, and continues so to do every Lord's day: at which meetings he baptizes the children of all disaffected persons." About this time he was so severely harassed by Sir James Turner, that

resolved forthwith to depart the country. Preparations were accordingly made for removing his family; but it was difficult to tell whither, as every place was rendered alike oppressive and insecure. Edinburgh seemed to offer the likeliest opportunity for privacy and concealment, although it was forbidden to reside in that or any other town in the kingdom. Having secured his books and papers, he set out with his wife, leaving the children, three sons and a daughter, under the care of a nurse and a servant.

On this occasion, he met with one of those "singular casts of providence" which he had frequently to remark in the course of his life. The very day of his departure, Turner had orders from the bishop of Galloway to apprehend him. His second son, then a boy of ten years old, gives the following minute but artless narrative of what passed:—"About this time, (the end of winter 1666,) Turner and a party of sodgers from Galloway, came to search for my father, who had gone to Edinburgh, to seek about where he might live in safety. These rascally ruffians beset our house round, about two o'clock in the morning; then gave the cry, 'Damn'd whigs, open the door.' Upon which we all got up, young and old, excepting my sister, with the nurse and the child at her breast, (now Colonel Blackadder, deputy-governor of Stirling castle.) When they came in, the fire was gone out: they roared out again, 'Light a candle immediately, and on with a fire quickly, or els we'll roast nurse and bairn and all in the fire, and mak a bra bleeze.' When the candle was lighted, they drew out their swords, and went to the stools and chairs, and clove them down, to mak the fire withall; and they made me hold the candle to them, trembling all along, and fearing every moment to be thrown quick into the fire. Then they went to search the house for my father, running their swords down throw the bed and bed-cloths; and among the rest they came where my sister was, then a child, and as yet fast asleep, and with their swords stabbed down throw the bed, where she was lying, crying, 'Come out rebell dog.' They made narrow search for him in all corners of the house, ransacking presses, chests, and flesh-stands. Then they went and threw down all his books from the press upon the floor, and caused poor me hold the candle all this while, till they had examined his books; and all they thought whiggish, as they termed it, and brave judges they were! they put into a great horse creel, and took away,—(among which were a number of written sermons, and some printed pamphlets.) Then they ordered one of their fellow ruffians to climb up to the hen-baalks, where the cocks and hens were; and as they came to one, threw about its neck, and then down to the floor wi't; and so on till they had destroyed them all. Then they went to the meat ambry, and took out what was there; then to the meal and beef-barrels, and left little or nothing there. All this I was an eye-witness to, trembling and shivering all the while, having nothing but my short shirt upon me. So soon as I was relieved of my office, I begins to think, if possible, of making my escape, rather than to be burnt quick, as I thought, and they threatened. I goes to the door, where

there was a sentry on every side, standing with their swords drawn; for watches were set round to prevent escape. I approached nearer and nearer, by small degrees, making as if I were playing myself. At last, I gets out there, making still as if I were playing, till I came to the gate of the house; then, with all the little speed I had, (looking behind me, now and then, to see if they were pursuing after me,) I run the length of half a mile in the dark night, naked to the shirt. I got to a neighbouring toune, called the Brigend of Mennihyvie; where, thinking to creep into some house to save my life, I found all the doors shut, and the people sleeping. Upon which I went to the cross of the toune, and got up to the uppermost step of it; and there I sat me down, and fell fast asleep till the morning. Between five and six, a door opens, and an old woman comes out; and seeing a white thing upon the cross, comes near it; and when she found it was a little boy, cries out, 'Jesus, save us!—what art thou?' With that I awaked, and answered her, 'I'm Mr. Blackadder's son.'—'O my puir bairn! what brought thee here?'—I answers, 'There's a hantle of fearfull men, with red coats, has brunt all our house, my breether and sister, and all the family.'—'O puir thing,' (says she) 'come in and lie down in my warm bed:—which I did; and it was the sweetest bed that I ever met with.'

After this his whole family was dispersed over the country, and forced to lead a wandering and homeless life, imploring shelter wherever charity was brave enough to offer them protection.

Mr. Blackadder procured a private lodging in the Canongate, where he spent the remainder of the winter, disabled from preaching, by fatigue and indisposition. At Whitsunday 1666, he took larger apartments at the head of the Cowgate, near the Grassmarket, where private meetings were held all the summer, which were joined by seven or eight of the Nithsdale and Galloway clergy. These conventions were interrupted after the defeat at Pentland hills, which happened in November that year, when the presbyterians were again subjected to redoubled cruelties and hardships. Mr. Blackadder agrees with others, in ascribing this sudden rising to the effects of intolerable oppression, and relates the well-known accident which led to that event.

Mr. Blackadder was in Edinburgh at that time; and it was his purpose, with several other gentlemen, to have joined the insurgents. But in the midst of their preparations, they got information, that of three thousand who left Lanark, scarcely nine hundred had reached the village of Colinton, and these a handful "of weary, drenched, undisciplined creatures, more like dying men than soldiers going to conquer."

These sudden and unexpected tidings completely deranged their tactics; and led them to desist. Mr. Blackadder lay concealed four or five weeks during the murderous executions that followed the engagement: and when the alarm of the citizens had somewhat abated, he began to extend his humanity to his suffering countrymen in the south, where persecution raged with the most in

cable fury. "He wrote to Dumfries and Galloway, to advertise such as were chased and compelled to hide all winter in mosses and fields, to come privately to Edinburgh, where they might find safer covert and means of relief; for many in that quarter were fled to the mountains, leading a vagrant life, under dissembled names, or lurking in coal-pits and solitary caves. He and others gave them money and necessaries, some half-a-crown or ten groats, chiefly on Saturday nights, to subsist on next week. Several also that escaped from prison, he kept under concealment."

In September 1668, when a milder administration had commenced, a deputation from various parishes in the west waited upon Mr. Blackadder in Edinburgh, inviting him to preach and dispense ordinances, as their own ministers were too well known to venture in public. In Dunlop, he baptized forty-two children in one house; and in the manse of Newmills, eleven. Similar duties awaited him at Eaglesham, and various other places; which ceremonies were always performed at night, and usually continued till day-break. Encouraged by the liberality of the new administration, he exercised his gifts pretty frequently in and around Edinburgh for more than a year. In January 1669, he received a second and more pressing call to the west. He went to Fenwick January 28, being the first that had preached publicly since Pentland, and was listened to by multitudes. Importunate solicitations were sent him from all the parishes in that district, "many assailing him at once, and each with more moving arguments than his neighbour." He prolonged his stay, until by "riding, night-watching, and sore labour," his health suffered materially; yet "the necessity of the work, and the rueful cries of the people," made him for a time forget his bodily pains. After his return, he was confined sixteen weeks, and considered in imminent danger. Money frequently was offered him for bearing accidental expenses; several gentlemen contributed sums, and collections were made on purpose; but he uniformly declined receiving any donation, "lest the ministry should incur the imputation of a covetous and mercenary spirit; or the enemy have occasion to reproach their cause, as if money made them eager to preach."

The physicians had recommended to him to drink mineral waters; and for nearly seven years he went annually to Newmills, for the benefit of the wells there. His stay was generally six weeks; during which time he made professional excursions in the neighbourhood, visiting Kilbride, Fenwick, Evandale, Galston, Tarbolton, &c. It was his custom, on his way thither, to take a wide circuit, and preach wherever he found a convenient stage. In June, 1669, on his first visit, he went round by Borrowstounness, where he established a congregation, and secured to them the freedom of undisturbed worship, through the interest of his relation, Major Hamilton, "who was the Duke's bailie of regality, and lived at Kinniel House." When at Glasgow, he was solicited by the Ladies Blantyre, Pollock, and Dundonald; and preached sometimes to an audience of two thousand; "people seeming to smell him out in spite of all his caution." By over-exertion his health was again impaired; and preaching in

the sun brought on a defluxion of humour in his eyes, a distemper which troubled him for some time. In Livingstone, he instituted, for the first time, private communions, similar to those in Glencairn and Troqueer; and these spread over fifteen or sixteen adjacent parishes. They were held with great order and regularity, and tended to keep up the languishing discipline and worship of the church, as well as to check prevailing scandals. From Galloway they had reached Linlithgow; and were next promulgated in Fife, the Merse, and other districts.

The same year, he passed over to Fife, and staid a few days in Strathmiglo, intending to visit two of his old and intimate friends, then in prison at Dundee, Sir James Stewart, and Sir John Cheisly. Contrary to his wishes, he was detained by Lady Balcanquhal, to give sermon in her house, which was the only species of preaching known as yet in that country. Unwilling that his instructions should be circumscribed or limited to the pious and well affected alone, "he caused public advertisement to be made, that all that were athirst might come without money and without price."—"Let the world see that you do not huddle up so profitable and honest a work, or keep it to yourselves: as for my part, I am not ashamed to avow it in the face of danger or of death: I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance." The multitude was too numerous to be contained in the house, though capable of accommodating above seven hundred persons; and this occasioned the first field meeting that had been in Fife. It proved the harbinger of those celebrated conventicles, which soon spread all around the east, took possession of the hills, and besieged the Primate in his own capital. About this time, Mr. Blackadder assisted at several conventicles kept by John Dickson and David Hume on the Lomonds, and in the shire of Kinross.

The government now began to take the alarm at these field meetings. Conventicles were discharged under pain of fine or imprisonment, both for the minister and the heritor within whose bounds they were held; and the military were encouraged by reward "to incarcerate their persons." These rigours were no terror either to the preacher or the congregation, but attended with mischievous consequences. People took up arms to defend themselves, and repel this hostile invasion of their worship.

Among the first "armed conventicles," as they were called, was that kept by Mr. Blackadder at Beath-hill, above Dunfermline, on the 18th of June, 1670. He foresaw this would be a hazardous meeting, and might peril both minister and congregation. But the hope of being useful made him forget all personal danger, and overlook more remote consequences. He requested Mr. Dickson, who willingly consented to assist him on the occasion. From his own account of it we extract the following passages.

"On Saturday afternoon, people had begun to assemble from all quarters. Many lay on the hill all night—some stayed about a constable's house near the middle of the hill, and several others were lodged near about. Mr. Blackadder came privately from

Edinburgh on Saturday night, Mr Dickson having gone before. When a fit place for the meeting and setting up of the tent was provided, Mr. Dickson lectured and preached the forenoon of the day. Mr. Blackadder lay at the outside, within hearing, having care to order matters, and see how the watch was kept. After Mr. Dickson had lectured for a considerable space, he took to his discourse, and preached on 1 Cor. xv. 25. *For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.* In time of sermon, several ill-affected country people dropped in among them. However, the sermon closed without disturbance about eleven hours in the fore-day, the work having begun about eight.

“Mr. Blackadder was to preach in the afternoon. He retired, to be private for a little meditation. Hearing a noise, he observed some bringing back the curate’s two sons with some violence, which he seeing, rebuked them who were leading them, and bade let them come back freely without hurt, and he engaged for them they would not go away. So they stayed quietly: and within a quarter of an hour he returned and entered the tent, after some preface, which was countenanced with much influence, not only on professed friends, but on those also who came with ill intentions, that they stood as men astonished, with great seeming gravity and attention, particularly the two young men. It was, indeed, a composing and gaining discourse, holding forth the great design of the gospel, to invite and make welcome all sorts of sinners without exception. After prayer, he read for text, 1 Cor. ix. 16. *For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me: yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.* After he had begun, a gentleman on horseback came to the meeting, and some few with him. He was the lieutenant of the militia in that part of the country, who lighting, gave his horse to hold, and came in among the people on the minister’s left hand, stood there a space, and heard peaceably. Then essaying to get to his horse, some of the watch did greatly desire he would stay till preaching was ended, telling him his abrupt departure would offend and alarm the people. But he refusing to stay, began to threaten, drawing his staff. They fearing he was going to bring a party to trouble them, did grip and hold him by force as he was putting his foot in the stirrup. Upon this Barscobe and another young man, who were on the opposite side, seeing him drawing his staff, (which they thought to be a sword,) presently ran, each with a bent pistol, crying out, ‘Rogue, are you drawing?’ Though they raised a little commotion on that side, yet the bulk of the people were very composed. The minister, seeing Barscobe and the other so hastening to be at him, fearing they should have killed him, did immediately break off, to step aside for composing the business, and desired the people to sit still till he returned, for he was going to prevent mischief. Some, not willing he should venture himself, laboured to hinder him. He thrust himself from them, and pressing forward, cried, ‘I charge and obtest you not to meddle with him, or do him any hurt;’ which had such influence on them, that they professed afterward they had

no more power to meddle with him. The lieutenant, seeing it was like to draw to good earnest, was exceeding afraid, and all the men he had. But hearing the minister discharging the people to hurt him, he thrust near to be at the minister, who had cried, 'What is the matter, gentlemen?' Whereon the lieutenant said, 'I cannot get leave, Sir, to stand on my own ground for thir men.' The minister said, 'Let me see, Sir, who will offer to wrong you; they shall as soon wrong myself, for we came here to offer violence to no man, but to preach the gospel of peace; and, Sir, if you be pleased to stay in peace, you shall be as welcome as any here; but if you will not, you may go; we shall compel no man.' 'But,' said he, 'they have taken my horse from me.' Then the minister called to restore him his horse, seeing he would not stay willingly."

Reports of this conventicle spread to the remotest corners of the land, and were even exaggerated beyond the truth. The two ministers were libelled before the council, (August 11;) "but failing to answer the citation, they were denounced, and put to the king's horn." Mr. Dickson retired to London, and Mr. Blackadder concealed himself for a time in Edinburgh; but his house being searched, by the guard, he was compelled to flee, and lurk in the Merse; but so soon as the tumult subsided, he re-appeared, and preached at Mordington, and other parishes

The next three years of Mr. Blackadder's life, were spent in itinerant preaching. In the spring of 1671, he again visited Borrowstounness and the neighbourhood. He went to visit Lady Hilderstone; and being indisposed, intended to remain private. But on Sabbath morning early, the house was surrounded with multitudes, so that speedily the large hall was filled,—holding about eight hundred people, besides the rooms beneath, and many standing in the close. For this meeting the lady, her son, and many of the people, were severely fined. But neither rigour nor bribery could withdraw the well-affected from field conventicles. Scarcely three weeks after the meeting at Hilderstone, Mr. Blackadder preached in the same neighbourhood, at the Black Dub in Livingstone. He left Edinburgh at four o'clock in the morning, and returned at ten in the evening. The reason why he went and came back the same day, was his tender respect for the people, lest, by his lodging among them, or in any of their houses, they might be fined for "*reset and converse.*" On the 2d of January, 1674, he was invited to Kinkel, where he had often been before. Here a greater number than ever, was assembled. But an alarm being given, and the militia having appeared immediately after the lecture, he was obliged of a sudden to conclude the service.

Sometime after this, however, he had another meeting at Kinkel, where vast numbers from St. Andrew's attended as hearers, and even some of the militia. Sharp was that Sabbath-day at home; and hearing of it sent for the provost, and commanded him to raise the military, and dissipate them, and apprehend the minister. It is said the provost answered, 'My lord, the militia are gone there already to hear the preaching, and we have none to send.' The prelate was much

damped, that even the militia were gone to hear, instead of being ready to scatter them. That day, several of the ruder sort were observed to be moved, even to weeping.

In June, this year, he was outlawed, and a thousand merks offered to any that should apprehend him. But even this severe measure did not deter him from what he conceived to be his duty, in preaching the gospel. Towards the year 1677, we find that he kept a very great conventicle at Lillies-leaf in Forrestshire. About the middle of the afternoon's sermon, the militia came riding furiously at full gallop, and drew up over against the people, but seeing them stand firm they were a little damped. Mr. Blackadder had come down and stood in disguise among the people, who were at length induced to dismiss quietly, and when the dragoons were gone he made his way in safety to Edinburgh.

In that year also, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was frequently dispensed in the fields. The communions principally noted, and most numerous attended, were four, viz. at Kirkcudbright, Irongray, Carrick, and East-Nisbet, in the Merse. At the latter of these, which has been described in the memoir of Mr. Welch, Mr. Blackadder officiated as a leading member.

Next year, 1678, Mr. Blackadder was invited to Devon in Fife, where a communion was held. Here again the military approached, but seeing the people prepared to defend themselves, they immediately withdrew, without molesting them. In July the same year, he also held a meeting near Culross, about a mile from Blairhall, the ancient residence of his ancestors. But it appears, that on this occasion, every thing was quietly got over.

From this place, Mr. Blackadder was called to officiate, at a communion in Irongray, Dumfries-shire. On his way from Culross, he was met by Kirk of Sundrywell, in Dunscore parish, who had come from Galloway and Nithsdale to invite him. As the communion was fixed for next Sabbath, it admitted of no delay. On Thursday, about ten o'clock, he took his horse from Edinburgh, accompanied by his wife and son Robert, who wished to see their relations, and join on the occasion,—such a thing being so rare to them. As they rode on their way by Leadhills, towards Enterkin and Nithsdale, they found the roads covered with people, some on horse, others on foot, going to be present at the communion.

Mr. Blackadder and his company took the route to Caitloch, where he stayed that night. Here their numbers were increased to a great concourse. On Saturday morning, they marched from Caitloch to the cross of Meiklewood, a high place in Nithsdale, about seven miles above Dumfries. This he understood was to be the rendezvous of the congregation.

When Mr. Blackadder reached the place, he found a large assembly had collected. He opened the service from these words in 1 Cor. xi. 24. *Do this in remembrance of me.* His two chief points were, That the ceremony was not left arbitrary to the church, but was under a peremptory command from Christ himself. This remembrance was to be renewed from time to time, as seasons

would permit: and their divine Master's command was still in force, though man had inhibited and discharged them. *Secondly*, The end of the institution, why it ought to be frequently celebrated or administered, and what was especially to be commemorated. Mr. Welch preached in the afternoon, and intimated the communion to take place next day on a hill-side in Irongray, about four miles distant.

A short account of what took place at it, is given in the life of Mr. Welch.* Mr. Blackadder seems to have been employed only in the table-services. He was, however, engaged on the Monday following. On this day, the tent was placed in a situation about three miles distance from its site on the day preceding, and Mr. Blackadder closed the work by preaching from Heb. xiii. 1. *Let brotherly love continue.*

After this, he continued for three weeks in the country, and preached in company with Mr. Welch, on the first Sunday at Dalskaith hill in Troqueer parish, and the next at Glengabber in Holywood, to great multitudes. He then returned to Edinburgh, and shortly after made a very narrow escape from the troopers, at a meeting which he had near Lanark. He was after this for some time laid up at Glasgow, in consequence of a severe sickness. And on removing from thence, in the month of September, was made the bearer of an overture from the ministers, in that quarter, which had in view to allay the dissensions respecting the indulgence. From this time, partly from grief at these unhappy dissensions, and partly from his remaining ailments, he was little abroad till May, 1675. On the last Sabbath of that month, (the one immediately previous to the meeting at Drumclog,) he ventured to preach at Falo-moor in Livingstone. During the whole of the succeeding month, and consequently at the time of the engagement at Bothwell, he was confined to Edinburgh, by a severe rheumatism. He was therefore not present, and took no part in that memorable, and, to his friends ultimately most disastrous event.

Indeed he seems to have been very doubtful as to the warrantableness and propriety of the rising which on that occasion was suppressed. He did not, however, in the least, shrink from what he conceived to be his duty. And immediately after the indemnity and indulgence which succeeded that event, were promulgated, he gave a strong indication of his boldness and independence, by resuming his preachings in the fields, contrary to the statute which now allowed conventicles in private houses. He preached at the seat of Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees near Edinburgh, and at Southfield, in the parish of Cramond, where about four thousand were assembled, lawyers, advocates, burgesses, soldiers, and common beggars; yet all gave reverend attention: they seemed to acquiesce, who came to oppose. These meetings did raise a great outcry; but he did it

* See p. 389.

chiefly with a design to show that the gospel ought not to be limited or confined to private houses. Next week he was at Lord Torphichen's. The kirk, was within hearing, where the curate was haranguing to sixteen persons. Here he declared his judgment against limited indulgences, bonds, and licences from the magistrate. From thence he went to Borrowstounness, where the meeting was dispersed by the soldiers from Blackness, and he himself nearly taken. It was here that his son Adam was made prisoner, for attending his father; but upon a testimonial from the magistrates of Edinburgh, he was set free. After this, Mr. Blackadder preached at Kirkaldy, at Gala-water, and in Livingstone, where they met under cloud of night, and dismissed in peace before day-break.

About the end of May 1680, he resolved on a voyage for Holland, his eldest son being to commence doctor of medicine at Leyden. They had cross winds on the passage for eleven days, and were sore tossed, the ship having struck eighteen times. They came up the Maes to Rotterdam, where he stayed fifteen weeks, preaching every Sabbath. Towards the end of September, he returned in a vessel belonging to Prestonpans, and arrived in Edinburgh the same day on which Mr. John Dickson was sent to the Bass.

In January 1681, he visited Troqueer, at the request of his old parishioners. He left Edinburgh on Thursday night, and next Sabbath preached at Dalscairth to a vast assembly, who had gathered out of Annandale, Galloway, Nithsdale, and almost the whole town of Dumfries. It was on this occasion he made the pathetic allusion to his lately deceased friend Mr. Welch, which has been already recorded in the life of that worthy. Hearing of the jealousies which had been propagated in the south by some of the more violent brethren, particularly in Annandale, where the people were casting at all indulgences, he resolved on a visit to that country. From thence, after remaining some days, he returned to Dumfries by Rockhall, and on Friday he preached again in his old parish. On his way back to Edinburgh he preached at Sundrywell, in Dunscore, and also at the water of Urr, and at Auchenchain: but hearing of his wife's illness, he was necessitated to return, grieved at leaving the work which had been so successful. After this he went no more to the south.

The last of his public labours was in East-Lothian, about ten days before he was apprehended. He preached on a hill over against the Bass, and prayed for the prisoners. He had an invitation to Tiviotdale the following Sabbath, but was seized in his house at Edinburgh the week previous. The circumstances relating to his seizure and examination are as follow:—

On Tuesday morning, (April 5,) the party came to his house before he arose. His daughter and servant were up. About five or six o'clock one knocked softly at the hanging gate: she opened the door; and it proved to be Johnston, the town-major, with a party at his back, who came into the hall, and asked 'If there were any strangers in the house.' She said, 'No.' Yet he came to the

chamber where her father was lying, putting the end of his staff to the side of the curtain, and then went up stairs to the gallery where the minister used to stay, and found only his son lying in the bed, and came down again to his chamber, saying to the minister's wife, 'Mistress, desire your husband to rise.' He, looking forth out of the bed, said, 'How now, major, is that you, I am not surprised; but where is your order?' The other said, 'You are only to rise and come down to a friend in the Canongate.' 'Well,' said the minister, 'if I were dressed I am ready.' Meantime he spoke quietly to his men to wait on the prisoner. But he himself stepped forth and went quickly to Dalziel in the Canongate. After he returned, the minister calling for a drink, sought a blessing, and caused give them all to drink, and went forth; his wife being very sickly, yet behaved more quietly than he could have believed. The major took him down the Cowgate, himself on the one hand, and the minister's son Thomas on the other, the party following, and brought him to Dalziel's lodgings, near the foot of the Canongate. The major went first, the minister following, Dalziel himself opening the door. The major told he had brought the prisoner; Dalziel bade him take him to the guard. The minister stepping up stairs, said, 'May I speak a little?' At which he rudely raged, 'You, Sir, have spoken too much; I would hang you with my own hands over that outshott.' He knew not yet who he was, nor what was laid to his charge till afterward, as the minister perceived by a strange alteration of his calmness to him when he came to the court at twelve o'clock.

The minister, finding him in such ill mood, turned about, and came away with the major, who put him not in the common guard, but delivered him to Captain Murray, Philiphaugh's uncle, who kept him in his own chamber within the Abbey. At eleven, he sent twelve soldiers without their major, who conveyed him to the council-house, to a chamber next to where the committee sat. The committee rose at twelve without calling him; only a sub-committee came to a side-room, and sat down, and called for the prisoner, who came. His examiners were the Duke of Rothes, chancellor; the king's advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie; General Dalziel, and Bishop Patterson of Edinburgh.

Chan. Are you a minister? *A.* I am. *Chan.* Where, and how long since? *A.* At Troqueer, in Galloway, since 1653. *Chan.* Did you excommunicate the king; or was you at Torwood at that time? *A.* I have not been at Torwood these four years. *Chan.* But what do you think of it? do you approve of it? *A.* Though I be as free to answer to that as well as to all the former; yet I must tell you I came here to give account of my judgment to no man; therefore, seeing this is an interrogating of me about my thoughts, I humbly beg to be excused. Produce a libel, and I'll endeavour to answer it as I can. [On this point he was repeatedly interrogated by the chancellor and the advocate, but to no purpose.] *Chan.* But do you approve of taking the king's life, and condemn-

ing him in soul and body? *A.* No, I do not, and no good man will. *Chan.* Sir, you have done yourself a favour in saying so. But we hear you keep conventicles since the last indemnity? *A.* I need not ask what is meant by conventicles, seeing that term has been frequently applied to our preaching, who are ministers of the gospel, and under the strictest obligations to exercise our ministry, as we shall be answerable at the great day. My lord, I have the honour to be lawfully and duly called to the sacred function, and am bound to exercise that office, which I ever did and still do account my duty, abstracting from all indemnities whatever. *Chan.* But you have preached in the fields, that is on moors and hill-sides. I shall not ask if you have preached in houses or not, though there is not liberty even for that? *A.* I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference betwixt preaching in houses or in the fields, but as may best serve the convenience of the hearers; nor know I of any restriction lying on me from the word of God, where I have my commission, which reaches to houses and fields, within and without doors. *Chan.* You know, and no doubt have seen, the laws discharging such preaching? *A.* My Lord, no doubt I have, and I am sorry that there ever should have been laws and acts made against preaching the gospel. *Chan.* Not against the gospel, but against sedition and rebellion. *A.* I preach no sedition or rebellion. [Then the lord advocate rose out of his place, and came to the prisoner, and asked him, Why he answered not more clearly to the chancellor about the excommunication? and alleged he was straitened.] *A.* I am noways straitened or confused about that; but I do, of purpose, shun to answer such interrogatories as require me to give account of my thoughts and judgment about persons or practices, not knowing how many such questions may be put, or what use may be made of them; and I am here only to answer for matters of fact that concern myself. [Then intending to speak somewhat more, he craved liberty to be heard.] *Chan.* You have leave to speak, if you speak not treason. [But immediately the chancellor rose and went forth with the other two, it being near one o'clock, their dinner hour.]

On the morning of the second day's examination, he sent his son Thomas, to tell Colonel Blackadder, a cousin of his, who went and informed General Dalziel better what he was. After that, Dalziel was most calm, and far from the temper he was in before.

Chan. Have you not been in Fife sometime, and kept conventicles there? *A.* No doubt, my Lord, I have been several times in Fife. *Chan.* I suppose I be little obliged to you in Fife as I hear? *A.* As I can put little obligation on a person of such quality, so I know as little wherein I have disoblged your Lordship. *Chan.* Then there must be another minister of your name? *A.* To speak freely of my own name, I know none of them so happy as to be a minister except myself. *Gen. Dalziel.* Mr. Blackadder, what family are you of, are you of the house of Tulliallan? (The General himself was allied to it.) *A.* Yes, General, I am, and the nearest alive

to represent that family, although it is now brought low and ruined. *Bish. Paterson.* Are you Sir John's son? [To this he gave no answer, declining him as a spiritual lord, and sitting there in a civil capacity.]

At two o'clock on Wednesday, Captain Maitland, who was on the guard, told the prisoner he was to carry him up to the council at three, and desired him to be ready. When the duke went to the council, he (Mr. Blackadder) was ranked among three rank of musketeers in Captain Maitland's company, who marched him up the rear of the life-guard, who attended the duke up streets. When he came to the Parliament-close, the captain sent four soldiers to wait on the prisoner in an outer room, till he should be called. There he sat from three till five o'clock, when the council rose. He was not called, which he marvelled at; but sent his son Thomas to inquire what word was concerning him; who answered, he believed he was sentenced to the Bass.

This was without any more hearing than what has been related in the examination before the three counsellors. He was conveyed down the street behind the duke and his guard, and returned to the captain's chamber, where he was kept all night; the captain courteously suffering him to get in a feather-bed, which he laid on the floor, where he lay down with his clothes on, not being yet quite certain whither he was to be sent on the morrow, but he desired his son to have two horses in waiting, one for each of them. About six next morning, three of the life-guards came to carry him to the Bass. The party was commanded by one Rollock. They carried discreetly toward him, and gave his son leave to ride along with him, and carry his father's cloak-bag. They came to Castleton, over against the Bass, about three afternoon. The prisoner dined the whole party there; and after dinner, two of them went over with him in a boat to the Bass, where he was delivered to the governor about five afternoon on Thursday April 7, 1681.

After he had continued above four years in this prison, his health, which had already suffered severely, became so much impaired by the ungenial air of the place, as to endanger his life. His friends in Edinburgh, having laid before the council an attested declaration of his indisposition, gave in a petition, (June 20, 1685,) "craving liberty for him to be brought to Edinburgh." But in answer to this he was merely allowed to change his place of residence to Dunbar or Haddington prison, as he might choose. Finding his object would thus be altogether defeated, he wrote back to his friends, soliciting some further mitigation of restrictions. Application was, accordingly, made a second time to the council, that they would grant the petitioner the indulgence of being attended in his last moments by his own family, from whom alone he could have that treatment and attention which his situation required. Meanwhile his distemper, it appears, had increased, and gave symptoms of fatal termination; which being again represented to the council, "They (on the 3d December) 1685, appoint him to be liberate immediately in regard of his great danger, on bond of five

thousand merks to confine himself to the town of Edinburgh." But before this tardy order could be carried into effect he had gained a more glorious liberty, and was beyond the reach of further persecution. He died on the Bass, having nearly completed his seventieth year, and was buried in the church-yard of North-Berwick, where a handsome tombstone still marks his grave. Thus, after various and protracted hardships, this venerable and worthy man fell a sacrifice, like many others, in the cause of civil and religious independence; refusing, with his dying breath, to make a base and criminal surrender of those sacred privileges which he had regarded as his birthright, and which he had so long maintained at the peril of his life.

The following beautiful Epitaph, highly descriptive of his character, was placed upon his tomb:—

Blest John, for Jesus' sake, in Patmos bound,
 His prison Bethel, Patmos Pisgah found;
 So the bless'd John, on yonder rock confined,
 His body suffer'd, but no chains could bind
 His heaven-aspiring soul; while day by day
 As from Mount Pisgah's top, he did survey
 The promised land, and view'd the crown by faith
 Laid up for those who faithful are till death.
 Grace form'd him in the Christian Hero's mould—
 Meek in his own concerns—in's Master's bold;
 Passions to Reason chained, Prudence did lead—
 Zeal warm'd his breast, and Reason cool'd his head.
 Five years on the lone rock, yet sweet abode,
 He Enoch-like enjoy'd, and walk'd with God;
 Till, by long living on this heavenly food,
 His soul by love grew up too great, too good
 To be confined to jail, or flesh and blood.
 Death broke his fetters off, then swift he fled
 From sin and sorrow; and, by angels led,
 Enter'd the mansions of eternal joy;—
 Blest soul, thy warfare's done, praise, love, enjoy!
 His dust here rests till Jesus come again,—
 Even so, blest Jesus, come—come, Lord—Amen.

ALEXANDER PEDEN.

ALEXANDER PEDEN, whose name is so familiar to the inhabitants of the west of Scotland, was a native of Sorn, in the shire of Ayr. He was born about the year 1626, and after he had passed the usual course of learning at the university, was, for some time, employed as schoolmaster, precentor, and session-clerk, to Mr. Guthrie, minister of Tarbolton.* When he was about to enter into the ministry

* According to Mr. Wodrow, he was some time also precentor at Fenwick. See his History, vol. i. p. 443.

he was accused by a young woman, as being the father of a child, of which she was pregnant. But from this aspersion he was fully cleared, by the confession of the real father. The woman, after suffering many calamities, put an end to her own life, in the very same place where Mr. Peden had spent twenty-four hours, seeking the divine direction, while embarrassed with this affair.

A little before the Restoration, he was settled minister at New Luce in Galloway, where he continued only about three years, until he was, among others, thrust out by the violence and tyranny of the times. When about to depart from that parish, he lectured upon Acts xx. from the seventh verse to the end, and preached in the forenoon from these words, in the 31st verse, *Therefore watch, and remember, that for the space of three years I ceased not to warn every man, &c.* asserting that he had declared unto them the whole counsel of God, and professing he was free from the blood of all men. In the afternoon, he preached from the 32d verse, *And now, brethren, I commend you to the word of his grace, &c.* a sermon which occasioned a weeping day in that church. He many times requested them to be silent; but they sorrowed most of all, when he told them, they should never see his face in that pulpit again. He continued till night, and when he closed the pulpit door, he knocked three times very hard on it, with his Bible, saying three times over "I arrest thee, in my Master's name, that none ever enter thee, but such as come in by the door, as I have done." Accordingly never did curate or indulged enter that pulpit until the Revolution, that one of the Presbyterian persuasion opened it.

About the beginning of the year 1666, a proclamation was emitted by the Council against him, and several of the ejected ministers; wherein he was charged with holding conventicles, preaching and baptizing children at Ralstoun in Kilmarnock, and at Castlehill in Craigie parish, where he baptized twenty-four children. And upon his non-appearance at this citation, he was next year declared a rebel, and forfeited in both life and fortune.*

After this, he joined with that faithful party, which, in the same year, was broken at Pentland hills: and with them he came the length of Clyde, and parted with them there. Afterwards, when one of his friends said to him, "Sir, you did well that left them, seeing you was persuaded that they would fall and flee before the enemy," he was offended, and said, "Glory, glory to God, that he sent me not to hell immediately, for I should have stayed with them, though I had been cut in pieces."

In the same year, he met with a very remarkable deliverance. Riding together with Mr. Welch, and the Laird of Glerover, they met a party of the enemy's horse, whom there was no eviting. The Laird fainted, fearing they should be taken, Mr Peden seeing this, said, "Keep up your courage and confidence, for God hath laid an arrest on these men, that they shall do us no harm." When they

met, they were courteous, and asked the way. Mr. Peden went off the road, and showed them the ford of the water of Titt. When he returned, the Laird said, Why did you go? you might have let the lad go with them. No, said he, they might have asked questions of the lad, which might have discovered us; but as for me, I knew they would be like Egyptian dogs; they could not move a tongue against me, my time not being yet come.*

* From the instances related in the life of Mr. Peden, it would appear that he was believed to possess, in a very high degree, the gift of prophecy, at least the knowledge of future events relating to himself and friends. There is, indeed, a small tract, which has been in extensive circulation for a hundred years, and is known to every peasant in Scotland, entitled, "The prophecies of Alexander Peden." It is not certain who was the author; but it is generally ascribed to a Patrick Walker, who was well known among religious people in Scotland a century ago. The credulity of the author, whoever he was, must have been beyond measure, and his discretion proportionably limited. I have lately been favoured with a perusal of a number of letters in the hand writing of James Erskine, Lord Grange, to Wodrow the historian. His Lordship knew the author, though he does not give his name, which perhaps Wodrow knew as well as himself; and he writes of him and his book as follows:

Extract of a Letter From Lord Grange to Mr. Wodrow, 16th April 1725.

"As to the account you mentioned lately printed of Mr. Peden, you will remember, that some months ago, I wrote to you how very wilful some people were, who having picked up some things, and being endued with small sufficiency, would publish them. The author of that piece was so in my view. A great deal of pains were taken to dissuade him from printing it; at least till it should be revised by men of sound judgment: but all was in vain, and he would not stop one day. I have talked about it with some who were personally acquainted with Mr. Peden, and were often in his company, and from whom I have heard several uncommon things about him. They say the author is mistaken as to several circumstances; but as to the main, in all the passages, or most of them, whereof they had particular knowledge, (and were eye and ear witnesses of diverse,) they say he tells the truth; but missing of circumstances, and a wrong way and manner of narrating, in matters so delicate, gives them a very different form and appearance."

This amounts nearly to what I supposed, and expressed in some Notes near the beginning of this volume. Mr. Peden was a man of prayer, of natural sagacity, of spiritual discernment, and a great observer of the ways of providence. He could foresee what would be the result of certain measures, and what calamities foolish and wicked men would bring upon themselves and others; and when such things came to pass as he had foretold, his too credulous friends ascribed it to the gift of prophecy. The author "picked up" reports of these things about thirty years after Peden's death. "But missing of circumstances," as, no doubt, Howie also has done, "and a wrong way and manner of narrating, in matters so delicate, gives them a very different form and appearance." Sagacious foresight was made to have the appearance of a prophetic spirit. At the same time, I am not so wedded to my opinion on this subject, as not to admit, that men who lived in such intimate daily communion with God, as Mr. Peden did, may have had *presentiments* of things, with regard to themselves and the church, of which Christians of a lesser growth can form no conception.—When they were so happy, in the midst of all their sufferings, as to have much freedom in prayer, or what they called great nearness to God, filling their mouths with arguments for favour to themselves, their friends, and the church at large, they rose from their knees with a comfortable persuasion, that they would receive the things which they asked. No doubt in many instance they did so; and often, perhaps, they received far better than they asked of a very different kind. But had they given

He passed his time sometimes in Scotland, and sometimes in Ireland, until June, 1673, when he was taken by Major Cockburn, in the house of Hugh Ferguson of Knockdow, in Carrick, who had constrained him to stay all night. Mr. Peden told him, it would be a dear night's quarters to them both; accordingly they were both carried prisoners to Edinburgh. There the said Hugh was fined in 1000 merks for reset, harbour, and converse with him. Some time after his examination, he was sent prisoner to the Bass.

While there, the following extraordinary circumstances are said to have happened to him. One Sabbath morning, being about the public worship of God, a young girl about the age of fourteen years, came to the chamber door, mocking with loud laughter, he said, Poor thing, thou laughest and mockest at the worship of God, but ere long God shall write such a sudden and surprising judgment on thee, that shall stay thy laughing. Very shortly after that, as she was walking on the rock, a blast of wind swept her off into the sea, where she was lost. Another day, as he was walking on the rock, some soldiers were passing by, and one of them cried, "The devil take him." He said, "Fy, fy! poor man, thou knowest not what thou art saying: but thou shalt repent that." At this he stood astonished, and went to the guard distracted, crying out for Mr. Peden, and saying, That the devil was coming to take him away. Mr. Peden being brought, spoke to and prayed for him, and next morning came to him again, and found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of guilt. The guard being to change, they commanded him to his arms, but he refused; and said, He would lift no arms against Jesus Christ, his cause, and people; "I have done that too long." The Governor threatened him with death by to-morrow at ten o'clock. He confidently said, three times over, That though he should tear him in pieces, he should never lift arms that way. About three

out their expected answers of prayer, with the assurance of divine predictions, or counted for certain on receiving the very things which they prayed for, they would often have been grievously disappointed. Whitefield, a worthy of a later period, had one son whom he devoted to God, and to the ministry, from his birth. He felt assured that he would live to preach the gospel, as he himself had done. But the child died, and the faith of the father, for a time, was shaken. But it was a thing with which faith had nothing to do, for God had given no revelation about that child; and the father received, I doubt not, the answer of his prayers in an infinitely higher sense than he was thinking of.

Many of our worthies died on the scaffold with a full persuasion that God was about to do glorious things for the church of Scotland. This had been the subject of their daily prayers; and they died in the confidence that they had not prayed in vain. The church had, indeed, a glorious deliverance from persecution on the arrival of King William. But that was nothing like what they desired and expected, and foretold. Had they lived to see the Revolution settlement of the Church of Scotland, they would have rejected it as was done by thousands of their brethren who survived. In short, they would have found the glory departed. It has never returned, according to what they understood to be glorious in the church; and I suspect never will. But their prayers were not in vain. They shall be answered in due time, by far more glorious things than they were thinking of, when the Lord shall arise and have mercy upon Sion, and comfort *all* her waste places.

days after, the Governor put him forth of the garrison, setting him ashore. And he having a wife and children, took a house in East Lothian, where he became a singular Christian.

In December 1678, Mr. Peden was brought from the Bass to Edinburgh, and sentence of banishment passed upon him, along with other sixty persons, who were prisoners for the same cause. They were ordained to go to America, never to be seen again in Scotland, under pain of death.* After this sentence was passed, he often said, That the ship was not yet built, which should take him and these prisoners to Virginia, or any other of the English plantations in America.—After getting on shipboard in the roads of Leith, there was a report prevailed amongst them, that the enemy were to send down thumbkins to keep them in order; on which they were much discouraged. Mr. Peden, upon this, went above deck, and said, “Why are you so discouraged? you need not fear, there will neither thumbkins, nor bootkins come here, lift up your hearts, for the day of your redemption draweth near: If we were once at London, we will all be set at liberty.” In their voyage thither, they had an opportunity of taking command of the ship, and escaping, but would not adventure upon it without his advice. He said, “Let alone, for the Lord will set us at liberty, in a way more conducive to his own glory, and our safety.” Accordingly, when they arrived, the shipmaster who received them at Leith, being to carry them no farther, delivered them to another, who was to carry them to Virginia, to whom they were represented as thieves and robbers. But when he came to see them, and found they were grave sober Christians, banished for Presbyterian principles, he would sail the sea with none such. In the confusion which ensued, when the one skipper would not receive them, and the other would keep them no longer, for being expensive to him, they were set at liberty. Some say, the person who thus, to his honour, refused to take them, got compliments from friends in London. Others assure us, that it was through means of the Lord Shaftesbury, who was always friendly to the Presbyterians. However, it is certain they were all liberat-

* Amongst those against whom this iniquitous sentence was passed, there was one, by name Alexander Anderson, who was only fifteen years of age, and deserves to be remembered, at once for his *youth*, and his *piety*. The historian Wodrow gives the following account of a testimony which he left behind him. “He takes notice,” says he, “that he is the youngest prisoner in Scotland, and that the Lord had opened his eyes, and revealed his Son in his heart since he came under the cross; that he had much difficulty to part with his friends and relations; yet he had now found, fellowship with Christ did much more than balance the worth of the company of his dearest relations; that though he be so very young, as could not be admitted as a witness among men, yet he hopes that Christ hath taken him to be a witness to his cause. He makes an apology that he who is but a child, should leave any thing of this nature behind, but joys that he was constrained to it, to testify that God perfects strength out of the mouth of babes. He leaves his commendations to the cross of Christ, and blesses the Lord for carrying him through temptations. and enabling him, one of the lambs of his flock, to stand before great men and judges; and closes with his good wishes, to all the friends of Christ.” See Wodrow. I. 524.

ed at Gravesend, without any bond or imposition whatever. And in their way homeward, the English showed them no small degree of kindness.

After they were set at liberty, Mr. Peden stayed at London, and other places in England, until 1679, when he came to Scotland. On that dismal day, the 22d of June, when the Lord's people fell and fled before their enemies at Bothwell, he was forty miles distant, being near the border, where he kept himself retired until the middle of the day, when some friends said to him, "Sir, the people are waiting for sermon;" it being the Lord's day. To this he replied, "Let the people go to their prayers; for me, I neither can, nor will preach any this day; for our friends are fallen and fled before the enemy at Hamilton, and they are hashing and haggling them down, and their blood is running like water."

Shortly after this stroke, he went to Ireland, but did not stay long. He seems to have returned by the following year. And on one occasion, in that year, being in a house near Mauchline, where one Robert Brown, in Corsehouse, and one Hugh Pinaneve, factor to the Earl of Loudon, stabled their horses, in going to Mauchline fair, he overheard the latter, during the afternoon, when they came to take their horses, break out into violent railing against our sufferers, and particularly against Mr. Cameron, who was lately, before that, slain at Airmoss. Mr. Peden, therefore, being in another room, was so grieved, that he came to the chamber door, and said to him, "Sir, hold your peace; ere twelve o'clock you shall know what sort of a man Mr. Cameron was: God shall punish that blasphemous mouth of yours in such a manner, that you shall be set up for a beacon to all such railing Rabshakehs." Robert Brown, knowing Mr. Peden, hastened to his horse, being persuaded that his word would not fall to the ground; and fearing that some mischief might befall him, in the said Hugh's company, he hastened home to his own house, whilst Hugh went to the Earl's: where on his arrival casting off his boots, he was struck with a sudden sickness and pain through his body, with his mouth wide open, and his tongue hanging out in a fearful manner. They sent for the said Robert to take some blood from him, but all in vain; for he died before midnight.

After this, in the year 1682, Mr. Peden married that singular Christian, John Brown, of Priesthill, in the parish of Muirkirk, to his second wife, Isabel Weir. After marriage, he said to the bride, "Isabel, you have got a good man to be your husband, but you will not enjoy him long: prize his company, and keep linen by you to be his winding sheet, for ye will need it when you are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one." This was sadly verified, in the beginning of May 1685.

In the same year, 1682, he went to Ireland again, and coming to the house of William Steel in Glenwhary, in the county of Antrim, he inquired at Mrs. Steel, if they wanted a servant to thresh the victual. She said, they did, and asked what his wages were a-day and a-week. He said, the common rate was a common rule. To

this she assented. At night he was put to bed in the barn with the servant lad, and that night he spent in prayer and groaning. On the morrow, he threshed with the lad, and spent the next night in the same way. But the second day, the lad said to his mistress, "This man sleeps none, but groans and prays all night; I can get no sleep with him; he threshes very well, and is not sparing himself, though I think he has not been used to it; and when I put the barn in order, he goes to such a place, and prays for the afflicted church of Scotland, and names so many people in the furnace." He wrought the second day; his mistress watched and overheard him praying, as the lad had said. At night she desired her husband to inquire if he was a minister, which he did, and desired him to be free with him, and he should not only be no enemy to him but a friend. Mr. Peden said, he was not ashamed of his office, and gave an account of his circumstances. After this he was no more set to work, or to sleep with the lad. He staid some considerable time in the place, and was a blessed instrument in the conversion of some, and the civilizing of others. There was a servant lass in the house whom he could not look upon but with frowns; and at last he said to William Steel and his wife, "Put her away, for she will be a stain to your family; she is with child, and will murder it, and will be punished for the same." This accordingly came to pass; and she was burnt for it at Carrickfergus: the usual punishment of malefactors in that country.

In the year 1684, being in the house of John Sloan, in the parish of Conert, and in the same county; about ten o'clock at night, sitting by the fireside, discoursing with some honest people, he started to his feet, and said, "Flee off Sandy, and hide yourself, for Colonel — is coming to apprehend you, and I advise you all to do the like, for they will be here within an hour." This came to pass; and when they had made a most inquisitive search, without and within the house, and gone round the thorn-bush, where he was lying concealed, they went off without their prey. Mr. Peden then came in and said, "And has this gentleman given poor Sandy such a fright, and other poor things? for this night's work, God shall give him such a blow within a few days, as all the physicians on earth shall not be able to cure." In this, likewise, his words came to pass; for the person alluded to, soon after died in great misery, vermin issuing from all the pores of his body, and attended with such a nauseous smell that none could enter the room where he lay.

At another time, while Mr. Peden was in the same parish, Mr. Cunningham, minister in the meeting house there, one Sabbath-day broke out into very bitter reflections against him. Mr. Vernon, one of Mr. Cunningham's elders, being much offended thereat, told him of it on Monday. Mr. Peden, taking a turn in his garden, came back, and charged him to go tell Mr. Cunningham from him, that before Saturday's night, he should be as free of a meeting-house as he was; which accordingly was the case; for that same week, he got charge, not to enter his meeting-house again, under pain of death.

Before he left Ireland, he preached in several places, and particu-

larly one time beside the forementioned Mr. Vernon's house, when he made a most clear discovery of the many hardships his fellow-sufferers were then undergoing in Scotland; and of the death of Charles II. the news of which came not to Ireland till twenty-four hours thereafter.

After this, he longed to be out of Ireland; partly through a fearful apprehension of the dismal rebellion which broke out about four years after, and partly from a desire he had to take part with the sufferers of Scotland. Before his departure from thence, he baptized a child to one John Maxwell from Glasgow, who had fled over in consequence of the persecution, which was all the drink money (as he expressed it) that he had to leave in Ireland.

After having with twenty Scots sufferers come aboard, he prayed, and in his prayer made a rehearsal of times and places when and where the Lord had heard and helped them in the day of their distress, and now they were in a great strait. Waving his hand to the west, from whence he desired the wind, he said, "Lord, give us a loof-full of wind; fill the sails, Lord, and give us a fresh gale, and let us have a swift and safe passage over to the bloody land, come of us what will." When he began to pray, the sails were hanging all straight down, but ere he ended, they were full, and they thus got a very swift passage over. In the morning, after they landed, he lectured ere they parted, on a brae-side: and gave forth some awful threatenings against Scotland, saying, The time was coming, that they might travel many miles in Galloway, Nithsdale, Ayr, and Clydesdale, and not see a reeking house, or hear a cock crow; and further added, "My soul trembles to think what will become of the indulged, backslidden, and upset ministers of Scotland; as the Lord lives, none of them shall ever be honoured to put a right pin in the Lord's tabernacle, or assert Christ's kingly prerogative as Head and King of his church."

After his arrival in Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1685, he met with several remarkable deliverances from the enemy. One time, fleeing from them on horseback, he was obliged to ride a water, where he was in imminent danger. After he got through, he cried, "Lads, do not follow me, for I assure you, ye want my boat, and so will drown; and consider where your landing will be," which affrighted them from entering the water. At another time, being also hard pursued, he was forced to take a moss before him. One of the dragoons being more forward than the rest, run himself into that dangerous bog, where he and the horse were never seen more.

About this time, he preached one Sabbath-night in a sheep-house, the hazard of the time affording no better. That night he lectured upon Amos vii. 8. *And I will set a plumb line in the midst of my people, the house of Israel, &c.* In this lecture he said, "I'll tell you good news. Our Lord will take a feather out of Antichrist's wing, which shall bring down the Duke of York, and banish him out of these kingdoms. And there shall never a man of the house of Stuart sit upon the throne of Britain after the Duke of York, for

their lechery, treachery, tyranny, and shedding the precious blood of the Lord's people. But oh ! black, black, will the days be that will come upon Ireland ! so that they shall travel forty miles, and not see a reeking house, or hear a cock crow." When ended, he and those with him lay down in the sheep-house, and got some sleep. Early next morning, he went up a burn side, where he stayed some time, no doubt meditating. When he came back, he sung the 32d psalm, from the seventh verse to the end ; and then repeated that verse,

Thou art my hiding place, thou shalt
From trouble keep me free ;
Thou with songs of deliverance
About shalt compass me :

saying, " these and the following are sweet lines, which I got at the burn side this morning ; I will get more to-morrow ; and so will get daily provision. He was never behind with any who put their trust in him, and we will go on in his strength, making mention of his righteousness, and of his only." After this, he met with another remarkable deliverance, for the enemy coming upon him and some others, they were pursued by both horse and foot a considerable way. At last, getting some little height between them and the enemy, he stood still, and said, " Let us pray here ; for if the Lord hear not our prayers, and save us, we are all dead men." Then he began, saying, " Lord, it is thy enemy's day, hour, and power ; they may not be idle. But hast thou no other work for them, but to send them after us ; send them after them to whom thou wilt give strength to flee, for our strength is gone. Twine them about the hill, Lord, and cast the lap of thy cloak over Old Sandy, and thir poor things, and save us this one time ; and we'll keep it in remembrance, and tell it to the commendation of thy goodness, pity, and compassion, what thou didst for us at such a time." And in this he was heard ; for a cloud of mist intervened betwixt them ; and in the mean time a post came to the enemy, to go in quest of Mr. Renwick, and a great company which was with him.

At this time it was seldom that Mr. Peden could be prevailed on to preach ; frequently answering and advising people to pray much, and saying, It was praying folk that would get through the storm ; that they would yet get preaching, both meikle and good, but not much good of it, until judgment was poured out to lay the land desolate.

In the same year, 1685, being in Carrick, John Clerk of Muirbrook, being with him, said, " Sir, what think you of this time ? Is it not a dark and melancholy day ? Can there be a more discouraging time than this ?" He said, " Yes, John, this is a dark discouraging time, but there will be a darker time than this ; these silly graceless creatures, the curates, shall go down ; and after them shall arise a party called Presbyterians, but having little more but the name ; and these shall, as really as Christ was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem on Mount Calvary bodily, I say, they shall

as really crucify Christ, in his cause and interest in Scotland; and shall lay him in his grave, and his friends shall give him his winding-sheet, and he shall lie as one buried for a considerable time: O! then, John, there shall be darkness and dark days, such as the poor church of Scotland never saw the like, nor ever shall see, if once they were over; yea, John, they shall be so dark, that if a poor thing would go between the east sea-bank and the west sea-bank, seeking a minister to whom they would communicate their case, or tell them the mind of the Lord concerning the time, he shall not find one." John asked, where the testimony should be then? He answered, "In the hands of a few, who will be despised and undervalued of all, but especially by these ministers who shall have buried Christ; but after that he shall get up upon them; and at the crack of his winding-sheet, as many of them as are alive, who were at his burial, shall be distracted and mad with fear, not knowing what to do: Then, John, there shall be brave days, such as the church of Scotland never saw the like: I shall not see them, but you may."*

About this time, as he was preaching in the day time in the parish of Girvan, and being in the fields, one David Mason, then a professor, came in haste, trampling upon the people to be near him. At which he said, "There comes the devil's rattle-bag, we do not want him here." After this, the said David became officer and informer in that bounds, running through, rattling, and summoning the people to their unhappy courts for non-conformity; for which he and his, got the name of the devil's rattle-bag. Since the Revolution, he complained to his minister, that he and his family got that name. The minister said, "ye well deserved it; and he was an honest man that gave you it; you and yours must enjoy it: there is no help for it."

Much about the same time, he came to Garfield, in the parish of Mauchline, to the house of one Matthew Hog, a smith by trade. He went to his barn, but thought himself not safe there, the enemy being on the search for wanderers, as they were called. He desired the favour of his loft, being an old waste house two story high. This he refused. He then said, "Weel, weel, poor man, you will not let me have the shelter of your roof; but that same house will be your judgment and ruin yet." Some time after this, the gable of the house fell, and killed both him and his son.

His last sermon was preached in the Collimwood, near the water of Ayr, a short time before his death. In the preface before this sermon, he said, "there are four or five things I have to tell you

* In an old manuscript there are these words: "In the hands of a few, who shall have neither magistrate nor minister among them, who shall be sore despised and undervalued of all," &c. Whether this alteration proceeds from different information, or from partiality, is hard to determine: Only it is affirmed, that the author of these passages was then amongst that party who had neither magistrate nor minister at that time, or at least was not in full communion with any party.

this night : *1st*, A bloody sword, a bloody sword, a bloody sword, for thee, O Scotland, that shall pierce the hearts of many. *2dly*, Many miles shall ye travel and see nothing but desolation and ruinous wastes in thee, O Scotland. *3dly*, The most fertile places in thee shall be as waste as the mountains. *4thly*, The women with child shall be ript up and dashed in pieces. And, *5thly*, Many a conventicle has God had in thee, O Scotland ; but, ere long, God will make a conventicle that will make Scotland tremble. Many a preaching has God bestowed on thee ; but, ere long, God's judgments shall be as frequent as these precious meetings were, wherein he sent forth his faithful servants to give faithful warning of the hazard of thy apostacy from God, in breaking, burning, and burying his covenant, persecuting, slighting, and contemning the gospel, shedding the precious blood of his saints and servants. God sent forth a Welwood, a Kid, a King, a Cameron, a Cargill, and others to preach to thee ; but, ere long, God shall preach to thee by fire and sword. God will let none of these men's words, fall to the ground, that he sent forth with a commission to preach in his name." In the sermon, he further said, that a few years after his death, there would be a wonderful alteration of affairs in Britain and Ireland, and Scotland's persecution should cease ; upon which every one would believe the deliverance was come, and consequently would fall fatally secure ; but they will be very far mistaken, said he, for both Scotland and England will be scourged by foreigners, (a set of unhappy men in these lands taking part with them,) before you can pretend to a thorough deliverance ; and this will be a more severe chastisement than any other they have met with, or can come under, if once it were over.

After much wandering from place to place, through Ayrshire and Galloway, his death drawing near, he came to his brother's house, in Sorn, his native parish, where he caused them to dig a cave, with a willow-bush covering the mouth of it. The enemy having got notice, searched the house several times, but found him not. While in this cave, he said to some friends,* *1st*, That God would make Scotland a desolation. *2dly*, There would be a remnant in the land whom God would spare and hide. *3dly*, They would be in holes and caves of the earth, and be supplied with meat and drink ; and when they came out of their holes, they would not have freedom to walk for stumbling on dead corpses. And, *4thly*, A stone cut out of the mountain would come down ; and God would be avenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land, for their wickedness ; and then the church would come forth with a bonny bairn time at her back of young ones : And he wished that the Lord's people might be hid in their caves, as if they were not in the world ; for nothing would do until God appeared with his judgments. And withal he gave them this sign, That if he be but once buried, they might be in doubt, but if oftener than once,

* The foresaid old manuscript says, this was within two hours of his death.

they might be persuaded that all he had said would come to pass ; and he earnestly desired them to take his corpse out to Airmoss, and bury him beside Ritchie, (meaning Mr. Richard Cameron,) that he might have rest in his grave, for he had got little during his life. But he said, bury him where they would, he would be lifted again ; but the man who would first put hands to his corpse, four things would befall him : *1st*, He would get a great fall from a house. *2dly*, He would fall into adultery. *3dly*, Into theft, for which he should leave the land. *4thly*, Make a melancholy end abroad for murder. All which came to pass. This man was one Murdoch, a mason by trade, but then in the military service, being the first man who put his hands to his corpse.

Mr. Peden had for some time been too credulous in believing the misrepresentations of some false brethren concerning Mr. Renwick, whereby he was much alienated from him. This exceedingly grieved Mr. Renwick, stumbled some of his followers, and confirmed some of his adversaries, who boasted that now Mr. Peden was turned his enemy. But now, when dying, he sent for him. Mr. Renwick came to him in all haste, and found him lying in a very low state. When he came in, he raised himself upon his elbow, with his head on his hand, and said, "Are you the Mr. James Renwick there is so much noise about?" He answered, "Father, my name is James Renwick, but I have given the world no ground to make any noise about me, for I have espoused no new principles or practices, but what our reformers and covenanters maintained." He asked him to sit down and give him an account of his conversion, principles, and call to the ministry, which Mr. Renwick did in a most distinct manner. When ended, Mr. Peden said, "Sir, you have answered me to my soul's satisfaction. I am very sorry that I should have believed any such evil reports of you, which not only quenched my love to, and marred my sympathy with you, but led me to express myself bitterly against you ; for all which I have sadly smarted. But, Sir, ere you go, you must pray for me, for I am old, and going to leave the world." This he did with more than ordinary enlargement. When he ended, Mr. Peden took him by the hand, drew him to him, and kissed him, saying, "Sir, I find you a faithful servant to your Master ; go on in a single dependance upon the Lord and ye will get honestly through, and clear off the stage, when many others who hold their heads high, will lie in the mire, and make foul hands and garments." He then prayed, that the Lord might strengthen, support, and comfort him in all duties and difficulties.*

A little before his death, he said, "Ye will all be displeased at the place where I shall be buried at last ; but I charge you not to lift my corpse again." At last, one morning early he left the cave, and

* Some have doubted of the certainty of this interview ; however, there is no seeming improbability in it ; nor does it make any thing to the disparagement of either Mr. Peden or Mr. Renwick.

came to his brother's door. His brother's wife said, "Where are you going! the enemy will be here." He said, "I know that." "Alas, Sir," said she, "what will become of you? you must go back to the cave again." He said, "I have done with that, for it is discovered; but there is no matter; for within forty-eight hours, I will be beyond the reach of all the devil's temptations; and his instruments in hell and on earth shall trouble me no more." About three hours after he entered the house, the enemy came, and having found him not in the cave, searched the barn narrowly, casting the unthreshed corn, went through the house, stabbed the beds, but entered not in the place where he lay. And within forty-eight hours after this, he closed his pilgrimage, and became an inhabitant of that land, where the weary are at rest, being beyond sixty years of age.

He was buried in the Laird of Auchinleck's isle, but, after he had been forty days in the grave, a troop of dragoons came and lifted his corpse, and carried it two miles, to Cumnock gallows-foot, where he lies buried beside other martyrs.*

* It will be interesting to the reader, to see some particulars of the life and character of this singular man, and eminent Christian, by one who knew him personally, and who suffered much in the same cause, from the manuscript volume by Serjeant Nisbet, formerly mentioned.

"When he was a young man, precentor and session clerk in the parish of Tarbolton, there was a base woman, with child to a countryman there, and he, to shun the scandal, gave the woman a piece of money to father the child on Mr. Peden; which accordingly she did, and the man fled to Ireland, to be the farther out of the way, and so Mr. Peden was prosecuted at the kirk session; but standing to his innocency, he was tried before the Presbytery, but there he refused the charge also. During the time of the process laid against him, there was a whole year spent, all which time Mr. Peden cried to the Lord, (who is a prayer-hearing God,) that he would graciously make a way of escape for him; and almost all the while, in the night time he resorted to the side of a ditch, and there for privacy, and more freedom of voice, walked up and down, breathing forth strong cries to the Lord, at the hearing of which, the country people who lived thereabout pitied him very much, whether guilty or not; because the winter nights were long and stormy. But the minister would show him no pity, for having taken the wicked woman's oath, who fixed the guilt, they raised letters of excommunication against him; and accordingly after sermon, Mr. John Guthry took the Presbytery's act for excommunicating Mr. Peden, and read it before the congregation, and left Mr. Peden to see there was no remedy but to confess. But his innocent conscience would not espouse another man's guilt. Yet behold, when all hope of escape was past, the Lord God all-sufficient assisted him, heard, helped and delivered him; for he who was the real father of the child, and had gone to Ireland, was struck with such horror of conscience, that he was constrained to come home and take with the guilt. And such was the kind care of divine Providence, that his coming home, trysted exactly with the Lord's day on which Mr. Peden was to be excommunicated; and just as Mr. Guthry was entering on the action against Mr. Peden, the child's father stood up, and cried to the minister, Sir, hold your hand and spare the innocent, and turn it upon me, for I am the guilty person: And then he made a full and free confession of the whole fact; concluding with telling the congregation, that the Lord obliged him to this confession by the heat and torment of his own conscience."—

The following is a description of Mr. Peden's style and manner:—"Although

Thus died Alexander Peden, so much famed for his piety, zeal, and faithfulness, but especially for his indefatigableness in the duty of prayer, and who exceeded all we have heard of in latter times, for that gift of foreseeing and foretelling future events, both with respect to the church and nation of Scotland and Ireland, and with regard to particular persons and families. A man of late, when speaking in his writings of Mr. Peden, says, Abundance of his predictions are known to have already come to pass, and although these things are now made to yield to the force of ridicule, the sarcasms of the profane, and the fashions of an atheistical generation; yet we must still conclude with the Spirit of God, that the secrets of the Lord both have been, are, and will be, with them who fear his name.

every act of worship that Mr. Peden was engaged in, was full of divine flights and useful digressions; yet he carried amongst with them a divine stamp; and every opening of his mouth, seemed for the most part, to be dictated by the Spirit of God; and such was the weighty and convincing majesty that accompanied what he spoke, that it obliged the hearers both to love and fear him. I observed that every time he spoke, whether conversing, reading, praying, or preaching, between every sentence he paused a little, as if he had been hearkening what the Lord would say unto him, or listening to some secret whisper. And sometimes he would start, as if he had seen some surprising sight, at which he would cry out to the commendation of God in Christ, to the commendation of the divine love, and to the commendation of his grace in the souls of his people, in their conviction, conversion, and upholding in Christ Jesus."—

This writer was fully impressed with the popular belief, that Mr. Peden was a prophet. "He often foretold," says he, "many sad things to befall these sinful lands, in a way of judgment to be execute by the hands of the French and Spaniards: And he also foretold many things that were to befall particular persons and families: And he also foretold many things antecedent thereunto, the most of which I have lived to see fulfilled. The Lord in mercy prevent the last and worst of what he foretold!" This, I suppose, refers to the invasion of the French and Spaniards, which, if it was one of his predictions, has not yet been fulfilled.

When his body was lifted, as above mentioned by Howie, I learn from my manuscript author, that it was intended to hang it in chains upon the gallows at Cumnock, for which purpose it was carried thither. "And notwithstanding," says he, "that the countess of Dumfries and the lady Affleck used their utmost intercessions, that the corpse might be again buried, yet the barbarous wretch would be satisfied with nothing but that the remains of that good man, mortified as they were, should be hung upon the gibbet in chains. The two ladies being very sorry that so should befall the corpse of the great Mr. Peden, they made their address to the earl of Dumfries, who was a privy counsellor, and then at home. He acquiesced with the ladies' request, went to the gibbet, and told Murray, that he erected his gibbet for malefactors and murderers, but not for such men as that was."—He was accordingly re-interred at the foot of the gibbet. The place is now the common burying ground for Cumnock parish; and it so happens, that my maternal grandfather, a man of a kindred spirit, rests in the same grave.

W. M'G.

JAMES RENWICK.

MR. JAMES RENWICK was born in the parish of Glencairn in Nithsdale, February 15, 1662. His parents were poor, but exemplary for piety. His father Andrew Renwick was a weaver by trade. His mother's name was Elizabeth Corsan. They had had several children before Mr. James, who died young; for which, when his mother was pouring forth her sorrow, her husband used to comfort her with declaring, that he was well satisfied to have children, whether they lived or died, young or old, providing they might be heirs of glory. But with this she could not attain to be satisfied; and still had it for her exercise to seek a child from the Lord, that might not only be an heir of glory, but might live to serve him in his generation; whereupon, when Mr. James was born, she took it as an answer to her prayer, and reputed herself under manifold engagements to dedicate him to the Lord, who satisfied her with very early evidences of his accepting the gift, by very remarkable appearances of his gracious dealings with the child. By the time he was two years of age, he was observed to be aiming at prayer. His mother consequently conceived the highest expectations and hopes, that the Lord would be with him and do good by him, so that all the reproaches he sustained, the difficulties and dangers he underwent, to his dying day, never moved her in the least from the confidence that the Lord would carry him through in an honourable way, and for his own glory. His father also, before his death, which happened on February 1, 1679, obtained the same persuasion, that though his time in the world would be but short, yet the Lord would make some eminent use of him.

Having learned to read the Bible, when about six years old, the Lord gave him some gracious preparations, training him in his way, exercising him with doubts and enquiries above childish apprehension, as to the Maker of all things, how all things were made, and for what end; and with strange suppositions of many invisible worlds, above and beneath. He was thus transported into a train of musing, and continued in this exercise for about two years, until, by prayer and meditation on the history of the creation, he came to a thorough belief that God made all, and that all which he made was very good. Still, after he came to more maturity, he again relapsed into a deeper labyrinth of darkness about these fundamental truths, and was so assaulted with temptations to atheism, that being in the fields, and looking to the mountains, he said, "if these were all devouring furnaces of burning brimstone, I would be content to go through them all, if so be I could be assured there was a God." Out of this, however, he emerged, through grace, into a sweet serenity and a settled persuasion of the being of a God, and of his interest in him.

From his earliest years, he made much conscience of obeying his parents, whose will, if they had spoken of putting him to any trade, he would no way gainsay, but his inclination was constantly to-

wards his book, until Providence propitiously furnished him with the means of greater proficiency, by the goodness of some individuals, who were so enamoured of his hopeful disposition, that they earnestly promoted his education. When he was ready for the university, they encouraged him in attending gentlemen's sons, for the improvement both of their studies and his own: which association with youths, as it is usually accompanied with temptations to youthful vanity, so it enticed him, to spend too much of his time in gaming and recreations. It was then (for no other part of his time can be instanced) that some who knew him not took occasion, from this extravagance, to reproach him with profanity and misconduct, which his nature ever abhorred, and disdained the very suspicion of. When his studies were more advanced, and his time at college drew near an end, he evinced such a tenderness of offending God, that upon his refusal of the oath of allegiance then tendered, he was denied his share of the public solemnity of laureation with the rest of the candidates, but received it privately at Edinburgh. After which, he continued his studies, attending on the then private and persecuted meetings for gospel ordinances.

But upon a discovery of the unfaithfulness of the generality even of nonconformist ministers, he was again for some time plunged into the depths of darkness, doubting what should be the end of such backsliding courses; until, upon a more inquisitive search after such ministers as were free from these defections, he found more light as to the iniquity of these courses, and his zeal was increased. Being thus more confirmed, when he beheld how signally the faithful ministers were owned of the Lord, and carried off the stage with steadfastness, faith, and patience, especially that faithful minister and martyr, Mr. Donald Cargill, at whose execution he was present, July 27, 1681, he determined to embark with these witnesses in the cause for which they suffered: and he was afterwards so strengthened and established in this resolution, by having instructions about these things in and from the word, sealed with a strong hand upon his soul, that all the temptations, tribulations, oppositions and contradictions he met with till the day of his death, could never shake his mind with the least doubt concerning them.

Accordingly, in this persuasion, formed upon grounds of scripture and reason, he, in October, 1681, came to a meeting with some of these faithful witnesses of Christ, and conferring about the testimonies of some other martyrs lately executed, which he was very earnest always to gather and keep on record, he refreshed them greatly, by a discourse, showing how much he was grieved and offended with those who heard the curates; and how sad it was to him that none were giving a formal testimony against the defections of the times, and in the end adding, That he would think it a great ease to his mind to be engaged with a remnant that would singly prosecute and propagate the testimony against such corruptions to succeeding generations, and would desire nothing more than to be serviceable to them.

At his first coming among them, he could not but be taken no-

tice of: for, while some were speaking of removing the bodies of the martyrs lately executed at Gallowlee, Mr. Renwick was forward to promote, and active to assist therein, and when the sincere seekers of God, who adhered to the testimony, as Messrs. Cameron and Cargill left it, began to settle a general correspondence for preserving union, understanding each other's minds, and preventing declensions, to right or left hand extremes, (the Duke of York then holding a parliament at Edinburgh,) and agreed to emit the declaration published at Lanark, January 12th, 1682, Mr. Renwick was employed in proclaiming that declaration, but had no hand in the penning thereof, otherwise it might have been more considerably worded than it was: for though he approved the matter of it, yet he always acknowledged there were some expressions in it rather unadvised.

After the publishing of this declaration, the next general meeting, finding themselves reproached, both at home and abroad, as if they had fallen from the principles of the church of Scotland, thought it expedient to send the Laird of Earlstoun to the United Provinces to vindicate them from these reproaches, and to crave that sympathy, which they could not obtain from their own countrymen. This at length, through mercy, proved so encouraging to them, that a door was opened whereby to provide a succession of faithful ministers, by sending some individuals to that country, to be fitted for the work of the ministry. Accordingly, Mr. Renwick with some others, went thither. His comrades were ready, and sailed before him, which made him impatiently haste to follow. Yet, at his departure, to a comrade, he said, That though they were gone before him, as they did not depart together, so he saw something would fall out, to obstruct their coming home together also. This was verified by the falling off of Mr. Flint (however forward at that time) to a contrary course of defection.

Upon going over, he settled at the university of Groningen, where he plied his studies so hard, and with such proficiency, from his friends in Scotland, longing for his labours, and his own ardent desire to be at the work, that in a short time he was ready for ordination. To hasten this, his dear friend Mr. Hamilton, who merited so much of those that reaped the benefit of Mr. Renwick's labours, applied to Mr. Brakel, a godly Dutch minister, who was much delighted at first with the proposal, and advised, that the ordination should take place at Embden. This, however, could not be agreed to, because the principal person there who was to have the management of it was, in his judgment, Cocceian.* Upon this, Mr. Hamil-

* This, I suppose, was something like what we would now call Berean. Cocceius is said to have had a fanciful manner of explaining and applying passages of the Old Testament, so as to find Christ in them all. He was thus contrasted with a cold Arminian cotemporary, of whom it was said, he found Christ nowhere in the Bible, while Cocceius found him every where. There is an extreme into which good men have gone in this respect; but, I think, a more dangerous, as well as a more prevalent error, is not to perceive Christ where he is pointed out in Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms.

ton solicited the classis of Groningen to undertake it, which they willingly promised to do; and calling for the testimonials of Mr. Renwick, and the rest of those who went over at the time, Mr. Renwick's was produced, (being then in readiness whilst the others were a-wanting,) and though in a rude dress, were sustained. The classis being convened, the candidates were called in, and held an open harangue, wherein they gave testimony against all corruptions of the church of that country. They all three should have passed together, but upon some differences arising, the other two were retarded. It was the custom of the place, that every one that passes must pay twenty guilders, for the use of the church, but the classis declared, that they would be at all the charges themselves.

But the next difficulty was, that being told it was impossible for any to pass without subscribing their Catechism, and observing that their forms and corruptions were therein justified, Mr. Renwick resolutely answered, he would do no such thing, being engaged by a solemn covenant to the contrary. This was like to spoil all; but at length they agreed that he should subscribe the Confession and Catechism of the church of Scotland, a practice never before heard of in that land. The day of ordination being come, Mr. Renwick was called in. After spending some time in prayer, the examination began. It lasted from ten in the morning to two in the afternoon. Then his friends, who were attending in the church, were called, (amongst whom was Mr. Hamilton, and another elder of the church of Scotland,) to witness the laying on of hands; which, after the exhortation, was performed with prayer, the whole meeting melting in tears. Thereafter, he delivered a discourse before the classis, which ended the solemnity. At dinner, to which he and his friends were invited, the preses declared the great satisfaction all the brethren had in Mr. Renwick; that they thought the whole time he was before them, his face seemed to shine; and that they had never seen or found so much of the Lord's Spirit accompanying any work as that ordination. But no sooner were these difficulties over, than others of a more disagreeable kind began to arise, which, if they had appeared but one day sooner, might have stopped the ordination, at least for a time. On the very next day, Mr. Brakel told them, that a formal libel was come from the Scottish ministers at Rotterdam, containing heavy accusations against the society-people in Scotland, which they behoved either to vindicate, or else the ordination must be stopped; but this being too late as to Mr. Renwick, it came to nothing at last.

Upon his ordination, he felt the most longing desire to improve his talents in behalf of the persecuted people in Scotland, and having received testimonials of his ordination and learning, (particularly in the Hebrew and Greek tongues) from the classis, and finding a ship ready to sail, he embarked at the Brill; but waiting some days upon a wind, he was so discouraged by some profane passengers pressing the King's health, that he was forced to leave the vessel, and take another bound for Ireland. A sea storm compelled them to put in to Rye harbour in England, about the time when there

was so much noise about the Ryehouse plot, which created him no small danger; but, after many perils by sea, he arrived safe at Dublin, where he had many disputes with the ministers anent their defections and indifference; but yet in such a gaining and gospel way, that he left convictions on their spirits, of his being a pious and zealous youth. In his passage to Scotland he met with considerable dangers, and had a prospect of more, as not knowing how or where he should come to land, all ports being then so strictly observed, and the skipper at first refusing to let him go till his name was given up. At last he was prevailed on to give him a cast to the shore, and from thence he began his weary and uncertain wanderings, through an unknown wilderness, amongst unknown people, it being some time before he could meet with any of the societies.

In September 1683, he commenced his ministerial work* in Scotland, taking up the testimony of the standard of Christ where it had fallen at the removal of the former witnesses, Messrs. Cameron and Cargill, and this in the strength of his Master, he undertook to prosecute and maintain against an opposition from all hands, which seemed unsupportable to sense and reason.

He was thus received by a poor persecuted people, who had lost all their worldly enjoyments for the sake of the gospel. His first public meeting was in a moss at Darnead, where for their information and his own vindication, he thought it expedient not only to let them know how he was called to the ministry, and what he adhered to, but also, to unbosom himself about the then puzzling questions of the time, showing whom he could not join with, and his reasons for so doing; and in the end telling them on what grounds he stood, and resolved to stand upon; which he resolved (the Lord assisting him) to seal with his blood.

Upon this the father of lies began to spue out a flood of re-

* In reference to his success in this work, the following notice is extracted, from a source which again and again we have referred to.

Serjeant Nisbet, in his diary, thus intimates the utility of his labours, both to himself and others. The following extract refers to the year 1684. "I went 16 miles, to hear Mr. James Renwick, a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, who was a young man, endued with great piety, prudence, and moderation. The meeting was held in a large desolate muir. He appeared to be accompanied with much of his Master's presence. He preached on Mark xii. 34. In the forenoon, he gave us several marks of the hypocrite, with pertinent applications. In the afternoon he gave us several marks of a saved believer, and made a large, full, and free offer of Christ, to all sorts of perishing sinners. His method was clear, plain, and well digested, suiting the substance and simplicity of the gospel. This was a great day of the Son of man, to many poor exercised souls, who this day got a Pisgah view of the Prince of life." At another time he says, "towards the latter end of this year, I had the happy occasion of hearing Mr. Renwick preach, on Song iii. 9, 10. where he treated sweetly on the covenant of grace. O that was a sweet and great day of the gospel, for he handled and pressed the privileges of the covenant, with seraphic like enlargement, to the great edification of the hearers. Sweet and charming were the offers he made of Christ, to all sorts of hearers of the gospel." See Nisbet's Diary.

proaches, so as to swallow up and bury his name and work in contempt, reproaches which were credulously entertained, and industriously spread, not only by the profane, but even by many professors. Some said that he had excommunicated all the ministers in Scotland, and some after they were dead; whereas, he only gave reasons why he could not keep communion with them in the present circumstances. Others said, that he was no Presbyterian, and that his design was only to propagate schism. But the truth was, he was a professed witness against all the defections of Presbyterians from any part of their covenanted work. Again, others alleged he was a Sectarian, Independent, or Anabaptist, or they knew not what. But the general outcry was, that he had no mission at all. Others slandering him, that he came only by chance, at a throw of the dice; with many other calumnies, refuted by the foregoing relation.

On the other hand, some gave out that he and his followers maintained the murderous principles and the delirious and detestable blasphemies of Gib; all which shameless and senseless fictions he ever opposed and abhorred. Yea, some ministers, more seemingly serious in their essays to prepossess the people against him, said, "That they had sought and got the mind of the Lord in it, that his labours should never profit the church of Scotland, nor any soul in it," assuring themselves that God would break, and bring to nothing, him and them that followed him, ere it were long; comparing them to Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses. All these reproaches, however, he was remarkably supported under, and went on in his Master's business, while he had any work for him to do.

In the meanwhile, from the noise that went through the country concerning him, the Council got notice; and thereupon, being enraged at the report of his preaching in the fields, they raised a hotter and more cruel persecution against him, than ever the most notorious murderer was pursued with. For, having publicly proclaimed him a traitor, rebel, &c. they proceeded to pursue his followers with all the rigour that hellish fury and malice could suggest, and yet the more they opposed, the more they grew and increased.

In 1684, his difficulties from enemies, and his discouragements from friends opposed to him, and manifold vexations from all hands, began to increase more and more; yet all the while he would not intermit one day's preaching, but was still incessant and undaunted in his work. This made the ministers inform against him, as if he had intruded upon other men's labours; alleging, that when another minister was to preach in a place, he unexpectedly came and preached in the same parish; and instancing one occasion at Paisley; whereas he went thither upon a call, from people in that bounds, without knowing whether there was such a minister in that country. It is confessed, that he hath sometimes taken the churches to preach in, when either the weather, instant hazard at the time, or respect to secrecy and safety, excluded from every other place. But, could this be called intrusion, to creep into the church for one night, when they either could not stand, or durst not be seen without.

During this year, in prosecution of a cruel information against him, the soldiers became more vigilant and indefatigable in seeking after him; and from them he had many remarkable deliverances. Particularly in the month of July, as he was going to a meeting, a countryman, seeing him wearied, gave him a horse for some miles to ride on, they were surprised with Lieutenant Dundas and a party of dragoons. The two men with him were taken and severely wounded. He escaped their hands, and went up Dungavel hill; but was so closely pursued, (they being so near that they fired at him all the time,) that he was forced to leave the horse, losing thereby his cloakbag, with many papers. Seeing no other refuge, he was fain to run, towards a heap of stones, where, for a little getting out of their sight, he found a hollow place into which he crept; and committing himself by earnest ejaculation to God, in submission to live or die; and also believing, that he should be reserved for greater work, that part of Scripture often came to his mind, *Depart from me all ye workers of iniquity,** together with these words, *For he shall give his angels charge over thee.†* The enemy searched up and down the hill, yet were restrained from looking into that place where he was. And many such sore and desperate chases he and his followers experienced; some continuing whole nights and days without intermission, in the wildest places of the country, and for many miles together, without so much as a possibility of escaping from the sight of those who pursued after them.

On the 24th of September, this year, letters of intercommuning were issued against him, commanding all to give him no reset or supply, nor furnish him with meat, drink, house, harbour, or any thing useful to him, and requiring all sheriffs, &c. to apprehend and commit to prison his person, wherever they could find him. By virtue of these letters, the sufferers were reduced to incredible straits, not only in being murdered, but also from hunger, cold, harassings, &c.; in which perplexity, having neither a possibility to flee, nor an ability to fight, they were forced to publish an apologetical representation of the approved principles, practices and covenant-engagements of our reformers, reducing to practice that privilege of extraordinary executing of judgment, on the murdering beasts of prey, who professed and prosecuted a daily trade of destroying innocents. When this declaration was first proposed, Mr. Renwick was somewhat averse to it, fearing the sad effects it might produce; but, considering that the necessity of the case would admit of no delay, he consented, and concurred in its publication. Accordingly it was fixed upon several market-crosses and parish church-doors. November 8, 1684.

After the publication of this paper, rage and reproach seemed to strive which should show the greatest violence against the owners of it. The Council published a proclamation for discovering such as owned or would not disown it; requiring that none above the age of sixteen travel without a pass, and that whoever should apprehend any of them should have 500 merks for each person; and that every

* Ps. vi. 8.

† Ps. xci. 11.

one should take the oath of abjuration. After this, the temptation and hazard became so dreadful, that many were shot instantly in the fields; others, refusing the oath, were brought in, sentenced and executed in one day; yea, spectators at executions were required to say, whether these men suffered justly or not. All which dolorous effects, when Mr. Renwick with a sad and troubled heart observed, he was often heard to say, though he had peace as his end and aim by it, yet he wished from his heart, that that declaration had never been published.

Neither was the year 1685 any thing better. For it became now the enemy's greatest ambition and emulation, who could destroy most of the poor wanderers upon the mountains, and when they had spent all their balls, they were nothing nearer their purpose than when they began; for the more they were afflicted, the more they grew. *The bush did burn, but was not consumed, because the Lord was in the bush.*

Charles II. being dead, and the Duke of York, a professed Papist, being proclaimed in February 1685, Mr. Renwick could not let go this opportunity of witnessing against the usurpation by a Papist of the government of the nation, and his design of overturning the covenanted work of reformation, and introducing Popery. Accordingly, he and about 200 men went to Sanquhar, May 28, 1685, and published the declaration, afterwards called the Sanquhar declaration.

In the mean time, the Earl of Argyle's expedition taking place, Mr. Renwick was much solicited to join it. He expressed the esteem he had for the Earl's honest and laudable intention, and spoke very favourably of him, declaring his willingness to concur, if the quarrel and declaration were rightly stated; but because it was not concerted according to the ancient plea of our Scottish covenants, he could not agree with him. This created him a new series of trouble and reproach, from all hands, and from none more than the indulged.

In 1686, Mr. Renwick was constrained to be more public and explicit in his testimony against the defections of the time; wherein he met with more contradictions from all hands, and more discouraging even from some who once followed him; and was much troubled with letters of accusation against him. One of the ministers that came over with Argyle, wrote a very vindictive letter, to which he answered at large. He was also traduced, both at home and abroad, by one Alexander Gordon, who sometimes joined with the suffering party, but by none more than Robert Cathcart, in Carrick, who wrote a scurrilous libel against him, from which however he vindicated himself in the clearest terms. This not satisfying the said Robert Cathcart, he in the name of his friends in Carrick, and the shire of Wigton, though without the knowledge of the half of them, took a protest against Mr. Renwick's preaching within their jurisdiction; giving him occasion, with David to complain, *They speak vanity, their heart gathereth iniquity, yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, hath lift up his heel against me.*

Notwithstanding the obloquies he sustained from all sorts of opposers, he had one faithful and fervent wrestler on his side, Mr. Alexander Peden; and yet a little before his death, these reproachers so far prevailed with him, as to instigate him to a declared opposition to Mr. Renwick; which not only contributed to grieve him much, but was also an occasion of stumbling to many* others of the well affected, and to the confirmation of his opposers. Yet, nevertheless, he proceeded in his progress through the country, preaching, catechising, and baptizing wherever he went. In travelling through Galloway, he was encountered with a most insolent protestation given against him, subscribed by one Hutchison. This paper he read over at a public meeting in the bounds, after preaching; giving the people to know what was done in their name, showing that it overturned several pieces of our valuable reformation, and exhorting them, if there were any there who concurred therein, speedily to retract their hand from such iniquity.

Shortly after this, while his work was increasing, and his difficulties multiplying daily, the Lord made his burden lighter, by the help of Mr. David Houston, and Mr. Alexander Shields, who joined with him, in one accord witnessing against the sins of the time. This, as it was very refreshing to him, and satisfied his longing desires and endeavours, also furnished him with an answer to those who said, that he neither desired to join with another minister, nor so much as to meet with any other for joining. The first had already been confuted, and as for the other, it is well known how far he travelled both in Scotland and England, to meet with ministers who superciliously refused to join with him. He once sent a friend for that purpose, to a minister of great note at Glendale in Northumberland; but he peremptorily objected. At another time, before that, in the same county, he happened to be in a much respected gentlewoman's house, where Dr. Rule came to visit, who was overheard discharging her by many arguments, from countenancing Mr. Renwick, if he should come that way; whereupon he sent for the Doctor, letting him know that the same person was in the house, and that he desired to discourse with him, but he refused.

After this he was informed against, to the ministers in Holland; upon which Mr. Brakel sent him his advice, but as it relished of a gospel spirit, not like that of his informers, it was no way offensive to him. Mr. Roelman, another famous Dutch divine, and once a great sympathizer with Mr. Renwick, and his afflicted party, in consequence of their information, also turned his enemy. This he felt the more weighty, that such a great man should be so credulous: but all these things never moved him, being fully resolved to suffer this and more for the cause of Christ.

In 1687, a proclamation was issued out, February 12, tolerating the moderate Presbyterians to meet in their private houses to hear the indulged ministers, while the field-meetings should be prosecuted

* See Life of Peden, page 525.

with the utmost rigour of law. A second proclamation was given June 28, allowing all to serve God in their own way, in any house. A third was emitted October 5, declaring that all preachers and hearers at any meeting in the open fields, should be prosecuted with the utmost severity that law would allow, that all Dissenting ministers who preach in houses should teach nothing that should alienate the hearts of the people from the government; and that the privy counsellors, sheriffs, &c. should be acquainted with the places set apart for their preaching. This proclamation, it seems, was granted as an answer to a petition for toleration given in, in name of all the Presbyterian ministers, July 21, 1687.

Here again Mr. Renwick felt it to be his duty, not only to declare against the granters, but also against the accepters of this toleration; warning also the people of the hazard of their accession to it. At this the indulged were so incensed, that they immediately began again to show their teeth at him, calling him an intruder, a Jesuit, a white devil, going through the land carrying the devil's white flag; and saying that he had done more hurt to the church of Scotland than its enemies had done these twenty years, as also by spreading papers throughout the country, as given under his hand, to render him odious; which in truth were nothing else than forgeries, and only discovered their own treachery.

Yet all this did not move him, even when his enemies shot their arrows against him. Being not only the butt of the wicked, but the scorn of professors also, and a man much wondered at every way; he nevertheless continued at his work, his inward man increasing more and more, even as his outward man decayed, and his zeal for fulfilling his ministry, and finishing his testimony, becoming the more ardent as he found the less peace and accommodation from the world. By this time he had become so weak, that he could not mount or sit on horseback, so that he believed to be carried to the place of preaching, and never in the least complained of any ailment during his labours.

In the mean while, the persecution against him was so furious, that in less than five months after the toleration, fifteen most desperate searches were made for him: To encourage which, a proclamation was made, October 18, wherein a reward of £100 Sterling was offered to any who could bring in the persons of him and some others, either dead or alive.

In the beginning of 1688, being now drawing near the period of his course, he ran fast, and wrought hard, both as a Christian and a minister: And having for some time had a design to emit something in the way of testimony against both the granters and accepters of the toleration,* that might afterwards stand on record, he

* The fact that King James's toleration, with its conditions, was accepted by the presbyterian ministers generally, tended, of course, to increase the severity of the persecution against the faithful few who refused it; and they were so few, that it was hoped by their enemies, that they would soon be extirpated altogether;

went towards Edinburgh, and on his way, at Peebles, he escaped very narrowly being apprehended. When at Edinburgh, he could have no rest till he got that, which he, with the concurrence of some others, had drawn up, delivered; and upon inquiry, hearing that there was to be no presbytery or synod of tolerated ministers for some time, he went to Mr. Hugh Kennedy, who he heard was moderator, and delivered a protestation into his hands; and then emitted it in public, as his testimony against the toleration.*

From thence he went to Fife, and preached some Sabbaths; after which he re-crossed the frith, and, upon the 29th of January, preached his last sermon at Borrowstounness. He then returned to Edinburgh, and lodged in a friend's house on the Castlehill, who dealt in uncustomed goods. Here omitting his former circumspection, (his time being come,) one John Justice, a tide-waiter, having discovered the house, and hearing him praying in the family, suspected who it was, and attacked the house next morning, February 1, pretending to search for uncustomed goods. They immediately got entrance; and when Mr. Renwick came to the door, Justice challenged him in these words: "My life for it, this is Mr. Renwick." After which he went to the street, crying for assistance to carry "the dog Renwick" to the guard.

In the mean time, Mr. Renwick with other two friends essayed

and, but for the happy revolution that soon followed, this would probably have been the case, as the Inquisition in Spain and Italy effectually suppressed the Protestant religion in these countries. I have no hesitation in calling them the *faithful few*, though it has been fashionable from that day to this, to treat them and their memory with all manner of contempt. They were faithful to the word of God, so far as they understood its meaning and application,—faithful to their own consciences, and to their solemn engagements. I am not called upon to vindicate the engagements themselves, in every particular. The covenanters were fallible men, and liable to error, exemption from which they never pretended. But they adhered honestly and faithfully to what they conscientiously believed to be the truth, which many of them sealed with their blood, while the great body of their brethren gladly submitted to accept the boon, which the King intended not for them, but for the Papists by means of whom he hoped soon to crush them all.

What they rejected was not toleration generally; but *the* toleration offered by the King, which was clogged with conditions with which they could not conscientiously comply;—such as owning the King's prerogative and supremacy, or headship of the church. It would have been acknowledging that the King, who was a Papist, had a right to grant liberty to worship God as his word requires, which implies a right to withhold that liberty; and thus they would have yielded to his impious claim to be sovereign lord of their consciences. At the same time, while I think they had good reason to reject that toleration, I freely admit that their minds were not enlightened on the subject of toleration generally; and it would have been singular if they had; for it was a subject which no man in the kingdom understood for many years after. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the time of the Union, strenuously opposed the toleration of any sect whatever: and it was with the utmost difficulty that an Act was passed allowing freedom of religion to the Episcopalians. They are the only dissenters recognised by law in Scotland to this day. The rest exist by mere sufferance; but in public opinion they have a better protection than any law could give them.

W. M' G.

* This testimony was again republished by some friends to the same cause.

to make their escape at another door, but were repelled by the waiters. Upon this he discharged a pistol, which made the assailants give way; but as he passed through them, one with a long staff hit him on the breast, which doubtless disabled him from running. Going down the Castle-wynd, he, towards the head of the Cowgate, having lost his hat, was taken notice of, and seized by a fellow on the street, while the other two escaped.

He was taken to the guard, and there kept for some time.—One Graham, captain of the guard, seeing him of a little stature, and comely countenance, cried, "What! is this the boy Renwick that the nation hath been so much troubled with?" At the same time, one Bailie Charters coming in, with great insolence accused him with frequenting low houses, which he replied to, with merited disdain. He was then carried before a quorum of the Council: And when Graham delivered him off his hand he was heard to say, "Now, I have given Renwick up to the Presbyterians, let them do with him what they please." What passed here could not be learned.

He was afterwards committed close prisoner, and laid in irons. Here, as soon as he was left alone, he betook himself to prayer, making a free offer of his life to God, requesting through-bearing grace, and that his enemies might be restrained from torturing his body: all which requests were signally granted and by him thankfully acknowledged, before his execution.

Before receiving his indictment, he was taken before the Chancellor, in the Viscount Tarbet's lodging, and examined concerning his owning the authority of James VII. the cess, and the carrying of arms at field-meetings, when he delivered himself with such freedom and boldness as astonished all present. The reason why he was interrogated anent the cess was, that a pocket book was found on him, in which were the notes of two sermons preached on the points which he owned. There were also some capitals in the same book; and because the committee were urgent to know the names, he, partly to avoid torture, and knowing they could render the persons no more obnoxious, ingenuously declared the truth of the matter; which ingenuousness did much to allay their rage against him. Being asked by the Chancellor, What persuasion he was of? He answered, Of the Protestant Presbyterian persuasion. Again, How it came to pass he differed so much from other Presbyterians, who had accepted the toleration, and owned the king's authority? and what he thought of them? He answered, He was a Presbyterian, and adhered to the old Presbyterian principles, principles which all were obliged by the covenant to maintain, and which were once generally professed and maintained by the nation from 1640 to 1660; from which, they (the clergy) had apostatized for a little liberty, they knew not how long, as they themselves (the councillors) had done for a little honour. The Chancellor replied, and the rest applauded, That they believed that these were the Presbyterian principles, and that all Presbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the courage. However, on February 3, he received

his indictment upon the three foresaid heads, viz. disowning the King's authority, the unlawfulness of paying the cess, and the lawfulness of defensive arms; all which he was to answer to, on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a list of forty-five persons, out of which the jury was to be chosen, and a list of the witnesses to be brought against him.

After having received his indictment, his mother got access to see him, and to her he spoke many savoury words. On Sabbath, February 5, he regretted that now he must leave his poor flock; and declared, "That if it were his choice, he could not think of it without terror, to enter again into, and venture upon, that conflict with a body of sin and death: yet, if he were again to go and preach in the field, he durst not vary in the least, nor flinch one hairbreadth from the testimony, but would look on himself as obliged to use the same freedom and faithfulness as he had done before." And in a letter, on February 6, he desired that the persons whose names were deciphered might be acquainted with it; and concludes, "I desire none may be troubled on my behalf, but rather rejoice with him, who with hope and joy is waiting for his coronation hour." At another time, his mother having asked him how he was; he answered, he was well; but that since his last examination he could scarcely pray. At this she looked on him with an affrighted countenance, and he told her, he could hardly pray, being so taken up with praising, and ravished with the joy of his Lord. When his mother was expressing her fear of fainting, saying, "How shall I look upon that head and those hands set up among the rest, on the port of the city?" He smiled, telling her, she should not see that; for, said he, I have offered my life unto the Lord, and have sought that he may bind them up; and I am persuaded that they shall not be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one hair of my head farther. He was at first much afraid of the torture; but now, having obtained a persuasion that these were not to be his trials, through grace he was helped to say, "That the terror of them was so removed, that he would rather choose to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil, than do any thing that might wrong truth." When some other friends were permitted to see him, he exhorted them to make sure of their peace with God, and study steadfastness in his ways; and when they regretted their loss of him, he said, "They had more need to thank the Lord, that he should now be taken away from these reproaches,* which had broken his heart, and which could not be otherwise wiped off, even though he should get his life, without yielding in the least."

Monday, February 8, he appeared before the Justiciary, and when his indictment was read, the Justice-clerk asked him, If he

* Besides these reproaches already noticed, with many others, he and his followers were charged as men of anarchical, murdering, and bloody principles; which makes it the less wonder that their successors should still be charged with the same.

adhered to his former confession, and acknowledged all that was in the libel? He answered, "All except where it is said I have cast off all fear of God: that I deny; for it is because I fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here standing ready to be condemned." He was then interrogated, If he owned authority, and James VII. to be his lawful sovereign? He answered, "I own all authority that hath its prescriptions and limitations from the word of God; but cannot own this usurper as lawful King, seeing, both by the word of God such a one is incapable to bear rule, and likewise by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland, until he swear to defend the Protestant religion; which a man of his profession cannot do." They urged, Could he deny him to be King? Was he not the late King's brother? Had the late King any children lawfully begotten? was he not declared to be his successor by act of parliament? He answered, "He was no doubt King *de facto* but not *de jure*; that he was brother to the other King, he knew nothing to the contrary; what children the other had he knew not; but from the word of God, that ought to be the rule of all laws, or from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be shown that he had, or ever could have any right." The next question was, If he owned, and had taught it to be unlawful to pay cesses and taxations to his Majesty? He answered, "For the present cess, enacted for the present usurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppressive to the subject, for the maintenance of tyranny, and because it is imposed for suppressing the gospel. Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, to have brought every one a coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the three children, if so they had been required, by that tyrant?"

Next they moved the question, if he owned he had taught his hearers to come armed to their meetings, and in case of opposition, to resist? He answered, "It were inconsistent with reason and religion both, to do otherwise: You yourselves would do it in the like circumstances. I own that I taught them to carry arms to defend themselves, and resist your unjust violence." Further, they asked, If he owned the note-book, and the two sermons written therein, and that he had preached them? He said, "If ye have added nothing, I will own it; and am ready to seal all the truths contained therein with my blood."—All his confession being read over, he was required to subscribe it. He said, "He would not do it, since he looked on it as a partial owning of their authority." After refusing several times, he said, "With protestation, I will subscribe the paper as it is my testimony, but not in obedience to you."

Then the assizers were called in by fives,* and sworn; against

* It is to be remarked, that many of the jury were professors, and eminent in the tolerated meetings; while others, even of the malignants, chose rather to run the hazard of the penalty; as the laird of Torrance, who compared not, and Som-

whom he objected nothing ; but protested, that none might sit on his assize that professed not Protestant or Presbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation." He was brought in guilty ; and sentence passed, That he should be executed in the Grassmarket on the Friday following. Lord Linlithgow, Justice-general, asked, If he desired longer time ? He answered, " It was all one to him ; if it was protracted, it was welcome ; if it was shortened, it was welcome ; his Master's time was the best." He was then returned to prison. Without his knowledge, and against his will, yea, after openly refusing to the Advocate to request it, he was reprieved to the 17th ; which gave occasion to some, to renew their reproaches.

Though none who suffered in the former part of this dismal period, spoke with more fortitude, freedom, and boldness, than Mr. Renwick, yet none were treated with so much moderation. The lenity of the Justiciary was much admired ; for they admitted him to say what he pleased, without threatening and interruption, even though he gave none of them the title of Lord, except Linlithgow, who was a nobleman by birth. And though his friends (which was not usual after sentence) were denied access, yet both Papists and Episcopalists were permitted to see him. Bishop Paterson often visited him ; nay, he sought another reprieve for him, which would have been granted, had he only petitioned for it. The Bishop asked him : Think you none can be saved but those of your principles ? He answered, " I never said nor thought, that none could be saved except they were of these principles ; but these are truths which I suffer for, and which I have not rashly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long time have been confirmed, that they are sufficient points to suffer for." The Bishop took his leave, declaring his sorrow for his being so tenacious, and said, " It was a great loss he had been of such principles, for he was a pretty lad." Again, the night before he suffered, he sent to him, to signify his readiness to serve him to the utmost of his power. Mr. Renwick thanked him for his courtesy, but knew nothing he could do, or that *he* could desire.

Mr. M'Naught, one of the curates, made him a visit in his canonical habit, which Mr. Renwick did not like. The curate, among other things, asked his opinion concerning the toleration, and those that accepted it. Mr. Renwick declared that he was against the toleration ; but as for them that embraced it, he judged them to be

merville, chamberlain of Douglas, who, though he appeared, yet when he saw Mr. Renwick turn about and direct his speech to them, ran away, saying, He trembled to think to take away the life of such a pious-like man, though they should take his whole estate. The list of the assizers is as follows :—James Hume of Kimmergen ; John Hume of Ninewells ; John Martin, clerk to the manufactory ; Alexander Martin, sometime clerk of— ; Robert Halyburton, merchant ; Thomas Lawrie, merchant ; Archibald Johnston, merchant ; Thomas Wylie, merchant ; James Hamilton, vintner ; William Cockburn, merchant ; James Hamilton, jun. stationer ; Robert Currie, stationer ; Joseph Young, merchant ; John Cunningham, merchant in Glasgow ; Finian Bannatine of Kaims, Chancellor.

godly men. The curate leaving him, commended him for one of great gravity and ingenuity. Dalrymple, the King's Advocate, came also to visit him, and declared he was sorry for his death, and that it should fall out in his short time. Several Popish priests and gentlemen of the guard, with some of the tolerated ministers, were permitted to converse with him. A priest, at leaving him, was overheard saying, he was a most obstinate heretic; for he had used such freedom with him, that it became a proverb in the tolbooth at the time, "Begone, as Mr. Renwick said to the priests."

Several petitions were written from several hands, in the most favourable strain that could be invented, and sent him to subscribe them, but all in vain; yea, it was offered to him, if he would but let a drop of ink fall on a bit of paper, it would satisfy: but he would not. In the mean time, he was kept so close that he could get nothing written. His begun testimony which he was writing was taken from him, and pen and ink removed. However, he got a short paper written the night before, which is to be found in the Cloud of Witnesses, as his last speech and testimony.

On Tuesday, the 14th, he was brought before the Council on account of *The informatory vindication*; but what passed there, cannot be learned, further than their signifying how much kindness they had shown him, in that they had reprieved him without his application, a thing never done before. He answered with extraordinary cheerfulness, rejoicing, that he was counted worthy to suffer shame, for the name of his Master. A friend asking him, How he was? he said, "Very well;" and that he would be better within three days. He told his mother, That the last execution he was witness to, was Robert Gray's; and that he had a strong impression in his mind that *he* should be the next: He often said, he saw need for his suffering at this time; and that he was persuaded his death would do more good than his life for many years, could have done. Being asked, What he thought God would do with the remnant behind him? He answered, "It would be well with them; for God would not forsake nor cast off his inheritance."

On the day of his execution, the chief jailor begged, that at the place of execution he would not mention the causes of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Mr. Renwick told him, That what God would give him to speak, he would speak, and nothing less. The jailor told him, that he might still have his life, if he would but sign a petition which he offered him. He answered, That he never read in scripture, or in history, where martyrs petitioned for their lives, when called to suffer for truth, though they might require them not to take their life, and remonstrate against the wickedness of murdering them; but in the present circumstances he judged it would be found a receding from truth, and a declining from the testimony for Christ.

His mother and sisters, having obtained leave to see him, in returning thanks after some refreshment, he said, "O Lord, thou hast brought me within two hours of eternity, and this is no matter of terror to me more than if I were to lie down in a bed of roses

may, through grace, to thy praise, I may say I never had the fear of death since I came to this prison ; but from the place where I was taken, I could have gone very composedly to the scaffold. O ! how can I contain this, to be within two hours of the crown of glory !” He exhorted them much to prepare for death ; “ for it is (said he) the king of terrors, though not to me now, as it was sometimes in my hidings ; but, now let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. Would ever I have thought that the fear of suffering and of death, could be so taken from me ? But what shall I say to it ? It is the doing of the Lord, and marvellous in our eyes. I have many times counted the cost of following Christ, but never thought it would be so easy ; and now who knows the honour and happiness of that ? *He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father.*” He said many times, “ Now I am near the end of time ; I desire to bless the Lord, it is an inexpressibly sweet and satisfying peace to me, that he hath kept me from complying with enemies in the least.” Perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her to remember, that they who loved any thing better than Christ were not worthy of him. “ If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived.” Then he went to prayer, wherein he ran out much in praise, and pleaded much in behalf of the suffering remnant ; that the Lord would raise up witnesses that might transmit the testimony to succeeding generations, and that he would not leave Scotland ; asserting, with great confidence of hope, that he was strengthened in the hope that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

At length, hearing the drums beat for the guard, he fell into a transport, saying, “ Yonder the welcome warning to my marriage ; the bridegroom is coming ; I am ready, I am ready.” Then taking leave of his mother and sisters, he entreated them not to be discouraged ; for, ere all were done, they should see matter of praise in that day’s work. He was taken to the low Council-house, as was usual, where after his sentence was read, they desired him there to speak what he had to say. He said, “ I have nothing to say to you, but that which is written in Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. *As for me, behold, I am in your hand,*” &c. He was told that the drums would beat at the scaffold all the time, and therefore they desired him to pray there ; but he refused : and declared, he would not be limited in what he would say, and that he had premeditated nothing, but would speak what was given him. They offered him any minister to be with him ; but he answered, “ If I would have had any of them for my counsellors or comforters, I should not have been here this day. I require none with me but this one man,” (meaning the friend that was waiting upon him.)

He went from thence to the scaffold with great cheerfulness as one in a transport of joy, and had the greatest crowd of spectators that has perhaps been ever seen at an execution : but little was heard, on account of the beating of the drums, from his first ascend-

ing the scaffold until he was cast over. Yet from the friends and others permitted to attend him, there were some of his last words collected.

When he went first upon the scaffold, some forbade him to speak any thing : because the people could not hear ; which he took no notice of. There was a curate standing at the side of the scaffold, who, tempting him, said, " Own our King, and we shall pray for you." He answered, " I will have none of your prayers ; I am come to bear my testimony against you, and such as you are." The curate said, " Own our King, and pray for him, whatever you say against us." He replied, " I will discourse no more with you : I am within a little to appear before him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, who shall pour shame, contempt, and confusion, upon all the kings of the earth who have not ruled for him."

He then sang Psal. ciii. read Rev. xix. ; then prayed, commending his soul to God through the Redeemer, and his cause to be vindicated in his own time : and appealed to the Lord, if this was not the most joyful day he ever saw in the world, a day that he had much longed for. He insisted much in blessing the Lord for honouring him with the crown of martyrdom, an honour which the angels were not privileged with, being incapable of laying down their lives for their princely Master. He complained of being disturbed in worshipping God : but, said he, " I shall soon be above these clouds ; then shall I enjoy thee, and glorify thee, without interruption, or intermission, for ever." Prayer being ended, he spoke to the people much to the purpose of his written testimony, whereof somewhat was remembered, to this effect :

" Spectators, I am come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Christ, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer. Nay, I bless the Lord that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer any thing for him ; and I desire to praise his grace, that he hath not only kept me from the gross pollutions of the time, but also from the many ordinary pollutions of children ; and for such as I have been stained with, he hath washed and cleansed me from them in his own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for these three things : 1. For disowning the usurpation and tyranny of James Duke of York. 2. For preaching, that it was unlawful to pay the cess expressly exacted for bearing down the gospel. 3. For teaching, that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themselves in their meeting for the persecuted gospel ordinances. I think a testimony for these is worth many lives ; and if I had ten thousand I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same.

" Dear friends, I die a Presbyterian Protestant ; I own the word of God as the rule of faith and manners ; I own the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechism, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Public and Family Worship, Covenants National and Solemn League, Acts of General Assemblies, and all the faithful contendings that have been for the covenanted reformation. I leave my testimony approving the preaching in fields, and defending

the same by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all these truths that have been sealed by bloodshed, either on scaffold, field, or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. against all profanity, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; particularly against all usurpations and encroachments made upon Christ's right, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone must bear the glory of ruling in his own kingdom the church; and in particular against this absolute power usurped by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah; and against his toleration flowing from this absolute power."

Here he was ordered to have done. He answered, I have near done; and then said, "Ye that are the people of God, do not weary to maintain the testimony of the day in your stations and places; and, whatever ye do, make sure an interest in Christ: for there is a storm coming that shall try your foundation. Scotland must be rid of Scotland before the delivery come: and you that are strangers to God, break off your sins by repentance, else I will be a sad witness against you in the day of the Lord."

Here they made him desist, and go up the ladder, where he prayed, and said, "Lord, I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses the seed of thy church, and return again and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am ready; the bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made herself ready." The napkin being tied about his face, he said to his friend attending, "Farewell; be diligent in duty, make your peace with God through Christ. There is a great trial coming. As to the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me, not to weary nor be discouraged in maintaining the testimony, and the Lord will provide you teachers and ministers, and when he comes, he will make these despised truths glorious in the earth." He was turned over, with these words in his mouth, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of Truth."

Thus died the faithful, pious, and zealous Mr. James Renwick, on the third day over the 26th year of his age; a young man, and a young minister, but a ripe Christian, and a renowned martyr of Christ, for whose sake he loved not his life, by whose blood, and the word of his testimony, he overcame, and thus got above all snares and sorrow, and, to the conviction of many who formerly reproached him, was as signally vindicated, as he was in his life shamefully aspersed for prosecuting that testimony, which now he sealed with his blood, in such a treasure of patience, meekness, humility, constancy, courage, burning love, and blazing zeal, as did very much confound enemies, convince neutrals, confirm halts, comfort friends, and astonish all.

He was of stature somewhat low, of a fair complexion, and like another David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance. Most men spoke well of him after he was dead; even his murderers as well as others said, they thought he went to heaven. Malignants generally

said, he died a Presbyterian. The Viscount of Tarbet, one of the counsellors, one day in company, when speaking of him, said, "That he was one of the stiffest maintainers of his principles that ever came before them. Others we used always to cause one time or other to waver, but him we could never move. Where we left him, there we found him. We could never make him yield or vary in the least. He was the man we have seen most plainly and pertinaciously adhering to the old way of Presbyterian government, who, if he had lived in Knox's days, would not have died by any laws then in being." He was the last that on a scaffold sealed his testimony, for religion, liberty, and the covenanted work of reformation in Scotland.*

* The author of the manuscript volume mentioned in the note on Hardhill's life, page 478, 479, was personally acquainted with Mr. Renwick, and writes of him as follows:—"The latter end of this year, I heard that great man of God, Mr. James Renwick, preach on Song iii. 9, 10. when he treated greatly on the covenant of redemption, agreed on between God the Father, and God the Son, his equal, in favour of the elect; as also on the covenant of grace established with believers in Christ. O! this was a great and sweet day of the gospel, for he handled and pressed the privileges of the covenant of grace, with seraphic-like enlargement, to the great edification of the hearers. Sweet and charming were the offers which he made of Christ to all sorts of sinners. There was one thing this day that was very remarkable to me; for though it was rain from morning to night, and we wet as if we had been drenched in water, yet not one fell sick; and though there was a tent fixed for him, he would not go into it, but stood without in the rain, and preached; which example had a great influence on the people to patience, when they saw his sympathy with them: and though he was the only minister that kept closest to his text, and had the best method for the judgment and memory of any that ever I heard, yet now when he preached, the people crowded close together because of the rain, he digressed a little, and cried with a pleasant melting voice, my dear friends, be not disturbed because of the rain, for to have a covenant interest in Christ the true Solomon, and in the benefits of his blessed purchase, is well worth the enduring all temporal, elementary storms that can fall on us. And this Solomon who is here pointed at, endured a far other kind of storm for his people, even a storm of unmixed wrath: And O what would poor damned reprobates in hell, give for this day's offer of sweet and lovely Christ: And O how welcome would our suffering friends in prison and banishment make this day's offer of Christ. And I, for my own part (said he) as the Lord will keep me, shall bear my equal share of this rain, in sympathy with you. And he returned to his sweet subject again, and offered us grace and reconciliation with God through Christ, by his Spirit. Words would fail me to express my own frame, and the frame of many others; only this, we would have been glad to have endured any kind of death, to have been home at the uninterrupted enjoyment of that glorious Redeemer, who was so livelily and clearly offered to us that day."—"But now, with a grieved heart, I must bid a final farewell, while in time, to this worthy minister, and highly honoured martyr; for within two months after this, he was apprehended and executed at Edinburgh, February 17, 1688. He was born in 1662, of parents both eminently godly. His mother's name was Elizabeth Corsan, with whom I was well acquainted. He was the only man that ever I knew, that had an unstained integrity. He was a lively and faithful minister of Christ, and a worthy Christian, such as none who were nearly acquainted with him could say any other but this, that he was a beloved Jehijadah* of the Lord. I never knew a man

* So the word is spelt; but I suppose he means *Jedidiah*, beloved of the Lord.

Besides what hand Mr. Renwick had in the informatory vindication, and the forementioned testimony against the toleration, both of which have long ago been published, there was also of late, published by some wellwishers to the same cause and testimony, a collection of his valuable prefaces, lectures, and sermons, in two volumes: as also another collection of very choice letters, written by him, from July 8, 1682, to the day of his death, February 18, 1688. There is also a treatise of his upon the admission of rulers, which the reader will find affixed to his life and vindication of his testimony, written by Mr. Shields.

more richly endowed with grace, more equal in his temper, more equal in his spiritual frame, and more equal in walk and conversation. Many times when I have been thinking of the great Mr. Knox, Mr. Welch, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Durham, and others of the worthy Reformers, I have thought that the great Mr. James Renwick was as true and genuine a son and successor to those great men, as any that ever the Lord raised up in this land, to contend for truth, and preach the gospel to lost sinners. He seemed to come upside with them in soundness of principles, in uprightness of practice, in meekness, in prudence, in zeal for the glory of God, in giving testimony for the truth, and against sin and defection: so that though he was the Joseph who was sorely shot at, and grieved, yet he was the Caleb that followed the Lord fully. When I speak of him as a man, none more comely in features, none more prudent, none more brave and heroic in spirit, and yet none more meek, none more humane and condescending. He was every way so rational, as well as religious, that there was reason to think that the powers of his reason were as much strengthened and sanctified, as any mere man I ever heard of. When I speak of him as a Christian, none more meek, and yet none more prudently bold against those who were bold to sin; and yet none more prudently condescending: none more frequent and fervent in religious duties, such as prayer, converse, meditation, self-examination, preaching, prefacing, lecturing, baptizing and catechising. None more methodical in teaching and instructing, accompanied with a sweet charming eloquence, in holding forth Christ as the only remedy for lost sinners. None more hated of the world, and yet none more strengthened and upheld by the everlasting arms of the great Jehovah, to be steadfast and abound in the way of the Lord to the death; wherefore he might justly be called Antipas, Christ's faithful martyr. And as I lived then to know him to be so of a truth; so by the good hand of God, I yet live, thirty-six years after him, to testify that no man upon just grounds had any thing to lay to his charge, when all the critical and straitening circumstances—when that suffering period is well considered, save that he was liable to natural and sinful infirmities, as all mere men are, when in this life; and yet he was as little guilty in this way as any I ever yet knew, or heard of. He was the liveliest, and most engaging preacher to close with Christ, of any I ever heard. His converse was pious, prudent, and meek; his reasoning and debating was the same, carrying alongst with it a full evidence of the truth of what he asserted. And for steadfastness in the way of the Lord, few came his length. He learned the truth, and counted the cost, and so sealed it with his blood. Of all the men that ever I knew, I would be in the least danger of committing a hyperbole, when speaking to his commendation. And yet I speak not this to praise man, but for the glory and honour of God in Christ, who makes men to differ so much from others, and in some periods of the church more than others."

This note is long, but I hope not uninteresting. The writer was, I suppose, a plain countryman, unacquainted with fine writing, and the art of compression. But what he says derives an interest from his having been a companion, and fellow-sufferer with the good men of whom he writes. It does not appear that

Mr. Renwick, as is generally known, was the last who in Scotland sealed with his blood, the testimony for civil and religious freedom. For some time previous, the flames of persecution had been raging with less violence, and this seemed to be their last and expiring blaze. Nothing could exceed the interest, which his death excited in the public mind. The purity of his character and the integrity of his life, together with his youth and comeliness of person, had recommended him, it would appear, to the commiseration of his very persecutors. And as we have seen, by a concession, which many would deem trivial, but which in his mind implied an important dereliction of principle, he might have prolonged or even saved his life. By his death, however, it is probable, as he himself

he had any more than a common education; but it is evident that he knew the word of God so as to live by it, and he may be taken as a fair sample of the Scots Presbyterians a century ago; the above being written, according to his own statement, thirty-six years after Mr. Renwick's death, which would be 1724.

There is something very picturesque in his description of Mr. Renwick's preaching in the open air, and of the people crowding together, to drink in the word of God from his lips, as the earth received the rain which was falling so copiously upon it; and though such preachers, and such scenes, were the abhorrence and the scorn of the wits of that age, the finest geniuses of the present age have been honoured, by doing them honour:—

— In solitudes like these
 Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
 A tyrant and a bigot's bloody laws:
 There leaning on his spear,
 The lyart vet'ran heard the word of God
 By Cameron thunder'd, or by Renwick pour'd
 In gentle stream; then rose the song, the loud
 Acclaim of praise. The wheeling plover ceased
 Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
 And on the distant cairns the watchman's ear*
 Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.
 But years more gloomy follow'd; and no more
 The assembled people dared, in face of day,
 To worship God, or even at the dead
 Of night, save when the wintry storm raven fierce,
 And thunder-peals compell'd the men of blood
 To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
 The scatter'd few would meet, in some deep dell
 By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
 Their faithful pastor's voice. He by the gleam
 Of sheeted lightning op'd the sacred book,
 And words of comfort spake: Over their soul;
 His accents soothing came,—as to her young
 The heathfowl's plumes, when, at the close of eve,
 She gathers in, mournful, her brood dispersed
 By murderous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
 Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast,
 They, cherish'd, cower amidst the purple blooms.

Grahame's Sabbath.

* Sentinels were placed on the surrounding hills, to give notice of the approach of the military.
 W. M'G.

anticipated, he did more service to the cause of religion, than by his life he could have accomplished during many years to come. His public execution, by fixing on the measures which led to it the deepest stamp of infamy, was the mean of stopping that current of blood, which for eight and twenty years had deluged Scotland. The emissaries indeed of the intolerant and blood-thirsty rulers who then bore sway, were still as active and cruel as ever, and previous to the revolution which was rapidly approaching, had doubtless, sufficient scope for increasing the number of their victims, and adding to the list of their crimes. But subsequent to Renwick we read of no farther instances of capital conviction for nonconformity in religion.

Here then seems to be the proper point, at which to conclude these Memoirs of the Worthies. Not that a complete Biography of all who testified and suffered in the cause of truth, previous to this period, has thus been given, but that of these there are here presented, the Lives of the most distinguished, *who previous to this period died or suffered death*. Besides these, indeed, there were many who both testified and suffered, (though not *capitally*,) during the preceding twenty eight years, and who both from their station and their character, are well entitled to a place in this work; and in the previous editions of it accordingly, memoirs of a few of these individuals have been given as a supplement. These memoirs, however, it has been thought proper to exclude from the present one, not only as infringing to a certain degree upon the unity of its plan, by merging into the history of a period which is quite indefinite, but also, as with the large additions to the part already finished, and with the still larger additions which might be made to these Lives, the inserting of them would far exceed the proper bounds of a volume.

The work then thus concluded, will be found to contain Memoirs of the most eminent reformers in Scotland, from the earliest dawn of the Reformation in the beginning of the 16th century, to the commencement of the Revolution in 1688. Even when thus limited, however, in the period to which it refers, and with all the enlargements that have been made to it, it is not to be supposed, that any thing like a complete or adequate view of all the instances of persecution, that have taken place in Scotland, has been given. The nature of the work, it must be obvious, excluded all notice of those of whom nothing in the shape of a biographical account could be presented, and whose occupation in life, and place in society, naturally exempted them from the knowledge of posterity. Yet still, with respect to many of these persons, their sufferings, apprehension, and death, many interesting particulars have come down to us, both in the records of history, and in manuscripts hitherto unpublished. Of these particulars we have made a selection, which we now present in the following pages, as an appropriate *Supplement* to the foregoing Memoirs.

SUPPLEMENT.

WHEN a tyrannical government has in view to oppress and afflict a people, many and various are the methods which it may adopt, in carrying this into effect. It may pervert the forms, and employ the officers of justice in order to deprive them of their property and lives. It may enact statutes for this purpose, and direct their execution by the hand of military violence. It may refuse to them what they deem their birthright,—liberty of conscience. The man whom they have chosen as their guide to eternity, may be denuded of his charge, and they may be compelled to wait upon the instructions of another, whom they cannot but despise or condemn. For not obeying such unjust enactments, they may be called before the Magistrate, severely fined, sent into banishment or doomed to death. Or if the number of delinquents be great, and their delinquencies frequent, a more summary procedure may be had recourse to. Soldiers may be dispersed over the country, with a commission to investigate, discover, and punish the alleged crimes. They may have authority to impose and exact fines, and even to try, condemn, and punish by death. In compliance with, or perhaps by outgoing their orders, they may enter the quiet abodes of the peasantry, disturb their peace, consume their substance, or even violate their persons. Their oppressions, we shall suppose, are resisted, but this has only the effect of rendering them more severe. At length, goaded to madness, the unhappy people, perhaps, betake themselves to arms, but the failure of their attempt to redress their wrongs, only rivets more firmly the chains which enthrall them. They are then proclaimed rebels; and proscription, imprisonment, exile or death, become their inevitable fate. Thus then, it is evident, that by the deprivation of their dearest rights, the extortion of their hard-won earnings, the destruction of their worldly substance, and their domestic happiness, as well as by the various penalties and inflictions of law, subjection to torture, the forfeiture of country, the loss of personal liberty and even of life itself,—may a people be distressed by tyrannical rulers. And in all these ways, in point of fact, and indeed in almost every way which malice could invent, or cruelty execute, were the Presbyterians of Scotland afflicted and abused, during what has been emphatically styled the *suffering period* of their history. It is in fact almost impossible to conceive and to credit, the oppressions exercised, and the atrocities committed during that awful period. To give a complete detail of them, is not our purpose, nor is it in

our power. We shall, however, premise a few general hints, before descending to the particular instances, which we have it in view to relate.

Previous to the rising which was suppressed at Pentland, and which, it is well known, originated in no previous disaffection among the people, but merely from the oppressions to which they were exposed, it would appear that Sir James Turner, had made three several inroads upon Nithsdale and Galloway, every time exceeding in his conduct towards the people, the barbarity and violence he had previously displayed. During these three visits, it may tend to give a faint idea of the distress, harassment, privations and losses which they endured, when it is stated, that from twenty-three parishes in that country he exacted, in fines, the extraordinary sum of £91,500, Scots money. Besides the parishes which were thus amerced, there were twenty others, of whose exactions no account has been recorded. And it must also be observed, that the sum above noted, was extorted, after 132 persons, within the same bounds, had paid £77,120, Scots money, for the same fault, of not attending the curates; and that besides the mere fines, they were put to an expense not much less, in consequence of soldiers being quartered upon them, and other impositions. Here it would be easy to relate *many* cases of insult and outrage, the most aggravated that can well be conceived, which occurred, in the course of collecting these fines. We shall, however, confine ourselves to two, more especially as they occurred in families, who, for other reasons, as will be seen by the narrative, are famous in the history of persecution.

The one of these instances was the family of Corsack, in the parish of Parton, and the other that of Knockbreck, in the parish of Borgue.

JOHN NELSON OF CORSACK was a most respectable country gentleman—a man of excellent parts and sincere piety. Being a presbyterian, however, he was delated by Dalbesh the curate of the parish, to Sir James Turner, at his first visit to Galloway. Upon this, Turner amerced him in the sum of £100, Scots, which he paid, on the stipulated condition that his person should be free. Contrary, however, to this understanding, he was immediately committed a prisoner to the Jail of Kirkcudbright. When released from prison, he had a band of soldiers quartered upon him, and either disgusted at their destructive ravages, or afraid of his personal liberty, he seems to have fled from his home, leaving his family and fortune at the mercy of the marauders. He was shortly after again apprehended, and again incarcerated. The soldiers continued upon his premises altogether for about 15 weeks. During this time it is needless to say that they consumed and wasted much of his substance. But even this was not enough. They at last had the inhumanity to turn his wife and family out of doors, possessed themselves of his whole houses and plenishing—compelled his tenants to surrender to them of their substance and cattle, which, with those they had taken of his, they drove away to Glasgow and sold!!

It was little wonder, considering these circumstances, that Nelson should have joined the rising, which shortly after took place in his neighbourhood. He *did* join it. He marched to Dumfries, was the instrument of saving Turner the oppressor's life, and continued in the ranks of the insurgents, till he was taken a prisoner at Rullion-green. He was, thereafter, conducted with his fellow prisoners to Edinburgh, and his after sufferings afford matter for one of the blackest pages in the history of persecution. On the 4th of December he was put to the torture of the boot; * a practice not used in Scotland for forty years before. The professed aim of the council by such inhumanity was to expiscate a supposed conspiracy. Nelson, however, made no discovery, for the best of all reasons, because he had none to make. After this, he was sentenced to death, and executed accordingly. But the cruelty of his persecutors did not stop here. It still continued to pursue his family; with undiminished violence. Immediately after his death, whilst his lady was yet in Edinburgh, Maxwell of Milton, with about 30 men, came to Corsack, took away every thing they could carry from the house, and most wantonly destroyed the rest. A nurse, with a sucking child at her breast, made part of the family, and with the rest of the inmates, was turned to the fields.

Sometime after, Sir William Bannatyne took an inventory of all he could find upon the estate—seized the growing crop, and arrested the rents in the hands of the tenants. And to crown all, Mrs. Nelson was deprived of all her moveables by way of fine for conversing with her own son, who was intercommuned and outlawed; and afterwards amerced in £100, for corresponding with him when exiled.—It almost surpasses credibility, we are apt to think, that such cruelties and oppressions were practised in our land. What then must it have been to have borne them!

THE GORDONS OF KNOCKBRECK, another respectable family in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, form the subject of a narrative, in many respects, not less distressing than that now given. There too, the soldiers made good their quarters for about 15 weeks, till they had wasted and consumed the whole provision of the family. They then, in the wantonness of malice, destroyed the furniture and disfigured the house. This they did, with the view of rendering it useless to the owner, who was previously forced to flee, and betake himself to wandering with his brother and their families. After all this evil done to the master, they, as was usual, fell upon the tenants, and in like manner robbed and ruined them. Two of

* This was on the same occasion as that alluded to in the Life of M'Kail, when that youthful martyr endured the same torture. Corsack," says Wodrow, "screight for pain in a terrible manner, so as to have moved a heart of stone. The Earl of Rothes called frequently for 'the other touch'—thinking he was not free enough [in his Confession,] and commanded to drive the wedges harder. Corsack replied [to this inhuman order,] 'Though there is not mercy with man, there is mercy with God!' At which saying Rothes did bite his lip and laugh, and immediately did sentence him to be hanged!"

them they compelled to relinquish their dwellings, having threatened to burn them over their heads

Of this family two of the sons, young men of great promise, were taken at the battle of Pentland, and shortly after, condemned and executed. They were amongst the ten individuals, whose blood first stained the scaffold after that event. Their case excited much commiseration. It is said that when thrown over they mutually clung to each other, and thus died, embracing. Shortly after this melancholy event, the whole year's crop of the estate was seized, and what remained of the household furniture, disposed of or destroyed. The family had their share in all the after harassings to which the country was exposed. In 1684, Captain Strahan with his troop again seized upon, and carried off the household plenishing. Next year, Glenlyon, with nearly two hundred Highlanders, rested for some days on the premises, possessed themselves of all the victual they could find, killed many of the sheep, broke the windows of the house, and took away all the horses, to carry their spoil. And at a still later period, Grierson of Lagg, so infamous for his cruelty, repeated the same acts of pillage, carrying off every thing they could belonging to the house, and driving away all the cattle, (to the number of fifty sheep) which he and his men could not consume.

Such then are two most remarkable instances of suffering, connected with the district where the oppressions of government were first felt. It was not, however, to that district merely that the barbarous measures of government were at this period directed. Nor were the severities exercised after the defeat at Pentland less, either in number or amount, than those by which the rising had been preceded. After cruelty itself seemed to be satisfied with the blood of about *forty prisoners* taken at the battle, and contrary to the promise of quarter, put to death; the army was ordered to be conducted to the west and south, by way of seizing and confiscating the property of those who were prisoners, and of discovering and punishing those who had escaped. In the execution of these orders, not only were the scenes of devastation and pillage which had led to the insurrection, acted over, but in some instances, the most shocking barbarities were committed. The soldiers were permitted, to take free quarters wherever they pleased—to examine men by torture, and to compel women and children by threatening, scourging, burning with fire-matches and the like, to betray their husbands and parents. And when found, they were sometimes shot without even the form of trial! Some of the more remarkable of these instances of cruelty deserve to be noticed.

DAVID FINDLAY, a resident in the parish of Newmills, Ayrshire, and not far from the village of that name, seems to be the first who is mentioned as an object of Dalziel's cruelty, who acted as the instrument of government, in the West. This person was brought before him, on suspicion of having been in the late insurrection. When examined, he acknowledged he was accidentally at Lanark when Colonel Wallace and his army came thither, but had not joined them. Being asked farther whom he saw there—his re-

ply, it seems, did not give satisfaction, and because he would not, and indeed being there only transiently upon business, could not give an account of the rich and respectable Whigs who were there, the General *sentences him to die*. He was not, the reader must remark, a soldier under Dalziel's command; no witnesses were adduced; no council of war held, and no authorized judge had condemned him, and yet the poor man is ordered to be shot to death immediately! When he was removed from the general's presence, neither he himself nor the lieutenant in whose custody he was, supposed that he was in earnest. But they found that the case was otherwise. Positive orders were issued that the sentence should be executed. On this being signified to him he begged for one night's time to prepare for eternity. The lieutenant was so affected by the request, that he returned to the general and entreated that Findlay might be spared till to-morrow. The answer which he received was characteristic of the man who gave it—*That he would teach him to obey [orders] without scruple*. The sentence was accordingly executed without delay. The man was shot, stripped naked, and left lying on the spot. Meanwhile the sergeant who had apprehended him that morning, being tired had gone to sleep for a little; and when he awoke and was informed of what had taken place, he was so shocked at the circumstance and felt such remorse at the part he unfortunately had in it, that he immediately sickened—took his bed and died in a day or two.

Similar and indeed still more shocking and disgusting cruelties were exercised by Sir William Bannatyne in Galloway. On the same pretence of seeking out, and punishing the insurgents at Pentland, he pillaged the country, and subjected the inhabitants to every species of insult and cruelty. The following is one out of several instances that might be given.

DAVID M'GILL—in the parish of Dalry, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, had the misfortune, with many others, to be suspected of having been at Pentland, or of having conversed with those who had been there. A party is therefore dispatched to apprehend him. They fail in their object. He disguises himself in women's clothes, and eludes their vigilance. But dreadful were the reprisals which they took upon his wife, alleging that she had been accessory to her husband's escape. They seized her, bound her, and fixed lighted matches between her fingers; and in this state left her for several hours. As might well be expected, the pain of such torture made her almost go distracted. She lost one of her hands altogether; and in a few days after, the agony she endured having affected her vitals, she fell a prey to death, and was happily put beyond the reach of persecuting cruelty.

These atrocities, indeed, were at length suspended. The council, bloody and bigotted as they were, perceived the necessity of more moderate measures. And it is not till the year 1679, memorable for the battle of Bothwell, that any more instances occur which we think worthy of being commemorated. Shortly previous

to that event, there is one such instance, which must not be passed over.

ANDREW AYTON, Younger of Inchdarney,* in Fife, was a gentleman of excellent character and great piety. He was educated at St. Andrews' University, and during his continuance there was marked for his zeal and fervour in devotion. Upon leaving it, he, as might be expected from a person of his seriousness, was much concerned to have presbyterian ministers brought to Fife, and the gospel preached to those who could not hear the Episcopal curates. When little more than seventeen years of age he was intercommuned, forced to quit his father's house, and to betake himself to some relatives in the shire of Murray. While there a Mr. Denoon, in whom he was interested, was sent a prisoner from the North. Inchdarney, on this occasion, followed the party at some distance, till they arrived at Dundee. He then came over to Fife, collected a few of his acquaintances, and rescued the good man. From this time he continued lurking about his father's house, till the 3d of May 1679, the second day after the assassination of Archbishop Sharpe. On this day (ignorant of that event, and the keen pursuit to which it gave rise,) he set out to visit an aunt at some distance. When near the village of Auchtermuchty, he saw a party of horse at some distance riding furiously towards Cowpar. Upon this he rode a little harder, in order to escape, which one of them perceiving, broke off from the rest by order of the commander, and coming up, first wounded his horse, and then himself, by shooting two balls through his body. This he did without ever asking him a question, or requiring him to surrender! He then rode back, joined his party, and went with them to Cowpar. Inchdarney was scarcely able to sit upon his horse till he came to the next house. On arriving there, however, he got the benefit of a bed, and sent for his relation, Sir John Ayton of that ilk, whose house was near. Sir John having come, immediately despatched a servant to Cowpar for a surgeon. But the party had given orders that no surgeon should leave the town without their allowance. On being applied to for this permission, they immediately commissioned some of their number to conduct Inchdarney to town. On coming for this purpose to the house where he lay, Sir John, in strong terms, represented to them the cruelty of thus obliging a dying man to travel a distance of three miles, and offered to bail him. But nothing could prevail upon them to desist. He was instantly hurried away on one of their horses, and fainted four times during the journey, through loss of blood. The magistrates of Cowpar allowed him, as a favour, to be taken to an inn instead of the prison, and there he died next day, about twelve o'clock. His last moments were peaceful and serene; and were rendered the more comfortable by the company of his parents, who were sent for. It turned out

* See this person spoken of in the Life of Welwood, p. 353.

that the soldier who killed him was a relation of his own, and he came to him, professing much sorrow, and begging his forgiveness, which he freely gave. But, notwithstanding this, the man died in 1682, it is said, under great terror and anxiety of mind, on account of the rash and illegal part he had acted.

This melancholy accident took place about three weeks prior to the defeat at Bothwell—the most important event, undoubtedly, both in its aspect and consequences, which occurs during the whole of the suffering period; and an event, which as it was preceded and urged on by the barbarities perpetrated by the Highland host, and the severe enactments against conventicles, was also the cause and the origin of a series of cruelties, the most shocking, perhaps, that have ever stained the annals of a country under the government of law. Not to mention the useless and extensive carnage which ensued after the battle, the wanton and barbarous murder of some who were not in arms, and the public execution of many of the prisoners, with whose blood the scaffold was, for a time, literally deluged, and against some of whom no proper case could be made out, the treatment of all of them who were taken on that occasion, both on their way to Edinburgh, and during their confinement in it, but above all, the tragical and wilful death of upwards of two hundred of them, by the cruelty of the sailors, upon the shipwreck of the vessel in which they were transported, forms the subject of one of the most heart-rending narratives which the pen of history has ever recorded.

But besides these, (the immediate consequences of this event,) the rising at Bothwell continued to be the cause of suffering to the persecuted Presbyterians for many years to come. All those who either had been engaged in it, or who conversed with those who had, or who even avowed and justified the principles on which they proceeded to take arms, were reckoned worthy of death. Many on these grounds were sisted before the justiciary, condemned and executed; and after a few years when the more summary method of shooting in the fields was adopted in preference to a formal trial, many more on the mere suspicion of such charges were suddenly put to death.

The following pages will be found to contain notices of both of these descriptions of sufferers.

ARTHUR INGLIS, a pious sober honest man, was a farmer in the Nether-town of Cambusnethan. He had not been at Bothwell; but on Monday the 23d of June, 1679, the day after the engagement, whilst looking after his cattle which were grazing on a field, he sat himself down on a fur, and was reading his Bible, when he was unfortunately seen by some soldiers passing on the high way. They immediately concluded him to be a Whig, and one of them discharged his piece at him, but without effect. The good man, conscious of no guilt, and probably not perceiving that the shot was directed to him, only looked about at them, and did not offer to move. The soldiers immediately came up to him, and without even asking a single question at him, struck him on the head with their swords, and killed him on the spot.

Here, it is right to observe, however, that such murders as this were not authorized by law till some years after, but like that of Inchdarney, it indicates the awful degree of license which was taken by the soldiers, when acting as the servants of a persecuting government.

JAMES BOIG, formerly mentioned in the life of Cargill,* as that good man's companion in danger and in suffering, was the son of a respectable merchant in Edinburgh, and a student of theology. He seems to have been a young man of great piety and worth. In the year 1681, he was, in company with Messrs. Cargill and Smith, apprehended and carried to Edinburgh. As usual, his examination before the Council, formed the ground work of his indictment. He was charged with disowning the king's authority, indicating the lawfulness of the rising at Bothwell, and acknowledging the Sanquhar declaration. And for holding these opinions, he was, with his two friends, condemned to the scaffold. The day before his death, he wrote a very interesting letter to his brother, which is preserved by Wodrow. He was the last of the three that suffered; but like Mr. Smith, who ascended the ladder before him, he died with much assurance, comfort and joy, on the 20th of July, 1681.

JAMES STUART, was one of four individuals formerly mentioned, as having suffered along with Robert Garnock;† and as his case is somewhat remarkable, and presents an awful instance of tyranny and injustice, it may not be improper briefly to give it. He was a young man (might almost have been termed a boy for his years) of good and serious dispositions, and so far as appears, from any thing brought against him, had never been chargeable with any offence against the laws which were even then in force. He had come, it appears, from the west country where he resided, to see a relation, then a prisoner in Edinburgh. This person, by some means or other, effected his escape, whilst he was in the room, upon which he was immediately brought before the Council. Some ensnaring questions were forthwith put to him. The most shocking threats were employed to make him answer. Upon his answers an indictment was raised, and sentence of death passed upon him; and with the other four, he was executed at the Gallow-Lee, near Edinburgh, on the 10th of October, 1681.

JAMES ROBERTSON was a merchant in Stonehouse, Lanarkshire. In October 1682, being on business in Kilmarnock, he went to see an acquaintance, then a prisoner. When with him, he was without the least offence or provocation, seized, carried to the guard house, and confined. Being brought before Major White, and refusing the inquisitorial oath, which was then usually administered, he was barbarously used, remanded to prison, and in about ten days sent to Edinburgh under a guard. At Linlithgow, declining to drink the King's health, the soldiers renewed their cruelty towards him, and

* See p. 400.

† See Garnock's Life, p. 417.

having tied his head and feet together, left him lying on the cold ground, all night. In the morning they fastened his feet with cords under a horse's belly, and in that posture brought him to Edinburgh. Here he had many ensnaring questions put to him by the committee, in order to elicit evidence against him. He answered with great caution and propriety. But yet an indictment was drawn, charging him with holding it as his opinion that the insurgents at Pentland and Bothwell were not guilty of rebellion, and for this and other similar matters of opinion, he was condemned and executed with two other persons, equally innocent, on the 15th of Dec. following.—When he began to speak on the scaffold, he was immediately interrupted by the ruffling of drums, and on his complaining of this, the Town Major struck him with his cane in the most barbarous manner. This abominable rudeness to a dying man, and his patience and composure under it, was the occasion of deep conviction of the evil of persecution, and of serious impressions on the subject of religion in general.

ALEXANDER HUME of Hume, a gentleman of great respectability and worth in Roxburghshire, affords another lamentable instance of the injustice and rigour of the times. The most that could be made out against him, was his having held converse with some of the party, who, in the year 1679 had taken the castle of Hawick. On this slender ground he was apprehended, and after being severely wounded, was taken to Edinburgh.—Here he was indicted first, on the 15th of December. But so utterly groundless were the charges against him, that the Lords felt obliged to desert the Diet. He was then required to take the test in order to his being liberated. But refusing this, he was remanded to prison, and in five days thereafter, was again indicted. Still there was no legal proof of the charges brought against him. But yet the Assize pronounced him guilty of the alleged crimes. He was accordingly sentenced to be executed on the 29th day of December, 1682. Upon this, he earnestly entreated to be spared, till his case might be laid before his Majesty. But this was peremptorily denied. Notwithstanding this, it is said, that interest having previously been made for him, at Court, a Remission was actually sent down to Edinburgh some days before his execution, and received, but kept up by the Earl of Perth. And that upon the fatal day, Mrs. Hume came to the Lady of that nobleman, begging her to interpose for her husband's life, and urging her suit by the consideration that she had five young children, but that the answer returned was not only unfeeling, but so inhumane as not to bear being put upon record. There was therefore no mercy for this excellent man. The sentence was forth with executed in all its rigour. His last speech is to be found in Wodrow, and is characterised by him as breathing the spirit and expressing the sentiments of the most distinguished of our Martyrs. He concluded his life by singing the last verse of the 17th Psalm. He engaged in this exercise immediately before being turned over, as a prelude to that ceaseless song of praise, on which he was about to enter in a better world. His estate was forfeited, his wife and

children exposed to great hardships; but the Lord carried them through, till at the Revolution they regained their property.

JOHN NISBET the Younger, a native of Loudon parish, in Ayrshire, so called to distinguish him from Hardhill, was in the year 1683 apprehended by Major White, and, in consequence of a commission previously granted, was also examined, tried, and condemned by him. He informs us in his last speech, that the grounds of his indictment were, his owning the lawfulness of the rising at Bothwell. His rejecting the curates. His hearing Mr. Cargill, and his refusing to pray for the King's person and government. He was sentenced to be hanged at Kilmarnock on the 14th of April. He behaved with great gravity and courage at the place of execution. After praying, he sang the fifth and following verses of the 16th Psalm, read the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and prayed again. After this, he addressed the people, pressing upon them the necessity of godliness, and recommending religion, from his own experience. He then commended his soul into his Father's hands, and entered upon a peaceful and glorious eternity.

JOHN WILSON, Writer in Lanark, was a person of great integrity and worth, with a very considerable share of talent and learning. Having held a commission in the Presbyterian army at the battle of Bothwell, he was, with many others, shortly after, condemned, though absent, to suffer death, as soon as he should be apprehended. How, and on what day he was taken, cannot now be ascertained. On the 17th of April, 1683, however, he was brought before a Committee of the Council, and examined, displaying by his answers, great acuteness, and strength of argument; and justifying himself by principles, and reasons, which they themselves were constrained to admit. Notwithstanding his able defence, he was shortly after, sisted before the Justiciary, who, without going into new proof, merely recurred to the sentence formerly passed against him, and appointed a day for its execution. Previous to the reading of that sentence, he was strongly urged to receive the test, but firmly refused. After this also, much influence was employed to induce him to submit. He was urged to apply for his life, and did so; but still adhering to his principles, he was after some delay, executed on the 16th of May, leaving a testimony behind him in favour of the cause for which he suffered.

JOHN WHARRY, AND JAMES SMITH, are the names of two individuals, who in the year 1683, suffered death together, and that under a sentence the most arbitrary and cruel, which it is almost possible to conceive. Their case was as follows.—In the beginning of June, that year, a few days before their execution, a party of soldiers having seized a countryman who had been outlawed, were carrying him to Edinburgh, when they were attacked by some of his friends in arms, near Inchbelly bridge, and deprived of their victim. In the rencontre, some were wounded on both sides, and one of the soldiers was killed. But after the country people retired, the soldiers having rallied, began a strict search through the adjoining fields; and having found Wharry and Smith sitting in a wood, alleged, that they, though

without arms, belonged to the party, and brought them prisoners to Glasgow. Here they were sisted before the Circuit, and wonderful to tell, the Court, without there being any witnesses adduced, sustained it as sufficient evidence of their guilt, that they were found so near the place where the soldier was killed. Such was the justice that obtained in that awful period! They were accordingly sentenced to have their hands cut off, to be then hanged, and their bodies afterwards carried to Inchbelly bridge, and hung in chains. To this dreadful sentence, they submitted with much courage and composure. And both from the manner in which they behaved, and from the letters they left behind them, they seem to have been serious, sensible Christians.

JOHN RICHMOND, who was executed at Glasgow, in the year 1684, affords another instance of the murderous injustice which characterized the legal proceedings of those unhappy times. He was seized in Glasgow, when quietly walking along the street, and upon his having endeavoured to escape, he was pursued, overtaken, and most cruelly treated, though, as yet, they knew not who he was. He was carried to the guard, his head and feet bound together, and left for some hours lying upon the ground bleeding of his wounds and bruises. Next day he was put into the prison, where he continued, till, with other four, he was served with an indictment. On the 17th of March, they were brought before the Commission, but nothing was proved which ought to have militated against them. One witness indeed deponed that he saw Richmond at Airmoss, but on being asked how far distant he was from him, he answered, about half a mile; yet this, contrary to common sense, *was sustained* in evidence, and was the only proof against him. He was, nevertheless, condemned, and with the others, suffered death. His body reposes among those of other sufferers, in the High Church Yard, Glasgow.

JAMES NISBET, was of the same family, we believe, with the person formerly mentioned, as having suffered death, and belonged to the same part of the country. Being related to one of the four, who at Glasgow, were executed along with John Richmond, he was there attending their funeral, when he was apprehended by a cousin of his own,* who knew him to be a covenanter. His trial is not recorded, but it seems to have taken place before the Commissioners of Justiciary, by which the former five were condemned. He was executed in the month of June, 1684, at the How-gate head, near Glasgow. After sentence, he was offered his life, if he would acknowledge the King's Headship and Supremacy over the Church, which they well knew he would not do. He left a testimony behind him, in behalf of the sentiments which he owned, and died in much peace and assurance.

It was not till the month of November, 1684, that the barbarous

* Lieutenant Nisbet, who also apprehended Hardhill.

enactment, so long premeditated, was determined on, which empowered the soldiers to search out, and put to death suspected persons on their refusing to answer questions or take the oath, without even the form of a trial by Jury. This, they had already done, in a few instances, *with impunity*; but now they were authorized by an act of the government. With a few of the many instances in which they exercised this most dangerous license, we shall conclude these supplementary notices.

DANIEL M'MICHAEL, a plain, sensible countryman, in the parish of Mertown, Nithsdale, was with some others surprised while asleep in a shiel or outhouse, by a party under the command of Captain Dalziel, and Lieutenant Swantoun. The others, it appears, made their escape; but Daniel, who was sickly at the time, could not run. The soldiers, after wounding him, carried him to their head quarters in Druisdeer. Here many questions were put to him which he declined, and many charges brought against him which he denied. At length, he was told, that unless he presently owned the then government in Church and State, and took the oath, he must prepare for death. To this he replied, "That is what, in all things, I cannot do; but very cheerfully I submit to the Lord's disposal, as to my life." Upon this, the officer rejoined, "Do you not know your life is in my hand?" To which he answered, "No, Sir, I know my life is in the Lord's hand, and if he see good, he can make you the instrument to take it away." And being then ordered to prepare for death on the day following, he said, "If my life must go for his cause, I am willing; my God will prepare me."

During the night, he enjoyed much sweet communion with God. On the morrow, January 31st, he was brought out into a field, at a place called Dalveen, in the parish of Druisdeer; and after praying in a manner which astonished the bystanders, he sang part of the 42d Psal. and read the 16th chapter of John's Gospel. After the napkin was put around his head, he said, "Lord, thou hast brought thy servant hither, to witness for thy cause; into thy hands I commit my spirit, and hope to praise thee through all eternity." He then gave the signal to the four soldiers, who had been appointed for that purpose, and they shot him dead; not, however, without feeling strong convictions of guilt for the part which they acted in this affair.

WILLIAM HERON, of the parish of Glencairn, together with three men belonging to Galloway, was taken and shot on the 19th of Febr. 1685. There were other two of their party, who were spared till next day, when they were hanged upon a tree. They had all six been at a communion, which was held in a secluded part of the parish of Irongray, and administered upon a large flat stone, which remains to this day. Often, it is said, had this stone been used for this hallowed purpose. And though the persecutors, aware of this, had frequently attempted to surprise the communicants in the midst of their devotions, and mingle their blood with their sacrifices, they had hitherto failed.

Now at last, however, they did succeed. Watchmen had been stationed on the neighbouring heights to bespeak their approach. But a cloud of mist concealed them from their view, till they were almost surrounding the meeting. It was immediately broken up, some fled towards the banks of the Cairn, and others towards the moor of Lochen-Kit, in the parish of Uir. Here the six were taken whose fate has been described. A simple stone on this desolate heath, yet marks the place where four of them fell, under the hand of their murderers.

JOHN BELL of Whiteside in Kirkcudbright,—he was the son of a lady, who after his father's death was married to the Viscount Kenmuir. He was a singularly pious and sensible man; and having been in the rising at Bothwell, had since that event, endured much persecution. Immediately after it his house was rifled, and their horses with all the furniture which the party could dispose of, carried away. Again in 1681, Claverhouse with his dragoons came to his dwelling, and after eating up all the provision they could find, they destroyed the house and every thing about it, in the most wanton manner, seized and carried off his whole live-stock, and gifted away his crop to the curate of the parish. And besides these, many were the hardships he endured, and the dangers he encountered, in his various wanderings, during the four following years. At last in the month of February 1685, he was surprised, with four others, on Kirkconnel hill in the parish of Tongland, by a party under the command of Grierson of Lagg. As might be expected from the character of that ruffian, they were instantly put to death. Mr. Bell, whom Grierson knew, earnestly intreated but a quarter of an hour to prepare for eternity, but this was refused. The reply was, "What the Devil have you not had time enough to prepare since Bothwell?" He was therefore instantly shot with the rest, and so far did this persecuting renegado, push his revenge, that he even denied interment to their lifeless dust!

Shortly after this, Kenmuir happening to meet Lagg with Claverhouse in Kirkcudbright, called him to account for his cruelty to Mr. Bell, and more especially for the inhumanity of refusing burial to his remains. Grierson answered with an oath, "Take him if you will, and salt him in your beef barrel." The insulted nobleman immediately drew his sword, and must have run him through the body, had not Claverhouse interposed. And surely such a death had been too honourable for such a villain.

JOHN GIBSON of Ingliston, with other four persons in the parish of Glencairn, was shot upon the 29th of April 1685, under circumstances which deserve to be noticed. A base profligate informer, of the name of Watson, by pretending to be a sufferer, and going occasionally amongst the wanderers under this assumed character, had gained a knowledge of many of their lurking places, and amongst others, a cave on the grounds of Ingliston, which had frequently given shelter to not a few. Accordingly under his guidance, Colonel James Douglas, and Lieutenant Livingstone, having

on the day specified made their way to this cave, surprised in it, Gibson and his five friends. On first coming up, the soldiers shot into the cave, and wounded one of the inmates. They then rushed in and seized them, and without any questions asked, or offers made, without any charge against them but that of hiding from their persecutors, they were immediately condemned to die. Time was with difficulty allowed to pray before death; to Gibson, however, who was first executed, it was allowed. And after praying to the admiration and conviction of the soldiers themselves, he sang part of the 17th Psalm, read the 16th chapter of John, and having prayed again, was shot dead. A little before this, his sister by the compassion of some of the soldiers being allowed to converse with him, he encouraged her greatly, telling her, that this was the most joyful day he ever had in this world. His mother also having got near him, he charged her not to give way to grief on his account, but to bless the Lord who had made him both willing and ready to suffer for his cause.—The others were despatched all at once, and died also with much peace and consolation.

JOHN SEMPLE was a quiet inoffensive man, who lived at Eldingtoun in the parish of Dailly, Ayrshire. He was married, and had a family of three or four children. He had never carried arms, nor given any disturbance to the government, but from a principle of conscience he could not attend the ministrations of the Episcopal curate; and being of a compassionate and hospitable temper, he sometimes harboured the poor people who were pursued for their lives. Being, for these reasons, informed against as a disaffected person, the commander of Blanquhan garrison, one evening in April, 1686, despatched a party to apprehend him. They arrived at Eldingtoun about midnight and surrounded his house. Hearing the sound of their feet as they approached, he immediately conjectured what was their object, and, after considering what to do in this extremity, determined to venture his escape out of a narrow window; which, while he was endeavouring, his body being half out and half in, he was espied by some of the party, who immediately discharged their pieces at him, and killed him on the spot!!

PETER GILLIES, in the parish of Mucravonside, and John Bryce, in that of West Calder, afford two most signal instances of the cruelties which were perpetrated in 1685. In 1674, the former was brought to great trouble and loss, for having allowed a presbyterian minister to preach in his house; and again in 1682, being accused of nonconformity by the curate of the parish, he very narrowly escaped apprehension by a party of soldiers sent for that purpose. And being again informed against, he was, on the last day of April, 1685, taken at his own house, together with John Bryce, who was there on business with him. After threatening to kill him before the eyes of his wife, who was just recovering from child-birth, they hurried him away with his companion; and after a little returned, rifled the house, and took away every thing which they thought was valuable.—The two men were tied together, and

driven before them. After proceeding some miles, they bound a napkin over Gillies' eyes, and set him down upon his knees in order to be shot. In this posture they kept him for half an hour, and what were his feelings during this season, it may be left to the sympathizing reader to conceive. When they found that they could not by this means move him from his principles, they ordered him to rise, and resumed their progress towards the west country.

On the 4th of May, they had arrived at Middlewood in Ayrshire, from whence Gillies wrote a letter to his wife, full of affection and seriousness—displaying much holy confidence in God—expressing an expectation of death as near at hand, and leaving her with his five children, upon Him who is a father to the fatherless and a husband to the widow, who put their trust in him. From Middlewood they were carried to Mauchline, and on the day following, a jury of 15 soldiers being impanelled, and an indictment served upon them to compear before General Drummond, Commissioner of Justiciary within the tolbooth of Mauchline.—We may be sure such an assize would bring them in guilty, and they were sentenced to be hanged at the town end of Mauchline on May 6th, which was done accordingly. No coffins, nor dead clothes were allowed them, but the soldiers and two country-men made a hole in the earth near by, and cast them, with other three who were executed along with them, altogether into it.

ANDREW HISLOP, in the parish of Hutton, Annandale, is another shocking instance of the blood-thirsty cruelty which characterised the persecution in 1685. He was a young man, residing as yet, with his brother and sisters in the house of his mother, a very honest religious woman. To her house, it seems, one of the suffering people upon his hiding had come, being indisposed, and after a few days sickness died there. Upon which, she and her sons fearing persecution for reset and converse, had him buried during the night time in the fields near by. The grave being discovered, Johnstone of Wester-raw, (who had once been a great professor and a warm zealot for presbytery, but was now, like all apostates, equally violent in persecuting those who owned such an interest,) came with a party of soldiers, dug up the body, and instituted an inquiry, by whom it had been interred. Having discovered that it had come out of the widow's house, he went to it, spoiled it, and finally pulled it down, turning her and her family into the fields. Being thus forced to wander, Claverhouse fell in with Andrew, the eldest son, and having seized him, he carried him prisoner to Wester-raw that night, being the 10th of May. Johnstone, wishing to signalize his loyalty, passed sentence upon him next day, and urged that he should be despatched without delay. To this, however, Claverhouse was very backward, being, perhaps, not without his reflections upon the fate of John Brown whom he himself had murdered ten days before; but the other persisting in his demand, he at last consented to it, saying, "The blood of this poor man be upon you, Wester-raw; I am free from it." He then called upon the Captain of a company of foot which was travers-

ing the country along with him, to require some of his men to execute the sentence; but he refused, and drew off his men to some distance, swearing he would sooner fight Claverhouse and his dragoons, than be the instrument of such atrocity. Upon which he ordered three of his *own* men to do the business. *They* immediately made ready to fire, and when prepared, they bade the young man draw his bonnet over his eyes. But this he refused to do, saying, he was not afraid to look his death-bringers in the face, and had done nothing of which he was ashamed. Then holding up his Bible, which he had in his hand, he charged them to answer for what they were to do at that great day when they should be judged by that Book. But they were not to be moved by such considerations. They fired; and on the spot where he fell at Craighaugh in Eskdale muir, his remains repose in silence, waiting that trumpet which shall recall them to life.—His poor mother lost to the value of about £650 Scots money. And it appears that on this day, (11th May,) there were not less than seven individuals put to death in the same cruel and summary manner in different parts of the country.

The year 1685 was indeed the most dreadful season, during the whole of the persecuting period. The above are a few out of the many instances which it affords of those who were brought to military execution. During the following year the number was not so great, though there were still a few who fell victims to the same bloody and reckless intolerance. Of these we shall only give a narrative of one who was indeed amongst the last who suffered by this barbarous mode of procedure, and with this shall conclude these supplementary notices.

DAVID STEEL, Farmer in Nether Skelly-hill, parish of Lesmahago, is another of the many victims of persecution during the period referred to. Mention has already been made of him in the *Life of John Brown of Priesthill*, as one of the companions in duty and in suffering of that godly man.* And it was only eighteen months after his untimely fate, that he also was called upon under nearly similar circumstances, to seal his testimony with his blood.—Refusing, from conscientious feelings, to attend the curate of the parish, he joined the meetings of the covenanters, and fought in the

* See Note p. 445. He is there stated to have been the brother of a William Steel who survived the Revolution. But in this, it appears, the compiler of the Tract from which that Memoir is derived, (entitled "Some Account of John Brown, and published in Glasgow about two years ago) has fallen under a mistake. The Editor has ascertained that the name of the person alluded to was *John* and not *William* Steel, and that he was the cousin and not the brother of David, the subject of this notice. The particulars here stated have been communicated to him in a MS. composed from the oral accounts of some of the descendants of the said John Steel, of whose sufferings it contains a pretty full narrative. He regrets he cannot introduce this narrative into the present volume, which it has been thought proper to limit by the year 1688. But he intends giving it an early place should he be induced to go on with the proposed continuation of it

battle of Bothwell in 1679. From this period he was marked out as an object of continual pursuit. His sufferings were protracted and severe. Frequent and strict search was made for him. He durst not pass the night at home, but frequently slept, in company with his cousin John Steel of Waterhead, in a small hut on the west of Mennoch hill, about four miles distant from his own house, and about two from that of John Brown. And here, no doubt, they frequently had sweet fellowship with him and other sufferers. Thus did matters go on till the latter end of the year 1686. On a day in the month of December, it happened that David Steel was at home, when Lieutenant Crichton with a party of horse approached unobserved, till within a little distance from his dwelling. Upon the alarm being given, he instantly snatched up his musket and left the house. He ran towards the water of Logan, distant from Skelly-hill about a quarter of a mile; but was observed by his enemies, who immediately commenced a pursuit. In crossing the Logan a little above Waterside, he unfortunately fell into the water and destroyed his powder. He continued his flight, however, towards the woody banks of the Nethan, about a mile farther. The dragoons crossed at Waterside, and on coming to Yondertown, having observed him on a rising ground a little above, they began to fire, but without effect. In a little he must have reached the Nethan, whose steep and woody banks would have impeded the cavalry, and would thus most probably have escaped into the mosses beyond it. But in crossing a plot of ground a little below Meadow house, his strength began to fail, and he was nearly overtaken by the pursuers. He for some time kept the foremost at a distance by presenting his musket as if to shoot him. But at length Crichton calling to him to stop, and promising him quarter and a fair trial, he stood still, and laid down his useless weapon. It is probable he felt himself unable from exhaustion to gain his proposed shelter, so as to escape. He was accordingly taken back to Skelly-hill. It would seem that Crichton felt it an additional gratification to murder him in presence of his affectionate wife. When they got within sight, Mrs. Steel perceiving he was taken, came with her first and only child in her arms, and having joined the party walked home along with him. On arriving, Crichton taking him a little to the north of the house, near the kiln, ordered his dragoons immediately to shoot. Upon this, however, they remonstrated, and one after another harangued him as to the injustice of such a deed, after quarter had been promised him. But neither the remonstrances of his own men, nor the still more touching eloquence of Mrs. Steel, could soften his stony heart. He persisted in his bloody purpose, and again ordered them to fire. They replied, they should neither shoot him nor see him shot, and having mounted their horses, immediately rode off. He then gave a similar command to the foot soldiers, who were Highlanders, and instantly obeyed. A number of balls passed through his head, which was literally shattered to pieces. His afflicted wife ran to the corpse, and while she gently pressed down his eyelids, yet warm with life,

exclaimed with much tenderness and composure. "The archers have shot at thee, but they could not reach thy soul; it has escaped, and is now at rest." Then folding her hands together, and looking up with an eye that pierced the heavens, she prayed, "Lord, give strength unto thine handmaid, that will prove she has waited for thee, even in the way of thy judgments." When the neighbours came to the spot, they found her gathering together his white hair, and the scattered fragments of his head. They lifted the body, streaming with blood, and laid it on the Kilngrip,* till arrangements were made for taking it into the house. The blood, it appears, had sunk into the wall; for when the kiln was taken down some sixty years afterwards, it was distinctly seen upon the stones, having the appearance of tar. A small cairn was raised upon the spot where he fell, and near it grew a mountain ash, which was standing till within these few years. The body was deposited in the Churchyard of Lesmahago, and over it a stone (which has been lately renewed) was erected, bearing an appropriate inscription.

Such then are a few of the most remarkable cases of persecution, in addition to those already given in the preceding work, the details of which are concluded previous to the year 1688. Even yet, however, it must be observed, that the view which they present of the sufferings for conscience sake, endured by the inhabitants of the south and west of Scotland during the twenty-eight years previous, is inadequate indeed. Many cases of agonizing torture, and wanton barbarity, whose subjects outlived the Revolution, are not even hinted at; and many of those who were despatched in the fields, are omitted for want of room.

During these twenty-eight years of persecution, it is computed, that not less than 18,000 people suffered death or the utmost hardships and extremities. Of these, about 1700 were banished to the plantations; and of this number, 200 were lost in shipwreck by the carelessness, or rather, as it appears—the cruelty of the seamen.—About 750 were banished to the northern islands, and doomed to wear out a miserable existence on these then unpeopled shores. Those in addition, who suffered imprisonment, and the privations accompanying it, are computed at above 2,800. Those killed in the several skirmishes and insurrections, are reckoned at 680; and those who went into voluntary banishment, about 7,000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood; besides 362 who were by form of law executed. The number of those who perished through cold, hunger, and other privations, in their wanderings upon the mountains, and their residence in caves, cannot be well calculated, but will certainly make up the sum total to the number above specified.

And yet, wonderful to think, notwithstanding oppressions so severe, so relentless, and so long continued; like the ancient people of God in Egypt, the more they were persecuted, the more they in-

* This is a low wall on which the sacks full of grain are rested before it is spread upon the kiln.

creased, the blood of martyrs proving to be the seed of the Church. Yea, to the honour of the truths which they believed, and to the praise of that God and Saviour, in whom they trusted, and whom they served, the Presbyterians of Scotland, were so far from being eradicated, wasted, or destroyed, that at the Revolution, they raised a regiment in one day, without beat of drum—Thus realizing the ancient motto of the Scottish Church—“Behold the bush burned with fire, but the bush was not consumed.”

The cause in which they had suffered was the cause of God, and ultimately prevailed. The time to favour Zion, which was appointed, at length arrived. And in the many blessings and privileges conferred upon them, by the revolution, the Worthies of Scotland who outlived it, beheld and enjoyed the fruits of their patience and perseverance. In these blessings and privileges, we, their posterity, richly participate : and surrounded as we are on every side by such monuments of their sufferings, and sitting in peace and security under the shade of that Plant of Renown which they watered with their blood, it surely behoves us to revere their memories, to acknowledge their worth, and in so far as circumstances may permit, to imitate their example.

“Wherefore, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us.—What are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence came they? These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb : Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple : and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more ; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat : For the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and lead them unto living fountains of waters : and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes!” *

* Heb. xii. 1. Rev. vii. 13—17.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

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

[This Paper, in the former Editions of the Work, has generally been introduced as a portion of the Life of Patrick Simpson, by whom it was composed. As such, however, it seemed to the Editor, from its length, to mar, in some degree, the interest, and destroy the connection, of that Memoir. He has, therefore, inserted it here, not only with the view of giving as entire as possible, the Original Text of the Work, but also, as presenting in itself, a valuable relic of the firmness and fidelity of the excellent men, whose names are appended to it, and whose sentiments it contains.]

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

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

“ Next, remember that God hath sent you to be nursing fathers to the kirk, craving of your hands, that ye would maintain and advance by your authority, that kirk which the Lord hath fashioned, by the uncounterfeited work of his own new creation, as the prophet speaketh, *He hath made us, and not we ourselves*; not that ye should presume to fashion and shape a new portraiture of a kirk, and a new form of divine service, which God in his word hath not before allowed; because, that were you to extend your authority farther than the calling ye have of God doth permit, as namely, if ye should (as God forbid) authorize the authority of bishops, and their pre-eminence above their brethren, ye should bring into the kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing which the experience of

preceding ages hath testified to be the ground of great idleness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyranny, and shameless ambition, in the kirk of God; and, finally, to have been the ground of that Antichristian hierarchy, which mounted up on the steps of pre-eminence of bishops, until that man of sin came forth, as the ripe fruit of man's wisdom, whom God shall consume with the breath of his own mouth. Let the sword of God pierce that belly which brought forth such a monster; and let the staff of God crush that egg which hath hatched such a cockatrice: and let not only that Roman Antichrist be thrown down from the high bench of his usurped authority, but also let all the steps, whereby he mounted up to that unlawful pre-eminence, be cut down, and utterly abolished in this land.

“Above all things, my Lords, beware to strive against God with an open and displayed banner, by building up again the walls of Jericho, which the Lord hath not only cast down, but hath also laid them under a horrible interdiction and execration: so that the building of them again must needs stand to greater charges to the builders, than the re-edifying of Jericho to Hiel the Bethelite, in the days of Ahab: For he had nothing but the interdiction of Joshua, and the curse pronounced by him, to stay him from the building again of Jericho; but the Noblemen and States of this realm, have the reverence of the oath of God, made by themselves, and subscribed with their own hands, in the Confession of Faith, called the King's Majesty's, published oftener than once or twice, subscribed and sworn by his most excellent Majesty, and by his Highness, the Nobility, Estates, and whole subjects of this realm, to hold them back from setting up the dominion of Bishops: because it is of verity, that they subscribed and swore the said Confession, containing, not only the maintenance of the true doctrine, but also of the discipline professed within the realm of Scotland.

“Consider also, that this work cannot be set forward, without the great slander of the gospel, defamation of many preachers, and evident hurt and loss of the people's souls, committed to our charge. For the people are brought almost to the like case, as they were in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, about the 600dth year of our Lord, when the people were so shaken and brangled with contrary doctrines; some affirming, and others denying, the opinion of Eutyclus, that in the end they lost all assured persuasion of true religion; and within a short time thereafter, did cast the gates of their hearts open to the peril, to receive that vile and blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet; even so the people in this land are cast into such admiration, to hear the preachers, who damned so openly this stately pre-eminence of bishops, and then, within a few years after, accept the same dignity, pomp, and superiority, in their own persons, which they before had damned in others, that the people know not what way to incline, and in the end will become so doubtful, in matters of religion and doctrine, that their hearts will be like an open tavern, patent to every guest that chooses to come in.

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

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

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

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

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

“*First*, That the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the office-bearers and laws thereof, neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution, or alteration, beside the prescript of his holy word, by any inventions or doings of men, civil or ecclesiastical. And we are able, by the grace of God, and will offer ourselves to prove that this bishopric to be erected, is against the word of God, the ancient fathers, and canons of the kirk, the modern most learned and godly divines, the doctrine and constitution of the kirk of Scotland since the first reformation of religion within the same country, the laws of the realm, ratifying the government of the kirk by the general and provincial assemblies, presbyteries, and sessions, also against the weal and honour of the King’s most excellent Majesty, the weal and honour of the realm, and quietness thereof; the established estate and weal of the kirk, in the doctrine, discipline, and patrimony thereof; the weal and honour of your Lordships, the most ancient estate of this realm, and finally, against the weal of all, and every one, the good subjects thereof, in soul, body, and substance.

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

“*Thirdly, and lastly*, The General Assembly, (his Majesty sitting, voting, and consenting therein,) fearing the corruption of that office, hath circumscribed and bounded the same with a number of cautions; all which, together with such others as shall be concluded upon by the Assembly, were thought expedient to be inserted in the body of the act of parliament, as most necessary and substantial parts of the same. And the said Assembly hath not agreed to give thereunto the name of bishops, for fear of importing the old corruption, pomp, and tyranny of Papal bishops, but ordained them to be called commissioners for the kirk to vote in parliament. And it is of verity, that according to these cautions, neither have these men, now called bishops, entered to that office of commissioner to vote in parliament, neither since their ingyring have they behaved themselves therein. And therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall hold the great court of parliament to judge both the quick and the dead, at his glorious manifestation; and in name of his kirk in general, so happily and well established within this realm, and whereof the said realm hath reaped the comfortable peace and unity, free from heresy, schism, and dissention, these forty-six years bypast: also in name of our presbyteries, from which we have our commission; and in our names, office-bearers and pastors within the same, for discharging of our necessary duty, and disburdening of our consciences in particular, we except and protest against the said bishopric, and bishops, and the erection or confirmation, or ratification thereof, at this present parliament; most humbly craving that this our protestation may be admitted by your Honours, and registered among the statutes

and acts of the same, in case (as God forbid) these bishoprics be erected, ratified, or confirmed therein."

The foregoing protestation was subscribed by the following Ministers :—

Messrs. Andrew Melvill, James Melvill, William Scott, James Ross, John Carmichael, John Gillespie, William Erskine, Colin Campbell, James Muirhead, John Mitchell, John Davidson, John Colden, John Abernethy, James Davidson, Adam Bannatyne, John Row, William Buchanan, John Kennedy, John Ogilvie, John Scrimgeour, John Malcolm, James Burden, Isaac Blackfoord, Isaac Strachan, James Row, William Row, Robert Mercer, Edmund Myles, John French, Patrick Simpson, John Dykes, William Young, William Cooper, William Keith, Hugh Duncan, James Mercer, Robert Colvill, William Hogg, Robert Wallace, David Barclay, John Weemes, William Cranston.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

Abstract of the Speech of Lord Warriston, before the Westminster Assembly, after the delivery of some Queries from the Parliament.

[Lord Warriston was first appointed a Commissioner from the General Assembly of Scotland to the Assembly at Westminster, in the year 1643, and had his commission renewed and extended, during the four years succeeding that period. The exact date of his appearance on the present occasion, we have not ascertained. The Speech is given, exactly as in the previous Editions of this Work.]

MR. PROLOCUTOR,

I AM a stranger. I will not meddle with the parliament-privileges of another nation, nor the breaches thereof; but as a Christian, under one common Lord, a ruling elder in another church, and a parliament-man in another kingdom, having commission from both that church and state, and at the desire of this kingdom assisting in their debates, entreat for your favour and patience to express my thoughts of what is before you.

In my judgment, that is before you, which concerns Christ and these kingdoms most and above all, and which will be the chiefest mean to end or continue these troubles. And that not only speaking *humaniter*, and looking to the disposition of these kingdoms, but especially in regard of the divine dispensation, which hath been so special and sensible in the rise and continuance of these commotions, as I can neither be persuaded that they were raised for, or will be calmed upon the settlement of, civil rights and privileges, either of kings or princes, whatsoever may seem to be our present success; but I am convinced they have a higher rise from, and for the highest end, the settling of the Crown of Christ in these islands, to be propagated from island to continent; and until King Jesus be set down on his throne, with his sceptre in his hand, I do not expect God's peace, and so not solid peace from men in these kingdoms. But establish that, and a durable peace will be found to follow that sovereign truth. Sir, let us lay to heart what is before us, a work which concerns God and man most of any thing in agitation now under the sun, and for which we will one day be called to a more strict account than for any other passage of our life. Let us both tremble and rejoice when we reflect upon what is under debate, and now in our hands.

I was glad to hear the parliament confess their willingness, to receive and observe whatsoever shall be shown from the word of God to be Christ's or his church's rights or dues; albeit I was sorry to see any, in the delivery thereof,

intermix any of their own personal asperity, any aspersions upon this Assembly, or reflections on another nation; so in this day of law for Christ, wherein justice is offered, if he get not right in not showing his patent from his Father, and his church's from himself, it will be counted your fault.

Sir, all Christians are bound to give a testimony to every truth when called to it; but ye are the immediate servants of the Most High, Christ's proctors and heralds, whose proper function it is to proclaim his name, and preserve his offices, and assert his rights. Christ has had many testimonies given to his prophetic and priestly offices by the pleadings and sufferings of his saints, and in these latter days, seems to require the same unto his kingly office. A king loves a testimony to his crown best of any, as that which is tenderest to him: and confessors and martyrs for Christ's crown are the most royal and most stately of any state-martyrs; so, although Christ's kingdom be not of this world, and his servants did not fight therefore, when he was to suffer, yet *it* is in this world, and for this end was *he* born. To give a testimony to this truth, among others, were *we* born, and must not be ashamed of it nor deny it; but confess and avouch it, by pleading, doing, and suffering for it, even when what is in agitation seems most to oppose it, and therefore requires a reasonable testimony. But it lies upon you, Sir, who have both your calling from Christ for it, and at this time a particular calling from many, as that which the Honourable Houses require from you at such a time, when the settlement of religion depends thereon, and when it is the very controversy of the times; and the civil magistrates not only call you before them to aver the truth therein, but also give you a good example, coming before you out of tenderness to their civil trust and duty, to maintain the privileges of parliament; to give a testimony assentatory to their civil rights and privileges; and to forewarn you lest you break the same, and incur civil premunires. Sir, this should teach us to be as tender, zealous, and careful to assert Christ and his Church, their privileges and rights, and to forewarn all lest they endanger their souls by encroaching thereon; and lest their omissions and remissness bring eternal premunires upon them, let all know that the Spirit of your Master is upon you, and that Christ hath servants who will not only make pulpits to ring with the sound of his prerogative, but also, if they shall be called to it, make a flame of their bodies burning at the stake for a testimony to it, carry it aloft through the earth, like the voice in Sicily, that *Christ lives and reigns alone in his church*, and will have all done therein according to his word and will, and that he has given no supreme headship over his church to any Pope, King, or parliament whatsoever.

Sir, you are often desired to remember the bounds of your commission from man, and not to exceed the same. I am confident you will make as much conscience not to be deficient in the discharge of your commission from Christ. But now, Sir, you have a commission from God and man together, to discuss that truth, That Christ is a King, and has a kingdom in the external government of his church, and that he has set down laws and offices, and other substantial thereof; and a part of the kingdom for the which to come we daily pray, (as Perkins shows well.) We must not now before men mince, hold up, or conceal, any thing necessary for this testimony; all these would seem to me to be retiring and flying, and not to flow from the high Spirit of the Most High, who will not flinch for one hour, not quit one hoof, nor edge away a hem of Christ's robe-royal. These would seem effects of desertion, tokens of being ashamed, afraid, or politically diverted; and all these, and every degree of them, Sir, I am confident will be very far from the thoughts of every one here, who by their votes and petitions, according to their protestations at their entry, have showed themselves so zealous and forward to give their testimony, albeit they easily saw it would not be very acceptable to the powers on earth, who would hamper, stamp, and halve it. But would you answer to that question, If this were a parliament, and if it was a full and free one, would he not, and should he not, be esteemed a great breaker of privileges, and *contemptor curiæ*? Albeit we are not so wise, yet let us be as tender and jealous in our day and generation. Truly, Sir, I am confident you will not be so in love with a peaceable and external profession of any thing that may be granted to the church, as to conceal, disclaim, or invert your Master's right. That were to lose the substance for a circumstance, to desert and dethrone

Christ, to serve yourselves, and enthrone others in his place: a tenant doing so to his lord or landlord forfeits all. Ye are commanded to be faithful in little, but now ye are commanded to be faithful in much; for albeit the salvation of souls be called *cura curarii* the welfare and happiness of churches (made up of these) is far more; but the kingdom of Christ is *optimum maximum*; and to have it now under your debate, as it is the greatest honour God doth bestow upon an assembly, so it is the greatest danger; for according now as God shall assist or direct you, you may and will be the instruments of the greatest good or evil on earth. Let us do all in, with, for, and by Christ. Remember the account we have to make to him, who subjects the standing or falling of his crown in this island to our debate. I speak *humaniter* for *diviniter*, I know it is impossible; and albeit we should all prove false and faint-hearted, he can and will soon raise up other instruments to assert, publish, and propagate his right to a *forum consistorii*. He will have it thoroughly pled and judged betwixt his kingdom and the kingdoms of the earth. And seeing he has begun to conquer, he will prevail over all that stand in his way, whether Pope, King, or Parliament, that will claim any part of Headship, supreme prerogative, and monarchy over his own church.

Sir, some may think you have had a design in abstaining so long from asserting the divine right of church-government now to come in with it truly. Sir, I look upon this check as a good providence for your great sparing and abstaining in that point, and must bear witness to many passages of God's good hand in it, in not suffering us to make a stand for our desires concerning religion, either in Scotland or here, albeit we have often set down *mensura voti* to ourselves; but he has so often moved us step after step to trace back our defections, and make the last innovations a besom to sweep out the former, and the king refused to be a mean to engage in a covenant with himself and others, and so has drawn us, against our wills, and beyond our desires, to perform our duty, and to give a testimony to his truth, that much of God and divine wisdom and design, and little of man and his politic projects, might be seen in the beginning, progress, and continuance of the whole work, by this good hand of God: and for this end, I hope these queries are brought to your hand at this time.

Sir, your serving the parliament a while, I am confident, has been, and will be still, not that they may serve you, but to serve the Lord Jesus Christ; and that parliament will glory more in their subordination and subservience to him, than in the empire and command over the world.

Sir, we may hear much of the breach of privilege, and of the covenant, in relation to civil right; let us remember in the covenant the three orders in the title and preface, three main duties in the body, and the three effects in the close.—The covenant begins with the advancement, and ends with the enlargement, of the kingdom of Christ, as the substantial, and over-word of the whole.

The first article of the seven is Christ, an article like *dies Dominica* in the week, all the rest are in *Domino*, and subordinate thereunto: and all laws contrary to the will of Christ are acknowledged to be void in his kingdom, and so they should, with far greater reason than the constable's orders against the ordinance of parliament are void in law. But, Sir, Christ's throne is highest, and his privileges supreme as only King and Head of his church, albeit king and magistrates may be members in it. There is no authority to be balanced with his, nor posts to be set up against his, nor Korahs to be allowed against his Aarons, nor Uzzahs against his Azariahs. Is it so small a thing to have the sword? but they must have the keys also. Truly, Sir, I am confident that the parliament, and both nations, will acknowledge themselves engaged under this authority, and as they would not be drawn from it; for we must deny our places, take up our cross, lay aside our love to father or mother, paternal or civil, yea, lay down our lives to aver and confess this truth against all allurements and terrors, so ye would never endeavour to draw us to any other; and whatsoever reflection to the contrary was insinuated by the deliverer of this message, I cannot but impute it to personal passion, which long ago was known to the world; but will never believe the Honourable Houses will allow thereof, as being far beneath their wisdom, and contrary to your merit.

And, Sir, seeing these queries are before you, I am confident that whatever

diversity of opinion may be among you in any particular, you will all hold out Christ's kingdom distinct from the kingdoms of the earth, and that he has appointed the government of his own house, and should rule the same; and that none of this Assembly, even for the gaining of their desires in all the points of difference, would, by their silence, concealment, and connivance, weaken, commutate, or sell, a part of this fundamental truth, this sovereign interest of Christ; and that ye will concur to demonstrate the same by clear passages of scripture, or necessary consequences therefrom, and by constant practice of the apostles, which are rules unto us.

Sir, I will close with remembering you of two passages of your letter* sent by order of the House of Commons, to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, that you will set out such discipline as, to the utmost of your power, you may exalt Christ the only Lord over the church, his own house, in all his offices, and present the church as a chaste virgin to Christ; and for this end that you were not restrained by the Houses in your votes and resolutions, nor bound up to the sense of others, nor to carry on a private design in a civil way, but by your oath were secured against all flattering of your judgment, and engaged thereby, according to the House's desire, to use all freedom becoming the integrity of your consciences, the weight of the cause, and the integrity and honour of such an assembly. I will no more, Sir, trouble you, but with one word upon the whole matter, to desire you seriously to consider, if this business, whereon the eyes of God are fixed, deserves not a special day of humiliation and prayer for the Lord's extraordinary assistance and direction of this Assembly.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

Account of the Rising which ended in the defeat at Pentland, anno 1666.

[It has been asserted, by some writers, that this rising was premeditated, and the result of a plan concerted with the Whigs of England and the Republicans of Holland. This, however, was not the case. That the people, goaded by oppression, talked among themselves of resisting it, we may well suppose: and it also appears, that some of the better classes had held consultations as to the practicability of redressing the wrongs of their injured country. Nay, it is even certain that a plan was formed, in the summer of that year, for seizing the principal forts in the kingdom, and that the persons embarked in it had some correspondence on the subject with the government of the United Provinces. This plan, however, miscarried; and it does not seem that there was the least connection between it and the rising in Galloway. The privy council were unable, by all their inquiries, aided by the utmost severities of the torture, to elicit or extort the slightest evidence of previous concert among those who, on that occasion, betook themselves to arms, or of any correspondence between them and foreigners. It appears to have originated solely in an accidental scuffle between a small party of Turner's soldiers and some countrymen, who indignantly opposed their violence. To this, it has generally been ascribed. Such will be found to be the account given of it in the following Narrative; which is extracted from Blackadder's Memoirs, as quoted by Mr. Crichton, in his Life of that Worthy. It is sufficiently minute for every purpose for which its introduction here can be useful, and as to its fidelity there can be no doubt.]—See *Blackadder's Memoirs*.

ON Monday, the 12th of November, it fell out that (M'Lellan of) Barscobe, and other three, who had been some time under hiding, adventured to come down from the hills to a little town called the Clachan of Dalry, where four of Turner's men were quartered. It was early in the forenoon; for, hunger, and lying in the cold rain, had brought them from the mountains. They came into an alehouse,

* This letter was read August 17th, 1643, in the Scots General Assembly, as it stands in the collection of the acts thereof from 1638 to 1649, page 206.

and called for breakfast; and while taking it, there was a cry in the town, that the four soldiers had bound an old man in his own house, and were threatening to strip him naked, and set him on a hot gridiron, because he could not pay his church fines. which when they heard, they were necessitated to leave their breakfast, and go to the house; where finding the man bound, they called to the soldiers, "Why do ye bind the old man?" They answered, "How dare you challenge?" Some of the company offering to loose him, the soldiers drew on them with their swords; and one of Barscobe's company shot a pistol loaden with tobacco stopple, which wounded one, and made him fall. The soldiers violently assaulting, some others were wounded, and all four surrendered themselves prisoners. This report soon reached Balmaclellan, where a party with a minister were at prayer, who, fearing to be involved, seized sixteen of Sir James's men that were quartered in the neighbourhood. Having once embarked, fear made them proceed, as Turner, they knew, would make terrible reprisals. They resolved to be beforehand with him, and to surprise him and his garrison at Dumfries. They sent private advertisement through the country, that all who were ready should come in companies to Irongray kirk, on Wednesday night, that they might enter Dumfries by daybreak. Ere they could muster, the sun was up; and it was ten o'clock before they got to Dumfries. They approached without giving the least surprise. Turner and his men were so secure, they had not even a watch or sentinel at the bridge that leads from Galloway to the town. They were fifty horse, provided with cloaks girded over their shoulder for fighting, and about two hundred foot. Marshalled in order, they came to the Bridgend of Dumfries, their commander riding before. The horse marched into the town; the foot stayed without. Corsack and Robinson, with other two, were to ride up quickly to Turner's quarters, the rest of the party to follow at a little distance. When the four came to the foot of the stair, and foregainst the window where Turner lodged, he was in bed; but hearing a noise of horse, he came running on the alarm, to the window, in his night gown. Seeing Corsack, with others, he cries, "Quarters, gentlemen; for Christ's sake, quarters: there shall be no resistance." Whereupon Corsack, a meek and generous gentleman, cried to him, "If you come down to us, and make no resistance, on the word of a gentleman you shall have quarters." While they were speaking, the commander comes up, and seizing Turner, presented a pistol, or carabine, to have shot him; but Corsack interfered, saying, "You shall as soon kill me; for I have given him quarters." So he forbore.

A party was sent up to search his rooms, and bring down his papers and trunks, which were much emptied, he having before sent the money he had exacted in oppression, to Glasgow, as I heard say, in some loads. They brought himself down stairs in his night gown, night cap, drawers, and socks, and set him on a little beast barebacked, with a halter on the beast's head, and carried him towards the cross; where, to show their loyalty, they drank the king's health. Parties were sent here and there to apprehend the rest of the soldiers, one of whom only, was killed. Then they carried him through the town, out at the Nether-port, and a space down the river, to a green, by Nithside, over against the kirk of Troqueer, he being all along in a great panic, expecting they were going to hang him up with great solemnity. After a little consultation, they return with him in the same posture to his quarters, and bade him make ready to go with them. They warned all the inhabitants to bring the arms they had to the cross, and there they were dealt out among the foot. In the afternoon, they marched him and other prisoners towards the west country, uncertain what was to be the issue of this sudden adventure.

During all this time, there was no appearance of stir among all the gentlemen and noblemen in the country to assist or oppose them; so, in the afternoon, they marched with him and the rest of their prisoners the length of the kirk of Glencairn, where most of them kept guard, and sent some from them to advertise some in the west country of what was done there, that they might be in readiness at their coming up. However, they were in great perplexity, getting so little increase to their company, by reason the country could not be ready, being so surprised. After they had met with some out of a few parishes in the west, they

came to the town of Lanark, where it is said, they must have been near 2000, the greatest they had, and there they solemnly renewed the covenant, after some word of exhortation by several; Dalziel, with his men, being on the one side of the water. It is said, they had the best opportunity there to have fought, and their men were most resolute. This was on Monday before Pentland; but shunning that opportunity, they resolved to march, and did march that night, to the parish of Bathgate, being in expectation there to meet with a recruit. However, that night being both dark and stormy, with winds and rain, and the march far, (about 20 miles,) many wandered and fell off. When they came to Bathgate, there had been a company of gentlemen met, who, upon hearing their approach, fled hard into Lithgow, alarming them with great fear. On the morrow, being Thursday, they marched toward Collington, where they kept guard, and quartered some places thereabout. That night, some Lothian gentlemen fell upon a house, where some of them were, shot in at the windows and killed one of them. But after that alarm, the country people, getting to their horses, pursued them near to Edinburgh.

After this, being anxious what to do in that sad posture, the enemy following, and all the country appearing as their enemies, they resolved to march back toward Galloway and Nithsdale, and came the length of Pentland Hills, five or six miles from Edinburgh, where they drew up to refresh themselves a little. This mean time, a party of the Life Guards being commanded off Dalziel's army, appeared among the hills about 11 o'clock of the day, against which the countrymen commanded forth a party of their horse, which encountering with them, put them to the flight, and killed some. Here Mr. Andrew M'Cormick and Mr. John Crookshanks were killed, on the country people's side.

When this was past, they might have had time to march forward; for, it is said, for three hours' time the body of Dalziel's army did not appear: however, they staid till they saw them appear. Dalziel's men sent forth a party of their horse, and the countrymen sent forth a party of theirs, and after some little conflict, Dalziel's men did run; the other pursued them near to their body, and then also retired to their body, which stood on the knowe. After this, a greater party on the other wing, from Dalziel's army, did advance, the rest following. The countrymen had resolved to draw forth their men both on the right and left wing; but only those on the left had engaged with the enemy, and did again give them enough to do on that hand, but were not so readily seconded by those on the right hand. Being thronged and overpowered with multitudes, they were forced to wheel and run, the enemy having broken their right wing ere they were back; so they all fled. About 45 of the countrymen were killed on the place, and about 100 taken prisoners, and brought into Edinburgh that night. In providence, the night fell on, ere the conflict was ended, which was made a mean of the country people's escaping.

The prisoners were examined that night before the council. Some of them, who were designed to die presently, were put in the tolbooth. The rest were shut within the west end of St. Giles's kirk, called Haddock's Hold; where many, being wounded, died of their wounds. Strong guards of the townsmen were appointed to watch that place every night. However, by some honest woman's carefulness, in God's providence, several of them were stolen out in disguise, now and then, till at length a way was found to get Haddock's Hold broken, so that all escaped after they had lain there about a quarter of a year, and no noise was made to search for them again; so that they, with others who had escaped, lurked in Edinburgh till summer. While in prison, they were kindly entertained by the town's people, as also after their escape.

As for the rest of the history of this sad disaster, and the executions of those who suffered, with their excellent speeches, I refer to that book called Naphtali; which particularly sets down their names. I shall only notice that it was greatly wondered, that such a poor inconsiderable party of countrymen, so badly armed as they were, so outwearied with cold, travel, and hunger, should ever have engaged such a formidable enemy; they being scarce 900 of them, and engaged against 8,000 horse and foot, besides a great multitude, attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country, all well-armed with all manner of furniture, for war offensive and

defensive; and yet, not only in the morning, but twice in the afternoon, they both faced them and resolutely fought, till they were able to do no more, being oppressed with multitudes. It is not known what number of Dalziel's men fell that day; but those who stood on the hill, when the second party charged the enemy, and chased them into the body,—some honest men, I say, who stood among the rest and saw it, affirm, they saw many empty horses run into the body of Dalziel's army.

All this time Turner remained in their hands, and was conducted along with them, under an escort of sixteen horsemen, as they were not master of a single prison, or garrison, in all Scotland. On the evening of the battle he made his escape,—by making a covenant with his keepers, that if they preserved his life at that time he should preserve their's in case of the king's forces' victory:—a service which he afterwards attempted, but could not accomplish. It is also to be noted, that that people was little given to revenge; that, though they had been much provoked by that cruel tyrant, yet, when they got him in their hands, they did not so much as offer him a stroke, but took him prisoner, and gave him fair quarters wherever they travelled.

APPENDIX.

No. IV.

*Account of the Rising which ended in the defeat at Bothwell-bridge,
anno, 1679.*

[This Narrative, but for a few verbal corrections, is given exactly as it has appeared in the former Editions. It seems to have been copied almost literally from the account of the battle supplied by Crookshanks, in the second volume of his history. It may, therefore, be regarded as substantially correct, and will be found to agree, in general, with the extended narrative by Wilson, which was published in the year 1751, and which, he informs us, was compiled from twelve different manuscripts, written by persons of great integrity, who were Members of the Council of War on the occasion referred to.]

FROM what has been already related in this work, we may easily form a judgment of the dismal state of the nation on account of the arbitrary proceedings of those who had the management of affairs, and the causeless severities which many innocent people endured.

The rigorous and military execution of the sanguinary laws, now in force, could not but exasperate those who were by this means robbed of their liberty and property, and of every thing that was dear and valuable, especially as oppressions of every kind were still increasing. All legal methods of redress were cut off from the poor suffering people. What then could they do? Surely one may think, that it was incumbent upon them to fall upon measures for getting from under the feet of their cruel oppressors: for who could choose to continue in misery, if they could by any lawful justifiable method, extricate themselves from it? They were most averse to take arms, until they were forced to it in their own defence. And though they were obliged to have recourse to this expedient, yet they never desired to have an opportunity of making use of it; but, being declared rebels on this account, they were constrained to persevere in it, till the fury of the persecutors drove them to the rising we are now to give an account of.

When they found that small meetings were more exposed to danger than greater assemblies, they altered their method, and resolved to assemble in one meeting, in those places which they apprehended stood in most need of the gospel, and where they might meet together with the greatest safety. They who thus assembled were generally those who were averse to the indulgence, and the accepters of it; and many of them came armed. The orders given to the soldiers, and the severe

laws made on account of the Primate's death, tended to increase their numbers; but the divisions occasioned by the unhappy indulgence were of great disadvantage to them, and at last proved their ruin.

The numbers of the persecuted party on the occasion we refer to being considerably augmented, Mr. Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Preston, and some others, moved that something might be done as a testimony against the iniquity of the times. Accordingly, after serious consideration and prayer, they resolved to continue to hear the gospel, notwithstanding all the dangers to which they might be exposed, and to publish to the world their testimony to the truth and cause which they owned, and against the sins and defections of the times. In consequence of this resolution, the said Mr. Hamilton, together with Mr. Thomas Douglas, one of the preachers, and about eighty armed men, were pitched upon to go to some public place to publish their declaration, and burn the papers mentioned in it. They judged that the 29th of May was the most proper time for putting this into execution. Accordingly, on the afternoon of that day, they came to Rutherglen, a small royal burgh two miles from Glasgow, where they extinguished the bonfires,* put their resolution in practice, and affixed a copy of their declaration to the market-cross; the following is, according to the copy of it, subjoined to the Informatory vindication.

“As the Lord has been pleased still to keep and preserve his interest in this land, by the testimonies of some faithful witnesses from the beginning; so in our day, some have not been wanting, who, through the greatest hazards, have added their testimonies to those who have gone before them, by suffering death, banishment, tortures, forfeitures, imprisonments, and what not, from a perfidious and cruel adversary to the church and kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the land: therefore we, owning the same interest of Christ, according to the word of the Lord, and the national and solemn league and covenant, desire to add our testimony to the testimonies of the Worthies that have gone before us, (though we be unworthy, yet hoping we are true members of the church of Scotland,) and that against all things done prejudicial to his interest, from the beginning of the work of reformation, especially from 1648 to 1660, but more particularly from the said year 1660, and downwards, against the acts following. As against the act of supremacy, the declaration whereby our covenants were condemned; the act for the eversion of the established government of the church, and for establishing of abjured Prelacy; the act rescissory of all acts of parliaments and assemblies for establishing the government of the church according to the word; the act of Glasgow putting the same in execution, whereby, at one time, were violently cast out above three hundred ministers, without any legal procedure; likewise the act for appointing an holy anniversary-day to be kept every 29th of May, for giving thanks for the setting up an usurped power, destroying the interest of Christ in the land, whereby the creature is set up to be worshipped in the room of our great Redeemer, and a power is assumed which is proper to the Lord only; for the appointing of ordinances in his church, as particularly the government thereof, and the keeping of holidays, belongeth to no prince, prelate, nor person on earth, but only to our Lord Redeemer. And farther, we give our testimony against all sinful and unlawful acts emitted and executed, published, and prosecuted by them, against our covenanted reformation. And, for confirmation of this our testimony, we do here this day, being the 29th of May, 1679, publicly and most justly burn the aforesaid acts at this cross of Rutherglen, being the chief burgh of the nether ward of Clydesdale, as they perfidiously and blasphemously have burnt our holy covenants through several cities of these covenanted kingdoms. We hope none will take exception at our not subscribing this our testimony, being so solemnly given; for we are ready to do it, if necessary, and to enlarge it with all our faithful suffering brethren in the land.”

When this declaration was published, Mr. Hamilton and the rest retired from Rutherglen towards Evandale and Newmills. This affair made a great noise both at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Graham of Claverhouse, (afterwards Viscount

* Kindled, on occasion of the Anniversary observed on that day, in honour of the Restoration.

Dundee,) having unlimited powers to kill and destroy all he found in arms, came suddenly upon the town of Hamilton on Saturday afternoon, the 31st of May, and in the neighbourhood seized Mr. John King, and about fourteen others, who were not in arms, nor had any thing laid to their charge. They who escaped, and some who joined them in order to rescue Mr. King, repaired to the meeting, which they heard was to be at Loudon-hill next day, expecting assistance from thence.

Mean while Claverhouse, having likewise intelligence of that meeting, and resolving to disperse it, marched early from Hamilton on Sabbath morning the first of June, 1679, and carried his prisoners with him bound two and two, his men driving them before them like so many sheep. Public worship was begun by Mr. Douglas when they were informed of Claverhouse's approach. Upon this, all who were armed, resolved to leave the meeting, face the soldiers, and if possible relieve the prisoners. Accordingly, about 40 horse and 150 or 200 foot came up with Claverhouse and his party near Drumclog, and after a short and close engagement defeated them, and rescued the prisoners. Claverhouse had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped; above 20 of the soldiers were killed, and several taken prisoners, whom they released upon their being disarmed. The country-men lost not above two or three.

The country people after this action, resolved, since they could not separate without evident hazard, to keep together till they saw how matters would turn out. They marched that night to Hamilton, whilst Claverhouse escaped to Glasgow, and alarmed the soldiers there. Next day, Mr. Hamilton, and those who joined them in their march, being too much flushed with their success, marched to Glasgow, and entered the town about ten o'clock; but after six or eight were killed, and two or three wounded, they were obliged to quit the place, and retire to Hamilton, where they pitched a sort of camp.

Such was the inhumanity of the soldiers, that seven dead bodies lay on the street from eleven in the forenoon till night; and when they were taken into houses to be dressed for their burial, the soldiers came and stripped them of their dead clothes; nay, when they permitted them to be buried, none durst appear to perform this service but women, whom, notwithstanding, the soldiers attacked, cutting the palls with their swords. When the women used their plaids for palls, the soldiers took their plaids from them. In short, they were obliged to set the coffins in the alms-house, near the High Church, where they continued till the soldiers left Glasgow.

Early on the 3d of June, the Council met, and, having received a false account of these transactions, issued a proclamation against the *rebels*, as they called them. The Council issued another proclamation, ordering the militia to rendezvous, and to join and act with the regular forces, under severe penalties; and ordering all the heritors and freeholders to attend the King's host: and made all preparations they judged necessary for suppressing the *rebellion*, as it was termed.

On the same day, Lord Ross, and the officers in Glasgow, finding that the gathering of the country people still increased, marched with the forces to Kilsyth, and carried with them in carts some of the wounded countrymen, who fell into their hands, and on the 6th were joined by the Earl of Linlithgow at Labertmuir; but being falsely informed that the west country army was 8,000 strong, they wrote to the Council, that it was the general sense of the officers, that his Majesty should be applied to for assistance from England.

Mean while, matters were so managed at Court, that the Duke of Monmouth was pitched upon to command an army for suppressing the insurrection. When the Council received the news of this, they, on the 15th, wrote to court, and proposed that Dalziel might be made Lieutenant-General under the Duke.

The success which the countrymen met with at Drumclog, gave opportunity to many to join them from all quarters, considering the necessity there was to assist them in this extremity, and that they themselves were liable to the same danger from their enraged enemies. They never, as Mr. Wodrow thinks, exceeded 4,000, though Echard would have them to be 17,000, when they were routed at Bothwell; but then many were but ill armed, and it was their loss that they had not officers who understood the art of war.

When the King's forces left Glasgow, Mr. Welch and several others came thither from Carrick, and interred the bodies of those who had been killed in the late attempt, together with the heads of the sufferers for Pentland. They had showed the like kindness to the heads and hands of those which had been set up at Kilmarnock, Irvine, and Ayr, and were well received by the good people every where, as they marched along.

It being agreed upon to publish a declaration to the world, showing the reasons of their conduct, Mr. Hamilton, who took upon him the command, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Cargill, and some others, were of opinion, that the indulgence should be condemned in it. This, however, was opposed by Mr. Welch, the Laird of Kaitloch, and others; but Mr. Hamilton and his adherents being more numerous, the following general declaration was agreed to by the majority:—

“We, who are here providentially convened in our own defence, for preventing and removing the mistakes and misapprehensions of all, especially of those whom we wish to be and hope are friends, do declare our present purposes and endeavours to be only in vindication and defence of the true reformed religion in its profession and doctrine, as we stand obliged thereunto by our national and solemn league and covenants, and that solemn acknowledgment of sins, and engagement to duties, made and taken in the year 1648, declaring against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all things depending thereupon.”

At another meeting, Mr. Hamilton, and those of his sentiments, moved, that they might observe a day of fasting and humiliation before they should be engaged with the enemy. They who were of different sentiments from Mr. Hamilton would not agree to his reasons of humiliation, and so no fast was kept. Thus, divisions broke this little army, before they were broken by the enemy.

When the cause of their appearing and continuing in arms came to be considered at a meeting of the officers, which they called a *council of war*, Mr. Hamilton and his adherents were for having it stated upon the footing of the Rutherglen declaration; but they who favoured the indulgence proposed, that the King's authority should be expressly owned, according to the 3d article of the solemn league and covenant. Against this it was argued, that, as they had made no declaration against him, so they must be excused, and not urged to declare positively for him; especially as he was now in a stated opposition to the interest of Christ, and had, upon the matter, declared war against his people, and all the present opposition, cruelty, and persecution in Scotland, for redress of which they were now appearing, were carried on in his name. The covenants, they said, only bound them to him, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdoms; but the king had actually overturned the true religion, set up Prelacy and Erastianism, ruined the covenanted work of reformation, invaded the liberties of the kingdom, persecuted to the death the asserters of both, and plainly broke the conditions of government sworn at his coronation. To this it was answered, That, in 1638, the Assembly and covenanters owned the King's authority, though he had declared war against them; That this method of throwing off the King's authority, would obstruct the redress of their grievances, and frustrate the design of their appearance. But here the reader must observe, that Mr. Hamilton and his adherents proposed no declaration against the King's lawful authority, only would not positively mention him or his interest in the declaration: and it is certain, that what they asserted, concerning the King's opposition to the true religion, &c. was fact. How far their inference was just, must be left with the reader. However, they who opposed Mr. Hamilton and his adherents so far prevailed, as on the 13th of June to get a declaration published at Glasgow, called the *Hamilton Declaration*, wherein the King's interest is expressly asserted. The reader may easily see, that this little army must have laboured under great disadvantages from their divisions, when the enemy was coming upon them.

Here it will be proper to return to the King's army. The army under the command of the earl of Linlithgow being cantoned about Edinburgh, came on the 17th to Kirkhill-park, belonging to Lord Cardross, who suffered much at this time by the soldiers. On the 18th, the Duke of Monmouth came to Edinburgh, and was admitted a *privy-counsellor*. On the 19th, he went to the army, and

marched slowly towards Hamilton. Next day, he sent to the Council, complaining that their march was retarded for want of provisions, which were accordingly sent him. But some think the reasons of his Grace's slow motions were, because he expected some application to be made to him by those now in arms.

On the 20th, the Council received a letter from the King, approving of their proceedings, and requiring that they should prosecute the rebels with fire and sword, and all other extremities of war. These were orders our Managers were ready enough to obey; accordingly they transmitted a copy of his Majesty's letter to the Duke, whose army then lay within two miles of the Kirk of Shots, and was about ten thousand strong, which was more than twice the number of those they had to deal with.

There were, at this time, pains taken to dispose those in arms to lay before the Duke their grievances, with professions of loyalty to the King; but their discords still increasing did much damage, for, as the time of action approached, their numbers decreased before the King's army came up. When they heard of Monmouth's arrival, a motion was made to model their army, and pitch upon such officers as were best skilled in military affairs. About this time a person unknown, came into one of their meetings with a paper, as he said, from some ministers and others, which they earnestly desired all might sign. The tenor of it was, "We, the officers of the Presbyterian army, do hereby declare, That we have no intention or design to overturn the government, civil or ecclesiastical, whereunto we are solemnly sworn by our national and solemn league and covenant; and that it is our judgment and opinion, that all matters now in controversy be forborne and referred to be determined by their proper judicatories, viz. a free and unlimited Parliament, and a lawful General Assembly." But both these proposals were dropped for a time.

On Saturday the 21st, the officers met, and their debates ran higher than ever, though the King's forces were almost in view. At this meeting it was urged, that all places in the army should be declared vacant, and officers harmoniously chosen, that so they might be entirely united in the time of action. Mr. Hamilton, and those of his way of thinking, declared their willingness, on condition of the right stating of the quarrel. Upon this, the indulgence was again brought upon the carpet, and the dispute was carried to such a pitch, that Mr. Hamilton, John Paton, William Carmichael, Andrew Turnbull, and some others, left the meeting. Those who remained made choice of a new preses and clerk, and entered upon business; but were unwilling to nominate officers when so many had withdrawn. However, being acquainted with Monmouth's willingness to receive applications from them, and that being an affair which could admit of no delay, they unanimously voted a supplication to his Grace, wherein, after giving a general account of their grievances, they prayed that some of their number might have liberty, under safe conduct, to come and lay before him their grievances and requests.

On Sabbath the 22d, the Duke, and his army were come to Bothwell-muir, and their advanced guards to Bothwell town, about a quarter of a mile from the bridge. The countrymen lay encamped on the south of the river Clyde in Hamilton muir, and had an advanced party ready to dispute the passage at Bothwell-bridge, if the King's army should attempt it.—Early that morning, Mr. David Hume, the Laird of Kaitloch, and some say Mr. John Welch in disguise, went to the Duke with the supplication. They had easy access, and, besides the supplication, prayed, "That they might be allowed the free exercise of religion, and to attend gospel ordinances dispensed by their own faithful Presbyterian ministers without molestation; that a free Parliament and a free General Assembly, without the clogs of oaths and declarations, should be allowed to meet for settling affairs both in church and state; and that all those who now are or have been in arms should be indemnified." The Duke heard them patiently, but refused to treat with them till they had laid down their arms, and submitted to the King's mercy. He sent them back to their friends, and ordered them to bring an answer in half an hour at farthest. In short, when the commissioners came to the army, they renewed their debates, and so no answer was returned.

The King's troops in the mean time had leisure to plant their cannon; and

Lord Livingston began the attack on the bridge with the foot guards. The countrymen stood their ground for nearly an hour, and defended the bridge with great gallantry. Hackston of Rathillet, one of their commanders, showed a great deal of bravery upon the occasion; but their ammunition failing them, and not being properly supported, they were obliged to quit the bridge where their main strength lay. Upon this, the Duke ordered the whole army to pass the bridge with the cannon before them, and soon after the whole west country army was routed.

Thus the *rebellion* at Bothwell, as it was called, was suppressed. There cannot be any just account given of the number of the slain, because they were murdered up and down the fields as the soldiers met them. It was reckoned that 400 were killed, and 1200 surrendered prisoners on the muir, who were not only disarmed and stripped almost naked, but made to lie down flat on the ground, and not suffered to change their posture. If any of them so much as raised himself, he was shot dead in an instant. There had been a much greater slaughter, had it not been for the Duke, and the interest of several noblemen and gentlemen at that time with his Grace. Nevertheless, great were the severities used by the soldiers, as the following glaring instances will evince:—Mr. William Gordon of Earls-toun, having his affairs to settle, could not join the country army, but sent his son, Mr. Alexander, before, who was in the action. Mr. William, not knowing of the disaster of the west country army, and riding as quickly as he could to join them, was met by a party of English dragoons, and, refusing to surrender, was killed on the spot. His friends could not get him buried with the rest of his family, and therefore he lies interred in the church-yard of Glassford. A pillar was erected over his grave, but no inscription was suffered to be upon it. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Gordon narrowly escaped, by means of one of his tenants, who, knowing him as he rode through Hamilton after the defeat, made him dismount, put his horse-furniture into a dunghill, and obliged him to put on women's clothes, and rock the cradle, by which means he was preserved.

Several were murdered in cold blood by the soldiers, that same day, on the road near Hamilton. They were going to hear sermon in the camp, and had no arms, not knowing that the soldiers had got over the river, particularly James Scouller and Gavin Semple, in the parish of Glassford, John Browning, Robert Stobo, William Hamilton, Robert Steil, William Pate, and Archibald Dick, from the parish of Evandale, and Robert Findlay in that of Stonehouse. Next day, Arthur Inglis in Cambusnethan, reading his Bible in a furrow, was supposed to be a Whig by the soldiers who happened to perceive him, and therefore one of them fired from a distance but missed him. The good man looked about and not offering to move, the soldiers came and clave him through the scull, and so despatched him; and indeed they scarcely spared any they met with near the field of battle.

Dreadful were the consequences of this fatal action; and had it not been for Monmouth's lenity, they had been much greater; for some of the officers proposed to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, and the country round Bothwell-bridge: but the General rejected the proposal with indignation. Most of the gentlemen in the western shires were brought to trouble. Sir Thomas Stuart of Coltness, son to Sir James Stuart, who was Provost of Edinburgh, was obliged to retire to Holland, orders being issued for apprehending him, though neither he nor any of his servants were there.

Dalziel's commission to be lieutenant general came down on the day of battle. The Laird of Lundin brought the first news of the action to the Council, who immediately sent despatches to Lauderdale, and wrote to Colonel Struthers in Northumberland, to secure the borders, stop and imprison the rebels, and give what orders he thought proper to accomplish this end.

The prisoners taken at Bothwell, among whom was Mr. John Kid, were sent to Edinburgh. In their journey they were generally tied two and two, made a gazingstock in the places through which they passed, and exposed to the cruel mockings of the profane, who said, "Where is now your God? Take him up now, and Mr. Welch, who said you should win the day;" though Mr. Welch never said any such thing. When they came to Edinburgh, the Council ordered the magistrates to put them into the Inner Gray-friars' church-yard with proper sentinels over them, viz. twenty-four to guard them at night, and eight in the

daytime. The officers were to keep a list of the sentinels, that, if any of the prisoners should escape, the sentinels should throw the dice, and answer body for body. The officers were to be accountable for the sentinels, and the town of Edinburgh for the officers. These orders were put in execution, and the prisoners were all carried to the place appointed, except a few who were put in prison, and continued in that enclosure near five months, mostly in the open air. Here they generally stood all day, and lay all night on the cold ground, without any other accommodation; and, if any of them, in the night-time, had raised their heads for a little ease, the soldiers were sure to fire at them. It would be endless to recount all their hardships, and with what difficulty persons were allowed to bring them any necessary provisions, and how the women were insulted and abused by the soldiers. It was esteemed a singular favour, that some huts made of deals were set up for them a few weeks before they were brought out of this place.

On the 26th, a proclamation was issued against the *rebels*, as they called them. Many names were inserted in this proclamation, and, among others, that of Mr. John King. The two brothers of the Earl of Galloway were also named in it; but the Council afterwards declared, they had made it appear that they were not in the rebellion.

This proclamation made way for the soldiers to commit many cruelties through the country. A great many parties were dispersed through the west and south, but none were so noted for their barbarities as Claverhouse, and those under his command. Accordingly, upon any frivolous information, they attacked the houses of those whom they pretended had been in the rising, especially through the shire of Ayr, which had suffered so much the last year by the Highland host.

Claverhouse, marching into Galloway with some English dragoons, scarcely made any distinction between those who had been at Bothwell and others, seized all the horses they could find, plundered the houses, particularly in the parishes of Carsphairn, Balmaclellan, and Glencairn; ravages, murder, and the most atrocious barbarities marking his progress.

Soon after this, the Duke of Monmouth published a pardon and indemnity to all tenants and subtenants who had been at Bothwell, in case they submitted themselves against such a day. There was likewise a bond required of the heritors in the west country, obliging themselves to use their utmost for securing those who did not accept of this favour. But as few of the tenants chose to venture themselves into the hands of the magistrates at that time, so the heritors chiefly concerned, refused the bond. On the 6th, the Duke took his leave of the Council, and in two or three days returned to England.

APPENDIX.

No. V.

Account of the Skirmish at Airmoss, anno 1680.

[The following Narrative is from the pen of Hackston of Rathillet, who commanded the Presbyterians on the occasion referred to. It is preserved in the Appendix to the second volume of Wodrow's History. The substance of it has already been given in the account of Hackston's life; but, as an original and interesting document, it seemed worthy of being here inserted, entire. A very few verbal alterations are made, so as to render it more intelligible.]

WE, getting notice of a party out seeking us, sent two on Wednesday night, late, to know their motion, and lay on a moor side all night. On Thursday,

about ten hours, we went to take some meat, and sent out other two, and desired them to consult with the former two, who had not come to us, but were laying down to sleep. They all four returned and told us it was unnecessary to send any for intelligence, they having secured it. Whereupon, after we had gotten some meat, we came to a piece of grass and lay down, and presently we were all alarmed that they were upon us, and so making ready, we saw them coming fast on, and that about three or four hours in the afternoon, and each one resolving to fight, I rode off to seek a strength for our advantage, and being desired by a countryman to go into such a place for the best strength, I went and they followed; but coming to it I found we could go no farther, and so turning and drawing up quickly, eight horse on the right hand with R. D., and fifteen on the left with me, there being no more, the foot, not being forty and many of them ill-armed,—in the midst, I asked all if they were willing to fight, who all said, Yes; especially J. G. The enemy, whom I took to be above an hundred and twelve, well-armed, and horsed, advanced fast, and sent first about twenty dragoons, on foot, to take the wind of us; which we seeing, sent a party on foot to meet them, and the rest of us advanced fast on the enemy, a strong body of horse coming hard on us; whereupon, when we were joined, our horse fired first, and wounded and killed some of them, both horse and foot.

Our horse advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other. I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, rode in amongst them, and went out at a side, without any wrong or wound. I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space; sometimes they following me, and sometimes I following them. At length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance. We both being on foot, fought it with small swords, without advantage of one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with three on horseback behind me, and received three sore wounds on the head, and so falling he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me, and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much,—where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men. What more of our men were killed I did not see, nor know, but as they told me after, the field was theirs. I was brought toward Douglas. They used me civilly, and brought me drink out of an house by the way. At Douglas, Janet Clellan was kind to me, and brought a chirurgeon to me, who did but little to my wounds, only staunched the blood.

Next morning, I was brought to Lanark, and brought before Dalziel, Lord Ross, and some others, who asked many questions at me: but I not satisfying them with answers, Dalziel did threaten to roast me; and, carrying me to the tolbooth, caused bind me most barbarously, and cast me down, where I lay till Saturday morning, without any, except soldiers, being admitted to speak to me, or look my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next morning they brought me, and John Pollock, and other two of us, near two miles on foot, I being without shoes, when the party, which had broken us at first, received us. They were commanded by Earshall. We were horsed, civilly used by them on the way, and brought to Edinburgh about four in the afternoon, and carried about the north side of the town, to the foot of the Canongate, where the town magistrates were who received us; and setting me on an horse with my face backward, and the other three bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before me, and another head in a sack, which I knew not, on a lad's back; they carried us up the street to the Parliament close, where I was taken down, and the rest loosed.

APPENDIX.

No. VI.

Description of the Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell, by an Officer in the Presbyterian army.

[These Narratives are not by any means introduced here, as containing the *actual history* of the events to which they relate. They are only given as specimens, so to speak, of historical painting, as a description of facts, all of which *might*, and many of which, we know, *did*, take place on the occasions. Presenting, as they do, a most lively and interesting picture of these eventful scenes, it has been thought they may be of use in helping us, not only to just conceptions of them, but also to a right estimate of the characters which they brought into display. As such, undoubtedly, they may serve to impress us with somewhat adequate ideas of the exalted patriotism, and the undaunted valour, which accompanied and assisted the religious zeal of our pious forefathers, as well as of those countless dangers, alarms, and sufferings through which they maintained their testimony and their rights. With these views, we insert them here, as being the production of one, who descended, as he is, of Covenanters, seems endowed with genius, at once to describe their grievances and vindicate their wrongs.—They first appeared, about five years ago, in an American Newspaper, and were thence copied into some of the most popular Journals of our own country. They were accompanied by a letter, in reference to the particular circumstances which induced their publication; of which, the following extract will suffice by way of introducing them to the notice of the reader.]

THE following is given in the words of the Laird of Torfoot, whose estate is this day in the possession of two brothers, his lineal descendants of the fifth generation. The Laird speaks of what he saw and what he did. I have carefully compared his account with the statements handed down by family tradition—particularly with the statements of a venerable aunt, who died lately in Pennsylvania, aged nearly ninety, and who was the grand-daughter of the Laird's second son. I have also compared the account with the brief printed account of these battles in the "Scots Worthies," and the "Cloud of Witnesses." This last book records the Laird's name [Thomas Brownlee] in the list of those driven into banishment; but, in spite of Clavers and Charles, and shipwrecks, by the grace of God, he regained his native halls to bless his afflicted family, and finally died in peace, in the presence of his family, in a good old age.

(Signed)

W. C. B.

BATTLE OF DRUMCLOG.

"It was on a fair Sabbath morning, 1st June, A. D. 1679, that an assembly of Covenanters sat down on the heathy mountains of Drumclog. We had assembled not to fight, but to worship the God of our fathers. We were far from the tumult of cities.—The long dark heath waved around us; and we disturbed no living creatures, saving the pees-weep* and the heather-cock. As usual, we had come armed. It was for self-defence. For desperate and ferocious bands made bloody raids through the country, and, pretending to put down treason, they waged war against religion and morals. They spread ruin and havoc over the face of bleeding Scotland.

The venerable Douglas had commenced the solemnities of the day. He was expatiating on the execrable evils of tyranny. Our souls were on fire at the remembrance of our country's sufferings and the wrongs of the church. In this moment of intense feeling, our watchman posted on the neighbouring height, fired his carbine, and ran toward the Congregation. He announced the approach of the enemy. We raised our eyes to the Minister. "I have done," said Douglas, with his usual firmness.—"You have got the theory,—now for the practice; you know your duty; self-defence is always lawful. But the enemy approaches." He raised his eyes to heaven and uttered a prayer—brief and emphatic—like the prayer of Richard Cameron, "Lord, spare the green, and take the ripe."

The officers collected their men, and placed themselves each at the head of those of his own district. Sir Robert Hamilton placed the foot in the centre, in three

* Anglice, tee-wit, or lap-wing.

ranks. A company of horse, well-armed and mounted, was placed on the left, and a small squadron also on the left. These were drawn back, and they occupied the more solid ground; as well with a view to have a more firm footing, as to arrest any flanking party that might take them on the wings. A deep morass lay between us and the ground of the enemy. Our aged men, our females, and children, retired; but they retired slowly. They had the hearts and the courage of the females and children in those days of intense religious feeling, and of suffering. They manifested more concern for the fate of relatives, for the fate of the church, than for their own personal safety. As Claverhouse descended the opposite mountain, they retired to the rising ground in the rear of our host. The aged men walked with their bonnets in hand. Their long grey locks waved in the breeze. They sang a cheering psalm. The music was that of the well-known tune of *The Martyrs*; and the sentiment breathed defiance. The music floated down on the wind. Our men gave three cheers as they fell into their ranks. Never did I witness such animation in the looks of men. For me, my spouse and my little children were in the rear. My native plains, and the halls of my father, far below, in the dale of Aven, were full in view, from the heights which we occupied. My country seemed to raise her voice—the bleeding church seemed to wail aloud. “And these,” I said, as Clavers and his troops wended slowly down the dark mountain’s side, “these are the unworthy slaves, and bloody executioners, by which the tyrant completes our miseries.”

Hamilton here displayed the hero. His portly figure was seen hastening from rank to rank. He inspired courage into our raw and undisciplined troops. The brave Hackston, and Hall of Haugh-head, stood at the head of the foot soldiers, and re-echoed the sentiments of their Chief. Burley and Cleland had inflamed the minds of the horsemen on the left, to a noble enthusiasm. My small troop on the right needed no exhortation; we were a band of brothers, resolved to conquer or fall.

The trumpet of Clavers sounded a loud note of defiance—the kettle-drum mixed its tumultuous roll—they halted—they made a long pause. We could see an officer with four file conducting 15 persons from the ranks to a knoll on their left. I could perceive one in black: it was my friend King, the Chaplain of Lord Cardross, who had been taken prisoner by Clavers at Hamilton. ‘Let them be shot through the head,’ said Clavers, in his usual dry way, ‘if they should offer to run away.’ We could see him view our position with great care. His officers came around him. We soon learned that he wished to treat with us. He never betrayed symptoms of mercy or of justice, nor offered terms of reconciliation, unless when he dreaded that he had met his match; and, even then, it was only a manœuvre, to gain time, or to deceive. His flag approached the edge of the bog. Sir Robert held a flag sacred; had it been borne by Clavers himself, he had honoured it. He demanded the purpose for which he came. ‘I come,’ said he, ‘in the name of his sacred Majesty, and of Colonel Grahame, to offer you a pardon, on condition that you lay down your arms, and deliver up your ringleaders.’—‘Tell your officer,’ said Sir Robert, ‘that we are fully aware of the deception he practises. He is not clothed with any powers to treat, nor was he sent out to treat with us, and attempt a reconciliation. The Government against whom we have risen, refuses to redress our grievances, or to restore to us our liberties. Had the tyrant wished to render us justice, he had not sent by the hands of such a ferocious assassin as Claverhouse. Let him, however, show his powers, and we refuse not to treat; and we shall lay down our arms to treat, provided that he also lay down his. Thou hast my answer.’—‘It is a perfectly hopeless case,’ said Burley, while he called after the flag-bearer—‘Let me add one word, by your leave, General. Get thee up to that bloody dragoon, Clavers, and tell him that we will spare his life, and the lives of his troops, on condition that he, your Clavers, lay down his arms, and the arms of these troops. We will do more: as we have no prisons on these wild mountains, we will even let him go on his parole, on condition that he swear never to lift arms against the religion and the liberties of his country.’ A loud burst of applause re-echoed from the ranks; and, after a long pause in deep silence, the army sung the following verses of a psalm:—

' There, arrows of the bow he brake;
 The shield, the sword, the war,
 More glorious thou than hills of prey,
 More excellent art far.
 Those that were stout of heart are spoil'd,
 They slept their sleep outright;
 And none of those their hands did find,
 That were the men of might.'

When the report was made to Claverhouse, he gave the word with a savage ferocity, ' Their blood be on their own heads. Be *No quarters* the word this day.' His fierce dragoons raised a yell, and '*No quarters*' re-echoed from rank to rank, while they galloped down the mountain's side. It is stated that Burley was heard to say, ' Then be it so—even let there be *no quarters*—at least in my wing of the host. So God send me a meeting,' cried he aloud, ' with that chief under the white plume. My country would bless my memory, could my sword give his villanous carcase to the crows.'

Our raw troops beheld with firmness the approach of the foemen; and at the moment when the enemy halted to fire, the whole of our foot dropped on the heath. Not a man was seen to remain down, when the order was given to rise, and return the fire. The first rank fired, then kneeled down, while the second fired. They made each bullet tell. As often as the lazy rolling smoke was carried over the enemy's heads, a shower of bullets fell on his ranks. Many a gallant man tumbled on the heath. The fire was incessant. It resembled one blazing sheet of flame, for several minutes, along the line of the Covenanters. Clavers attempted to cross the morass, and break our centre. ' *Spearmen! to the front,*'—I could hear the deep-toned voice of Hamilton say—' *Kneel, and place your spears to receive the enemy's cavalry; and you, my gallant fellows, fire—God and our Country is our word.*' Our officers flew from rank to rank. Not a peasant gave way that day. As the smoke rolled off, we could see Clavers urging on his men with the violence of despair. His troops fell in heaps around him, and still the gaps were filled up. A galled trooper would occasionally flinch; but ere he could turn or flee, the sword of Clavers was waving over his head. I could see him, in his fury, strike both man and horse. In the fearful carnage, he himself sometimes reeled. He would stop short in the midst of a movement, then contradict his own orders, and strike the man, because he could not comprehend his meaning.

He ordered flanking parties to take us on our right and left. ' In the name of God,' cried he, ' cross the bog, and charge them on the flanks, till we get over this morass. If this fail, we are lost.'

It now fell to my lot to come into action. Hitherto we had fired only some distant shot. A gallant officer led his band down to the borders of the swamp, in search of a proper place to cross. We threw ourselves before him. A severe firing commenced. My gallant men fired with great steadiness. We could see many tumbling from their saddles. Not content with repelling the foemen, we found our opportunity to cross, and attack them sword in hand. The Captain, whose name I afterwards ascertained to be Arrol, threw himself in my path. In the first shock, I discharged my pistols. His sudden start in his saddle, told me that one of them had taken effect. With one of the tremendous oaths of Charles II. he closed with me. He fired his steel pistol. I was in front of him;—My sword glanced on the weapon, and gave a direction to the bullet, which saved my life. By this time, my men had driven the enemy before them, and had left the ground clear for the single combat. As he made a lunge at my breast, I turned his sword aside, by one of those sweeping blows, which are rather the dictate of a kind of instinct of self-defence than a movement of art. As our strokes redoubled, my antagonist's dark features put on a look of deep and settled ferocity. No man who has not encountered the steel of his enemy, in the field of battle, can conceive the looks and the manner of the warrior, in the moments of his intense feelings. May I never witness them again!—We fought in silence. My stroke fell on his left shoulder; it cut the belt of his carbine, which fell to the ground. His blow cut me to the rib, glanced along the bone, and rid me also of the weight of my carbine. He had now advanced too near to me, to be

struck with the sword. I grasped him by the collar. I pushed him backwards; and, with an entangled blow of my Ferrara, I struck him across his throat. It cut only the strap of his head-piece, and it fell off. With a sudden spring, he seized me by the sword belt. Our horses reared, and we both came to the ground. We rolled on the heath in deadly conflict. It was in this situation of matters, that my brave fellows had returned from the rout of the flanking party, to look after their commander. One of them was actually rushing on my antagonist, when I called on him to retire.¹ We started to our feet. Each grasped his sword. We closed in conflict again. After parrying strokes of mine enemy which indicated a hellish ferocity, I told him my object was to take him prisoner; that sooner than kill him, I should order my men to seize him. 'Sooner let my soul be branded on my ribs in hell,' said he, 'than be captured by a Whigamore. *No quarter* is the word of my Colonel, and my word. Have at thee, Whig—I dare the whole of you to the combat.' 'Leave the madman to me—leave the field instantly,' said I to my party, whom I could hardly restrain. My sword fell on his right shoulder. His sword dropped from his hand. I lowered my sword, and offered him his life. 'No quarter,' said he, with a shriek of despair. He snatched his sword, which I held in my hand, and made a lunge at my breast. I parried his blows till he was nearly exhausted; but gathering up his huge limbs, he put forth all his energy in a thrust at my heart. My Andro Ferrara received it, so as to weaken its deadly force; but it made a deep cut. Though I was faint, with loss of blood, I left him no time for another blow. My sword glanced on his shoulder, cut through his buff coat, and skin, and flesh; swept through his jaw, and laid open his throat from ear to ear. The fire of his ferocious eye was quenched in a moment. He reeled, and falling with a terrible clash, he poured out his soul, with a torrent of blood, on the heath. I sunk down insensible for a moment. My faithful men, who never lost sight of me, raised me up.—In the fierce combat, the soldier suffers most from thirst. I stooped down, to fill my helmet with the water which oozed through the morass. It was deeply tinged with human blood, which flowed in the conflict above me. I started back with horror; and Gawn Witherspoon bringing up my steed, we set forward in the tumult of the battle.

All this while, the storm of war had raged on our left. Cleland and the fierce Burley had charged the strong company sent to flank them. These officers permitted them to cross the swamp, then charged them with a terrible shout. 'No quarter,' cried the dragoons. 'Be no quarter to you, then, ye murderous loons,' cried Burley; and at one blow he cut their leader through the steel cap, and scattered his brains on his followers. His every blow overthrew a foeman. Their whole forces were now brought up, and they drove the dragoons of Clavers into the swamp. They rolled over each other. All stuck fast. The Covenanters dismounted, and fought on foot. They left not one man to bear the tidings to their Colonel.

The firing of the platoons had long ago ceased, and the dreadful work of death was carried on by the sword. At this moment, a trumpet was heard in the rear of our army. There was an awful pause; all looked up. It was only the gallant Captain Nisbet,² and his guide, Woodburn of Mains: he had no reinforcements for us, but himself was a host. With a loud huzza, and flourish of his sword, he placed himself by the side of Burley, and cried, "Jump the ditch, and charge the enemy." He and Burley struggled through the marsh. The men followed as they could. They formed, and marched on the enemy's right flank.

At this instant, Hamilton and Hackstone brought forward the whole line of infantry in front. 'God and our Country' re-echoed from all the ranks. 'No quarters,' said the fierce squadrons of Clavers. Here commenced a bloody scene.

I seized the opportunity this moment offered to me of making a movement to the left of the enemy to save my friend King and the other prisoners. We came in time to save them. Our swords speedily severed the ropes which tyranny had

¹ It was on this occasion that the Laird used these words—"Bauldy Allison! let your officer settle this trife—I never take odds to combat a foe, be he even a life-guard."

² See *Life of Hardhill*, p. 477

bound on the arms of the men. The weapons of the fallen foe supplied what was lacking of arms; and with great vigour we moved forward to charge the enemy on the left flank. Claverhouse formed a hollow square—himself in the centre; his men fought gallantly; they did all that soldiers could do in their situation. Wherever a gap was made Clavers thrust the men forward, and speedily filled it up. Three times he rolled headlong on the heath, as he hastened from rank to rank, and as often he remounted. My little band thinned his ranks. He paid us a visit. Here I distinctly saw the features and shape of this far-famed man. He was small of stature, and not well formed; his arms were long in proportion to his legs; he had a complexion unusually dark; his features were not lighted up with sprightliness, as some fabulously reported; they seemed gloomy as hell; his cheeks were lank and deeply furrowed; his eye-brows were drawn down, and gathered into a kind of knot at their junctions, and thrown up at their extremities; they had, in short, the strong expression given by our painters to those on the face of Judas Iscariot; his eyes were hollow; they had not the lustre of genius, nor the fire of vivacity; they were lighted up by that dark fire of wrath which is kindled and fanned by an internal anxiety, and consciousness of criminal deeds: his irregular and large teeth were presented through a smile, which was very unnatural on his set of features; his mouth seemed to be unusually large, from the extremities being drawn backward and downward—as if in the intense application to something cruel and disgusting; in short, his upper teeth projected over his under lip, and, on the whole, presented to my view the mouth on the image of the Emperor Julian the Apostate.—In one of his rapid courses past us, my sword could only shear off his white plume and a fragment of his buff coat. In a moment he was at the other side of his square. Our officers eagerly sought a meeting with him. ‘He has the proof of lead,’ cried some of our men—‘Take the cold steel, or a piece of silver.’ ‘No,’ cried Burley, ‘It is his rapid movement on that fine charger that bids defiance to any thing like an aim in the tumult of the bloody fray. I could sooner shoot ten heather cocks on the wing, than one flying Clavers.’ At that moment, Burley, whose eye watched his antagonist, pushed into the hollow square. But Burley was too impatient. His blow was levelled at him before he came within its reach. His heavy sword descended on the head of Clavers’ horse, and felled him to the ground.—Burley’s men rushed pell-mell on the fallen Clavers, but his faithful dragoons threw themselves upon them, and by their overpowering force drove Burley back. Clavers was, in an instant, on a fresh steed. His bugleman recalled the party who were driving back the flanking party of Burley. He collected his whole troops to make his last and desperate attack.—He charged our infantry with such force, that they began to reel. It was only for a moment. The gallant Hamilton snatched the white flag of the Covenant, and placed himself in the fore-front of the battle. Our men shouted ‘*God and our Country,*’ and rallied under their flag. They fought like heroes. Clavers fought no less bravely. His blows were aimed at our officers. His steel fell on the helmet of Hackston, whose sword was entangled in the body of a fierce dragoon who had just wounded him. He was borne by his men into the rear. I directed my men on Clavers. ‘*Victory or death,*’ was their reply to me. Clavers received us. He struck a desperate blow at me, as he raised himself, with all his force, in the saddle. My steel cap resisted it. The second stroke I received on my Ferrara, and his steel was shivered to pieces. We rushed headlong on each other. His pistol missed fire—it had been soaked in blood. Mine took effect. But the wound was not deadly. Our horses reared. We rolled on the ground. In vain we sought to grasp each other. In the *mêlé*, men and horse tumbled on us. We were for a few moments buried under our men, whose eagerness to save their respective officers brought them in multitudes down upon us. By the aid of my faithful man, Gawn, I had extricated myself from my fallen horse; and we were rushing on the bloody Clavers, when we were again literally buried under a mass of men; for Hamilton had by this time brought up his whole line, and he had planted his standard where we and Clavers were rolling on the heath. Our men gave three cheers, and drove in the troops of Clavers. Here I was borne along with the moving mass of men; and, almost suffocated, and faint with the loss of blood, I

knew nothing more till I opened my eyes on my faithful attendant. He had dragged me from the very grasp of the enemy, and had borne me into the rear, and was bathing my temples with water. We speedily regained our friends; and what a spectacle presented itself! It seemed that I beheld an immense moving mass heaped up together in the greatest confusion. Some shrieked, some groaned, some shouted, horses neighed and pranced, and swords rung on the steel helmets. I placed around me a few of my hardy men, and we rushed into the thickest of the enemy in search of Clavers; but it was in vain. At that instant his trumpet sounded the loud notes of retreat; and we saw on a kaoll Clavers borne away by his men. He threw himself on a horse, and without sword, without helmet, he fled in the first ranks of the retreating host. His troops galloped up the hill in the utmost confusion. My little line closed with that of Burley's, and took a number of prisoners. Our main body pursued the enemy two miles, and strewed the ground with men and horses. I could see the bareheaded Clavers in front of his men, kicking and struggling up the steep sides of Calder hill. He halted only a moment on the top to look behind him, then plunged his rowels into his horse, and darted forward; nor did he recover from his panic till he found himself in the city of Glasgow."

"And, my children," the Laird would say, after he had told the adventures of this bloody day, "I visited the field of battle next day; I shall never forget the sight. Men and horses lay in their gory beds. I turned away from the horrible spectacle. I passed by the spot where God saved my life in the single combat, and where the unhappy Captain Arrol fell. I observed that, in the subsequent fray, the body had been trampled on by a horse, and his bowels were poured out.* Thus, my children, the defence of our lives, and the regaining of our liberty and religion, has subjected us to severe trials. And how great must be the love of liberty, when it carries men forward, under the impulse of self-defence, to witness the most disgusting spectacles, and to encounter the most cruel hardships of war!"

BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE.

It is well known, that after the disastrous event now to be described, when the ranks of the patriotic Whigs were broken by overwhelming forces, and while Dalziel and Clavers swept the south and west of Scotland like the blast of the desert, breathing pestilence and death—the individual wanderers betook themselves to the caves and fastnesses of their rugged country. This was their situation chiefly from the year 1680 to the Revolution. The Laird also spent his days in seclusion; but still he fearlessly attended the weekly assemblies in the fields, for the worship of Almighty God. What had he to fear? What more could he lose? His estate had been confiscated. His wife and babes stripped by the life-guards of the last remnant of earthly comfort which they could take away; and himself doomed, as an outlaw, to be executed by the military assassins when taken. He became reckless of the world. "I have lived," said he in anguish, "to see a Prince twice, of his own choice, take the oath of the covenants to support religion and the fundamental laws of the land. I have lived to see that Prince turn traitor to his country, and, with unblushing impiety, order these covenants to be burnt by the hands of the executioner. I have seen him subvert the liberty of my country, both civil and religious.—I have seen him erect a bloody inquisition. The priests, imposed on us by tyranny, instead of wooing us over by the loveliness of religion, have thrown off the bowels of mercy. They occupy seats in the bloody Council. They stimulate the cruelties of Lauderdale, M'Kenzie, and York. Their hands are dipt in blood to the wrists. This Council will not permit us to live in peace. Our property they confiscate. Our houses they convert into barracks. They drag free men into chains. They bring no witnesses of our guilt. They invent new tortures to convert us. They employ the thumb-screws and bootkins. If we are silent, they condemn us. If we

* This fact is recorded in Crookshank's History, vol. I. chap. 13. But the author does not mention the name of the Laird by whom Arrol fell.

confess our Christian creed, they doom us to the gibbet. If we offer a defence, a judge rises from the bench, and with his naked sword wounds us.* Not only our sentence, but the manner of our execution, is fixed before our trial. In our last moments they command the kettle drum to beat one continued roll; and when a strong sense of injustice extorts a complaint against our barbarous treatment, a military servant of the Council strikes the dying man in his last moment;† and, as if this sanguinary process were too slow in exterminating us, I have seen Charles Stuart let loose a brutal soldiery on us—on us who recalled him from exile, and who placed the crown on his head. He has murdered our men, our wives, and our children. We have, indeed, formally renounced this tyrant, by declaring war against him; but we have hitherto failed in the attempt to rouse the energies of our sleeping country. It is sunk into a deadly slumber. It has hitherto permitted the tyrant to keep us under martial law. Clavers is our judge, his dragoons are the executioners; and these savages do still continue to employ even the *sagacity of blood hounds to hunt us down*.—My soul turns away from these loathsome spectacles. They have cut in pieces the friends and companions of my youth. M'Kail, Kid, and King, are no more. Cameron fell bleeding at my side. Hackstone they have butchered. My father, Cargil—they could not spare even thee! Nor thee, dear young Renwick! Brown fell by the bloody Clavers, at the feet of his wife and crying babes. I have seen my friends, and those in whose veins my blood ran, fall in the ranks on bloody Bothwell, as the golden flowers of the meadow beneath the mower's hand. I have seen the greedy axe of the inhuman executioner mangle the limbs of my dearest friends. I have seen the minions of tyranny perform their disgusting service of transporting and suspending, as on shambles, the bleeding limbs of the martyrs. I have seen the hammer of the barbarians fix the heads of my companions on thy walls, O bloody Edinburgh! And Oh! disgusting spectacle! I have seen these forms, once dear to my soul as the light of heaven, become naked and bleached bones, under the rain and sun. I have lived to see the dreadful effects of civil war. The frequent butcheries in the field and on the scaffold have rendered men callous. The ghastly heads and mangled quarters are set up before the mob. Mothers and children daily feast their eyes with the spectacle; even delicate females roll their eyes over them without a shudder. Our sufferings are not felt, for the human bosom has lost its feelings.—O God of my fathers! bend in mercy thine eyes on my bleeding country—and on thy weeping Kirk! Shall these men spread havoc without bounds? Shall our blood stream in torrents? Shall the Stuarts and their slaves bind these chains on the neck of our country and of thy Kirk for ever!”

The Laird, while he was uttering these words, had thrown himself on his knees. His arms were stretched forward and upward; his long hair, grey, not by age, but by labours and sorrow, descended on his shoulders; his eyes, lighted up by hope, in the midst of despondency, were fixed on heaven; and the tears, streaming over his sunburned cheeks, fell in large drops from his beard on his girdle.

At this moment his brother John entered with looks which betrayed unusual anxiety. “My brother,” said he, “you must resume these weapons, which your studious habits have thrown into the corner. Praying must give way to fighting now. A trooper advances at full speed, and he is followed by a dark column. We have not even time to fly.”—The mind of the Laird, like those of the rest of the wanderers, always brightened up at the approach of danger. “I guessed some such tidings from that tragedy face of yours,” said he. “Our perils are so great that they do not allow us time to vent our complaints,” added he, as he girded on his sword, and put on his helmet. “Let us reconnoitre.—What do I see? but one trooper. And that motley crowd is a rabble—not a troop. That trooper is not of Clavers' band; nor does he belong to Douglas—nor to Inglis—nor to Strachan's dragoons. He waves a small flag. I can discover the scarlet and

* See an instance recorded in the Scots Worthies, p. 416 of this Edition.

† See an instance in Supplement, p. 559

blue colour of the Covenanters' flag.—Ha! welcome you, John Howie of Lochgoin.*—But what news?—Lives our country?—Lives the good old cause?"—"Glorious news," exclaimed Howie, "Scotland for ever! She is free. The tyrant James has abdicated. The Stuarts are banished by an indignant nation.—Orange triumphs. Our wounds are binding up.—Huzza! Scotland, and king William, and the Covenant for ever!"

The Laird made no reply. He laid his steel cap on the ground, and threw himself on his knees; he uttered a brief prayer, of which this was the close: "My bleeding country, and thy wailing Kirk, and my brethren in the furnace, have come in remembrance before thee. For ever lauded be thy name." "Hasten to the meeting at Lesmahagow. Our friends behind me, you see, have already set out," said Howie. And he set off with enthusiastic ardour to spread the news.

"These news," said the Laird, after a long pause, while his eyes followed the courser over the plains of Aven.—"These news are to me as life from the dead. Our martial toils have not been unprofitable, nor has our blood been shed in vain. We have at last roused our sleeping country—we have saved her—we have gained our civil and religious liberties. I feel a fresh vigour poured into my nerves. I feel already the full glow of liberty. I feel that I am a free man, and no tyrant's slave. The Parliament and the Assembly will, I trust, set all things right again. My forfeiture shall be restored, and my wife and babes shall surround me in the domestic circle; and, brother John—what is no small affair—I shall now have a respite—far from the horrid din of war—quietly to finish that work, over which I have literally trimmed the midnight lamp, with my sword and musketoon lying before me.—Gawn Witherspoon," said the Laird in a higher tone, "call my moss-headed hostler, and let us have our horses. I have a mind to meet my old friends at Lesmahagow. And then, when serious business is despatched, we can take Bothwell field on our return. It will yield me at least a melancholy pleasure to visit the spot where we fought, I trust, our last battle against the enemies of our country, and of the good old cause."

Serious matters of church and state having been discussed at the public meeting, the brothers found themselves, on the fourth day, on the battle ground of Bothwell.

"On that moor," said the Laird, after a long silence—and, without being conscious of it, he had, by a kind of instinct, natural enough to a soldier, drawn his sword, and was pointing with it—"On that moor the enemy first formed under Monmouth. There, on the right, Clavers led on the life-guards, breathing fury, and resolute to wipe off the disgrace of the affair of Drumclog. Dalziel formed his men on that knoll. Lord Livingstone led the van of the foemen. We had taken care to have Bothwell Bridge strongly secured by a barricade, and our little battery of cannon was planted on that spot below us, in order to sweep the bridge. And we did rake it. The foemen's blood streamed there. Again and again the troops of the tyrant marched on, and our cannon annihilated their columns. Sir Robert Hamilton was our Commander-in-Chief. The gallant General Hackstone stood on that spot with his brave men. Along the river, and above the bridge, Burley's foot and Captain Nisbet's dragoons were stationed. For one hour we kept the enemy in check; they were defeated in every attempt to cross the Clyde. Livingstone sent another strong column to storm the bridge. I shall never forget the effect of one fire from our battery, where my men stood. We saw the line of the foe advance in all the military glory of brave and beautiful men—the horses pranced—the armour gleamed. In one moment nothing was seen but a shocking mass of mortality. Human limbs and the bodies and limbs of horses were mingled in one huge heap, or blown to a great distance. Another column attempted to cross above the bridge. Some threw themselves into

* The grandson of this person (John Howie, the Compiler of the Scots Worthies) is the person whom the *Great Unknown* calls Old Mortality. I have been from infancy familiar with the history of this author of the epitaphs, this repairer of the tombs of the martyrs; but I never heard him called Old Mortality. Every body in the west of Scotland is familiar with the name of John Howie.—Old Mortality is his name in romance.

the current. One well-directed fire from Burley's troops threw them into disorder, and drove them back. Meantime, while we were thus warmly engaged, Hamilton was labouring to bring down the different divisions of our main body into action; but in vain he called on Colonel Cleland's troop—in vain he ordered Henderson's to fall in—in vain he called on Colonel Fleming's. Hackston flew from troop to troop—all was confusion; in vain he besought, he intreated, he threatened. Our disputes and fiery misguided zeal, my brother, contracted a deep and deadly guilt that day. The Whig turned his arm in fierce hate that day against his own vitals. Our chaplains, Cargil, and King, and Kid, and Douglas, interposed again and again. Cargil mounted the pulpit; he preached concord; he called aloud for mutual forbearance. 'Behold the banners of the enemy,' cried he; 'hear ye not the fire of the foe, and of our own brethren? Our brothers and fathers are falling beneath their sword. Hasten to their aid. See the flag of the Covenant.* See the motto in letters of gold—CHRIST'S CROWN AND THE COVENANT.' Hear the voice of your weeping country. Hear the wailings of the bleeding Kirk. Banish discord. And let us, as a band of brothers, present a bold front to the foemen. Follow me, all ye who love your country and the Covenant. I go to die in the fore-front of the battle.' All the ministers and officers followed him—amidst a flourish of trumpets—but the great body remained to listen to the harangues of the factious. We sent again and again for ammunition. My men were at the last round. Treachery, or a fatal error, had sent a barrel of raisins instead of powder.* My heart sunk within me while I beheld the despair on the faces of my brave fellows, as I struck out the head of the vessel. Hackston called his officers to him. We threw ourselves around him. 'What must be done?' said he, in an agony of despair. 'Conquer or die;' we said, as if with one voice. 'We have our swords yet. Lead back the men then to their places, and let the ensign bear down the blue and scarlet colours. *Our God and our Country* be the word.' Hackston rushed forward. We ran to our respective corps—we cheered our men, but they were languid and dispirited. Their ammunition was nearly expended, and they seemed anxious to husband what remained. They fought only with their carbines. The cannons could no more be loaded. The enemy soon perceived this. We saw a troop of horse approach the bridge. It was that of the life-guards. I recognized the plume of Clavers. They approached in rapid march. A solid column of infantry followed. I sent a request to Captain Nisbet to join his troop to mine. He was in an instant with us.—We charged the life-guards. Our swords rung on their steel caps. Many of my brave lads fell on all sides of me. But we hewed down the foe. They began to reel. The whole column was kept stationary on the bridge. Clavers' dreadful voice was heard—more like the yell of a savage, than the commanding voice of a soldier. He pushed forward his men, and again we hewed them down.† A third mass was pushed up. Our exhausted dragoons fled. Unsupported, I found myself by the brave Nisbet, and Paton, and Hackston. We looked for a moment's space in silence on each other. We galloped in front of our retreating men. We rallied them. We pointed to the General almost alone. We pointed to the white and to the scarlet colours floating near him. We cried, '*God and our Country*.' They faced about. We charged Clavers once more—'Torfoot,' cried Nisbet, 'I dare you to the fore-front of the battle.' We rushed up at full gallop. Our men seeing this, followed also at full speed.—We broke the enemy's line, bearing down those files which we encountered. We cut our way through their ranks. But they had now lengthened their front. Superior numbers drove us in. They had gained entire possession of the bridge. Livingstone and Dalziel were actually taking us on the flank.—A band had got between us and Burley's infantry. † 'My friends,' said Hackston to his officers, 'we are last on the field. We can do no more.—We must retreat. Let us attempt, at least, to bring aid to those deluded men behind us. They have brought ruin on themselves and on us. No Monmouth, but our own divisions have scattered us.'

* The natives of Hamilton have preserved, by tradition, the name of the merchant who did this disservice to the Covenanters' army.

At this moment one of the life-guards aimed a blow at Hackston. My sword received it—and a stroke from Nisbet laid the foeman's hand and sword in the dust. He fainted and tumbled from his saddle. We reined our horses, and galloped to our main body. But what a scene presented itself here! These misguided men had their eyes now fully opened on their fatal errors. The enemy were bringing up their whole force against them. I was not long a near spectator of it; for a ball grazed my courser. He plunged and reared—then shot off like an arrow. Several of our officers drew to the same place. On a knoll we faced about—the battle raged below us. We beheld our commander doing every thing that a brave soldier could do with factious men against an overpowering foe. Burley and his troops were in close conflict with Clavers' dragoons. We saw him dismount three troopers with his own hand. He could not turn the tide of battle, but he was covering the retreat of these misguided men. Before we could rejoin him, a party threw themselves in our way. Kennoway, one of Clavers' officers, led them on. 'Would to God that this was Grahame himself,' some of my comrades ejaculated aloud. 'He falls to my share,' said I, 'whoever the officer be.' I advanced—he met me. I parried several thrusts. He received a cut on the left arm; and the sword, by the same stroke, shore off one of his horse's ears; it plunged and reared. We closed again. I received a stroke on the left shoulder. My blow fell on his sword arm. He reined his horse around, retreated a few paces, then returned at full gallop. My courser reared instinctively as his approached. I received his stroke on the back of my Ferrara; and by a back stroke, I gave him a deep cut on the cheek. And before he could recover a position of defence, my sword fell with a terrible blow on his steel cap. Stunned by the blow, he bent himself forward—and, grasping the mane, he tumbled from his saddle, and his steed galloped over the field. I did not repeat the blow. His left hand presented his sword; his right arm was disabled; his life was given to him. My companions having disposed of their antagonists, (and some of them had two a-piece,) we paused to see the fate of the battle. Dalziel and Livingstone were riding over the field, like furies, cutting down all in their way. Monmouth was galloping from rank to rank, and calling on his men to give quarter. Clavers, to wipe off the disgrace of Drumclog, was committing fearful havoc. 'Can we not find Clavers,' said Haugh-head.—'No,' said Captain Paton, 'the gallant Colonel takes care to have a solid guard of his rogues about him. I have sought him over the field; but I found him, as I now perceive him, with a mass of his guards about him.' At this instant we saw our General, at some distance, disentangling himself from the men who had tumbled over him in the *mêlé*. His face, and hands, and clothes, were covered with gore. He had been dismounted, and was fighting on foot. We rushed to the spot, and cheered him. Our party drove back the scattered bands of Dalziel. 'My friends,' said Sir Robert as we mounted him on a stray horse, 'the day is lost! But—you, Paton; you, Brownlee of Tomboot, and you, Haugh-head; let not that flag fall into the hands of these incarnate devils. We have lost the battle, but, by the grace of God, neither Dalziel nor Clavers shall say that he took our colours. My ensign has done his duty. He is down. This sword has saved it twice. I leave it to your care. You see its perilous situation.' He pointed with his sword to the spot. We collected some of our scattered troops, and flew to the place. The standard bearer was down, but he was still fearlessly grasping the flag staff, while he was borne upright by the mass of men who had thrown themselves in fierce contest around it. Its well known blue and scarlet colours, and its motto, CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in brilliant gold letters, inspired us with a sacred enthusiasm. We gave a loud cheer to the wounded ensign, and rushed into the combat. The redemption of that flag cost the foe many a gallant man. They fell beneath our broad swords; and, with horrible execrations dying on their lips, they gave up their souls to their Judge.

Here I met in front that ferocious dragoon of Clavers named Tam Halliday, who had more than once, in his raids plundered my halls; and had snatched the bread from my weeping babes. He had just seized the white staff of the flag. But his tremendous oath of exultation, (we of the covenant never swear)—his oath had scarcely passed its polluted threshold, when this Andro Ferrara fell on

the guard of his steel, and shivered it to pieces. 'Recreant loon!' said I, 'thou shalt this day remember thy evil deeds.' Another blow on his helmet laid him at his huge length, and made him bite the dust. In the *mêlé* that followed, I lost sight of him. We fought like lions—but with the hearts of Christians. While my gallant companions stemmed the tide of battle, the standard, rent to tatters, fell across my breast. I tore it from the staff, and wrapt it round my body. We cut our way through the enemy, and carried our General off the field.

Having gained a small knoll, we beheld once more the dreadful spectacle below. Thick volumes of smoke and dust rolled in a lazy cloud over the dark bands mingled in deadly fray. It was no longer a battle, but a massacre. In the struggle of my feelings I turned my eyes on the General and Paton. I saw, in the face of the latter, an indescribable conflict of passions. His long and shaggy eye-brows were drawn over his eyes. His hand grasped his sword. "I cannot yet leave the field," said the undaunted Paton—"With the General's permission, I shall try to save some of our wretched men beset by those hell hounds. Who will go?—At Kilsyth I saw service. When deserted by my troop, I cut my way through Montrose's men, and reached the spot where Colonels Halket and Strachan were. We left the field together. Fifteen dragoons attacked us. We cut down thirteen, and two fled. Thirteen next assailed us. We left ten on the field, and three fled. Eleven Highlanders next met us. We paused and cheered each other. 'Now, Johnny,' cried Halket to me, 'put forth your metal, else we are gone.' Nine others we sent after their comrades, and two fled.*—Now, who will join this raid?' 'I will be your leader,' said Sir Robert, as we fell into the ranks.—We marched on the enemy's flank. 'Yonder is Clavers,' said Paton, while he directed his courser on him. The bloody man was, at that moment, nearly alone, hacking to pieces some poor fellows already on their knees disarmed, and imploring him by the common feelings of humanity to spare their lives. He had just finished his usual oath against their 'feelings of humanity,' when Paton presented himself. He instantly let go his prey, and slunk back into the midst of his troopers. Having formed them, he advanced—We formed and made a furious onset. At our first charge his troop reeled. Clavers was dismounted.—But at that moment Dalziel assailed us on the flank and rear. Our men fell around us like grass before the mower. The buglemen sounded a retreat. Once more in the *mêlé* I fell in with the General and Paton. We were covered with wounds. We directed our flight in the rear of our broken troops. By the direction of the General I had unfurled the standard. It was borne off the field flying at the sword's point. But that honour cost me much. I was assailed by three fierce dragoons; five followed close in the rear. I called to Paton,—in a moment he was by my side. I threw the standard to the General, and we rushed on the foe. They fell beneath our swords; but my faithful steed, which had carried me through all my dangers, was mortally wounded. He fell. I was thrown in among the fallen enemy. I fainted. I opened my eyes on misery. I found myself in the presence of Monmouth—a prisoner—with other wretched creatures, awaiting, in awful suspense, their ultimate destiny." • • •

* See this chivalrous defence recorded, in the life of Captain Paton, pp. 431, 432, of this Edition. This celebrated officer was trained up to warfare in the army of Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, and affords a good specimen of those heroic Whigs who brought about the Revolution of 1688.









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