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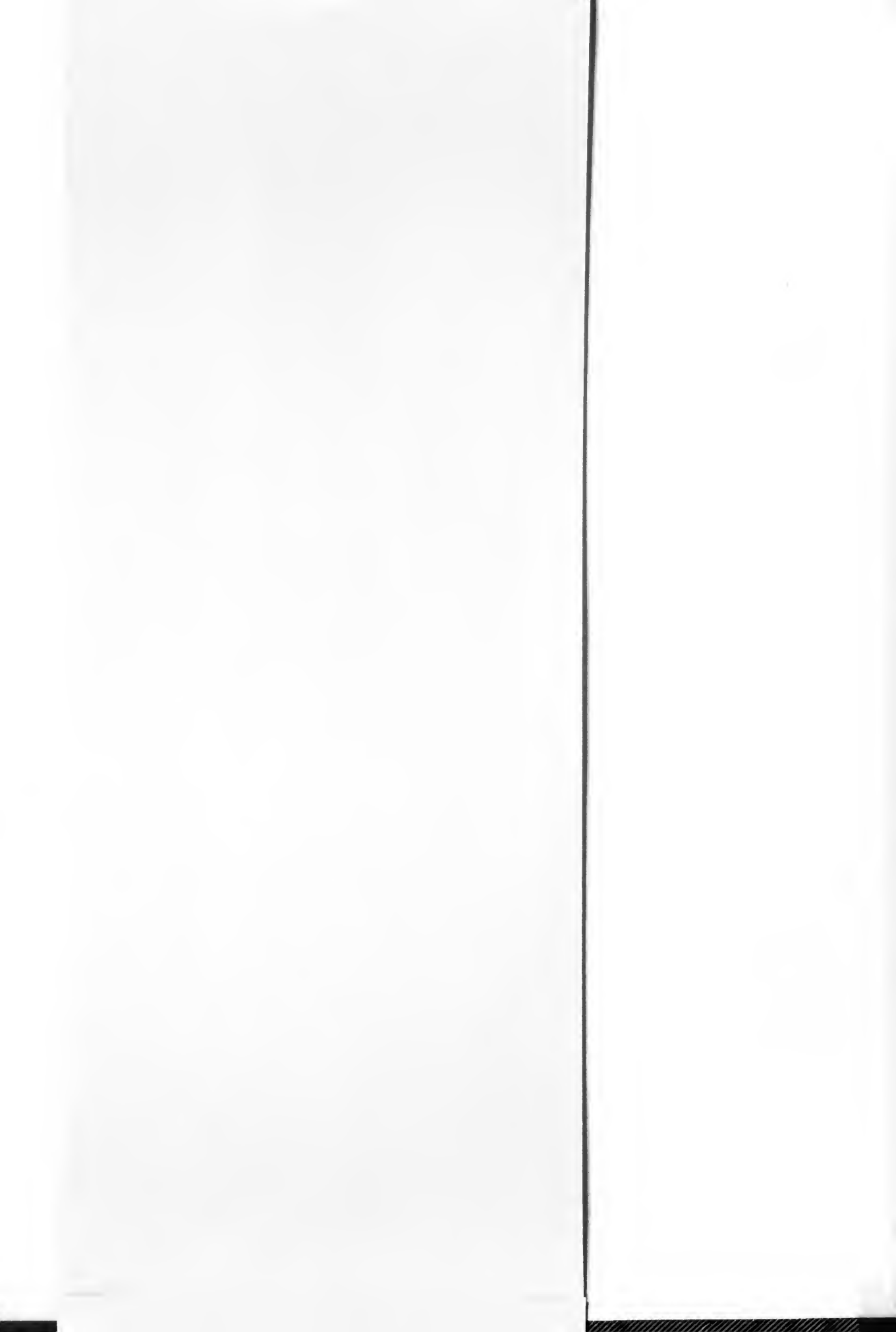
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THEIR LIVES AND TESTIMONIES.

INCLUDING MANY ADDITIONAL NOTES, AND LIVES OF EMINENT WORTHIES
NOT CONTAINED IN THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION.

EDITED BY

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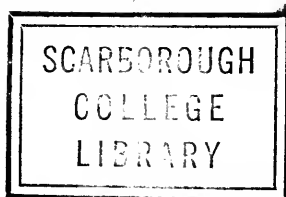
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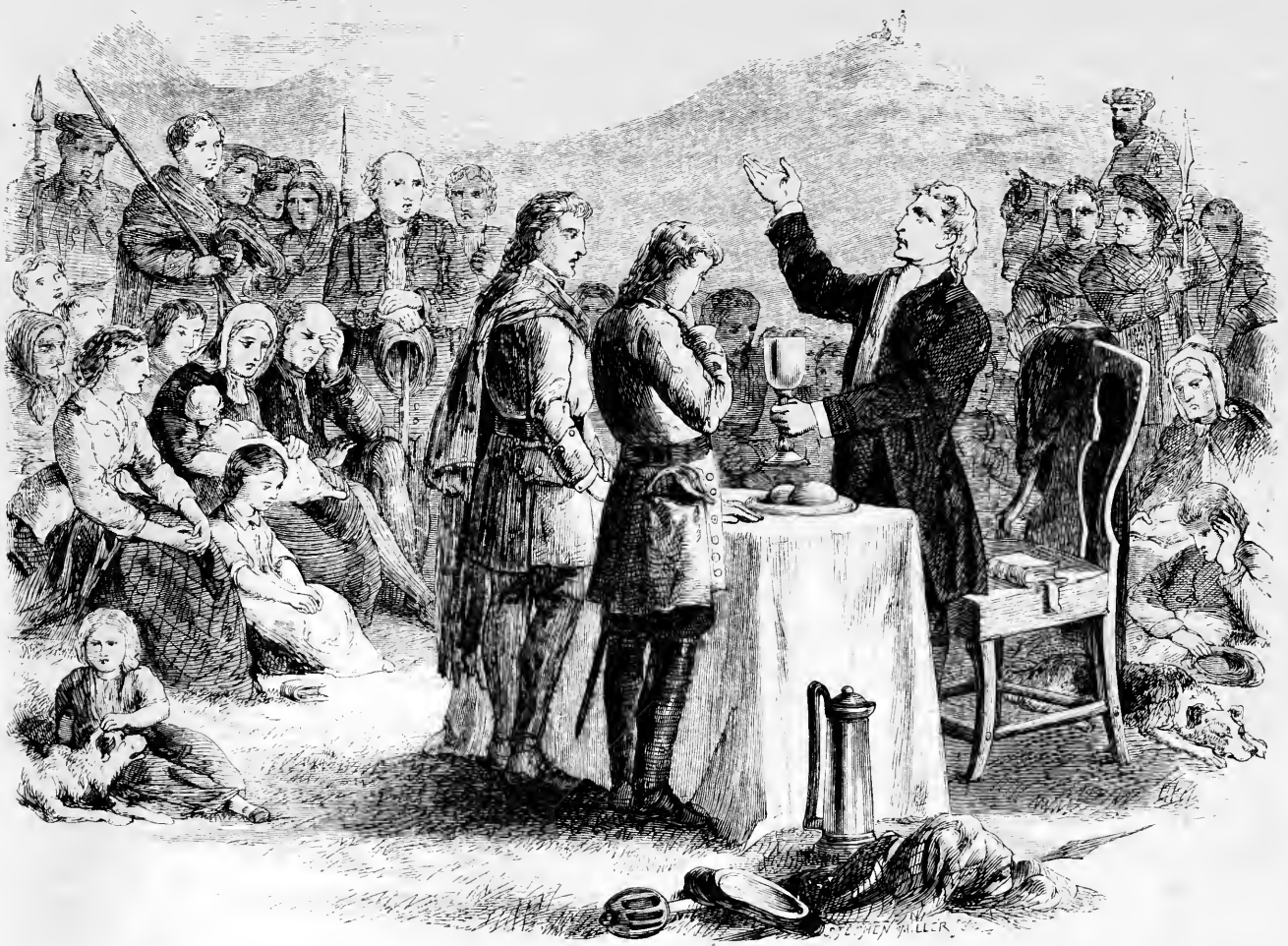
An Introductory Sketch of the History of the Period,
BY THE EDITOR.

LONDON:

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COVENANTERS' SACRAMENT.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE TIMES OF WICLIFFE.



HERE is nothing of much interest in modern history till we come to the middle of the fourteenth century. The changes which the kingdoms of Europe underwent in the Middle Ages, and the wars that were waged betwixt its various races, were of small significance in themselves; whatever interest they possess is borrowed from that to which they led. They paved the way for that grand renewal of human society, that brightening of the world's destinies, which gave such a glory to the sixteenth century. Viewed in that light these events are worthy of

a

study, they constitute a chain of progress tending to a better state of things; in short, without them the glorious edifice of religion and liberty which we now behold could not have been set up. This justifies us in going back a little way, and tracing rapidly the steps by which the Great Ruler advanced to the execution of his purposes toward the race of man.

Looking back to the fifth century, we behold the day of the Roman power closing in a night of terrible disaster. The barbarous and warlike tribes which inhabited the vast regions on the north of the Roman frontier, at length burst

the barrier which had so long confined them in their own inhospitable dwellings, and are seen rushing down like a mighty torrent on Southern Europe, to overwhelm those lands which had for ages been the seat of civilization and letters. The gospel had, previous to that great overthrow, been widely spread by the apostles and the first evangelists in all the countries under the sway of imperial Rome. That gospel would have given a second youth to that old empire; but Rome knew not in the day of her visitation the things that belonged to her peace. She unsheathed her sword in defence of her ancient deities; and when at length she changed her policy of persecution to one of patronage, she loaded the church with a profusion of riches and honours which were more fatal to Christianity than the edicts with which she had aforetime pursued it. At length came the day of reckoning to that great empire for first oppressing and next corrupting the church of God. The countless barbarians that are seen overrunning her vast realm, without pity or remorse slaughter her sons, burn her cities, lay waste her fields, and give the marvels of her art and the monuments of her power to the flames. Nor do they cease their ravages till they have converted that once renowned theatre of men and nations, of cities and empire, into what is little else than a blackened and silent waste.

After this astounding and unlooked for catastrophe there comes a long period of silence and darkness. Century succeeds century in unvarying stagnancy, and the historian can find nothing on which his eye can rest with pleasure, or his pen record with pride. It seemed as if the history of the human race had been closed. The greatest empire of the world, the ripened fruit of all the toils and intelligence of all former generations—earth's proudest flower—had been carried to the tomb, and nothing great or magnificent was the race of man fated ever again to behold. Art had reached its perfection, letters their noon, and empire its zenith, when suddenly the dazzling fabric vanished like an unsubstantial vision. What a shock to the hopes of men! The human mind having expended all its energies in this last creation must henceforth, like an aged trunk or a worn out soil, cease to produce. The race has nothing before it but a few centuries of barrenness, and then the world's course will be wound up. So did it seem.

But the deep torpor that succeeded the fall of

the Roman empire was only the pause before a new start—the sleep before a grander awakening. And even during this pause we can trace progress. If we listen we shall hear, far down at the depths of society, vitalities at work, busily preparing a second, a richer, a far nobler and grander development of life than the world had yet beheld. It is in those ages, with all their apparent immobility, that we behold the earliest foundations laid of the order of modern times, inasmuch as it is in these ages that we trace the infant springs of commerce, the young dawn of letters, and the incipient buddings of liberty in the charters of the free cities, and the gradual evolution of the idea of individual rights in contradistinction to the prerogatives of authority, and, in especial and above all, the rights of conscience—that great power, so utterly unknown when Cæsar was master, and the decrees that went forth from the Palatine were the rule of duty to the nations.

The sluggish ages move on, marking their tardy flight by an occasional privilege laboriously won, or a concession or right wrested from the hand of power, at the cost of much peril and suffering. At length comes the twelfth century, and with it come the schoolmen. What a busy intellectual time; what ingenuity; what subtlety; what loud discussions and fierce wranglings! but how little light is struck out from all these disputations! how little fruit that can nourish the soul of man is reaped from all this labour! But as the sports of the child develop the limbs and perfect the strength of the man, so the wondrous activity and nimbleness shown by the newly awakened mind of Europe disciplined its powers, and gave auspicious augury of a hitherto unexampled strength and breadth of faculty, to be reached in its manhood four centuries afterwards.

A nobler boon than the scholastic philosophy did the twelfth century bestow on the world. It was in this century that the Bible—the ark of the world's hopes—was brought out of the darkness of a dead tongue, rendered into the vernacular language of Europe, and circulated among the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Rhone, the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and the maritime Alps. The language of the southern nations of Europe at that era was the Romaunt. The modern tongues were not yet in existence. The one common speech of the southern nations was an amalgam of the rough and picturesque Gothic with the terse and not

unmelodious Latin. This language was soft and flexible, and supplied in abundance the figures of poetical description and the rhythm of musical cadence, and promised at that hour to become the language of all Europe. It was into this tongue that the oracles of God were translated for the first time since the ages immediately consequent on the completion of the sacred canon. These oracles, thus rendered into the common tongue, were sung in the lays and recited in the tales of the Troubadours; they were read in the castle of the baron and in the cottage of the vine-dresser and the peasant. There followed a wide diffusion of gospel truth in the south of Europe. Cities and provinces abandoned the superstitions which Rome had inculcated upon them, and embraced the doctrines made known in the Bible. The living waters burst forth, and were now flowing through regions which had long been arid and barren, and the desert began to blossom as the rose. In the wilderness was heard the voice of joy and singing. It seemed as if the hour of a great renewal was come; as if the groans of the nations, who had long sighed in bondage, but had never lost the hope of deliverance, and whose earnest expectation had found utterance through Claude of Turin, through Arnold of Brescia, through Berengarius of Tours, and a hundred others, who felt how deep the darkness, how heavy the fetters that weighed upon them, but who dared only in their cells, or in prayer to the throne above, to express their yearnings for deliverance—it seemed as if these groanings and expectations were now at last to be realized. Not the ecclesiastics only, but the poets of the middle ages, notably Dante and Petrarch, as also Ariosto, Vittoria Colonna, M. Angelo, and others, became interpreters of the general hope, and never ceased to foretell the coming of a great

day of redemption. Had it come then, Provence and Dauphiné, and the region watered by the Rhone, and not the plains and cities of Germany, would have been the cradle of the Reformation. But no; Southern Europe was not the place, nor was the thirteenth century the time, for this new birth of the world. The far-seeing man who then occupied the chair of the popes divined what was approaching; and issued the fiat which blighted the world's hope, and postponed for centuries the hour of its deliverance. Innocent III. employed very summary means indeed to compel the nations which had risen up to lie down again in their chains; and if we wish to know what these means were, we have only to turn to those simple and unvarnished, yet graphic and heart-rending recitals, which the chroniclers of those days have left us of the Albigensian crusades. The work was done by the only agencies by which it could have been done—inquisitors and soldiers. It is more than five centuries since that tempest of fire and blood passed over the south of France, burying amid the ruins of its cities and the corpses of its inhabitants that evangelical faith, which had a brief revival in the same region three centuries afterwards, only to be again extinguished by a like tempest of bigotry and violence.

The darkness had not yet accomplished its period, the iniquity of Rome was not yet full. Her yoke must grow yet heavier and more galling, and the cry of the nations must wax yet louder. Deliverance loses half its value if it comes too early; and error escapes half its punishment if cut down before it has had time to ripen into utter rottenness, and to develop into consummate malignity. The Great Ruler is wise, and in nothing more than in determining the times when the great revolutions of society shall take place.

CHAPTER II.

WICLIFFE AND HIS REFORMATION.



THE fair morning was opening in the south, and promising to develop, hour after hour, into clearer light, till it should reach its noon, when, lo! it was suddenly and cruelly extinguished.

The heavens were again dark, and this darkness continued a whole century. We look wistfully round the horizon of Christendom, but there is no break in the gloom. At last a few silvery streaks begin to be seen on the edge of the night. This time it is in the skies of England that the day is seen to break. In the middle of the fourteenth century a remarkable man appears in that country. He looks as if he were of the race of the old prophets—an Elijah or a John the Baptist on English soil. His eye is piercing, his features are grave, he rebukes with authority, he wears a long black mantle; but it is in the qualities of his soul that he is most akin, and presents the strongest resemblance, to his great predecessors of ancient times. He is of marked individuality of character; no other man in all his age is like him; his independence of mind is thorough; the imposing consent of ten centuries cannot sway his opinion; he displays invincible fidelity to truth, and he combines therewith profound submission to the teachings of the Word of God. The fifth century stands before him and says, this dogma is true, this rite is lawful. The sixth century confirms the dictum of the fifth; the seventh attests that of the sixth; and so of all the centuries onward to his own; they all speak with one voice, they all teach one thing. No matter, he turns to an earlier and diviner witness. It is false, says the Bible. He who had stood erect in the presence of the ages bows down before the Bible. Therein lies his great strength. What is the name of the man who dares place the voice of the Bible above the voice of the church? It is John Wicliffe. The father of the Reformation stands before us.

With Wicliffe came the turning of the tide. Till he appeared the power of Rome had been growing stronger and yet stronger, both in Eng-

land and on the continent of Europe. In the days of Wicliffe the ebb set in, and has continued ever since. The backward flow has been sometimes stronger, sometimes feebler, but looking at matters on a great scale, the direction then imposed upon the stream of the papal fortunes has never since been reversed. First of all Wicliffe laid the basis in his doctrinal teaching for the great practical reforms which he called for. He restored the gospel of early times, salvation of grace. It had been lost for centuries; hence the corruption of the church, hence the bondage of the conscience, and hence, too, the darkness of the world. The doctrine of a free salvation brought liberty to the individual and renovation to society, by sweeping away all the false dogmas and superstitious ceremonies in which men had toiled to earn their own salvation, and by bringing them back to the fountains of knowledge and purity in the Word of God. Wicliffe taught the one all-sufficient expiation of sin in the death of Christ; the free pardon of the sinner through that expiation, the justification of his person through faith alone in the righteousness of his Saviour, and the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit, producing by his working an inward purity, and a life of outward virtue and goodness.

Rome had fashioned the church on the model of worldly kingdoms, which she rivalled, or rather eclipsed, by the wealth, splendour, and power of her hierarchy. Wicliffe formed the church upon the model of the Bible. Rejecting the mechanical or political conceptions of Rome, he taught that the church was a spiritual society, that it had no head but Christ, that all believers were members of it, that its ministers were all equal, and were not to exercise lordship over one another, or over the flock, and that they ought to depend for their support upon the free-will offerings of the Christian people.

Such was the positive side of Wicliffe's teaching; as regards the negative side he rejected nearly all that was accepted as truth in his day. He condemned transubstantiation, with all

attendant thereon ; even the power of the priest to sacrifice for men, and to pardon sin, imaginary prerogatives which brought the clergy of Rome no end of reverence and of riches. He rejected the supremacy of the pope, and conducted England into the path of resistance to those arrogant assumptions and stretches of prerogative by which the bishop of Rome was overriding the laws, and annihilating the independence of the kingdom. He commenced, moreover, and maintained to his life's end, a stout battle against the monks, whose numerous orders, whose boundless greed, whose quarrelsome dispositions, and whose profligate manners, were throwing all things into disorder—were ruining industry, discouraging learning, and corrupting the morals of the country. In many hearts, where he did not succeed in planting the love of the gospel, he kindled the flame of a patriotic resistance to an alien tyranny, which was opposed alike to the moral and the material welfare of England. Parliament followed as Wicliffe led it. The monuments of his influence are the numerous enactments which were passed to set bounds to the arrogancy of Rome ; in particular, the statutes forbidding the pope to send his bulls into England, to appoint foreigners to English livings, to receive death-bed bequests, to withdraw causes from the king's tribunals to his own, to exempt his clergy from the civil jurisdiction, in short, putting an end to those innumerable pretexts under which he had grasped the actual government of the kingdom. Had Wicliffe found in Edward a Frederic the Wise or a John the Steadfast, and had the printing press

been then in existence to circulate his appeals through the nation, he would have originated a movement which would have influenced England, and through England, Christendom, it might be, like that which Luther originated in Germany two centuries afterwards. But the instrumentalities were lacking to Wicliffe. As it is, Wicliffe is one of the marvels of history. That such a man should emerge directly from the bosom of the darkness ; so thoroughly disenthralled from the errors of his age and of the ages that had gone before, with a scheme of reform so scriptural and so comprehensive, is beyond measure surprising. The more we reflect upon it, the more it astonishes us ; nor can we explain it but on the supposition of a special illumination vouchsafed to this man for the sake of a world wandering in darkness.

Wicliffe might say, "There cometh one after me mightier than I." This "mightier" that was to succeed him was the English Bible. It was Wicliffe that gave to the people of England the Word of God in their mother tongue. Great as Wicliffe was—and not only is he by much the greatest Reformer who has ever appeared in England, he stands in the foremost rank of the reformers of Christendom—he did not quit the stage till a greater was prepared to occupy it. What a consolation to think in going to his grave that he left behind him a clearer light, the translated Bible even, burning in the land, which the enemies of the truth should never be able to extinguish, and which would not fail to show men the road by which they must travel would they arrive at a true Reformation.

CHAPTER III.

FROM WICLIFFE TO LUTHER, OR THE TIMES OF HUSS AND JEROME.

WICLIFFE marches at the head of the noble army of Reformers : he leads in the times of Reformation. In his day, and by his instrumentality, we see a movement communicated to the world which had stood still so long, and that movement it never again loses. All things begin to change and progress, not in England only, but throughout Christendom. That change is not confined to religion, but extends to art, to letters, and to political society. Manifest it is that Wicliffe has deposited a germ of life, a

principle of motion in the bosom of society, and the world slumbers and sleeps no longer ; it begins to "travail as in birth," in order to shake off the false systems that had oppressed it, and enter on possession of its long expected heritage of truth and freedom.

In the days of Wicliffe took place the "schism" of the popes. This was the first great stroke inflicted on the papal power. It damaged its credit and crippled its influence. Next broke out destructive wars, which ravaged France, and England, and Scotland. These wars still further

weakened the power of Rome. They all but annihilated the barons, and brought the feudal system to an end. When the barons were strong the throne was weak, but the weakness of the throne was the strength of the church; because there was no one power in the country able to check the clergy, or resist the demands and encroachments of the Vatican. In those days, when Europe was occupied by a multitude of petty sovereigns, the pope was master. But as the result of the terrible wars that raged successively in the countries we have named—in France, in England, in Scotland—the nobles were greatly weakened, and the throne became powerful. At last three great thrones arose in Europe, just as Luther was about to step upon the scene. This, at first sight, appears a formidable obstacle to the progress of the gospel. It is often spoken of as such: but in reality it was intended to be a help to it, in the way of acting as a counterpoise to that terrible power which was the greatest opponent of the gospel. The preponderance of the temporal power exhibited in the three great thrones of Spain, France, and England, checked the all dominant spiritual power which had ruled the Europe of the Middle Ages, took the chieftainship from the pope, and though Charles V., Francis I., and Henry of England were also the enemies of the truth, and at times unsheathed their swords to arrest the Reformation, their conflicting ambitions prevented them uniting in any combined effort against the gospel, and often made them a defence around it.

Alongside this stream of adverse events to Rome there was flowing at the same time a stream of prosperous occurrences for the world and the church. Among these, the first and most prominent was the revival of learning and the rediscovery of the sacred tongues. This is commonly known as the *Renaissance*: and it is always extolled when spoken of as having paved the way for the Reformation. The *Renaissance*, the revival of literature, was an inestimable benefit to the world; but we think that a more discriminating and critical view of the matter leads to the conclusion that the *Renaissance* did not pave the way for the gospel, but that the gospel paved the way for the *Renaissance*. The gospel came first. It re-entered the world in the fourteenth century with John Wicliffe. The *Renaissance* came in the fifteenth. It was the earnest desire of the friends of the gospel to have access to God's revelation in the tongues

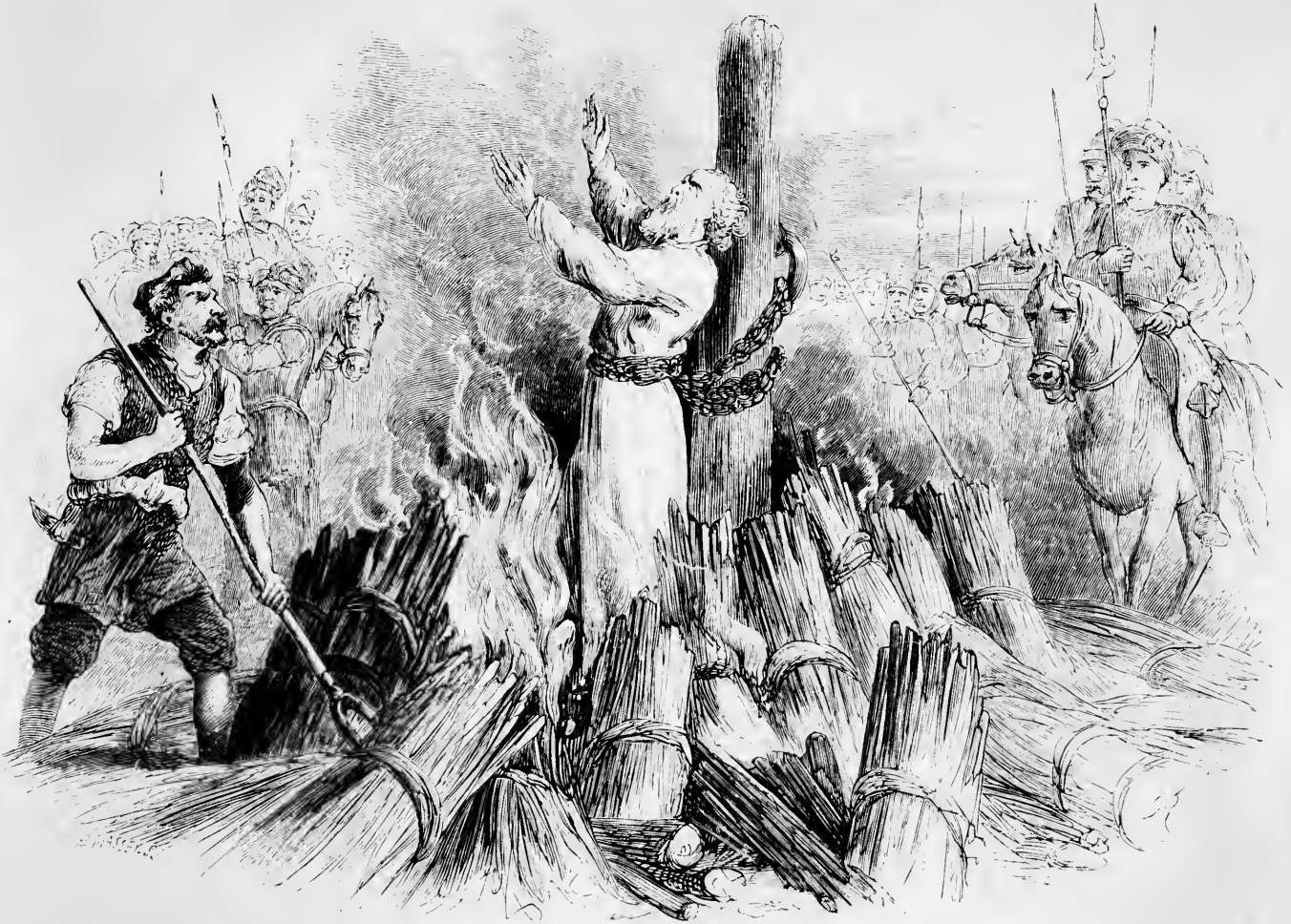
in which it was originally given, that formed by far the most powerful motive to the recovery and study of the Hebrew and Greek languages. With that desire Providence co-operated in the overthrow of Constantinople in the fifteenth century, and the consequent scattering of Hebrew and Greek scholars over the West. In vain had they sought our shores had there not existed among us men able to value at their true price the treasures they brought with them. The facts of history justify us in saying that the gospel produced the *Renaissance*.

Divine knowledge having quickened the mind of man and imparted to it a relish for human literature, the desire to gratify that taste more widely and easily stirred him up to invent and perfect other arts. The printing press was now constructed: then followed the discovery of the mariner's compass. Thus step by step the world went forward, and, starting from Wicliffe's days, all things were being made ready for the wider diffusion of the Light.

Meanwhile, the Light continued to shine; not with the sudden splendour of noon, which was reserved for the sixteenth century, but with the chastened glow and the steadily waxing lustre of the early day. The followers of Wicliffe in England—termed Lollards—a meek, patient, faithful, and resigned body of Christians, never ceased to testify for the gospel in their pulpits and at their stakes. In the wars and other calamities of their times they saw the hand of God, avenging their sufferings and paving the way for the triumph of their cause. Nor were the Lollards the only body of witnesses in that age in Christendom. If we turn to the East, thirty years after the death of Wicliffe, we can descry the silver of morning in the skies of Bohemia. John Huss was a disciple of Wicliffe, and although the disciple never attained the lofty rank of the master, yet his views of divine truth were sufficiently clear and decided to enable him to stand the fire. There are few things in the martyrology of the church more tragic than the stakes of Huss and Jerome, and scarce is there martyr blood which has been so fruitful to the cause of the gospel as theirs. When we think of the critical moment when these stakes were set up, and the virtues of these martyrs, the splendour of which was relieved by the moral darkness of the Council that condemned them, and especially by the monstrous wickedness of the man, John XXIII., who then filled the papal chair; when we think

of the eloquence of their defence and the glory of their deaths, we feel that this ineffably sublime spectacle must have struck the world in a way nothing else could; that it must have gone deep indeed into the mind and heart of Christendom, and given a new direction to its course, so that we at this day are reaping the fruits which have sprung from the blood so gloriously shed at Constance four centuries ago. These martyr-

doms had as their immediate sequel the Hussite wars, than which there is not in the whole history of the military art battle-fields more marvellous, scarce excepting the campaigns under Joshua, which gave the Hebrew tribes possession of Canaan. These wars wrested Bohemia from the Roman church; inflicted a great blow on the papal power in Germany, made the countrymen of Huss the terror of



MARTYRDOM OF JEROME.

Europe; and impressed such a dread of the Protestant arms on the Emperor Charles V., that it secured a peaceful entry, a century afterwards, for the Reformation upon the stage of Germany.

Thus, each separate event—the fall of an ancient empire and the rise of modern art, the ravages of barbarism and the triumphs of civilization, the desolations of the sword and the

creations of letters, the fury of the persecutor and the faith of the martyr—each comes in its season, observes its order, and contributes its amount of influence to speed on the movement, while all together, obeying the plastic Hand that guides the world's course, work out the glorious issue of rending the prison walls around the human soul, and bringing forth the nations into light and liberty.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REFORMATION, OR LUTHER, CALVIN, AND KNOX.

WHEN they were burning Huss (6th July, 1415), in the meadow beside the Rhine, the martyr, speaking from amid the flames, said, "They are now silencing the goose,* but a hundred years hence there will arise a swan whose singing they shall not be able to silence."



LUTHER NAILING HIS THESES ON THE DOOR OF THE CHURCH.

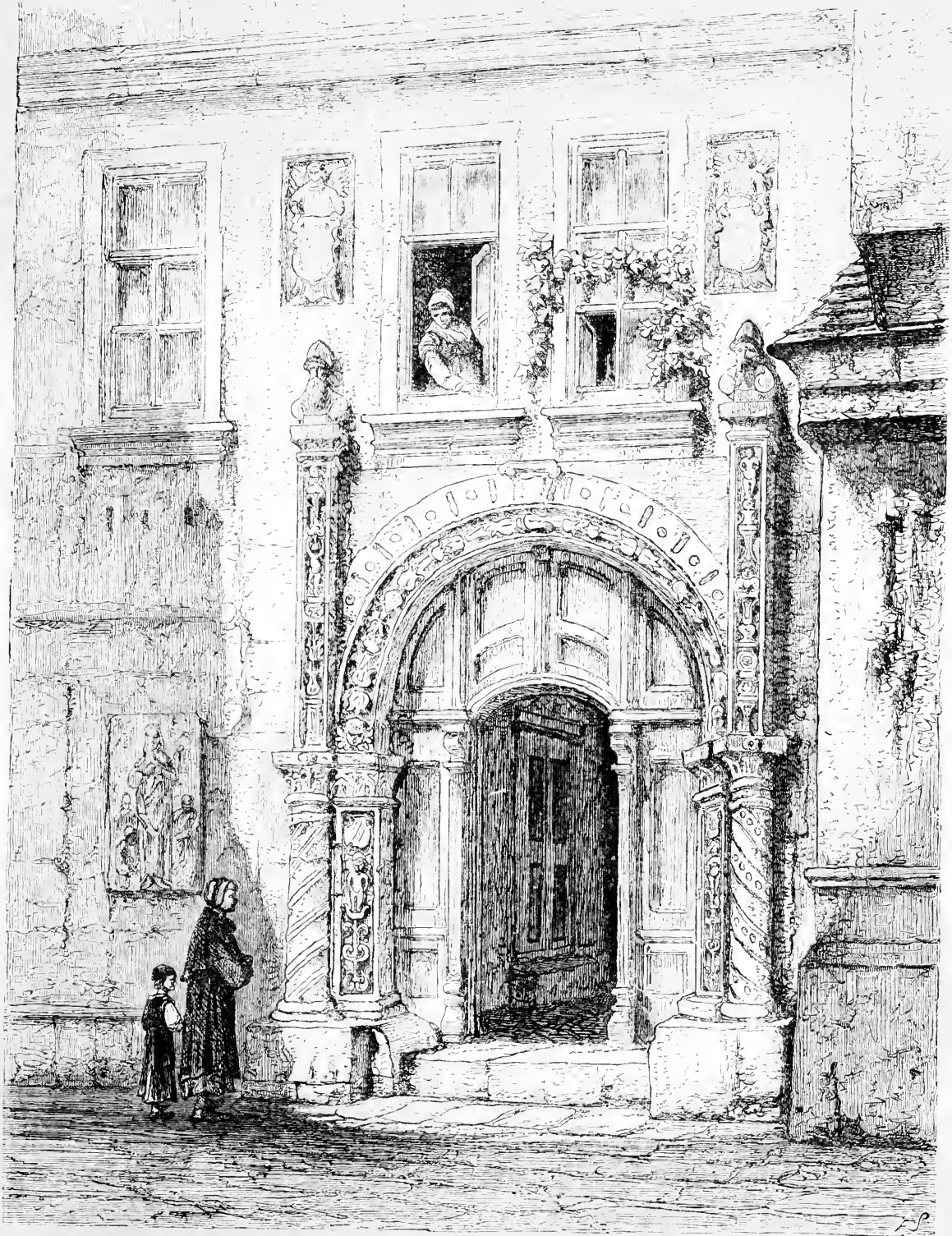
The hundred years have revolved, and we must now transport ourselves to the town of Wittenberg on the Saxon plains.

It is "All Saints Eve," 31st October, 1517. All day long a great crowd of people, from all the surrounding provinces, and from parts more

* *Huss* in the Bohemian tongue signifies goose.

distant, with palmer-staff and scallop-shell, and other unmistakable badges of holy pilgrimage, have been passing through the gates, and pouring into the town. What has brought thither this army of pilgrims? Frederic, elector of Saxony, has just built the castle church of Wittenberg, and he has enriched it, in proof of his piety, by a multitude of relics, collected at great expense in distant countries. The crowd has come to nourish their devotion by the sight of these holy things. To-morrow they will return to their homes laden with the pardon of their sins, duly written out on parchment, signed in the pope's name, and paid for with money. We see the crowd, which grows larger every moment, moving steadily along the street in the direction of the castle church, which stands at the eastern gate of the town. There is a sudden commotion in the assemblage. The pilgrims, intent on reaching the holy threshold of the chapel, turn round somewhat angrily to see who has caused this untimely interruption. It is a monk, and his frock opens for him a path through the dense crowd. We see the pilgrims scan him closely as they stand aside to let him pass on. He is young, his figure is spare, his features are pale and worn, but he has a burning eye, and there is an air on his face which says that he is not to be held back from his purpose. But what implements are these which he carries in his hand? He has neither crucifix nor beads; he grasps instead a scroll and a hammer. Strange and unwonted things for a monk's hand!

We see him forcing his way. Now he stands beneath the arched gateway of the church. Unrolling his scroll he fastens it with a few strokes of the hammer to the door. The monk has done the deed, and instantly departs to his cell. The crowd of pilgrims, amazed at the unusual proceeding, gathers round the placard, and begins eagerly to read. What does that paper say? It contains ninety-five propositions, but the sum of the whole matter is this, even, that God alone can pardon sin, and that He bestows forgiveness freely, not on the ground



LUTHER'S HOUSE AT EISENACH.

of man's works, but of Christ's righteousness. This truth it had cost Luther great agony of soul to learn. But he knew its power; it had redeemed him from "the lowest hell," it had opened to him the gates of the new paradise; and now he publishes it to all, well knowing that what had made him a "new man" was able to make a new world.

This was the whole gospel in a single sentence. Its announcement was like a bolt from heaven falling upon the Papacy. That same hour her foundations began to rock, and her towers to totter. "Salvation by works" was the cornerstone on which Rome had reared her entire edifice. It was the first article of her creed that "the church," by which was meant the pope and the priests, were in the room of God to man: that "the church" was the sole depository and dispenser of salvation, and could exact what condition she pleased, and put what price she thought good upon it. When this doctrine was received man was no longer Christ's freedman, he was the "church's" vassal. He toiled in her service all life long. He dared not disobey her who had it in her power to save or to destroy him. Whatever penance or pilgrimage, or other burdensome work of merit the church chose to enjoin, man did; whatever offerings and dues she chose to exact, man willingly rendered: he could not otherwise be saved. Thus simply by inverting salvation, by making it of works instead of grace, Rome had enslaved the world. But when Luther came and published on God's authority that salvation is of grace, that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, the spell of Rome was broken, and the entire fabric of human ordinances which she had built, upon the self-righteousness principle, fell to the ground. After the darkness of ages the gospel had again re-entered the world.

The great tidings—salvation of grace—were wafted from city to city, and from nation to nation. As the light of morning travels from east to west, so did the evangelical day begin to travel along the sky of Christendom. Let us briefly note the great stages of this divine illumination. At the Diet of Worms (1521) the Reformation, standing up before the assembled princes, spiritual and temporal, of Europe, with the Emperor Charles V. at their head, said, "I cannot go back." Thus the gospel makes good its foot-hold on the stage of Christendom. A notable advance did it make at the Diet of Spires (1526). There the Reformation extorted

TOLERATION from the reluctant powers of the world. Another step further did it take in 1529. Then it uplifted its great *Protest*, proclaiming that the Bible alone is the supreme standard of truth, and the supreme law of conscience. The *Protest* was simple but sublime: it contained the germ of all liberty, and it cast down the twin powers which had hitherto governed the world, the chair of the pope and the sword of the emperor. Yet another advance was made in 1530. At the diet of Augsburg the Augustan Confession was laid at the foot of the throne of the emperor of the West. That document contained the system of evangelical truth, and in it the Reformation in Germany culminated. Such are the ascending steps which lead up from the ninety-five theses on the church door of Wittemberg, to the fully unfurled evangelical banner of Augsburg—from the solitary monk who stands before the Diet of Worms, to the phalanx of princes, free cities, and nations which are seen rallying around the Reformation.

Luther, taught of God, had grasped the one and only weapon which could overturn the Papacy. Philosophy never would have brought the dominion of Rome to an end. Neither would letters have emancipated the human conscience; they might have imparted a pagan refinement to the intellect, the soul they never would have awakened and regenerated. In vain would the sword have fought against a system like that of Rome. Almost equally in vain would logic have contended against it; the artillery of grave argument and the shafts of railery would have been alike impotent to cast it down. The Popish edifice would have resisted all these attacks, and grown stronger year by year. Its spell was on the conscience; and the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, alone could dissolve that spell. Luther had experienced this in his own case first of all. The Spirit and the Word awakened his conscience to a sense of sin. What a surprise! He was travelling along the road to heaven, as he thought: his head had been shorn, he wore the cowl and the frock; he was a holy monk, and an obedient son of the church; he fasted when the church bade him fast; duly night and morning he went over his rosary; aves and paternosters, and the lessons of his breviary were never omitted; he revered the saints; he had forsaken the world; mortal sins he never was guilty of; if at times he fell into a venial trespass he instantly made atonement for it by

penance and mortification. Hardly was the stain contracted when it was wiped out. He had only to continue in the course on which he had entered, and when he came to the end of his pilgrimage on earth he would, beyond all peradventure, find the gate of paradise open to receive him—he should enter into life.

But one day the Holy Spirit opened his eyes, and he saw that he was a sinner—the chief of sinners. Amazement, horror, almost despair came along with that discovery; but once seen, the terrible reality could no more be hidden. He was a sinner, and sin brought after it condemnation and death eternal; and to that awful issue was he drawing near. He who thought that he was “touching the law blameless,” and that he was travelling the road to heaven, and every day nearing the gate of paradise, now saw that it was the abyss—an abyss that has no bottom, and from which there is no redemption—toward which he was journeying. That first pang of conviction, that lurid flash which shot so suddenly and awfully through the darkness of his soul, was the dawn of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Then were the foundations of the Papacy in his soul smitten, and the way paved for its entire destruction within him. But Luther knew that what shook down the power of Popery in his soul would destroy it in the souls of other men.

What was wanted at that period to start

Europe on the road of reformation was not to prove that Rome’s doctrine was corrupt, that her administration was tyrannical, that her clergy were scandalous, and that amendment was needed. This was seen and acknowledged by thousands and thousands, and a loud cry was raised for reform. What was needed was the conviction on the part of each individual man that he was a sinner; that he needed pardon—that pardon the church could not give him; that all her rites, observances, and penances, all her dispensations, sacraments, and priests, were utterly powerless to give peace to his conscience and save his soul: when this was felt then the spell of Rome on the human conscience was broken. It was this Divine force that Luther placed underneath the foundations of the Papacy. Its explosion was like the shock of an earthquake. The hoary towers of the Papal edifice came toppling to the ground, wide rents cleft its high walls, its gates were burst open, and thousands of captives in every land made their escape. Leaving their prison-house behind them, on which the first strokes of vengeance had fallen, with alas! too many still within it, who refused to leave the doomed and already partially ruined edifice, “the ransomed of the Lord”—of the Lord, not of philosophy, or of letters, or of man, but “of the Lord”—returned and came “unto Zion with songs” (Isa. xxxv. 10).



DEATH OF ZWINGLE.

CHAPTER V.

CALVIN AND HIS WORK.

BUT it was not God's design to produce a ruin merely. His purpose was to build a new and glorious temple in the room of that fabric which, by the instrumentality of his Word, preached by Luther, he had begun to shake into dust. By the hands of whom was he to erect that new temple? The skill to build is greatly more rare than the power to throw down. It was at that moment that a man of surpassing genius, and of unrivalled organizing power, was raised up—a workman every way fit for that part of the great task which had been assigned to him. We refer, of course, to John Calvin—the great Christian, the great theologian, and one of the sublimest characters in all history.

In Calvin there was the finest balancing of qualities that have almost ever been found in

combination. His intellect was clear and penetrating, yet it was as practical as it was subtle; his was not a subtlety that misled its possessor, as sometimes happens. His genius was profound, and yet, if it went deep down, it could stretch far around, and move with effect and grace along a wide and magnificent circle; but when occasion required it could gather in all its powers, and concentrate them upon a single object. Of inflexible principle, yet no man of his time was more ready to sacrifice what was not essential to meet the narrower views of others, and maintain the peace of the church. His humility, how finely does it show beside the grand aims of his spirit and the lofty achievements of his life. Living before toleration was understood, he was excelled by no one of his day, and equalled by few, if by any, in the virtues

of forbearance and liberality. It is impossible to say which of the two, his calmness or his enthusiasm, one is most struck with. His calmness is so perfect that to many he appears cold; his enthusiasm is so intense, so overpowering, that he seems actually on fire. In truth, his energy would have speedily consumed him had it been of that kind that blazes forth and explodes; it rather resembled the spring of exquisite temper which continues to press with unintermitted and irresistible force, and suffers no power to run to waste, and not an hour or a moment to be diverted from the grand object to which life has been consecrated. Calvin's enthusiasm was not that of the cataract which leaps with flashing light and thundering noise over the precipice; it may rather be compared to that noiseless and invisible, but mighty force which acts in the depths of ocean, and at the hour of tide propels its floods along the shore. Of such sort was Calvin's enthusiasm. It had its seat in the depths of his nature, and it acted upon him at all times with strength so great that it did not admit of being stronger at any one time. It had its outcome in a life-time of patient, continuous, and mighty labour.

Calvin, the greatest of all the Reformers, was born in 1509 at Noyon, in Picardy. He was educated with the noble family of the Momors; but his father, Gerard Calvin or Chauvin, finding the expense too much for him, solicited for his son a small office then vacant and in the gift of the bishop—the chaplaincy to the chapel called the Gesiné. The request was granted, and the young Calvin, now a boy of twelve years, had his head shorn, and entered orders in the church of Rome, but never became a priest. He was next sent to Paris, where he received his Latin from Mathurin Cordier. Quitting school, he entered the college of Montaigu, where he received his first lessons in theology. His fine genius and indefatigable diligence drew the attention and won for him the friendship of his teachers, more especially of Mathurin Cordier, in some respects the most remarkable of them all.

At that time (1525) the Reformation was in the air of France. One of the professors of the Sorbonne in Paris, Lefevre, was teaching the doctrine of “justification by faith.” The cousin and countryman of Calvin, Robert Olivetan, had received the truth, and being then in Paris, the two cousins often met and engaged in earnest discussion on the respective merits of the old

and the new opinions. Calvin was then a sincere papist, and did his best to maintain the cause of Rome. But his confidence began to be shaken; light began to break in. There arose a great tempest in his soul: sin, and that *death* which is its wages, lay heavy upon his conscience, and after a conflict of some length and great severity he came to the Cross and found peace. His conversion took place in Paris, and happened not long before the time that Zwingli, the Reformer of Switzerland, whom he was to succeed with greater power, was dying on the battlefield of Cappel.

Calvin had not yet abandoned the church of Rome, but he had made up his mind that he would not serve at her altars. Resolving not to enter the priesthood, he turned his thoughts to law. It was the earnest wish of his father that he should devote himself to this profession, believing the highest offices and the most brilliant honours of the state to be within the reach of his son, should his steps be turned into this path. The young Calvin went to Orleans, attracted by the fame of “Peter the Star,” the acute jurist, under whom he made such progress as justified the hopes which his father had built on his great parts. When “Peter the Star” was indisposed from any cause the young student took his place, and discharged the duties of his chair.

After a sojourn of some time at Orleans, Calvin removed to Bourges. He was drawn thither by the fame of a yet more illustrious teacher, Alciati of Milan. Alciati loved a good table and a well-filled purse; but he had the gift of eloquence, a rare genius for jurisprudence, and his renown had drawn students from many parts of France to Bourges. At the feet of this great jurist the young student of Noyon, the future chancellor of France, as his father already beheld him, placed himself. But there he was not to remain, nor was it to profit by the eloquent Italian that Providence had brought him to Bourges. Soon he heard of another teacher, who, if less brilliant, was learned in a wisdom that Alciati knew not, Melchior Wolmar, a German. This man taught the Greek of Demosthenes, and also, though covertly, that of the New Testament. A disciple of Luther's, Melchior Wolmar communicated to his friends, in their private intercourse, the great doctrine of his master, that the pardon and justification of sinners come through the righteousness and grace of Christ. Calvin became the pupil of

Wolmar. From this Christian German the future Reformer received a knowledge of the Greek tongue; and rapidly advancing in this branch of study, as in every other to which he gave himself, he soon became expert in the original language of the New Testament, and so qualified for producing those commentaries which all have agreed in acknowledging to be unsurpassed in their combined depth, clearness, and spirituality, and which did so much in the morning of the Reformation to diffuse a knowledge of truth, and which still continue to instruct the church of God.

He now turned from the law. Its study had fascinations for his fine penetrating intellect: the honours to which it led had temptations to his ambition. He overcame both, and at the earnest solicitations of the converts of Bourges devoted himself to the service of Christ in the preaching of the gospel. He was prosecuting his work with an earnestness and a sweetness that made many disciples in Bourges (then under the queen of Navarre) and the villages around, when the death of his father called him to Noyon.

During his stay in his native town he preached in the church of Pont l'Évêque, the curacy of which he held. But his audience did not relish the "new doctrine" which "the cooper's grandson" announced to them. He quitted Noyon and returned to Paris. Paris was then beginning to be illumined by the blended lights of the Renaissance and the Reform. The chivalrous but inconstant Francis I. had gathered round him scholars from many lands. Calvin deemed the hour and the stage opportune. Through his friend Cop, the rector of the Sorbonne, he delivered an evangelical oration before that learned body and a numerous assemblage whom the opening of the session had drawn together. The result was a storm that compelled Calvin to flee. He escaped to Angouleme, where he remained some months, buried in the noble library of Du Tillet, scarcely allowing himself any sleep, so busy was he reading the great authors which stood ranged on the shelves of this splendid library, and laying, it is believed, the foundations of the noblest of all his works, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion."

Quitting Angouleme, the young Reformer went to Poitiers. He had not yet left the communion of the church of Rome otherwise than in heart, and he was received by the learned society of the place. Here he held reunions, in which he laid the foundations of the first Reformed congregation in France. Here also he dispensed the sacrament of the Supper after the primitive model, in a grotto in the ravine that runs close by Poitiers, and which is still known as Calvin's grotto. This was the first Protestant dispensation of the Supper in that kingdom. After this he returned once more to Paris.

Already martyrdom had illustrated the cause of the Reformation in Paris. The piles of Pavanes, of Berquin, and others, had attested that



CALVIN DISPENSING THE SACRAMENT

The great secret intrusted to the Greek of the New Testament, that man is justified by faith alone, Melchior Wolmar doubtless explained to Calvin. The young student knew it before: he had come to the knowledge of it in those struggles of soul that led to his conversion. But the expositions of Wolmar, who himself had learned the doctrine from the teachings of Luther, helped doubtless to make Calvin's knowledge of that fundamental point clearer and more perfect. Thus the rudiments of his training as a Reformer were finished: the tongue of the New Testament he knew, and its doctrine he had received into his soul.

the gospel had lost during its long slumber of ages none of its power, and could still, as in the early days, produce martyrs, who have ever been its best defenders. Every day the Sorbonne was raging more fiercely, and the court was growing more hostile. Francis I. was showing that one could love the Renaissance and yet hate the better light of Christianity. Despite these hindrances, the Reformation went on from day to day multiplying its disciples. Calvin resumed his work of evangelization, but he had not gone far when unmistakable signs presented themselves that a storm was gathering. Anticipating its approach, in which it was all but a certainty he would have perished, he bade adieu to Paris just in time to escape the outburst.

He went to Strasburg, in which, being a free city, the Reformation had obtained a quiet and firm footing. His short stay was passed in pleasant and profitable intercourse with Bucer and others. Not finding in Strasburg the quiet he sought, he ascended the Rhine to Bâle. In this retreat he wrote and published (1536) his "INSTITUTES." The storm he foresaw before leaving Paris had by this time broken out. Every post carried to Bâle tidings of the torturings and burnings of the disciples of the Reformation in Paris. To bloodthirsty cruelty the persecutor added a calumny in some respects more cruel. The utmost ingenuity and malignity were shown in defaming the men who were being dragged to the stake, and in misrepresenting their cause as one subversive of thrones and destructive of society itself. This double injustice roused the soul of Calvin. It was the gospel that was being defamed as a fountain of impurity and vice. It was the friends of order who were being branded and put to death as the enemies of law. With a noble clearness, courage, and eloquence, he vindicated the men and the cause. In a short treatise he expounded the doctrines of the gospel, exhibiting the whole Christian system from its mighty foundations up to its top-stone, in all its relations and harmonies, and with a philosophy so profound, and yet so scriptural, that it may be questioned whether uninspired pen has ever exhibited the scheme of revealed truth with greater completeness and beauty.

This, said Calvin to France, is the cause you are endeavouring to exterminate by scaffolds and stakes. These are the men, said he, turning to the monarch of France, whom you hold as the enemies of your throne and your laws, and whom you treat accordingly. Be assured that in destroying them you are removing the defenders of both throne and law, that you are



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opening the flood-gates of mighty misfortunes, and preparing for your house and realm a terrible overthrow. Sire, be wise in time. Cease to persecute men whose only crime is that they fear God and obey his gospel. But if not, if injustice shall still be meted out to us, if we shall still be pursued with chains, and prisons, and tortures, be it known unto you that we cannot abandon the truth, or bow down


to the gods that Rome has set up. As sheep appointed unto the slaughter, we shall take meekly whatever sufferings you are pleased to inflict. We offer ourselves to your prisons, your racks, your scaffolds, your fires. But know that there is One who takes notice of the wrongs that are done to us; in his sight our blood is precious, and he will one day require it. The years will revolve: your cup, sire, will be filled up, and so too will that of France; and then will come the reckoning. Far be the omen from France. May righteousness establish your throne, and prosperity and glory illustrate your reign.

So, in effect, did the young Reformer speak to the great monarch to whom he dedicated his book. With a depth of reasoning and a grandeur of spirit and of eloquence worthy of the great cause for which he pleaded, did he write. He sought to pluck his brethren from the fire, to keep back the king from great crimes, and to ward off from his native land great calamities. Whether Francis I. ever read

this noble appeal is not known: certain it is that it was without effect upon his public policy. Francis I. persevered in his course of violence. Encompassed by evil advisers, unsettled in his religious principles, and profligate in his morals, he continued to persecute the men, so meek and pure in life, and so obedient to the laws, for whom Calvin had so nobly and touchingly pleaded: and France showed that she did not hesitate to share with her king the responsibility of acts which embodied so conspicuous folly and so tremendous guilt. But never were words more prophetic than the solemn warning thus tendered to that country at this hour, which to France was the crisis of her destiny. She drove away the Reformation, the day-spring; and then there came the black night of Revolution, with its whirlwinds and earthquakes. When France shall return to Calvin, in other words, to the gospel, then will her woes depart: but so long as her eyes are holden, she will only stumble on in the downward path she has so long pursued.

CHAPTER VI.

CALVIN—THE RE-INSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

E have glanced at the first half of the great work that Calvin was called to do. It was his to exhibit that whole system of supernatural truth which is contained in the Bible. This divine knowledge must be the basis of all else, and on this he had made a beginning in his "Institutes." Enlarging and perfecting in after years this great work, he ceased not till he set before men, in all the extent in which the human mind perhaps is able to receive it, the entire scheme of supernatural truth, from its foundations on the eternal rock of the divine ordination and purpose, to its glorious summits which rise aloft in the light of heaven; and from its centre to its boundless boundaries, which touch on all sides the incomprehensible and the infinite. This divine scheme, like the great ocean, is larger or narrower according to the power of the mind that contemplates it. The gaze of some can pierce farther than that of others, but no one ever yet saw the limits of truth; and hence one cause of the different views taken by different minds, and the difficulties

which attach to particular views of divine truth in the opinion of some, while no such difficulties attach to these same views in the opinion of others. The general, like the individual intelligence, grows slowly—more slowly than the individual. Centuries may pass away before the noble completeness of Calvin's system, and its harmony with the divine word and government, shall be generally recognized by the world.

The other, and not less important and more special work of Calvin, was to re-institute the church. The re-institution of the church implied the determination of such questions as these: Is the church of God a distinct society, or is she indistinguishable from the world at large? Have her members any rights and privileges? and if so, what are they? Has the church laws peculiar to herself, by which her members are to be governed? and if so, what are they, and where are they found written? Has the church officers and rulers of her own, or is she to be ruled by the magistrates and governors of ordinary society? If these questions

are answered in the affirmative—if it be replied that the church's members are distinct from the world's citizens; that as members of the church they are entitled to rights and privileges which do not belong to them as members of the state; that the laws and discipline to which they are amenable are other than those by which civil society is governed, and which are enforced by the power of the magistrate and the terrors of the sword; that the church has rulers of her own, and that there is a distinct domain within which these rulers are to exercise an independent jurisdiction, and her members are to yield them, and them alone, obedience, and that the Word of God is the one sole source of authority and direction on all these matters: if all these interrogatories, we repeat, shall be answered in the affirmative, then it follows, inevitably and clearly, that the church is a distinct society from the state; distinct, not separate, being composed of the same men but under another aspect; distinct as having its own laws, administrators, and immunities, and distinct inasmuch as her origin is divine.

Calvin did answer all these interrogatories in the affirmative. To re-institute and organize the church upon this scheme of doctrine became therefore his special work.

This was the weak point in the German Reformation. Luther had introduced a reformation, but he had not set up a reformed church. He proceeded a certain length, but stopped short. His genius was not of an organizing kind; he had no well-defined views touching the constitution of the church as a distinct, independent, and divinely constituted society, or at least he did not see how practical effect was to be given to them, and left the matter to those who were to come after him. Certain it is that in Germany there was no very visible line of demarcation between the church and the world, and the direction of spiritual affairs remained almost entirely in the hands of the magistrate. The princes were her bishops or chief rulers. Around her there rose no rampart to guard her purity, as a society chosen out of the world and separated from the profane; and there was no organization to promote the growth of that holiness that ought ever to be the outcome of pure doctrine. This, in our view, is the main reason of the early decline of the Reformation in Germany; for even before Luther went to the grave the reform had begun to be tarnished by immoralities; and the disorders that broke

out, even at Wittemberg, embittered the last years of the Reformer's life.

It was necessary that a new foothold should be found for the Reformation, in order that the experiment might be made of rebuilding the church from the foundations according to the model of primitive times, as made known in the principles and examples of the New Testament. Germany could not serve this purpose. To cut down the evangelical plant and rear it anew from its roots, as it were, would not have been so easy in Germany, seeing it had there attained such stature. Besides, in that country the Reformation had become entangled with political alliances and worldly policies, which had affected its spiritual life with incipient decay. The devoted, heroic, and deeply-pious princes who had thrown their shield over it in its infancy, had given place to a race of nobles who knew not the Reformation as Frederic the Wise and John the Steadfast had known it, or even as Philip, landgrave of Hesse. Of the great scholars and theologians who had planted it in the Fatherland, some had been carried to the grave, and others were about to follow. The first great battle of the Reformation had been fought; the spoils it yielded were rich and brilliant beyond anticipation, but they were now fully reaped. The troops who had fought that action were resting on their arms; they were not disposed to push on to new victories; further spoils were not to be gathered on that field; the scene must be shifted and another battle commenced. Such was the state of the movement when Calvin arrived on the field.

In the centre of Europe is a lake whose lovely waters and noble dimensions have made it an object of notice from early times. It fills the great basin formed by the verdant summits of the Jura on one side, and the mightier rampart of the snowy Alps on the other. At the point where the Rhone rushes from it there stands on its shores a small but ancient city. That city had done battle for its independence, and not in vain; it had cast off the yoke of the duke of Savoy; it had expelled its bishop, and now it was its own master. Geneva, with its territory, was a mere speck compared with the mighty kingdoms on all sides of it, but it formed an independent state. Its freedom, which had been dearly won, seemed in hourly jeopardy, for the powerful sovereigns around it were all of them desirous of annexing this little

domain to their own ampler territories. On the west of it was the Emperor Charles, on the north of it was the king of France, on the south was the pope, and on the east was Austria. Not one of these great powers but looked with displeasure and suspicion on the independence of Geneva. It was an example of liberty on their frontiers which they deemed highly dangerous. But its safety lay in the fact that not one but many sovereigns coveted possession of it, and that when one put forth his hand to seize it another stepped forward to prevent him. Thus Geneva lived on. "Geneva was fitted," says D'Aubigné, "by various concurring conditions, to play a part from which the small extent of her territory seemed inevitably to shut her out. Situated as this town was between Italy, France, and Germany, its position formed the central point of the three great nations who were distinguished in the first half of the sixteenth century for their new or newly awakened love of letters, philosophy, and the arts. On several occasions Frenchmen, Italians, and Germans came in large numbers to settle at Geneva. By the reception of these three diverse elements into her bosom, she seemed to be called to blend them with each other, and to harmonize their opposing qualities. If any spark from the evangelical fire which was then kindled should chance to escape from either of these countries and to fall on the materials thus prepared at the foot of the Alps, it might kindle a great fire, and might make Geneva a hearth from which light, radiating far and wide, should contribute to scatter the humiliating darkness which Rome, and those princes whose power was at her service, then made to weigh heavily upon the nations. This is what actually came to pass. To convert the spark into a pure, vivid, dazzling light, there was need of an intellect of vast depth, a will of vast energy, and a faith of vast power."*

To the gates of this town was Calvin conducted in the autumn of 1536. He entered it alone, unknown by face to any one save one man, who chanced to meet him, and made known his arrival to Farel. His purpose was to remain only a single night and pass on; but Farel, who had previously introduced the gospel into Geneva, planting himself in his path, when he entreated to be allowed to depart, solemnly threatened him with the curse of the Almighty

should he quit its gates. Thus constrained, Calvin remained in Geneva. It was the spot which Providence had selected as the second centre of that grand movement which was re-generating the world.

Luther had planted the Reformation as a doctrine. While Calvin still further developed and perfected that doctrine—carried the blazing torch through the nations—his distinctive service was that he planted the Reformation as an organization or church. There is, said Calvin in effect, there is a king, one Jesus. All who receive his doctrine and rest on him for salvation become his subjects. These men and women form the church, which is the kingdom of this king. This king rules his kingdom by his own law, which is his Word. He has put the actual and immediate government of his kingdom into the hands of those office-bearers whom he himself has appointed. They have the sole power under him of admitting men to the rights and privileges of his kingdom, and of excluding the unworthy. To them have been given the keys. While this kingdom is not hostile to the authority and laws of earthly sovereigns, at the same time it is not subject to them. It is God-created and God-governed. Its members, in all things temporal, are to be ruled by the laws of the state, equally with other citizens; but in all spiritual things they are not at liberty to recognize any authority, or take directions as to their duty from any one save their king.

This is the substance of what Calvin taught under the head of the constitution and government of the church. He was the first apostle in modern times of her SPIRITUALITY and INDEPENDENCE.

It is true that John Wicliffe, two centuries before, had taught in England that the believing people form the church, in opposition to the Roman doctrine which restricted the church to the priests; and he had also taught that the church's pastors ought to be mainly dependent for their support on the free-will offerings of their flocks. But his views touching the church were limited to these two points. As an organized society marked off from the world, and possessing within herself, because given her by her head, the power of regulating all her affairs, Wicliffe does not appear to have conceived of the church; certainly he did not attempt to realize that idea; the times were too early. But Calvin took precedence not only of Wicliffe,

* Reformation in Europe, vol. vi, pp. 262, 263.

in the matter of the spirituality and independence of the church; he took precedence of Luther, of Zwingli, of Farel, and all who had preceded him.

In proof of our affirmation we must recur to the state of matters in Geneva when Calvin entered it. The reformer, on arriving in that city in 1536, found the Reformation there; he found in a sense a Reformed church there, for the citizens had met the summer before in St. Pierre, and with uplifted hands had sworn to renounce Popery, and live in the profession of the Reformed faith. Calvin, too, had found an ecclesiastical discipline in existence when he entered Geneva. But by whom was it administered. It was administered by the Council. The government of the state directed men in both their temporal and their spiritual duties, and administered to the citizens both temporal and spiritual discipline. One of the great struggles of Calvin was to extricate the two, and to separate the temporal from the spiritual jurisdictions. We grant that he did not so clearly distinguish in this matter as we think he ought to have done; but it must also be granted that the unhappiness of the times prevented him separating the two to all the extent which he sought to do.

Before Calvin's arrival in Geneva a citizen of the name of De la Rive was sentenced to banishment for having his child baptized by a priest. The year before a number of persons had been consigned by the magistrates to the *croton* (black hole) for immorality. He had been only a few days in the city when the following scene took place in the Council of Two Hundred. One of the members rising in that body spoke thus:—"Gentlemen, we have all pledged ourselves in public council to live according to the gospel, and nevertheless there are some here who do not go to preaching." One of the councillors, Richardet by name, found the cap to fit. He was of great stature, strong build, and imposing appearance, but choleric; he now rose in evident displeasure. "Nobody," said he, elevating his voice to a loud pitch, "shall lord it over my conscience, and I will not go to sermon at the bidding of a syndic Porral." More than a month (July 24) before Calvin had entered the city, this law had been inscribed in the statute-book of Geneva, that all who refused to go to the preaching must quit the city in ten days. This was the state of matters when Calvin entered Geneva; the church discipline

was administered by the secular authority. The reformer saw and strove to remedy this evil.*

We shall quote here the words of a great statesman, a fellow-countryman of Calvin, who has done justice to the reformer on this point. Guizot has very ably grasped and clearly stated what was Calvin's guiding principle in his church organization. He admits that he found a place in his scheme of ecclesiastical policy for both *authority* and *freedom*. "A principle," says the historian, "we should rather say a passion, held sway in Calvin's heart, and was his guiding star in the permanent organization of the church which he founded, as well as in his personal conduct during his life. That principle is the profound distinction between the religious and the civil community. Distinction we say, and by no means separation. Calvin, on the contrary, desired alliance between the two communities and the two powers, but each to be independent in its own domain, combining their action, showing mutual respect, and lending mutual support. To this alliance he looked for the reformation and moral discipline of the members of the church placed under the authority of its own special religious officers, and upheld by the indirect influence of the civil power.

"In this principle and this fundamental labour of Calvin's there are two new and bold reforms attempted in the very heart of the great reformation in Europe, and over and above the work of its first promoters. Henry VIII., on removing the church of England from the domination of the Papacy, had proclaimed himself its head, and the church of England had accepted this royal supremacy. Zwingli, when he provoked in German Switzerland the rupture with the church of Rome, had approved of the arrangement that the sovereign authority in matters of religion should pass into the hands of the civil powers. Luther himself, at the same time that he reserved to the new German church a certain measure of spontaneity and liberty, had placed it under the protection and preponderance of laic sovereigns. In this great question as to the relations between church and state, Calvin desired and did more than his predecessors; even before he played any considerable part in the European Reformation, as soon as he heard of Henry VIII.'s religious supremacy in England, he had strongly declared against such a regimen; with an equitable spirit, rare in his

* See D'Aubigné, *Reformation in Europe*, vol. vi. pp. 262-266.

day, and in spite of his contest with the church of Rome, he was struck with the strength and dignity conferred upon that church by its having an existence distinct from the civil community, and by the independence of its head. When he himself became a great reformer he did not wish the Reformed church to lose this grand characteristic; whilst proclaiming it evangelical, he demanded for it in matters of faith and discipline the independence and special authority which had been possessed by the primitive church; and in spite of the resistance often shown him by the civil magistrates, in spite of the concessions he was sometimes obliged to make to them, he firmly maintained this principle, and he secured to the Reformed church of Geneva, in purely religious questions and affairs, the right of self-government, according to the faith and the law as they stand written in the Holy Books.*

Calvin thus restored the government of the church to the church herself. But it may be objected—it *has* been objected—this was to give an undue power to the clergy, and to subject the lay section of society to the government of the cleric. What Calvin did was the very opposite of this. He rescued the laity from the subordination into which the church of Rome had brought them to the clergy. He proclaimed the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers,

* Guizot, History of France, vol. iii. pp. 236, 237.

which unites in one body those whom Rome had parted into two castes, the cleric and the laic; he admitted laymen into the ruling authority of the church, giving them the preponderance even in the consistories and synods. This has not escaped the notice of the statesman and historian from whom we have quoted above. A beginning had been made in this matter by the churches of Germany and England; but, as Guizot justly says, Calvin made provision for the influence of laymen “in a still more direct and effectual fashion.” “Thus began at Geneva,” continues Guizot, “under the inspiration and through the influence of Calvin, that ecclesiastical organization which, developing, completing, and modifying itself according to the requirements of places and times, became, under the name of *Presbyterian regimen*, the regimen of the reformed churches in France, in French Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, and amongst a considerable portion of the Protestant population in England and in the United States of America. A regimen evangelical in origin and character, republican in some of its maxims and institutions, but no stranger to the principle of authority; one which admitted of discipline, and was calculated for duration, and which has kept for three centuries amongst the most civilized people a large measure of Christian faith, ecclesiastical order, and civil liberty.”†

† Guizot's History of France, vol. iii. p. 228.

CHAPTER VII.

GENEVA AND THE SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH.



HE one point on which this great controversy came to turn was the power of admitting to the communion table. This power—the key of opening—the government of Geneva claimed the right to wield. Calvin said, “No; this power belongs to the church, that is, to the officers whom the church, acting in the name of Christ, and according to his law, has appointed to administer her discipline. It is clear that this raised the whole question of church authority. Exclusion from her ordinances is the highest penalty which the church can inflict. This is excommunication. But the party that claims the power of exercising the highest dis-

cipline of the church, claims by consequence the right to exercise all inferior acts, and to lay down the rules for the admission and exclusion of church members; in other words, it grasps the legislation of the church. On this point did Calvin join issue with the senate of Geneva. He resolved, be the consequences what they might, to retain in the hands of the consistory the power of admitting to or excluding from the sacraments of the church. He would not give holy things to the profane.

The matter came to a head thus:—There was a party at Geneva who had imbibed pantheistic opinions and led vicious lives. They were known as the “libertines.” This party

included some of the first families in Geneva, whose members had rendered distinguished service to the state in its previous struggle for emancipation from the yoke of the duke of Savoy, and who therefore had great influence in the city. These people had abandoned Rome, but had not accepted the gospel. They would have been pleased to have seen the consistory and its discipline swept away, but they could not openly propose this, for the Council had made submission to the Protestant regimen the condition of residence in Geneva. They contented themselves, therefore, with pleading that "excommunication" should be wielded by the council and not by the consistory. Their thought was, that if they could succeed in transferring the power of discipline from the ecclesiastical to the civil tribunal, it would soon cease altogether, for the council would seldom put itself to the trouble of interfering in the matter. The controversy in this form had been pending for some years.

But in 1553 came the crisis. The influence of Calvin with the government of Geneva was then at its lowest; and the libertines deemed this the propitious moment for terminating the contest by wresting the power of discipline from the consistory. A noted member of the libertine faction, Berthelier by name, had been excommunicated for divers scandals. The September communion was approaching. Berthelier and his comrades were resolved to force their way over the interdiction of the ecclesiastical court to the communion table. He appealed to the council craving it to annul the sentence of the consistory. The council, yielding to the pressure of Berthelier and his party, set aside the sentence of the ecclesiastical court, declaring that "if in his conscience he thought he could communicate he was free to do so."* This was a manifest assumption of the spiritual power by the secular authority. It was more; it was a revolution in Geneva; for it was in violation both of the spirit and the letter of the ordinances which were the laws of the state. The libertines had won the victory in the council chamber; but they could consummate it only in the cathedral of St. Peter, and thither were they about to transfer the battle.

The 3rd of September, 1553—the communion Sabbath in Geneva—dawned. Nowhere was the Sabbath-dawn, in that age, sweeter or more

solemn than here. To the other great cities of Christendom it brought toil, often battle; here it brought rest—the rest of holy meditation and pure worship. The very magnificence of the region helped to woo the mind to these occupations. The placid lake, spread out beneath the glorious sky; the quiet towns that looked out from forest and vineyard on its banks; the majestic piles that elevated their snowy summits in the distant horizon—all put on a fresh beauty and sublimity on this day, when those who looked on them were not chafed with care and labour. The gates of Geneva were closed and its streets were empty till the great bell of the cathedral, tolling the hour of worship, brought forth the inhabitants to flow in a mighty stream to the gates of St. Peter's.

The dawn of this Sabbath, however, brought with it very anxious and disturbing thoughts. This day a great issue was to be determined—an issue affecting not Calvin only, not Geneva only, but all Christendom. This day it was to be seen whether the Reformation will be able to maintain itself as a great moral power, and to rear walls within which all may gather who wish to place themselves under Christ's law and to obey Christ's authority: in other words, whether it will be able to create a new spiritual and moral society on the earth, or whether it must lower its flag before the rising infidel democracy of Europe, and deliver over the future to the supremacy of an immoral and lawless power. This was the issue to be determined this Sabbath in the temple of St. Peter.

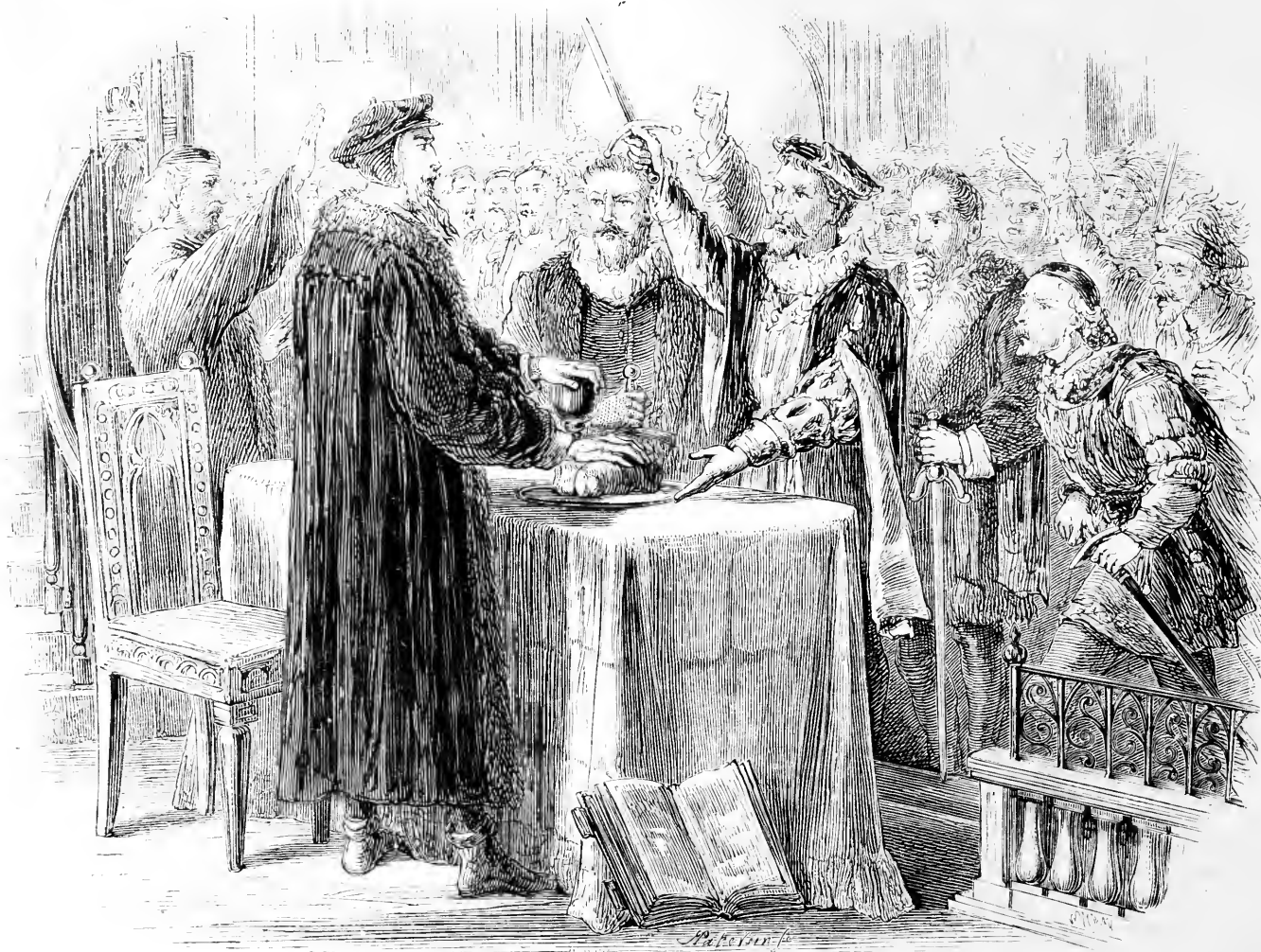
The congregation had assembled and the vast edifice was filled. Calvin ascended the pulpit: he saw before him in the midst of the congregation the knot of libertines, who had come armed with their swords and the order of council to force their way to the communion table. But the reformer did not seem to see them. As calm as ever, he preached upon the state of mind with which the Lord's table ought to be approached. When the sermon had been ended and the scripture passages read, Calvin descended the pulpit stairs and took his place in front of the elements on the communion table. He blessed the bread and the wine. Then pausing, he said that he would guide himself by his Master's rule; and that should any one to whom the consistory had forbidden the sacrament approach the table, he would show himself such as he ought to be. Despite this

* Bungener, Calvin: his Life, his Labours, and his Writings, p. 218. Edin. 1863.

plain intimation, the libertines rose and were advancing in a body to seat themselves at the table. Calvin, covering the bread and cup with his hands, said, "You may spill my blood, you never shall compel me to give you the sacrament." The tone, the eye, the attitude awed these insolent men. They stopped, they shrank back, and the service proceeded in quiet.

Calvin had at one and the same time triumphed over two opponents. He had van-

quished the council of Geneva, which, stretching its jurisdiction beyond the temporal domain, had intruded into the spiritual sphere, and usurped the government of the church by authorizing Berthelier to receive the sacrament. And he had vanquished an enemy in some respects yet more formidable, the rising infidel democracy to wit, which sought to tear down all the fences of the church, in order that they might the more effectually abolish all the



CALVIN REFUSING THE SACRAMENT TO THE LIBERTINES IN ST. PETERS.

sanctions of morality and all the safeguards of order. The victory was immense. Its outward circumstances threw a veil over its inherent importance and essential grandeur. The battle was fought in a small town; it was decided in a Presbyterian temple, in the presence not of princes and warriors, but of plain citizens; and the party discomfited in the first instance were but a noisy and insolent group of libertines: nevertheless if we measure the victory by the

greatness of the principle which it established, by the direction it gave to the Reformation, and the far-reaching issues that flowed from it, no grander triumph had yet illustrated the annals of Protestantism. The principle it made to triumph was this, even, that the Creator has arranged society into two spheres, the temporal and the spiritual, or the state and the church: that he has placed each under its own constituted authorities, who are to cultivate alliance,

but eschew usurpation: that in the church the one Head and King is Christ, whose will, made known in the Bible and administered by the officers he has appointed, is the sole rule and law. And, as regards the issues of this victory, in this conflict in St. Peter's the key note was struck of all the future contendings and sufferings of the church of the Reformation.

We are able in this matter to trace progress on the part of the church; and it is instructive to mark that the line of her advance lies alongside of the offices which Christ sustains as our Redeemer, and that her progression is the same with that of Christ's own life and ministry. Our Lord entered first of all upon his office as a prophet, for he "came preaching the gospel;" He next discharged his office of a priest, when he was lifted up upon the cross and offered himself as a sacrifice for sin. Finally he showed his power as a king when he ascended and sat down on the right hand of God. First he teaches, then he atones, and lastly he reigns. We trace the same order in the great movement of the Reformation. In its earlier days, under Wicliffe, it presented itself to men mainly in the capacity of their instructor. Disallowing the claims of Rome to be the one infallible teacher of men, it put forward the Word of God as the voice to which they were bound to listen. In the second era, under Luther, it was the priesthood of our Lord which it strove mainly to unveil in its sole efficacy and glory. Disallowing the powers of that spurious priesthood which professed to sacrifice for men and pardon sin, it strove to fix the eye of men upon the cross as the sole ground of expiation and forgiveness. Under Calvin the Reformation advanced another step. The reformer of Geneva was not less assiduous than his great predecessors in the diffusion of doctrine; all that they had taught he taught, and with greater clearness and completeness; but he added this thereunto—he made the truth he published through Christendom the basis of a new superstructure, a spiritual society, a holy house, in which Christ might reign as king, and his Word be recognized as the sole law.

Looking at the scope and substance of what each of the three great reformers accomplished, we may say that Wicliffe testified for Christ's sole right to *teach*, Luther witnessed for Christ's sole right to *sacrifice*, and Calvin asserted Christ's sole right to *reign*. Such are the relations in which these illustrious servants of the

church stood to one another, and such is the progression that marks the men and their eras. The returning day is seen shining more and more as it advances to the perfect splendour of a noon not yet attained.

But Calvin did not end the war on Sabbath, the 3rd September, 1553, in the church of St. Peter's; he only began it, though he began it with a battle that was a victory. The war was to be transferred in due time to Scotland. Scotland became the heir, through Knox, of Calvin's principles, and she inherited, together with his principles, the conflicts of the reformer. This is the reason why we have dwelt so long upon these events in Geneva. Here was placed the cradle of that great controversy which has extended over all Christendom, and which has raged nowhere more fiercely than in our own native land. Shall the church be suffered to exist as an independent society? Shall her members be at liberty in all things spiritual to follow the rule laid down in the Bible? In other words, shall Christ be king in his own kingdom? was the point at issue in the temple of St. Peter's, Geneva, on the Sabbath in question; and the same was the point at issue all through the "twenty-eight years" during which the Church of Scotland was in the furnace of persecution. Instead of the council of the Republic of Geneva, it is King Charles of England and his Privy Council. But if the names are changed the controversy is the same; the same on the moors of Scotland as on the shores of the Lemane; the same in St. Giles', Edinburgh, and the Grass Market, as in St. Peter's, Geneva.

Having traced the historic rise of that great struggle in which our fathers laid down their lives, it becomes unnecessary farther to follow the course of events at Geneva. The current of history now takes us to Scotland, and for Calvin substitutes Knox. But before taking farewell of Calvin, let us relate in a few sentences what followed his great act of resistance. He preached again in the evening of the day on which he had vindicated the purity of the communion table, and maintained the authority of the church's discipline, and in his sermon he took an affectionate and solemn farewell of his flock. He did not doubt that it was the last time he should ever appear in the pulpit of St. Peter's. Next day he looked every hour for the sentence of the council, banishing him from Geneva. But men seldom lose by courage. The day passed and no sentence of banishment

came. The reformer's success was greater and more immediate than he had believed. Both the council and the libertine faction had given way, and from that hour the influence of the latter declined, while that of the reformer continued steadily to grow.

Calvin had made Geneva his own; he thoroughly pervaded it with his spirit; it identified itself with him; his plans and aims became the plans and aims of Geneva too; Geneva became the instrument through which the reformer operated. It was not Calvin alone, nor Geneva alone, but Calvin and Geneva together, that wielded that prodigious moral and spiritual power of which this town now became the seat.

Here, in the centre of the wide battlefield, was pitched the tent of the great chief. His eye ranged over the whole field of conflict, all the movements of which he directed. He toiled in his closet to send forth those works that enlightened Christendom, and made it in so large a measure of one heart and mind with himself. He thundered in St. Peter's; he advised with the senate in the council chamber; and he wrote letters to princes and statesmen abroad, who had solicited his counsel in the reformation of their kingdoms. Was any one about to die, Calvin, by letter, was instantly

by his side, speaking words that cheered him as he mounted the scaffold or stood at the stake. These great labours he continued to prosecute with an intellect that never seemed to know dimness or weariness, and a courage that never faltered, till he was laid in his grave.

Geneva, under Calvin, attained a position which, without exaggeration we may say, is unique in the history of the world. Its independence was hourly menaced, and yet, although it had neither army nor fleet to defend it, it was marvellously, we might say miraculously preserved. Here the gospel abode in peace, while all round raged the tempests of war and blazed the fires of persecution. On this little territory the Reformation displayed its beneficent and divine power. It elevated the individual, purified the family, built up the state, nourished letters and arts, and showed what it could make all Europe were free course given to its spirit. To the gates of Geneva came illustrious men from all countries, some to admire, not a few to learn, and many to find asylum within its walls from the fury of the persecutor. It sent out its faith to transform and rule other nations, and the little Geneva became, in point of order, of literary glory and moral power, the first city in Europe, the metropolis of reformed Christendom.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCOTLAND—FIRST PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY IN IT.

JOHAN KNOX is the link that binds Scotland to Geneva. But before speaking of the man, let us speak first of the country which was the predestined scene of his labours. Scotland had a great part to act in the establishment of that kingdom which the God of Heaven was to set up in the latter days, and a long and severe preparation had it to undergo for its assigned task.

I. The first essential step was to make the Scots a *nation*. II. The second was to make them an *independent nation*. III. The third was the recovery of what had been at an earlier period of their history their national faith. IV. The fourth was the reorganization of their church. These are the four steps by which the Scots advanced in the execution of the work assigned them in the history of Christianity,

and by which they came at length to that special service which they were called to render to the church of God, and through her to the nations of the world. Let us briefly trace the career of our country through all these successive stages to the conflict in which they culminated, and the triumph with which they were crowned.

While Alexander was overrunning the world with his arms, and Greece was enlightening it with her arts and her philosophy, Scotland lay hidden from the knowledge of mankind under the black cloud of barbarism. The veil was lifted in the year 55 before Christ, when Julius Cæsar anchored his fleet on our shores and began our subjugation. The country, which has just risen out of the immemorial night, is as dreary and savage as country can well be. It rises shaggy with woods and bristling with

great mountains, the mist of tempest enwrapping their summits. Its plains are half-drowned in swamps and morasses, and a wild sea is seen breaking all round its rock-bound, harbourless shore.

Its moorlands have not yet been touched by the plough. The green of cultivation nowhere gladdens the eye. Not a tree has the axe cut down in its tangled and gloomy forests, the haunt of the wolf and the boar. There are no roads traversing its dreary wilds, nor are they needed, for trade has not yet found its way to this desolate shore.

The inhabitants are as untamed and rugged as their country. They were named Britains, that is, men of the tin island, or Caledonians, that is, men of the woods. They had not yet learned to weave, and what scanty raiment they wore was fashioned out of the skins of the animals which they caught in the chase. They had long and matted hair, which served as a visor, sometimes to conceal and at other times to defend their face. They painted their bodies of a blue colour before going into battle, that their aspect might be the more terrible to their enemies. Their weapons were a sword of great length and a light javelin, while shields of cowhide or wicker-work covered their persons. Like almost all early nations, they used the bow and the arrow. They were brave, warlike, and ferocious.

Their dwellings were very little superior in comfort or arrangement to those of the animals which they pursued on their mountains. They dug holes in the ground; in time of war or during the cold of winter they burrowed in these places. In time of peace, or in summer when the weather was fine, they lived above-ground in rude habitations constructed of wattles, placed mostly on the shores of the lakes, standing half on land and half on the water, with an opening in the floor through which the fish, as they swam underneath, might be speared and caught.

There is another and more important question touching these rude forefathers of ours. Of what religion were they, and what were the rites which they practised? The answer to this inquiry shows us the darkest side of the picture of the ancient inhabitants of our island. Their religion was Druidism, and they lived in the cruel and bloody observances of that superstition. Druidism was of eastern origin, being in fact the religion of Zoroaster, which

prevailed in Chaldea and Assyria, and the worship of which consisted in the adoration of the sun and moon. Peopled by one of the early waves of population which rolled westward from Asia, its first settlers brought with them, and long practised undisturbed, the superstitions of that quarter of the world from which they had come. The worship of the heavenly bodies, in particular of the sun and moon, or, to express it more concisely, the worship of that Baal which the Assyrians and Moabites, and other eastern nations, bowed down to, was the worship of our early ancestors. The rites of Druidism were atrociously cruel and sanguinary. Blood, but especially the blood of man, was the delight of its high priests. In those rude temples which they constructed, formed of huge unhewn stones set on end and arranged in circles, human beings were often immolated to the Scottish Baal. The remains of these Cyclopean erections are still to be seen on many of our wild and remote solitudes, and truly sad and affecting memorials they are when their dread history is called to mind. Well may they be termed "stones of remembrance." They stand there as lasting monuments of the dark and horrible superstition that once polluted our land, and the sight of them ought to move us to thankfulness that the Dayspring from on high has broken upon the night of our country, and that Christianity, by revealing the one great Sacrifice by which sin has been expiated, has abolished the human sacrifices of the Druids.

It was passing strange that Rome, the mistress of almost all the fair and fertile lands that lay outspread between the Euphrates and the Atlantic, should covet our heath-clad, storm-swept, and sea-engirdled isle. Egypt, with her granaries of corn, was hers; Greece, with her arts and letters, was hers; Babylon, with its ancient cities and fertile soils, was hers; Spain, with its mines of silver and iron, was hers; France, with her vineyards and pasture lands, was hers; and yet, as if it had been nothing to possess a world while the little Britain was withheld, she strove for five centuries to get and retain possession of our country. This is not to be explained on the ordinary principles of ambition. The hand of God is seen in it. Our island had been elected to act a great part in the future; it was to become the source of loftier influences than any that ever emanated from Greece, and the centre of a wider and more beneficent empire than that of which the Roman Capitol formed the head;

and the Great Ruler made use of the Roman sword to begin its first preparation for its high destiny.

To enumerate all the benefits of a civilizing kind which the Roman dominion conferred on our country, would lead us away from our subject. In order to retain possession of the country which they had conquered the Romans found it necessary to cut down forests, drain marshes, construct great highways and bridges, and build numerous cities. The husbandry of the southern part of the island was so greatly promoted by them, that the corn of England began to be transported into France. Commerce was quickened and extended. The historian Tacitus speaks of London as a city renowned for the multitude of its merchants. Courts were set up, in which justice was administered on the basis of the Roman law; and the towns enjoyed the benefit of municipal government. Many of the youth of Britain began to study the literature and speak the polished tongue of Rome. And thus it came to pass, that when the five centuries of Roman occupancy came to an end, the aspect of the country, and the condition and manners of its inhabitants, had undergone an entire change. But the crowning benefit which came to us indirectly, by the instrumentality of Rome, is one that lies right in the track of our historic sketch. The Roman dominion opened the door for the entrance of the gospel. No long while after the Roman eagle, with blood on its beak and thunder on its wing, had stooped upon our island, fiercely seizing the prey with its talons of iron, came the dove, with silvery wing, bearing to our shore the olive branch of Christianity.

So feeble was the first springing up of that light that the hour cannot be fixed when the day broke. This only is certain, that the dawn came early. By the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second, the gospel had entered Britain, although through what precise channel, or by what preacher or missionary, is altogether unknown, or at best conjectural. The probable solution is, that it came to us not through one but a variety of channels—soldiers, merchants, missionaries. From very remote times a considerable commerce had been carried on between our country and western Asia. Fleets of ships from the shores of Asia Minor, the ports of the Levant, and the trading towns of Egypt might be seen steering in the direction of Cornwall, and returning laden with the tin

of our mines. Some of the masters of these vessels, or the sailors that navigated them, were, we cannot doubt, disciples of the Cross. They would speak of the life and death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth to the rude natives with whom they trafficked, and so convey to our country a richer treasure than any they carried away from it. Certain it is that our first teachers came from the East, from Greece or Asia Minor, seeing the early Christianity of Britain bore not the Italian type but the Eastern. By the age of Constantine (A.D. 303) Roman Britain was largely Christian. The Christian faith was found to extend even beyond the wall which marked Rome's furthest dominion in Scotland, so that, in the words of an early father (Tertullian, A.D. 200), the arms of Christ had triumphed in regions where those of Rome had not been able to penetrate. Origen says of his time (212), "the land of Britain has received the religion of Christ." Constantine the emperor (330) mentions the churches of Britain; and Athanasius tells us that three pastors from these churches were members of the Council of Sardica; and Chrysostom (400) says, "The islands of Britain, situated in the ocean, far out of these our seas, have felt the power of the Word of God."

The end of the Roman period brings us to the beginning of that of the Culdees. The Romans did not leave us till they had laid a basis for our future civilization. They had cut down forests and constructed roads; they had builded towns and introduced many social elegancies and conveniences; they had communicated the first elements of law, and letters, and agriculture. Now came a period of convulsion and upturning to England and the Continent. These troubles wrought good to Scotland: they helped to diffuse the evangelical light throughout our land.

"The persecutions which at the close of the second century," says D'Aubigné, "during the course of the third, and at the beginning of the fourth, fell on the disciples of the gospel who dwelt in the southern part of Great Britain, drove a great number of them to take refuge in the country of the Scots. These pious men built for themselves humble and solitary hermitages, in green meadows or on steep mountains, and in narrow valleys of the glens, and there, devoting themselves to the service of God, they shed a soft gleam of light in the midst of the fogs of every kind which encompassed them,

teaching the ignorant and strengthening the weak. They were called in the Gaelic tongue *gille De*, servants of God; in the Latin tongue, *cultores Dei*; and in these phrases we find the origin of the name by which they are still known—Culdees. Such was the respect which they inspired, that after their death their dwellings were often transformed into churches.”*

We must pause a moment before proceeding in our narrative to take a view of the state of things in Great Britain at the end of the sixth century. The Britons, attacked by the Scots and Picts, now that the Romans had left them, invited the Anglo-Saxons across from Germany to assist them in driving out the invaders. The Angles performed the service for which they had crossed the sea, but they demanded as their wages the country they had cleared. In short, they took possession of England, reducing the native Britons to serfdom, and trampling out the Christianity of the preceding centuries. This was a sad reverse to England: the pagan night again covered it.

* History of the Reformation in Europe, vol. vi. pp. 4, 5.

But the light of the gospel continued to burn in Scotland. In the middle of the fourth century St. Ninian had established his mission at Whithorn. A century later, the middle of the fifth, a yet more famous evangelical school was founded at Abernethy. It appears to have had affiliated establishments, or Christian communities, in Fife, in the valley of the Tay, and in the great plain at the foot of the Grampians—Strathmore. Christianity was then pretty generally diffused throughout the lowlands of Scotland. The Picts of Galloway and the Britons of Strathclyde were then largely Christian. So too were the Picts that inhabited on the south of the Grampians: those who lived on the north of that great mountain barrier were as yet almost wholly heathen. In those days the kingdom of Northumbria, or Bernicia, extended to the shores of the Firth of Forth; and connected with England, its Christianity shared the fate of that of the southern part of the kingdom, that is, it was trodden out by the German tribes who had come across as friends but chose to remain as masters.

CHAPTER IX.

IONA AND THE CULDEES.

IT was the seventh century, and now a great light was kindled on the western shore of Scotland. Times of deep darkness had come to the world, and God kindled this light beforehand.

Mahommed had appeared in the East, and was beginning to spread his arms and his faith over those regions of the globe. The papal anti-Christ was appearing at Rome, and his dark shadow was being projected over the nations of the west. Now it was that a lofty beacon was kindled in Scotland, and its soft light continued to radiate upon our mountains while darkness lay all around. When Boniface stood up at Rome Columba arose at Iona.

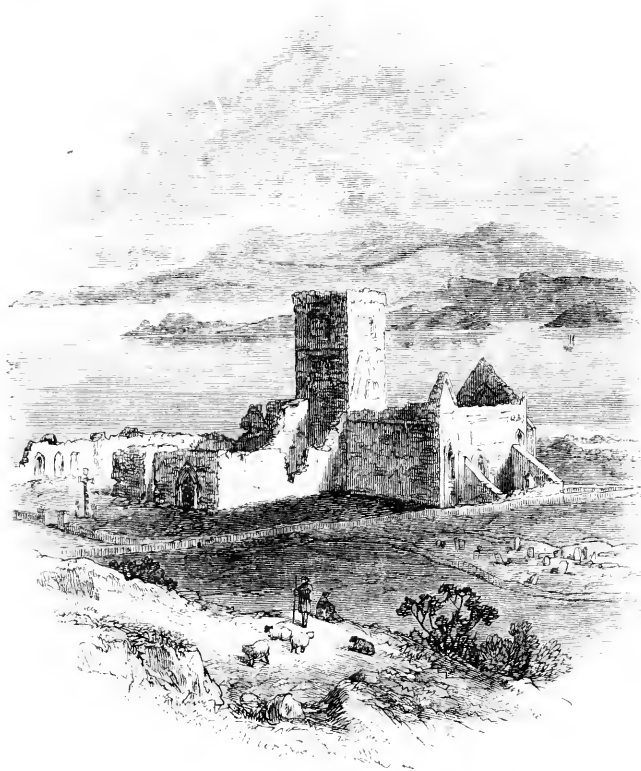
The story of Columba is one of the finest episodes in the history of Christianity. We can touch only briefly upon it. A descendant of the ancient kings of Ulster, and nearly related to Connal, the then reigning monarch of Scotland, he was born in county Donegal, Ireland, about 520, and ordained by Etchen, a presbyter of Meath. About the year 563 Columba, being

then forty-two years of age, set sail for Scotland to preach the gospel to the natives. He took with him twelve companions or missionaries, who were to be the sharers of his triumph or his defeat. Setting sail from Londonderry, he crossed the sea in a wherry made of the pliant osier, covered with hides. He touched first at the island of Colonsay, but deeming it too distant from the mainland, he again launched out upon the deep, and arrived in his slender craft at Iona about the season of Whitsuntide. Hastily rearing a humble sanctuary, which he covered with thatch, and preparing a dwelling of an equally plain description for himself and his companions, he immediately entered on his great work.

Those who go forth at the head of armies and fleets to subdue kingdoms may smile at the little army that they behold Columba leading across the sea, and contemn, in comparison with their own great wars, the conquest for which they see these soldiers of the Cross girding themselves. And yet it is with the latter that

the sublimity remains. What could be grander than the enterprise on which we now see Columba adventuring, and what more benevolent! He goes forth to dethrone idols, to strike the fetters from off the soul, and to spread abroad that light which is to bless the successive generations of that land, on whose rugged coast and beneath whose frowning mountains we behold him anchoring his small *curach*.

Iona was a missionary institute, from which the light of the gospel, the blessings of education, and the arts and refinements of social life were diffused among the population of Scotland.



IONA.

The only existing institutions to which Iona can be closely likened are the Moravian establishments, in which the members form a colony as well as a brotherhood of missionaries, and while teaching and preaching among the heathen, support themselves by cultivating the soil, or otherwise working with their hands. Columba obtained a grant of the island from the king of the Picts, and the brethren of the mission supported themselves by their husbandry. The island rises in little rocky hills, with verdant hollows between; its western shore is lashed, when the wind is high, by the great surges of the Atlantic; while its eastern boundary is

laved by the placid waters of the narrow strait that separates it from the island of Mull, termed the sound of I, or Iona.

The members of the establishment of Iona took no vow of celibacy, of poverty, or of obedience. Their first superior or head was Columba. He had the title of abbot (father), or prior (president). He had authority over all the inmates and over all similar institutions which began in process of time to be planted throughout Scotland, Ireland, and other countries, after the model of the parent institution at Iona. But though wearing the title, he possessed nothing of the lordly domination which is wielded by the abbot in the church of Rome. He had no diocese, nor could he singly confer ordination on any one. Columba was an abbot-presbyter over other presbyters. Iona was not an organized church, but a missionary institute, which elected their own head, ordained missionaries, and sent them forth to preach and baptize, and planted affiliated institutions in other parts of the country.

What was the doctrine taught by the men of Iona? We are able to reply unhesitatingly. It was that of the Word of God. Iona was a well of "the water of life." True, they possessed not the full, clear, comprehensive knowledge of divine truth which the Christians of our day have the means of acquiring. The fathers were the children. But they were diligent students of the Bible: "they would receive only," says Bede, "those things that were contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles;" and they were steadfast opponents of the formalism and self-righteousness of Rome. "The believer lives," said one of the brethren of Iona, "not by righteousness" (good works), "but by faith." "In the life of Columba, penned by his faithful follower Adamnan," says the younger M'Crie, "there is not the slightest reference to the worship of the Virgin Mary; no mention of the 'Mother of God;' no evidence of saint or image worship; not even a vestige of a liturgy or forms of prayer."* Strenuous attempts have been made, from the mere occurrence of the word *missa* in one of the biographies of Columba, to establish that he believed in the mass, and in the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the elements. Those who have made these attempts have forgotten that Columba lived three centuries before Paschacius Radbertus, the monk who

* Annals of English Presbytery, p. 17.

first broached the idea of transubstantiation, and seven centuries before Innocent III., the pope who decreed it.

“Surrounded by a stormy sea,” says the younger M’Crie, speaking of Iona and Columba, “sullen and sad in its flat monotony, and wanting even the grandeur of rocks and the grace of vegetation belonging to our northern islands, a more desolate abode could hardly be imagined; and were it not for the ruins of the monastery that remain to mark the spot, with the sepulchres of Norse kings lying around it, bleached with the storms of thirteen centuries, the traveller could never have guessed it to have been the cradle of our infant Christianity. There, however, did the saintly Columba reside for above thirty years; there did he gather around him a goodly company of disciples, whom he trained in arts and letters, as well as the sacred learning of the Scriptures. There, by night as well as by day, did these crumbling walls echo to the sound of prayers, psalms, and anthems; there did the rude natives acquire the arts of husbandry, and princes resort from distant lands in pilgrimage; there did the presbyter-abbot ordain missionaries and bishops to go into all parts of the world; and there, on Saturday, the 9th of June, 597, he died, having that morning declared—‘This day is called in Scripture the Sabbath, and such will it prove to me, for it will end all my labours.’

“Many are the anecdotes that have been recorded of this truly apostolic man, and all of them are descriptive of virtues apparently opposite, but which, blending in him, produced a character of singular goodness: deeply pious, yet gay and cheerful; a stern reprover of vice, yet blessing the milkmaid as she passed, and even the milk she carried; abounding in acts of kindness to all within his reach, and drawing towards him the affection and veneration of all, from the rude chieftains whose quarrels he settled, down to his own dear children, as he called his disciples, down even to the old white horse of the monastery, which approached him as he lay on his death-bed, and which he would not suffer to be driven away till the faithful creature had received its last caress from the hand of its master. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the institution at Iona resembled a Romish convent. It was rather a large Christian family or school of the prophets. Though the members of the fraternity divided their time into certain allotted portions, to

prayer, vigils, fasting, reading, transcribing, and manual labour, they had no monastic vows of poverty, celibacy, or obedience. Columba did not recommend lengthened fasts any more than long faces, but would have the brethren to ‘eat every day, that they might be able to work and pray every day.’ Under his superintendence the barren island was converted into a fruitful field and a smiling orchard. Every hand was busy at work, every hour profitably spent. There was nothing morbid in his asceticism, no treating of the body as if it were in itself an evil, no merit of importance attached to bodily maceration. On the contrary, to preserve a healthy frame as the best vehicle of a sound mind, seems to have been his perpetual study. And whilst all his biographers conspire to attest the uniform hilarity that beamed upon his countenance, one of them tells us that ‘from the grace of his person, the neatness of his dress, and the ruddiness of his cheeks, he always looked like a man nourished amid delicacies.’”*

The light kindled at Iona radiated far beyond the shores of Scotland, and helped to dispel the gloom that was deepening above the other lands of Christendom. Among the countries to profit by the evangelists sent forth from this missionary institute was England, where the evangelical light had been trodden out, as we have already said, by the German tribes. Oswald, king of Northumbria, having been converted by the Culdees, sent to Iona for an evangelist to instruct his people in the Christian faith. Aidan was sent to him, who travelled through his kingdom teaching and baptizing converts. He made Lindisfarne (Holy Isle) his head-quarters, as Columba had done Iona, and here he enjoyed quiet for meditation and security from war. After his death in 651 Finian, with four missionaries, continued the evangelization of Northumbria, and extended their labours all along the eastern coast of England as far as London. By the missionaries of Iona were the Northumbrians, the Middle Angles, the Eastern Angles, and the East Saxons, in short the whole east of England from the Forth to the Thames, evangelized.

This school of the prophets at Iona sent its teachers to lands still more remote, lying beyond the limits of Great Britain. Some of these missionaries, braving the storms of the North Sea in their boats of skin, voyaged as far as

* M’Crie’s Annals of English Presbytery, pp. 13-15.

Orkney, the Faroe islands, and Iceland. In 588 Columbanus set out, with twelve fellow-labourers, to evangelize in France. Crossing the Alps, he penetrated into the valleys of the Waldenses, and died at the town of Bobbio, in the valley of Lucerna. Another of the brethren of Iona, Gallus, started the same year for Switzerland, where the monastery of St. Gall remains the memorial of his visit. Others visited Germany, the Low Countries, and even Italy. "From the nest of Columba," said a writer of that age, "these sacred doves take their flight to all countries."

"Peace to their shades! the pure Culdees
Were Albyn's earliest priests of God,
Ere yet an island of her seas
By foot of Saxon monk was trod."*


How wonderful the view which this opens to

* Campbell's Reullera.

us of the ways of God. At the southern extremity of Europe we see the Papacy standing up; the Emperor Phocas is gracing it with a proud title, and installing it in a wide territory and ample jurisdiction. The same hour at the northern extremity of Europe we behold a lamp of blessed light kindled on the barren rock of Iona, and a foothold is being prepared for it also in the approaching independence of the Scottish nation. Here in the south the night is descending, though so gradual and quiet is its approach that hardly are men conscious of the gathering darkness. Yonder, in the north, the day is breaking, but so faintly that the world fails to take note of the silvery streak on the far off horizon. This is no mere coincidence, but cometh forth from him who is "wonderful in counsel." He createth the darkness, and from Him the day-spring knoweth its time and its place.

CHAPTER X.

SCOTLAND UNDER THE PAPACY.

T is the opening of the seventh century, and we behold the world about to undergo a great change. Two notable principles are seen standing up; and though parted by a whole continent, for the one appears at the extreme north and the other at the extreme south of Europe, they become henceforward the two main factors in the drama of history. They are the antagonists of each other, and they come at the same hour to begin that conflict which is to be maintained for centuries, and to terminate only when one of the two, the Papacy or the Gospel, has achieved a universal triumph and been left in sole possession of Christendom.

Scotland had to pass through a dark night before the day should fully break upon it. Of that night we can here speak only briefly. It did not descend all at once, its approach was gradual.

The lamp of Iona, which for the space of two centuries had burned brightly, began to wax dim. The first assault made upon it came from Rome. It was now the eighth century. The Picts and Scots were still two distinct nations. Rome through her emissaries was tampering with the teachers of both peoples, and so far

succeeded. It is instructive to mark that the first attempt of the Pope upon Iona was not in the way of persuading her to change her doctrine, but to alter her worship. Your forms and rites, said Rome craftily, are not good, they are schismatic: adopt ours, which are apostolic and catholic. You celebrate Easter on the wrong day; for the Scottish church having received her first evangelization from the East, followed the Eastern Church in the famous dispute respecting Easter. Besides, said Rome to the pastors of Iona, your tonsure is not the orthodox one: it is the tonsure of Simon Magus. The agents of the Pope prevailed on the elders of Iona to conform to the Roman church on both points: to keep Easter according to the Western rule, and to receive the tonsure of St. Peter, as Rome styled the fashion in which the heads of her priests were shorn. The fact is not without its lesson. It was by her ceremonies and rites that Rome opened the door and entered Scotland. Rome had put her mark upon the elders of Iona; she had shorn their heads: and having received the mark of her vassalage, they stood less erect in her presence, and contended less stoutly against her. The battle was not yet ended: for though the evangelists of Iona had

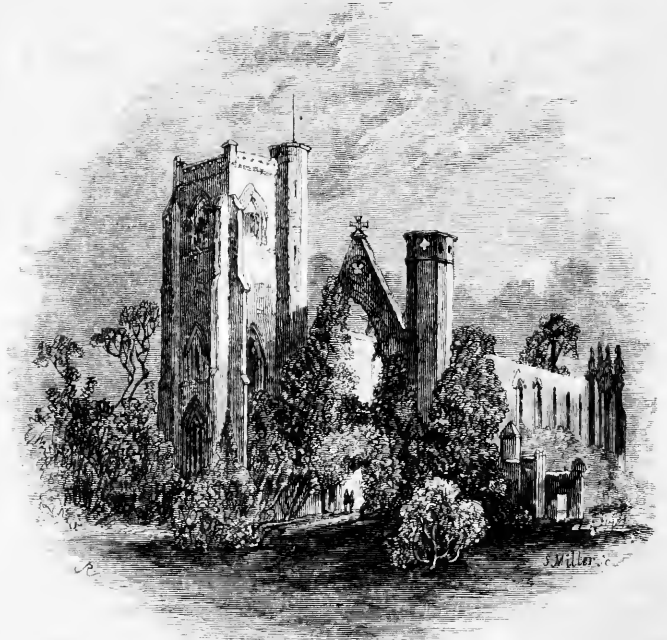
received the tonsure of Rome, they had not received her doctrine; but from this hour it was more feebly maintained, for the pope having triumphed on the ground of ceremonies, pushed on the conflict to its natural sequel, which was to triumph on the ground of dogmas.

Meanwhile the political preparation of Scotland, for its full emancipation and enlightenment in due time, was advanced a stage. The ninth century, to which we now come, was signalized by the union of the Scottish and Pictish crowns in the person of Kenneth M'Alpine. This made of our country one kingdom, which now began to be known as Scotland, which name it has borne ever since. From this time the Picts disappear from history; not that they were exterminated, but passing under the Scottish crown and mixing with the rest of the population, they were henceforth known only as Scotchmen. The evangelical lamp was now removed from the remote and solitary Iona, where it had stood ever since it had been kindled by Columba, and set up at Dunkeld, in the centre of the kingdom. Here the brotherhood could more effectually supervise their branch establishments throughout the country, and more completely permeate a united people with their teaching, and enjoy greater security from the attacks of the sea-kings, who had begun to make descents upon Scotland, plundering and slaughtering its western coast. From this time forward to the extinction of the Culdees the ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland continued to be Dunkeld.

We now enter the darkness of the tenth century. Yet it is not all dark in Scotland. The most memorable event of this century was the holding of a great assembly, or national convention, for the reformation of the Scottish church. The assembly was convoked by the king, Constantine II.; it was presided over by the leading pastor or bishop, Cellach; it met on a hill near Scoone, termed the Hill of Faith; and the whole multitude bound themselves to observe the laws of the church and the precepts of the gospel. This shows that the struggle against Rome was still maintained in Scotland. Almost the whole west had by this time submitted to her authority. Milan, in the north of Italy, was still fighting for the independence of its bishop, and resisting the liturgy and canon law of Rome, and a small body of evangelical Christians in the Cottian Alps were protesting against her doctrine; but even they fade from

view in the depth of their valleys and the obscurity of the times. It is only in Scotland, we may say, on the very confines of civilization, that we can trace any opposition to a power that was trampling upon the rights of all churches and the independence of all peoples. Here, in Scotland, was the last citadel of freedom in the western world, and even the Scots were fighting a losing battle.

We now approach an era of great changes in the history of our country. To understand how these changes came about, we must turn our eyes for a few moments to England. The Normans had invaded and conquered England; they had driven away the royal family; and



DUNKELD.

Margaret, the daughter of the English king, with her brother, fled into Scotland to seek a refuge at the Scottish court. Margaret was one of the fairest and most accomplished of the English maidens, and the Scottish king, Malcolm Canmore, sought her hand in marriage. Margaret, now the wife of Malcolm Canmore, brought other things to the court of Scotland besides her beauty, her intelligence, and her many accomplishments. She was greatly attached to the Romish worship, and her entrance into the palace paved the way for the priests of Rome to come after her. She arranged conferences and discussions between the priests and the Culdee pastors; she won

over the king by her eloquence, and by these arts laid the train for the great changes that passed on Scotland in the days of her son King David.

In 1124 David ascended the throne. History describes this monarch as active, temperate, just, accomplished beyond the standard of his age, and unwearied in labours to promote the welfare of his subjects and the prosperity of his realm. But David inherited in large measure that sort of piety for which his mother Queen Margaret was distinguished, and for which she was canonized by Rome after her death, and which may be described as a devotion which terminates in the priest rather than in Christ, and which consists rather in the observance of rites than in the practice of evangelical virtues, or in the cultivation of an evangelical spirit. David was entirely devoted to the church of Rome; and he carried fully out that scheme on which his mother's heart had been so greatly set, and to prepare for which she had so incessantly laboured. David put down the church of Iona, and he set up the Romish hierarchy in its room.

It is probable that before that day came the light of Iona had waxed faint and low. So great a change could hardly have been so easily consummated, had not the Culdees sadly declined in the vigour of their doctrine and the purity of their lives. There was need, doubtless, to pour fresh oil into the dying lamp, but what the Scottish king did was to extinguish that lamp altogether, and to supply its place by light from the Seven Hills. What he did was to substitute the Romish hierarchy for the gospel of Jesus Christ. The Culdee establishments were suppressed all over the country, at Dunkeld, Brechin, St. Andrews, Locheven, in short, wherever they existed; their houses were closed; their lands and revenues seized, and appropriated to the Romish worship; and the priests took possession of the buildings and chapels from which the Culdee brethren had been driven out by main force. Such of the Culdees as chose to conform to the new worship, for the alternative was put in their power, were permitted to remain in their old abodes, and were joined on to the chapters of the bishops; but few appeared to have taken advantage of the permission. Those to make way for whom the native teachers of Scotland were disinherited and driven out, were mostly foreigners, priests from England and France, brought over by King David. "These men,"

says Dr. Lindsay Alexander, speaking of the Culdees, "by their resistance to Rome, not only made the period of her reign in our land shorter, but by their preoccupation of the country have precluded the possibility of its being pretended that when the Romish priests were driven from their seats, they were deprived of that which was in any sense their own. This Scottish land of ours never by any proper right belonged to them. Their advent was an aggression. They took possession in the face of a firm and indignant protest on the part of those who had previously occupied it. When, therefore, our reformers took up their protest they but resumed a plea which, though suspended for a season, had never really lapsed; and when they cast off the supremacy of Rome, they but recovered for the people of these lands an inheritance of which its original proprietors had been deprived by force and fraud."

The face of the country was entirely changed and remodelled by King David. Beginning at Caithness and Sutherland, and running on to the border, for the kingdom now extended to the Tweed, he mapped out Scotland into bishoprics and parishes. Wherever there had been a Culdee institution the monarch planted an archbishop or bishop. Thus the hierarchy of Rome, in regular form and full force, was introduced into the country. The establishment of Popery in our land was the result, not of the conversion of the people or the propagandism of their native teachers, but in opposition to their wishes, by the will and decree of the monarch. Under King David, in the twelfth century, there were founded in Scotland twelve bishoprics, six abbeys, three priories of Augustinian monks, three abbeys of Præmonstratenses, two abbeys and one priory of Benedictines, two abbeys and one priory of Tyronenses, four abbeys of the Cistercians, several establishments of the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John, and at least five convents of nuns. Among all these bishops, monks, and nuns, except one or two of doubtful identity, we do not find one native Scotsman; all are importations from England and France. So little was the Popery of Scotland of native growth, that the men as well as the system had to be imported.

We now behold the Popish church fully established in Scotland. For four centuries, that is, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, Rome maintained her dominion over our country, reigning in power and great glory.

The church, that is, the confederacy that bore the name, flourished more and more. With the passing years her cathedrals and abbeys multiplied in number and waxed in splendour; her domains grew ever the broader, and her revenues ever the richer; and with the increase of her riches came an increase of her pride and tyranny. The country was hers. The earth yielded its corn, the pastures their milk, the flocks their wool, the tree its fruits, the river its fish, the sea its treasures, only to feed her. Her lordly bishops and abbots monopolized the highest offices of the state, and extruded the nobility, and its friars and nuns, of every order and colour, overspreading the land in locust-swarms, fleeced the labourer and the artizan. Yes, the "church"

flourished, but it flourished on the ruin of every other interest and class; on the ruin of our commerce, which then began utterly to forsake our shores; on the ruin of our soil, which began to revert again into its original moorland; on the ruin of our people, who began to sink into poverty and serfdom; on the ruin of our nobility, who were compelled to bow down and do obedience to the lordly churchman; on the ruin of our throne, which now began to be priest-ridden; in fine, on the ruin of religion itself, which was overwhelmed by an abounding flood of ignorance, profligacy, and superstition. In the midst of this great wreck stood up, in surpassing haughtiness and wealth and power, the "church."

CHAPTER XI.

PIONEERS—WALLACE; BRUCE; LOLLARDS OF KYLE.

ATWOFOLD preparation was needed in order that Scotland might attain its high destiny. It had to be emancipated politically as well as spiritually—made an independent nation as well as an independent church. All throughout the period of the popish darkness, even when evangelization of Scotland stood still, God was carrying forward its political preparation. We have recorded in the former chapter the first great step in this advance, the union, even, of the Pictish and Scottish crowns in the ninth century (838), an event which constituted Scotland a kingdom. In early times, as we have already said, the Scots were simply an assemblage of roving and warring tribes; their union under one chief made them a nation. The next necessary step in our country's preparation was to make the Scots an *independent* nation.

It was no easy matter to make good the political independence of a little country like ours in the presence of the great monarchies of Europe. Our rich and powerful neighbours strove by their arts and their arms to subjugate us, and make Scotland a serviceable appanage to their own dominions. But it was altogether indispensable, for the ulterior and grander destiny in store for us, that we should be a distinct and independent nationality; otherwise how could our country have become the seat of a pure Christianity and a reformed church?

Two powerful and rival nations contended for the possession of our country, England and France. What they coveted so eagerly was not our acres, but the arms of our stalwart sons, which they might employ in the wars which they waged with one another. England seemed to have reason on her side for what she did in this matter. The two countries formed but one island, and it might seem conducive to the good order and prosperity of both nations that they should be under one government. Accordingly many a gallant army, comprising the pride of her knighthood and the flower of her yeomanry, did England lead across the border to conquer us. But it was all in vain. Her mailed cavalry and her terrible bowmen fell back before our battle-axes and broadswords; and the English monarchs learned at last, that though they should redden all Scotland with the best and noblest blood of their own realm, they would never succeed in extinguishing that love of independence which burned so strongly in Scottish breasts, or rob Scotland of its nationality and sovereignty.

To aid in this great struggle, on which were suspended far higher issues than were dreamt of by those who so nobly fought and bled in it, God raised up from time to time mighty men of valour, who waged successful war for their country's independence. Grandly conspicuous in the foreground of his country's political his-

tory is the figure of William Wallace. The lapse of five centuries since he yielded up his life on a London scaffold, has not dwarfed the proportions of his colossal stature, nor dimmed the lustre of his glorious name. He still keeps his place at the head of Scotland's warriors and patriots. His victory at Stirling Bridge did more than rout Cressingham and establish his own fame for consummate generalship, it struck the key note of Scottish patriotism and policy,

and lent a prestige to the Scottish arms, which emboldened the nation to fight on till it had vindicated its independence. A life of toil and of most disinterested sacrifice was rewarded, not by the honour of wearing the crown, but by the higher glory of martyrdom for his country.

Between Wallace and Knox there are not a few points of resemblance. They are alike in the far-sightedness that characterized both, in the statesman-like cast of their minds, and in the



EXECUTION OF WALLACE.

unselfish and unrelaxing zeal with which, through good report and bad report, they laboured to plant their country's prosperity on stable foundations. Of both, it may be said, there never came stain upon their honour, nor cloud upon their courage. The service which the first accomplished for the political independence of Scotland was not unsimilar to that which the last achieved for its religious freedom, and without Wallace we do not see how the way for Knox could have been opened.

After Wallace there stood up Robert Bruce. Bruce, like the great patriot whom he succeeded, was a man of herculean bodily strength, of indomitable personal prowess, and he had, too, like Wallace, for his consuming passion the love of his country's independence. He was firmly resolved, if he could help it, that Scotland should never lay her time-honoured crown at the feet of Edward. Bannockburn (1314), the great achievement of his life, was no mere provincial fight; it was something more even than an

international combat. It was one of the great battles of the world. It put a conclusive end to the reiterated attempts of the English kings to blot out the Scottish nationality, and it determined that Scotland should keep its place as a distinct independent kingdom. It did more. Bannockburn changed the current of European history, and originated a series of causes which made the fate of all the European kingdoms diverse from what otherwise would have been had this battle never been fought. Let us briefly explain how this came about.

England, in her great war for the conquest of France, seemed at one time within an ace of becoming mistress of that ancient and central kingdom. What, we ask, would the result have been to Christendom if the English monarch had succeeded in this vast project, and had united these two crowns on his head? The result would have been truly disastrous to liberty and religion within the kingdom of Great Britain, and outside of it not less. The seat of government would have been transferred to Paris. The English kings would have become the successors of Charlemagne, and very probably head of the Roman empire; for the great object of ambition among the sovereigns of Europe at that period was to wear the Imperial diadem, and wield the nominal, if not the virtual sovereignty of Europe. But as head of the Roman empire the sovereign of England, who in that case would have been the sovereign of Scotland too, would have been brought into such relations with the Vatican, and surrounded with political exigencies of such a kind, that the Reformation in either division of our island never could possibly have succeeded. The event that helped to break the chain of causes which was leading to an issue so disastrous was the victory of Bannockburn. For scarcely had the last of the English host crossed the Border when the Scots renewed their league with France, and rushing in great numbers across the sea to fight the English on the French soil, they maintained the turn in the tide of war which had set in in that country, and the English were ultimately expelled from France, and had to bid adieu to all the high hopes and great projects which they had built upon its conquest. It was not one but many defeats which Edward sustained at the hands of Robert Bruce at Bannockburn. The annexation of Scotland to the crown of England, the subjugation

of France by the English monarch, the possession of the crown of Charlemagne, with all the leagues and concordats with the Vatican which would have followed in the train of these acquisitions—all the great visions, in short, which had floated before the eyes of the English kings, and which they had been so near realizing, all vanished and came to nought on the field of Bannockburn.

So far the work of preparing our country for its great destiny had progressed. Scotland was now to a great extent freed from the danger of foreign occupancy and control; and planted on the twin pillars of nationality and independence, the country waited the opening of a higher drama than any enacted by armies and accomplished on battle-fields. A conflict more glorious than that of Bannockburn was to be waged upon its soil. The great contest of the ages, which had paused during the period of the darkness, was about to be resumed on a grander scale than the world had yet seen. The first centres around which that great battle was to rage were Wittemberg and Geneva; but the day would come when the tide of conflict would retreat from these points, leaving Wittemberg and Geneva but outposts in the field, and the battle would advance northward to Scotland, and there suffer its final defeat or win its crowning victory.

The political preparation of our country having been so far advanced, its evangelical progress was resumed. This brings us to the third great stage of our nation's history, even the recovery of its ancient faith, forcibly suppressed in the twelfth century by King David, but overlaid rather than trodden out. We say the *recovery* of our ancient faith; for, as we have already shown, it is an error to suppose that Scotland, up till the sixteenth century, was either pagan or popish, and never evangelical. A gospel church, substantially presbyterian, existed in it from the earliest times; the domination of the popish church was parenthetical, extending only from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; and the seed scattered by the reformers fell upon that which had been sowed by the Culdees, and both sprang up together at the harvest of the Reformation.

Even in those centuries when the bulk of the population conformed to Popery, all testimony for the gospel had not ceased in Scotland. In his bull for anointing King Robert the Bruce in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Pope

John XXII. complains that there were many heretics in Scotland. The university of St. Andrews ordained (1416) that all commencing master of arts should take an oath to defend the church against the attacks of the Lollards, and to the best of their power resist all the adherents of that sect. The Scottish Parliament (1424) ordered every bishop to make inquiry by the Inquisition for heretics and Lollards; and that such should be punished according to the laws of holy kirk, and that, if need were, the secular power should assist "holy kirk." These edicts did not remain a dead letter; executions followed. In 1407 there came into

Scotland a disciple of Wicliffe, John Resby, who taught that "the pope was nothing." He had to expiate his heresy in the fire at Perth. Next came Paul Crawar from Bohemia to St. Andrews. This disciple of John Huss denied the mass; unsuitable doctrine surely in a place where a magnificent cathedral and a rich hierarchy were maintained in its service, and where, should it fall, they too would fall. He was dragged to the stake (1432), and burned with a ball of brass in his mouth to prevent his speaking to the people.

Scotland had its Lollards as well as England. These were probably the remnants of the ancient



JOHN CAMPBELL, LAIRD OF CESSNOCK, BEFORE JAMES IV.

Culdees, mingled with the disciples of Wicliffe, who had sought refuge in Scotland from the persecution to which they were subjected in their own country. They existed in most of the lowland counties of Scotland, but were most numerous in the districts of Kyle and Cunningham. The "Lollards of Kyle" are familiar to history. Chief among these was John Campbell, laird of Cessnock, who was well grounded in the evangelical doctrine, and every day had a portion of the New Testament read in his house at family worship. Campbell, along with thirty fellow disciples, was summoned, at the instance of Robert Blackadder, archbishop of Glasgow, before the tribunal of that see on a

charge of heresy. They were all persons of good condition. They appealed to the king, James IV. The laird of Cessnock, a plain man, was somewhat embarrassed before the monarch; but his wife, a woman of intrepidity as well as piety, stepping forward, argued the matter with the monks and put them to silence. The king could not withhold his admiration of her intelligence and spirit, and the issue was that all the accused were dismissed with an admonition to content themselves henceforth with the "religion of the church."

Other agencies began to operate. Hector Boyce, principal of King's College, Aberdeen, the fellow-student and correspondent of Eras-

mus, published in 1526 his History of Scotland. In that work he paints in dark colours the disorders of the Scottish clergy, and speaks strongly of the need of reform. A disposition favourable to the evangelical doctrine was diffused in the university and city of Aberdeen by the teaching of Boyce. "The seaports of Montrose, Dundee, Perth, St. Andrews, and Leith," says Dr. Lorimer in his "Scottish Reformation," "were all more or less infected with the same spirit. The Scottish traders and 'skippers' were in truth the earliest pioneers of the Reformation. In their annual voyages to the ports of Flanders, the Netherlands, and Lower Germany, they found Lutheran books and ideas everywhere in circulation, and they imported them with their merchandise into their own

country. Nor was it only the exciting tracts of Wittemberg which they found exposed for sale in those crowded marts; William Tyndale had markets for his English Testaments in Antwerp, in Middleburg, and in Hamburg, where they were eagerly bought up by British traders and secretly conveyed into England and Scotland."* The land was being silently permeated by evangelical principles. The "Tract" and the "Book" were sowing the good seed when prelate slept. But something more was needed to rouse the nation from the dead sleep in which it was sunk. There must be the living voice of the preacher and the fiery stake of the martyr; and now, the hour of deliverance being come, both were given.

* Lorimer's Scottish Reformation, p. 64.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PROTO-MARTYR, PATRICK HAMILTON—HIS MINISTRY.

BUT who shall open the martyr-roll in Scotland? A youth of royal lineage was selected for this high honour. Patrick Hamilton, princely in mind as in birth, comes first in this saintly procession. He was the great-grandson of James II. both by the father's and the mother's side. He was born in the year 1504. In 1517 he was appointed titular abbot of Ferne, a Præmonstratensian abbey in Ross-shire, and the same year he left Scotland to study in the university of Paris. There, it is probable, he formed his first acquaintance with the reformed doctrines, for at that time the opinions of Luther were the subject of keen discussion in both the city and university of Paris. He returned to his native country about the year 1522, taking up his abode for a short time at the family mansion of Kincavel, near Linlithgow. He soon removed to St. Andrews, then the first city of the kingdom, and whose colleges, schools, and learned men gave it special attractions in his eyes. He was at this time fully as much the disciple of Erasmus as of Luther; that is, he loved the ancient learning, he hated the monks, he earnestly longed for church reform; but the reform he aimed at was only a transformation of the Roman Church. He never went to reside in his abbey; but in 1526 he

had become less an Erasmian and more a Lutheran, for we find that early in 1527 rumours reached the archbishop of St. Andrews that Hamilton had openly espoused the cause of Luther; and on inquiry into the truth of these rumours, the archbishop, finding that the young abbot was "infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers repugnant to the faith,"* summoned him before his tribunal at St. Andrews.

By this time James IV. had fallen on the field of Flodden; around him, stretched out in death, lay the flower of the Scottish nobility. James V. was a child, Margaret Tudor, the widow of the deceased monarch and sister of Henry VIII. of England, held the regency; but the government of the kingdom had been grasped by the clergy, headed by the proud, profligate, and unscrupulous Beatoun, archbishop of St. Andrews and chancellor of the kingdom. The young Hamilton, whose rank and talents joined to his heresy made him so formidable a foe to the priesthood, Beatoun, beyond doubt, would have sent to perish at the stake, had not Hamilton, to avoid the danger, fled to Germany.

His purpose, when he left the Scottish shore, was to visit Wittemberg, then in the height of

* Fox, Acts and Mon. iv. p. 560.

its fame, and make the acquaintance of Luther and Melancthon; but Marburg lay in his way, and he repaired in the first place to it. Francis Lambert, the ex-monk of Avignon, who was altogether a remarkable man, was living there, Philip of Hesse having invited him to aid in the reformation of his dominions. Between the reformer and the young Scotchman a warm friendship speedily sprang up, and the simplicity and purity of Hamilton's theological views, as afterwards disclosed in his teaching in Scotland, is to be accounted for by the indoctrination he now received from Lambert, whose opinions were entirely free from the mysticism, especially on the doctrine of the Supper, which continued to cloud Luther's views to the very end of his life. "The large acquaintance with the Word of God which Hamilton possessed," says D'Aubigné, speaking of this visit to Marburg, "astonished Lambert; the freshness of his thoughts and of his imagination charmed him; the integrity of his character inspired a high esteem for him; his profound remarks on the gospel edified him. A short time after this the Frenchman, speaking to the Landgrave Philip, said, 'This young man of the illustrious family of the Hamiltons, which is closely allied by the ties of blood to the king and the kingdom of Scotland, who, although hardly twenty-three years of age, brings to the study of Scripture a very sound judgment, and has a vast store of knowledge, is come from the end of the world, from Scotland, to your academy, in order to be fully established in God's truth. I have hardly ever met a man who expresses himself with so much spirituality and truth on the Word of the Lord.'"^{*}

The college which the Landgrave Philip had founded at Marburg was opened during our countryman's stay at that town. After the inaugural address, the rector, Montanus, opened the roll of the university to enter in it the names of its members. Among the first names to be inscribed was that of "P. Hamilton, of Linlithgow, a Scotchman, Master of Arts, Paris." The name may be read in the registers at this day.

When Hamilton set out for Germany his purpose was to visit Wittemberg, then at the height of its fame, and make the acquaintance of Luther and Melancthon, those renowned teachers and champions of the reformed faith. Of his visit to Wittemberg no record exists,

^{*} D'Aubigné's Reform. in Europe, vol. vi. p. 40.

and the probability is that it never was made. A rumour, which at this time was circulated throughout Germany, that Luther was dead, and that the plague was raging at Wittemberg, may have led to a change of purpose on the part of Hamilton. The plague had indeed visited Wittemberg; and so great were its ravages, that the university was closed, and the lectures were transferred to Jena. It was of no use therefore to go thither. The young Scotchman prolonged his stay a little while at Marburg, and employed his time in compiling certain *theses* known as *Patrick's Places*, which he maintained in public debate in such fashion as to throw an *éclat* over the new university. The sum of his *Places* is that *faith* is the only door by which we can enter into a state of justification before God, and a life of good deeds before men. The doctrine of his *theses* was not more evangelical than the phraseology was clear, precise, and salient, qualities rarely found in the theological writers of Germany, Luther being the solitary exception almost among his countrymen.

Hamilton's preparation for his work—destined to be brief but brilliant—was now completed. He saw that the doctrine of "salvation by works" had covered Christendom with darkness, and that the opposite doctrine, "salvation by grace," could alone cover it with light. He began to burn with a vehement desire to spread the knowledge of that doctrine in his native land. He could not hide from himself the danger of returning to Scotland, ruled over as it was by a vicious and tyrannical churchman, whose glory and pleasures the diffusion of the gospel would bring to an end. But he *must* and would brave the danger. He set out, and arriving on his native shore, he took up his abode at the family mansion of Kincauld. It was not to taste repose, much less to enjoy the revenues of his abbacy, that he had returned to Scotland; but to engage in a great work, though that work had to be done with the sword of Beaton hanging above his head.

He began, first of all, to communicate the good news of the recovered gospel to the members of his own family. His elder brother, Sir James Hamilton, who had succeeded to the titles and estates; his brother's wife, Isabella Semple, who belonged to an ancient Scottish family; his sister, who in decision and elevation of character resembled himself; and especially his mother, the widow of a knight who in his day had been the mirror of Scottish chivalry—

all opened their hearts to the truth now communicated to them by their young relative, and in after life gave good proof of the sincerity of their conversion.

After his kinsfolk, his neighbours were his next care. He visited the houses of the gentry in the neighbourhood, where his birth, the grace of his manners, and the fame of his learning made him at all times welcome, and he talked with the inmates on the things that belonged to their peace. He began to preach in the churches of the surrounding villages, and among his audience might be seen priests from Linlithgow and ladies of noble birth. The common people liked to gather round him; nor did he wait till they came to him; he went forth into the field in quest of them, and joining himself to groups of labourers as they rested in the heat of the day, he would explain to them the mysteries of the kingdom, and exhort them to press into it.

Waxing yet more bold, he entered the church of St. Michael, Linlithgow, and there, amid its images and altars, preached the gospel. Linlithgow was then the Versailles of Scotland, although its palace boasts a much greater antiquity than that of Louis XIV., and members of the royal family would at times come to hear the young reformer. Avoiding declamation, he discoursed with that simplicity and chastity of speech which was best fitted to win its way with such an audience as was now before him. "Knowest thou what this saying means," would he say, "*Christ died for thee?* Verily that thou shouldst have died perpetually, and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death, for thou madest the fault and he suffered the pain. . . . He desireth nought of thee but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind; and

that thou wouldest help others for his sake, even as he helped thee for nought and without reward."*

Among his hearers was a maiden of noble birth, whose heart the gospel had touched. Won by her virtues and graces, and disobeying the commandment which the pope had laid on priests, "thou shalt not marry," seeing in it, as Luther did, an affront to God's institution, and a source of enormous pollution to society, he asked this lady to be his wife. The marriage was celebrated but a few weeks before his martyrdom.†

On the other side of the Firth of Forth, its towers almost visible from the spot where the young reformer was daily engaged in evangelizing, was the archiepiscopal palace of Dunfermline, where Archbishop Beatoun was at this moment residing. Tidings of the young evangelist's doings were wafted across to that watchful enemy of the gospel. Beatoun saw at a glance the necessity and yet the difficulty of taking steps to stop the work that was in progress. Had Hamilton been an ordinary evangelist the case would have been a very simple one; but here was a preacher with royal blood in his veins, and "all the Hamiltons at his back," throwing down the gage of combat to the hierarchy. What was the head of that hierarchy to do? He could not send men-at-arms to seize Patrick, and yet he could not suffer him to go on undermining the Papacy and preparing its fall: he must in some way or other waylay him and dispatch him. The cruel and crafty Beatoun, after consulting with his fellow priests, hit on a device which succeeded but too well.

* Fox, Acts and Mon. iv. pp. 570, 571.

† We are indebted for our knowledge of this fact to the researches of Professor Lorimer of London. See his Patrick Hamilton, the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation: a Historical Sketch.

CHAPTER XIII.

PATRICK HAMILTON—HIS MARTYRDOM.



CONCEALING his anger, and especially his dark design, the archbishop sent a message to Patrick, to the effect that he much wished to receive a visit from him at St. Andrews, in order to hold a conference on such points in the administration of the church as might seem to require reformation. The invitation reached the young reformer only a few days after his marriage. Hamilton perfectly understood its meaning, and the issue to which it was intended to lead. Indeed, he said to his friends that in a short time he would have to lay down his life. His mother, his young wife, and the rest of his friends, gathering round him, besought him with tears not to go to St. Andrews. But he was steadfastly minded this time not to flee. Who could tell whether the hour had not come when a great sacrifice would effect the liberation of his country. He set out for what Howie calls "the metropolis of the kingdom of darkness."

On arriving at St. Andrews he found the archbishop all smiles; in fact, he met a most gracious reception from the man who had inwardly resolved that he should never go hence. Lodgings were provided for him in the city. He was permitted to move freely about, to converse without restraint with all classes, and to avow his opinions without the least concealment: even the halls of the university he was permitted to enter, and discuss with doctors and students touching the rites, the sacraments, the dogmas, and the administration of the church. Thrown off his guard, the young evangelist made ample use of the freedom accorded him, and when he heard the echoes of his own sentiments coming back to him amid the halls and chairs of that proud seat of the Papacy, the "Scottish Vatican," he began to persuade himself that the day of his country's deliverance was nearer than he had believed: he thought he could see rifts in the black canopy over the land. And in truth these labours were not in vain; for if they helped to conduct the reformer to a scaffold, they helped powerfully in

their issue to conduct Scotland to the light of the gospel. Among the canons of St. Andrews at that time was a young man of rare parts, already distinguished as a scholar, especially in scholastic learning; but he was all on the side of Rome. In fact, he had done battle with great applause against Lutheranism. On this young canon the priests built the greatest hopes; his name was Alane, or Alesius, a native of Edinburgh. The young canon, full of zeal for "holy church," and on fire to break a lance with the "heretic," waited on Hamilton in the hope of confuting him. He returned converted: the sword of the Spirit had pierced, at almost the first stroke, through all the scholastic armour in which Alesius had encased himself, and he dropped his weapon to the man he had been so confident of vanquishing. The young convert afterwards became eminent as a reformer.

After Alesius there came another combatant to Hamilton, as eager to do battle for the old faith, and as confident of victory as the former. This new disputant was Alexander Campbell, prior of the Dominicans. He too was a person of parts, accomplished in the learning of those days, and kind and candid in disposition. He visited Patrick at the request of the archbishop, who, feeling strongly the hazards of bringing such a man as Hamilton to the stake, was not unwilling to avoid the hard necessity by bringing him back to the doctrine of Rome. He ordered Prior Campbell to spare no effort to recover the young and noble heretic. Campbell had an interview with Hamilton, but soon found himself unable to sustain the argument on the side of Popery, and acknowledged the corruptions of the church and the need of reform. The conversion of Alesius seemed to have repeated itself in that of Campbell, and the two men, Hamilton and the prior, freely unbosomed their sentiments to one another. After a few days the archbishop, scenting, it would seem, the leanings of Campbell, summoned the prior to report what progress he had made with Patrick. In the presence of the archbishop and his coun-

cellors the prior lost his courage. He revealed all that Hamilton had communicated to him: he acted in the archiepiscopal palace a different part from that which he had sustained in the chamber of the reformer. He was no longer the disciple, but the accuser. He consented to become one of Hamilton's judges. He knew the truth, but when he came to make his choice between the favour of the hierarchy and the gospel, he was unwilling to suffer the loss of all things that he might win Christ.

Hamilton had now been a month at St. Andrews. He had all that time been busily employed discussing and arguing with doctors, priests, students, and townspeople; and not in vain. That this should be done at the very seat of the primate shows one of two things; that the hierarchy believed its power so firmly rooted in this city that nothing could shake it, or, and this is the more probable, that the priests hesitated to strike when the intended victim was so nearly related to the king. But the delay, if it furnished Hamilton's enemies with the proof they sought against him, contributed much to the early triumph of the Reformation in Scotland. In that little month there was scattered on this most important field a great amount of that incorruptible seed that liveth and abideth for ever; and which watered, as it soon thereafter was, with the blood of him who sowed it, sprang up and brought forth much and good fruit.

But the matter would admit of no longer delay. Hamilton was summoned to the archiepiscopal palace to answer to a charge of heresy. This brought the matter to a bearing on both sides. That the charge would be proven there could not be a doubt; and the convicted heretic could in those days have no other doom than the stake. To all this length, then, had the archbishop resolved to go; and so too had the reformer; his friends, seeing death in the summons, exhorted him to flee. He was deaf to all their entreaties; he had returned from Germany steadfastly minded, if need were, to glorify God by his death. He obeyed the summons of the archbishop, well knowing what would come after.

Before accompanying the young evangelist to the tribunal which we behold assembling in the archiepiscopal palace, let us glance at the precautions his persecutors have taken to enable them to proceed in their work without interruption. The side on which it behoved them first of all to guard themselves was the king. The frivolous James V. took a real interest in

his relative, the young evangelist. The lustre of his genius and the grace of his manners, in fact everything about him but his heresy, had attractions for the monarch; and knowing, most probably, how the priests meant to handle him, he counselled him to reconcile himself with the bishops. Priest-ridden though the king was, it was not safe for the bishops to conclude that he would stand by like the veriest poltroon and see them burn the young Hamilton. Means were found to send the young monarch, who was then only seventeen, out of the way. There was a famous shrine in Ross-shire, St.



PRIOR CAMPBELL AND PATRICK HAMILTON DISPUTING.

Duthac, to which James IV. had often gone in pilgrimage. The king was told that his soul's health required that he should, after his father's example, do penance at that shrine.* It was the depth of winter; but if the roads were rough and, it might be, filled in some places with snow, the merit of the journey would be all the greater, and so too would the time spent upon it, and this last was of prime consideration to the

* Knox, Spottiswood, and others record the fact of this journey. Some, notwithstanding, have taken it upon them to dispute it. But a letter of Angus to Wolsey, of date the 30th March, 1528, which states that the king was at that time in the north country, in the extreme parts of his realm, makes the matter undoubted.

bishops. Obedient to this ghostly counsel the king started off on his distant pilgrimage.

Another danger threatened in a quarter not so much at the command of the priests. Tidings reached the manor-house of Kineavel of the perils which were closing round Patrick. The alarm and anxiety these tidings caused to his family may well be imagined. There was but one part which it became his brother, Sir James Hamilton, to act in the crisis, and he immediately set about it. He was sheriff of the county and governor of one of the king's castles; and so, assembling without loss of time a body of men-at-arms, he put himself at their head and set out for St. Andrews. Marching along the shores of the Forth the troops arrived at Queensferry, where they intended crossing the firth. But alas, it looked as if the elements were fighting on the side of the archbishop. A strong gale was blowing from the west, and the tumult of the waves in the narrow strait was so great that passage was impossible. Sir James, while the hours were gliding away, could only stand and gaze in despair on the tempest that continued to rage without sign of abating. Meanwhile this assemblage of armed men on the southern shore of the firth was descried by the friends of Beatoun in Fife, and their purpose guessed. This being told the archbishop, he gave orders that a troop of horse should be despatched to meet them.

We return to St. Andrews. Patrick Hamilton rose early on the morning of that day on which he was to appear before the tribunal of the archbishop.* The first rays of the sun had just lighted up the waters of the bay and kindled the hills of Angus beyond, when the reformer was already seen traversing the streets on his way to the palace of the archbishop. It was between seven and eight o'clock when Beatoun was told that Patrick Hamilton was waiting admission. His thought was to see and converse with the archbishop before the council had met; the members of the council were already met, and consulting together how best to confute the reasonings of the man they had summoned to answer at their bar. Beatoun immediately constituted the court; Hamilton was introduced, and the accusation was read.

"You are charged," said the commissioner, "with teaching false doctrines: 1st, that the corruption of sin remains in the child after baptism; 2nd, that no man is able by mere force

of free will to do any good thing; 3rd, that no one continues without sins so long as he is in this life; 4th, that every true Christian must know that he is in a state of grace; 5th, that a man is not justified by works, but by faith alone; 6th, that good works do not make a good man, but that a good man makes good works; 7th, that faith, hope, and charity are so closely united, that he who hath one of these virtues hath also the others; 8th, that it may be held that God is the cause of sin in this sense, that when he withholds his grace from a man, the latter cannot but sin; 9th, that it is a devilish doctrine to teach that remission of sin can be obtained by means of certain penances; 10th, that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; 11th, that there is no purgatory; 12th, that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before the passion of Jesus Christ; and 13th, that the pope is anti-christ, and that a priest has just as much power as a pope."†

Having heard this list of charges the reformer made answer thus:—"I declare that I look on the first seven articles as certainly true, and I am ready to attest them with a solemn oath. As for the other points, they are matter for discussion; but I cannot pronounce them false until stronger reasons are given me for rejecting them than any I have yet heard."‡

There followed a conference between Hamilton and the members of council on each article. Finally, the whole were referred to a committee selected by the archbishop, who were to give their judgment upon them in a few days. Pending their decision Hamilton was allowed to see his friends, to engage in discussion, in short, to enjoy in all respects his liberty. It was evidently the design of his enemies to veil what was coming till it was so near that no one should be able to prevent it.

In a day or two the commissioners reported that they were ready to give their judgment on the articles. This opened the way for the last act of the tragedy, for which all was now ready. The archbishop issued his orders for the apprehension of Hamilton. The officer on whom the duty devolved, fearing an attempt at rescue should he conduct the reformer as a prisoner through the streets in open day, waited till after night-fall before executing the archbishop's mandate. Hamilton, who was used to ask to

† Spottiswood, History of the Church of Scotland, p. 63. Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 76.

‡ Ibid.

* Fox, Acts, iv. p. 559.

his apartments and entertain at his table all who wished to converse with him, whether they came to defend the religion of Rome or to be instructed in that of the New Testament, had that evening a little party of Christian friends in his chamber. Their converse was prolonged to a late hour, for they felt unwilling to leave him. What the subjects were that occupied their thoughts and furnished matter of conversation we can have little difficulty in guessing. The sentence to be pronounced in the cathedral to-morrow before the assembled "clergy, nobility, and people," would, of course, cause some uneasy forebodings. They knew that the reformer was in danger, although they little dreamed that that danger was either so great or so near as the issue showed it to be. There was no recent instance in Scotland of a vengeance so prompt and so dreadful on the score of religion as that which was now meditated; nor could they believe that a scion of the royal house, and one so nearly related to the reigning monarch, would be ruthlessly murdered by the priests of the realm.

But with their gloomy presentiments there would mingle, doubtless, cheering hopes, inspired by the prosperous state of the Reformation at that moment on the continent of Europe. Abroad the cry was being wafted from kingdom to kingdom, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." In Germany a powerful phalanx of illustrious doctors, of chivalrous princes, and of free cities, was now gathered round the evangelical standard. Toleration had already been won therefor the faith of the gospel, and not a year was to elapse when the ever-memorable PROTEST of the Lutheran princes was to be uplifted at Spires. In Switzerland the new day was spreading from canton to canton, and from valley to valley, with effulgence sweeter than ever was that of day-break on the snows of its mountains. The powerful cities of Zurich and Berne had opened their gates to the Reformation, and Bâle was on the point of being won to the gospel. In France the progress of the evangelical cause was at that hour equally promising. It was making its way in the palace of Francis I., then the most polished and learned court in Europe. The doctrines which Hamilton had maintained in the archiepiscopal palace of St. Andrews two days ago, and on which judgment was to be given in the cathedral to-morrow, even that "good works make not a good man, but a good man doeth good works," had been taught in Paris these ten years past, and had found disciples among the

illustrious scholars which then graced that capital, and was even now knocking at the gates of the Sorbonne, that "mother of learning" and citadel of Romish orthodoxy. Farel was thundering in the cities of the Jura, and was every day advancing his evangelical lines nearer to that little city at the foot of the Alps, on the shores of the Lemman, destined to be the seat of the Reformation's greatest legislator and the metropolis of Protestantism. Nor had the lofty barrier of snows and glaciers within which Italy reposes been proof against the transmission of the light. The evangelical faith had been spread in the Grisons, and the crash of idols in Locarno and other towns on the shores of the Italian lakes, gave warning to Rome that the throne on the Seven Hills might one day be assailed and overturned. When the cardinals and monsignori of the Eternal city asked the warder on its walls, "Watchman, what of the night?" he might have replied as of old, "The morning cometh."

Turning to the other extremity of Europe, two nations which had long owned the sceptre of the "triple tyrant" were seen rising in revolt against him. In Denmark the mass had fallen: and the scriptures, translated into the tongue of the people and freely circulated, were regenerating hearts and blessing the homes of that land. In Sweden a Protestant king now filled the throne, and an evangelical clergy ministered to the nation. In the remoter Norway the Protestant faith had taken root, and was flourishing amid its fiords and pine-covered mountains. Nay, even to the inhospitable shores of Iceland had that blessed day-spring travelled. All this must have been known in the chamber where Hamilton and his friends were now met; and prospects like these could not fail to gladden them, despite the sombre and even gloomy aspect of matters immediately around them. It could not be that the day should break in every land lying betwixt the "snowy ridge" of Italy and the frozen shore of Iceland, and the cloud rest always on Scotland. It could not be that sun-rise should gild the Swiss mountains, the French and German plains, the Norwegian pine forests, and no dawn light up the straths of Caledonia; the land on whose shore Columba had moored his bark of osiers, and where he had kindled his lamp when night and darkness were all around. No, the hour would strike: the hierarchy would fall, the country would shake off its chains; and a yet brighter lamp than that of Iona, the fully recovered and purely

preached evangel, would shed its radiance upon hill and valley, upon hamlet and city of Scotland. The joy these prospects inspired could be read in the brightening eyes and beaming faces of the little company, and most of all in those of the youthful and noble form in the centre of the circle. Whatever the coming day might bring, this was what the future would bring. If to-morrow should bring an acquittal, well; if it should bring a stake, still well: that stake would only help on these great events, it would make the dawn of the day of Scotland's freedom more certain and more near.

But hark, what noise is this outside the house! The little company start and remain silent. And now heavy footsteps are heard ascending the stairs: another moment and there is a loud knocking at the door. Well does Hamilton divine the meaning of this interruption. But he makes not the least attempt to escape. He bids them open the door; nay, he himself steps forward and opens it. The governor of the castle, the archbishop's officer, enters. With calm voice the reformer asked whom he wanted. The governor replied that he wanted Hamilton. I am Hamilton, said he, giving himself up, and requesting only that his friends might be allowed to depart in peace. These friends endeavoured to extort from the governor that he would bring back the reformer "safe and sound." Without making any reply, the officer led him away.

A party of soldiers waited outside; closing round the prisoner, they led him through the silent streets to the castle. Nothing was heard save the low moaning of the night wind and the sullen dash of the wave as it broke against the rocky foundations of the Sea-tower to which the reformer was consigned for the night.

The morning dawns, the last day of February, 1528. Slowly the light creeps up from the wave of the German Sea; the shores of Angus and the hills of Fife come out in the grey dawn: now the sun rises, and the many towers and steeples of Scotland's ecclesiastical metropolis, and proudest of all the burnished roof of its great cathedral, begin to glow in the light of the new risen luminary. The archbishop is up betimes, and so too are priest and monk. A terrible tragedy is that sun to witness before he shall set. Rome is this day to strike such a blow as will make heresy hide its head for ever, and give Rome an eternity of dominion and glory in Scotland. Already the streets of

St. Andrews are all alive. A stream of people, composed of all ranks, nobles, priests, friars, citizens—is flowing in the direction of the cathedral, and rolling in at the gates of that proud edifice. How grandly it lifts its towers to the sky, how vast its area, how noble the sweep of its nave and aisles; how tall and massy its columns, which bear up with unbowing strength its lofty and gorgeous roof. There is not another such cathedral in Scotland, few indeed of such dimensions in Europe. There is the throne of the archbishop, from which this day judgment is to be given on the articles maintained by Hamilton at the conference before the council. That sentence, the archbishop believes, is to secure that this magnificent cathedral shall continue for long centuries the high sanctuary of religion in Scotland; and that at that altar, which this morning is ablaze with tapers, mass shall never cease to be sung, nor white-robed priest to minister. How would it have amazed the haughty Beatoun, whom we now see taking his seat on the archiepiscopal throne, to be told that this surpassingly grand pile would in a very few years be a ruin, that altar and episcopal chair, and crucifix and image, should all before this generation had passed away be blended into a mass of rubbish, that all the architectural magnificence—tower, turret, oriel—that ministered to the pomp of the Roman worship, smitten by a sudden stroke, should vanish, and nothing of that glorious pile remain save a few naked walls and shattered towers, with the hoarse roar of the wave, or the loud scream of the sea-bird as it flew past, resounding through it. But of this no one then so much as dreamed. Derision and scorn would have overpowered the man who should then have dared even to hint at the possibility of such a thing.

The archbishop, with his long train of bishops, abbots, doctors, and heads of religious houses, had swept in. "Beatoun sat on the bench of the inquisitorial court," says D'Aubigné, "and all the ecclesiastical judges took their places around him. Among these was observed Patrick Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, and son of the earl of Bothwell; a worthless and dissolute man, who had eleven illegitimate children, and who gloried in bringing distress and dishonour into families. This veteran of immorality, who ought to have been on the culprit's seat, but whose pride was greater even than his licentiousness, took his place with a shameless

countenance on the judges' bench. Not far from him was David Beatoun, abbot of Arbroath, an ambitious young man, who was already coveting his uncle's dignity; and who, as if to prepare himself for a long work of persecution, vigorously pressed on the condemnation of Patrick. In the midst of these hypocrites and fanatics sat one man in a state of agitation and distress—the prior of the Dominicans, Alexander Campbell—with his countenance gloomy and fallen. A great crowd of canons, priests, monks, nobles, citizens, and the common people, filled the church; some of them greedy for the spectacle that was to be presented to them, others sympathizing with Hamilton. 'I was myself present,' said Alesius, 'a spectator of that tragedy.'

The tramp of horses outside announced the arrival of the prisoner from the castle. Hamilton was led in, and passing through the great assembly mounted a small pulpit which had been prepared for him opposite the bench of his judges. The trial now began. First the commissioners appointed to examine the articles maintained by the reformer gave in their report. They pronounced them all heretical, and contrary to the faith of the church. Friar Campbell then rose and read the indictment. The reformer was visibly affected when he saw the man present himself as his accuser, who had acknowledged to him in private that the evangelical doctrine which he taught was true. But in truth this office had been laid upon Campbell by the archbishop, and however horrible he felt it he dared not refuse it, from fear of deepening the suspicions Beatoun already entertained of him. Hamilton calmly listened as the prior read the accusation article by article, and then expressed before the tribunal his continued adherence to his confession. Campbell now began to argue with him: the reformer had no difficulty in refuting him and establishing from scripture the truth of his own doctrine. The friar was silenced; his stock of sophisms was exhausted; he had no more to say, and he turned to the tribunal for fresh instructions. The bishops were no more able to maintain the argument than the friar was; they deemed the game of debate a hazardous one for themselves, and thought the sooner it was ended the better. The reformer had sympathizers in the audience, so the bishops bade Campbell throw a few new accusations in the prisoner's face, and end the matter by

calling him a heretic. Turning to Hamilton, the prior exclaimed, "Heretic, thou saidst it was lawful to all men to read the word of God, and especially the New Testament." "I wot not," replied Hamilton, "if I said so; but I say now, it is reason and lawful to all men to read the word of God, and that they are able to understand the same; and in particular, the latter will and testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, and amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Jesus Christ." "Heretic," again urged the Dominican, "thou sayest it is but lost labour to pray to or call upon saints, and in particular on the blessed Virgin Mary, as mediators to God for us." "I say with Paul," responded the reformer, "there is no mediator betwixt God and us but Christ Jesus his Son, and whatsoever they be who call or pray to any saint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of his office." "Heretic," again exclaimed Friar Campbell, "thou sayest it is all in vain to sing soul-masses, psalms, and diriges for the relaxation of souls departed, who are continued in the pains of purgatory." "Brother," said Hamilton, "I have never read in the scripture of God of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that can purge the souls of men but the blood of Christ Jesus, which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-masses, nor in dirige, nor in gold, nor silver, but only by repentance of sins and faith in the blood of Jesus Christ."

It was not Patrick Hamilton only that said so; there was a voice in the bosom of Friar Campbell himself that said so also. But what was the miserable man to do. If before him stood Hamilton maintaining what the friar's own conscience told him was the truth, behind him sat the bishops, stern and pitiless men, ready to fling him into the fire should he not urge home, false though he felt it to be, the charge against the confessor. Alas, he cannot turn back; he must pursue the dreadful road on which he has set out to its bitter end. As if to drown the cry in the depths of his soul, Campbell lifted up his voice and again shouted, "Heretic, detestable, execrable, impious heretic." Directing a look of compassion towards the wretched man, "Nay, brother," said Hamilton in accents of mildness, "thou dost not in thy heart think me heretic; thou knowest in thy conscience that I am no heretic."

The votes were now taken: it was a needless formality. The confessor's fate had been sealed before the court sat down or the trial opened. But the forms of justice must be gone through with all mock solemnity, and with well sustained dissimulation and hypocrisy. On that bench not a vote was there but in condemnation of the disciple of the gospel. Away with him to the stake: burn him, said they all. The archbishop rose and pronounced sentence, adjudging Patrick Hamilton as a heretic to be delivered over to the secular power to be punished.*

There was not an hour to be lost in carrying out the sentence. Sir James Hamilton, the martyr's brother, was still in the field; other friends had put themselves in arms, and were on their way to attempt a rescue. That very day Hamilton must be despatched. He was led back to the castle amid an armed escort, amounting, says Alesius, to some thousands. Men were sent to prepare the stake in front of the gate of St. Salvator's college. Meanwhile the martyr was taking his last meal in the castle, and calmly and solemnly conversing with his friends. The hour of noon struck: Hamilton, rising up, bade the governor, who was to conduct him to the place where he was to die, be admitted. On being told that all was ready—"Then," said he, "let us go." He set out, carrying his New Testament in his hand, accompanied by a few friends, and followed by his faithful servant. He walked in the midst of the guard, his step firm, his countenance serene: "a lamb going to the slaughter."

When he came in sight of the pile he halted, and uncovering his head and raising his eyes to heaven, he continued for some time in silent prayer. Approaching the stake, he turned to one of his friends and gave him the New Testament as his last gift. Then calling his servant to him, he took off his cap and gown and gave them to him, saying, "These will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind. For albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before man, yet is it the entrance to eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation."

At this moment a priest approached him from the archbishop and offered him his life, on condition that he submitted himself to the absolute authority of the church. "No," replied Hamil-

* See sentence in full, Scots Worthies, pp. 4-6.

ton, "your fire will not make me recant the faith which I have professed. As to the sentence pronounced against me this day, I here, in presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sentence and judgment, and take me to the mercy of God."

He now ascended the pile. The executioners came about him to do their office. They drew an iron band round his body, therewith to fasten him to the stake; they piled up the faggots about him; and they put in amongst them a bag of gunpowder, the more easily to kindle them. While they were busy at their dreadful work, the martyr was praying that he might not be left, amid the quick sufferings of the flames, to utter word or look that might dishonour the Master for whom he was to die. "In the name of Jesus," he added, "I give up my body to the fire, and commit my soul into the hands of the Father."

The torch was now applied to the gunpowder; it exploded and shot a faggot in the face of the martyr, but it did not kindle the wood. More powder was brought, and it too exploded without kindling the pile; a third supply was procured, still the faggots would not burn; they were green. Turning to the deathsman, Hamilton said, "Have you no dry wood?" Some persons ran to fetch some from the castle. A considerable time thus elapsed, during which the sufferings of the martyr must have been great, for his body was scorched and partially burned; but, says Alesius, who was on the spot all the while, "he gave no sign of impatience or anger." Near that stake, witness of the sufferings of the martyr, was another but a different man. Friar Alexander Campbell, drawn by some dreadful impulse, hovered round the pile, insulting and tempting the martyr. While the men who had gone to the castle were heaping up the dry wood they had brought thence and kindling the flame, Campbell, with excited gestures and frenzied voice, was calling on Hamilton to recant. "Heretic," said he, "be converted; call upon our Lady; only say *Salve Regina*." "If thou believest in the truth of what thou sayest," replied the confessor from the stake, "bear witness to it by putting the tip of thy finger only into the fire in which my whole body is burning."† This but the more enraged the Dominican, who burst out afresh into accusations and taunts. "Depart from me, thou messenger of Satan,"

† Alesius, *Liber Psalm.*

said Hamilton, "and leave me in peace." The wretched Dominican was unable either to go away or cease reviling the martyr. "Submit to the pope," he cried; "there is no salvation but in union with him." "Thou wicked man," said Patrick, grieved at heart at the obduracy of the unhappy man, "thou knowest the contrary well enough; thou hast told me so thyself." The martyr added, "I appeal thee before the tribunal-seat of Jesus Christ." Campbell had

now drawn upon himself an arrow that wounded him with a death more bitter than that which the martyr was enduring. At the hearing of these words the friar stood mute; he then turned and fled, terror-stricken, to his monastery. In a short time his reason gave way; he raged like one possessed by a demon, and in that state died.*

It was mid-day when Hamilton was led out to die. It was now late in the afternoon, and



MARTYRDOM OF PATRICK HAMILTON.

he was still at the stake. Some one threw a bundle of straw upon the fire to quicken it; at that instant a gust of wind from the sea gave fresh energy to the flames, which rose above the stake. The iron band round his body was now red hot, and the martyr was almost burnt in two.† One approached the pile, most probably a friend of the gospel, and cried to him, "If thou still holdest true the doctrine

for which thou diest, make us a sign." Two of the fingers of his right hand were already burned and had dropped off. Extending his arm, he held out the remaining three till they too had fallen into the fire. The end was now near. The martyr had been bound to the stake at noon; the sun had now gone down. Six dreadful hours had he stood at the stake, bruised in the face by the faggots which had struck him,

* Buchanan, lib. xiv. an. 1527. Alesius, *Liber Psalm.*

† Ibid.

his limbs scorched by the successive explosions of the gunpowder, and now his whole body burning in the flames, yet no sign of anger or impatience had escaped him all the while that he stood amid these torments. The last words he was heard to utter were, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm; how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Hamilton had bowed his head, and now nothing but his ashes lay around his stake, but his prayer had ascended on high, and that same moment it began to be answered, for it was around the pile of Hamilton that the dawn of Scotland's reformation first decidedly broke. Many things combined to give an ineffable

grandeur to this tragedy: the noble birth of the martyr, his resplendent virtues, the lustre of his learning, the graciousness of his manners, his majestic meekness, his protracted sufferings, and the awful death of the man who had been his accuser before the tribunal and his tormentor at the stake; all conspired to throw surpassing interest, not unmingled with terror, around his pile, which made it touch a cord in the nation's heart that never ceased to vibrate till the "great red dragon" that demanded such bloody sacrifices had been vanquished, the black and settled night of superstition which mantled our sky driven away, and "the odour of the returning gospel" had begun to imbathé our land with "the fragrant of heaven."*

CHAPTER XIV.

KNOX AND THE REFORMATION OF SCOTLAND.



ADIM and dubious period intervenes between the death of Hamilton and the appearance of Knox. The history of our poor country during that epoch presents a chequered picture of adverse and prosperous fortune. Notwithstanding, we can trace a continuous march all throughout. Hamilton had been burned, Alesius had fled the country; and the hierarchy, deeming themselves undisputed masters, lifted up the head higher than ever. But their pride proved their snare. The airs they assumed made the nobles combine to set some bounds to their arrogancy and usurpations; while their idleness, greed, and profligacy effectually discredited them in the eyes of the common people. The *plays* of Sir David Lindsay and the *satires* of the illustrious George Buchanan helped to swell the popular indignation at the ignorance and cruelty of the priests. But the main forces which in Scotland, as in every other country, weakened and eventually overthrew the church of Rome, was the reading of the Holy Scriptures and the deaths of the martyrs.

In the March of 1543 an Act was passed by the Scottish Parliament authorizing the free circulation and use of the New Testament in the mother tongue of the people. This inestimable boon Scotland owed in large measure to the stake of Hamilton. This statute was never repealed. Almost contemporaneously

with the passing of this Act was the commencement of the ministry of George Wishart. His course, if brief, was a singularly powerful and brilliant one. His learning, his knowledge of Scripture, his powerful eloquence, drew great crowds around him wherever he came. The ignorant were instructed; the careless awakened. His success as a preacher roused the terror and rage of the priests. Seized by the profligate and powerful cardinal, David Beatoun, nephew of the man who had burned Hamilton, he was dragged as a heretic to the stake in the March of 1546. The flame of his burning pile, blending, as it were, with that of Hamilton, which it recalled to mind, and with that of all the stakes between, cast a brilliant light far into the darkness that covered the land. A few years only intervened between the last accents of the martyr, and that powerful voice which proclaimed as with a trumpet's peal the instant downfall of the Roman power in Scotland.

No sooner has Wishart fallen than history introduces us to a greater. John Knox was born in 1505 in the Gifford-gate of Haddington. He was educated at the grammar school of his native town. He afterwards (1522) entered the University of Glasgow, where John Major was principal regent, or professor of philosophy and

* It is interesting to think that the Martyrs' Free Church, St. Andrews, stands on the identical site of the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.

divinity. His studies at Glasgow ended, he is supposed to have taken priest's orders, and to have been connected for about ten years with one of the religious establishments in East Lothian. Of this period of his life only enough is known to show us that God was leading him by a way he knew not to be the reformer of his native country. He had been greatly enamoured of the scholastic philosophy—the science that sharpened the intellect but starved the soul—but now he loses his taste for it; its crusts cannot feed him; and turning from the schoolmen he seats himself at the feet of the great Father of the West. Augustine, the greatest theologian betwixt the days of Paul and the age of Calvin, now became his instructor. He read and studied his writings. Rich in evangelical truth and impregnate with celestial fire, they must have had much to do with the moulding of Knox's mind, and the imprinting upon it of that clear, broad, heroic stamp which it wore all life long. A student of Augustine's he could not be without becoming also a student of the sacred oracles. He who once wandered in the dry and thirsty land of scholasticism is now come to the fountain and well-head of divine knowledge. New impulses begin to visit him.

How manifest the hand of God in all the vicissitudes of his life! He appears and disappears from the scene; he returns to-day and flees to-morrow from his native land, according as the reformation of Scotland is to be advanced by his presence or by his departure. How often do we see it happening that, when he has enunciated some great truth which it is necessary that his countrymen should ponder and lay to heart, he is withdrawn, having done all that it is possible for the time to do; and whenever another touch is needed he is brought back. This is the key that opens the meanings of his goings and comings betwixt Geneva and Scotland. There is a double preparation going on simultaneously; the reformer is being qualified, and the reformation of Scotland is being slowly but effectually promoted.

While living in the castle of St. Andrews (1547), to which he had fled as a place of safety from the persecution of the popish clergy, he there received a public call to the ministry. In his first sermon, preached in the cathedral church of St. Andrews, Knox announced the great principle which was the first step in that great movement which he was destined to conduct to its successful termination. The church

of the pope, he said, was the church of Antichrist, and it was but a waste of labour to try to reform it: a new church, on the foundations of the apostles, must be raised up in Scotland. And having told his countrymen where to begin and how to proceed in the great work before them, he was withdrawn for a while till that work should have reached such a stage as that his presence would be useful to it. The castle of St. Andrews surrendered to the French fleet, and Knox was transferred to the French galleys, where he was kept as a prisoner nineteen months.

Not till eight years after did Knox visit Scotland: the interval he spent partly in England, where he was one of the six chaplains of Edward VI.; partly at Geneva, and partly at Dieppe, to which place he often came in the hope of finding the door open for his return to his native land, for wherever he wandered his heart was in Scotland, and his eye never ceased to watch the good work there in progress.

In 1555 Knox visited his native land, and spent the winter mostly in Edinburgh, preaching and exhorting in private. The one seed he had planted in the soil, when he preached his first sermon in the cathedral church of St. Andrews, had been growing up all the time that he was absent. The friends of reformation, now greatly more numerous, were deeply convinced of the utter hopelessness of all efforts to reform or amend the popish church. All their plans and labours had ended in disappointment. The priests were deaf to every call for reform; every day their lives were becoming more scandalous, and their administration more tyrannical. The friends of the gospel were now prepared to separate themselves from the worship and communion of Rome, and to make open profession of the Protestant faith. Thus did Knox at this time lay the infant foundations of the world-renowned Kirk of Scotland; and when a second time he left his native land and went forth into exile, he had the joy of thinking that he left behind him, not simply the principle or seed of a reformation, as on occasion of his first going forth, but a living, organized church.

Again he returns to Geneva. Once more he enjoys the society of Calvin, between whom and our reformer there existed an intimate and sacred friendship. He acts as pastor in the English congregation at Geneva. But despite the sweet Christian converse he enjoys, despite the ennobling society of the great chief of the reformation, despite the natural glories of

the region—the placid majesty of the Leman, the picturesque beauties of the wooded Jura, the sterner grandeurs of the snowy Alps, to which a many-sided nature like Knox's could not be insensible—his thoughts were ever of Scotland; and when he knelt to to pray it was, like Daniel, with the windows of his chamber open towards the mountains of his native land. He had long cherished the persuasion that the cause of Christ would yet gloriously triumph there. When in the bay of St. Andrews, a poor galley-slave, chained to the deck of a French ship, he had foretold, as his glance caught the cathedral roofs of St. Andrews shining in the mid-day sun, that he should yet preach in that place where it had pleased God to permit him to begin his ministry. Nor was this a mere sentiment. It was a rational and enlightened confidence resting on the character of Him who is the Truth, and whom he saw on the right hand of God guiding all the movements of the world for the triumph of the gospel. It was a confidence of the same nature with the faith of Moses in the Invisible, and which fed his hopes for forty years while he kept the flock of his father-in-law in the desert. Never did he behold the mighty blaze into which morning kindled the sands of the wilderness around him, but he asked himself, will the God of Abraham this day issue his command to bring forth his people from bondage? And never was the red glare of evening succeeded by the starry darkness, and a deeper hush wrapped the wide solitudes around the granite sides of Horeb, than he asked the question in the secrecy of his soul, Will it be during a watch of this night that the great Jehovah will descend and fling open the doors of Egypt? These are the intuitions of the Christian man. These intuitions sustained our great countryman in all his wanderings. How often as day broke on the white mountains around his adopted city, or as at eve he walked by the shores of the placid Leman, did he ask himself, will the call to return to Scotland come to-day or during some watch of the night, and will to-morrow's sun see me on my way? And it pleased God in no long time to grant him what was the deepest longing of his heart. On January 7, 1559, we see the town council of Geneva bestowing on him the honour of the freedom of their city on occasion of his final departure for Scotland. News have been brought him that the door is open, and that the

friends of the gospel wait his arrival to consummate the reformation of their native land.

Knox arrived at Leith May 2, 1559. It was the very crisis of the reformation of Scotland. Had his coming been delayed it is just possible that he would have arrived only to witness the destruction of his country's hopes, and his own not less. The priesthood had just burned Walter Mill, intending his stake to be the first of a series of martyrdoms by which the reformation was to be trampled out in Scotland. The hierarchy were now thoroughly aroused; Protestantism was advancing with rapid strides, the people were forsaking mass, small evangelical societies were forming in all the leading towns; many of the nobility were sheltering the Protestant preachers in their castles; and it needed only a powerful voice to evoke the national sentiment, and rally the Protestants under one banner. But if the hour should pass, the favourable moment was not likely again to return; for the priests, knowing how urgent matters were, had resolved to strike a great blow, and restore the Papacy to supremacy in Scotland, or sink beneath its ruins. The open accession of the queen-regent, Mary of Guise, to their party, after having long dissembled, emboldened them still more; and now their purpose was fully taken and their plans laid for the extirpation of the reformed opinions in Scotland. The queen had summoned all the Protestant preachers, fourteen in number, to appear before her in Glasgow, of course to be condemned and silenced; and should they refuse to keep quiet, to be burnt; and when the preachers would have been reduced to ashes men would have seen, as was thought, the last of the Protestant movement. The clergy would sleep in peace, and the Church of Rome would flourish as in bygone years, and it might be even more luxuriantly. It was at this moment, when the blow was about to fall, that Knox arrived in Scotland.

It was the 2nd of May. A convocation of bishops had that morning met in Greyfriars, Edinburgh, to mature their plans. While they were deliberating a messenger with looks of alarm entered the assembly, and in tones betokening hurry and agitation announced that John Knox was arrived from France, and had slept last night in Edinburgh. The news fell like a thunderbolt upon the council. After sitting some time gazing into one another's faces the bishops finally broke up. Knox had not yet

uttered a word, but his very name had scared and scattered them. Nor was the queen-regent less affrighted. When she learned that John Knox was to appear before her along with his brethren, she discharged the ministers from obedience to her summons. But though her edict forbade them to appear, in a few days thereafter she issued another, pronouncing sentence of outlawry upon them for not appearing. The Lords of the Congregation sent a deputation to the queen to remonstrate; but the remonstrance was despised. The Protestant nobles now bethought them what measures it became them to adopt in the extremity into which matters had come. The queen-regent had promulgated a declaration against them as if they were rebels; she had brought troops from France; she was pursuing a course of treachery against the public liberties; they had no alternative, they felt, but to take up arms in defence of themselves, their preachers, and the independence of their native land, now threatened by a foreign army on its soil. In the hostilities that followed the Protestants obtained help from England, the statesmen of Elizabeth perceiving that, if the Reformation should be trampled out in Scotland, religion and liberty would be by so much the less secure in their own country. Before the matter had been brought to a final issue by arms the queen-regent died in the castle of Edinburgh, June 10, 1560, and articles of peace were concluded in the following month.

But it was neither the victories of the Lords of the Congregation nor the soldiers sent from England that delivered Scotland from the popish thralldom, although these wrought along with and aided the higher agency; it was the moral and spiritual power imported into the movement by the arrival of Knox that conducted it to its triumphant issue. It was this that broke the spell that was upon the nation's soul. The fourteen months that elapsed between his arrival in Scotland and the establishment of the reformation were months of herculean labour. He travelled from town to town, and from shire to shire. He preached and exhorted all day, and he wrote letters all night; for scarcely did he give himself time to sleep. He roused the country, and he kept it awake. He shed light, union, courage into the hearts of his countrymen; and so nursed, guided, and strengthened the national sentiment, that in these fourteen months he made the Scottish people willing, nay, zealous, to throw off the

yoke of the Papacy, and to make open profession of the Reformed faith. The work had been long in progress. It had been advancing since the days of the Lollards of Kyle; it had progressed another step with Tyndale's translation of the Scriptures, and the introduction of Luther's tracts; a yet greater impulse had it received from the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton; every stake that followed marked an additional stage in Scotland's path to emancipation and deliverance—notably so the stakes of George Wishart and Walter Mill. After all



KNOX BEFORE MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

these preparatory steps the work was speedily consummated at last. One powerful spirit had been saved from the stake, by being chased into exile, that he might give the decisive touch to the work when the hour came. On the 15th of August, 1560, the Scottish Parliament abolished the jurisdiction of the papal hierarchy in the country, and ratified and proclaimed, in accordance with the nation's choice, as expressed in the summary of the Christian doctrine drawn up by Knox and the other ministers, the Protestant faith as the religion of Scotland.

The Parliament now assembled was one of the most numerously attended, as well as one of the most important, that had ever met in Scotland. The lesser barons had lost their right of being represented in the Convention of the Estates of the realm, owing to their neglect to exercise it; but on this occasion their ancient privilege was restored to them, and a hundred gentlemen of the shire took their seats in Parliament in addition to the great lords and the commissioners of boroughs. "The Parliament, when it entered upon the consideration of the state of religion," says Dr. McCrie, "had little else to do but to sanction what the nation had previously done, by legally abolishing the Popish and establishing the Protestant religion." * The summary of doctrine which was adopted by Parliament had been drawn up by Knox and the other ministers. It expressed their unanimous judgment, and was in harmony with the confessions of the other reformed churches. The Parliament added no article of its own, nor did it profess to impart any authority to the articles laid before it for its inspection and approbation: the authority of these articles came solely from the word of God, the source whence they were drawn, and the Parliament ratified and proclaimed this "Confession of Faith," as it was styled, knowing that the nation had come, through the reading of the scriptures and the teaching of Knox and the other preachers, to the belief of these same doctrines. Only three temporal barons opposed the adoption of the Confession. "The bishopis spak nothing."

December 20 of the same year the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in the Magdalene chapel, † Edinburgh. The chief labour of the Assembly was the compilation of the "First Book of Discipline." The great ends of the reformation, as there compendiously set forth, may be summed up under the following heads:—I. The instruction of the whole population of Scotland in the doctrines of the Protestant faith, and their effective pastoral superintendence by ministers duly qualified, elected, and admitted. II. The recognition by the civil power of the right of the reformed church to the unfettered exercise

* Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 325, 326.

† This chapel, which is situated in the Cowgate, still exists. It is one of the most interesting ecclesiastical curiosities of Scotland. The stained glass of its windows is amongst the oldest in the country; and its belfry, or tower, is a fine specimen of the French architecture of the period. The chapel is the property of the Protestant Institute of Scotland.

of all those inalienable rights and privileges which have been conferred upon her by her adorable Head. III. The establishment of an ecclesiastical discipline, administered solely by officers appointed by Christ. Knox held this to be a matter of first importance. He did not see how otherwise the church was to be kept separate from the world, or the soundness of her doctrine and the purity of her morals preserved. The want of a system of discipline had opened the door to great disorders in Germany and England. Only after a severe and prolonged conflict had Calvin established his ecclesiastical discipline in Geneva. He had to brave the fury of armed mobs, and to submit to banishment at the hands of the Senate, before being able to carry his point. But it was the discipline which Calvin established in her to which the church at Geneva mainly owed the glory to which she rose, and the purity and vigour which she retained all through her famous century. Knox saw that this alone could give stability and dignity to the church of Scotland, but the obstacles which he encountered were nearly as great as those which Calvin had to overcome in Geneva. Though not formally ratified by the Privy Council, Knox's scheme of polity was subscribed by most of its members, and submitted to by the nation. IV. The programme of the reformed church comprehended farther a complete system of national education, consisting of a series of educational institutions, rising from the parish school through the provincial academy to the university. V. and lastly, The provision of an adequate support for the deserving poor.


The revenues of the Popish church, distributed amongst these great national objects, would have enabled all of them to be realized. Not a parish in all Scotland that would not have had its pastor and its parochial teacher, both competently provided for. Not a county town that would not have had its gymnasium, which would have been the vestibule to the higher seminaries; not a city of metropolitan rank that would not have had its university. Scotland would have rivalled, it may be eclipsed the other kingdoms of Europe in the number of its educational institutions and the learning of its sons. An immense and instantaneous impulse would have been given to all its energies, intellectual and industrial. As it was, our country at the Reformation rose at once from partial barbarism to civilization, and arts and letters

began to flourish where nothing had thriven for four centuries before save hierarchic pride and feudal tyranny. Had the truly grand and patriotic scheme of Knox been fully carried out Scotland would have taken a still higher place, and shone with a yet greater splendour. But alas! our nobles had cast covetous eyes upon the revenues of the fallen hierarchy. Some of them had already seized upon the goods of the Popish church, and to compel them to make restitution would have been difficult indeed. Of the rich endowments, all of which ought to have gone to the great objects that

Knox contemplated, only a third or so was saved for the support of the ministry, the endowment of the schools, and the relief of the poor. If, nevertheless, Scotland has become what it is despite the partial and crippled adoption of Knox's plan, we may judge how rich we would have been in learning, how numerous the men we would have given to the state, to the senate, to the army, and how brilliant our triumphs would have been in the field of science and morals, if the large-hearted plan of Knox in all its breadth had been in operation these three centuries!

CHAPTER XV.

ERA OF MELVILLE AND HENDERSON—THE NATIONAL COVENANT OF SCOTLAND.

E must pass rapidly over the stages that separate the epoch of Knox from that of the great struggle of the Covenant, with which the narrative of the "Scots Worthies" is mainly occupied. We have seen Knox consummate the Reformation. Papal hierarchy and feudal tyranny fell together, and with the passing away of those two powers which had ground the country into the dust, the people stood up to claim their rightful place in the social scale. The lamp of a pure faith had been kindled in the midst of our land to dispel its darkness: fountains of true knowledge had been opened in it to cure its barrenness: and with the gospel to purify the morals, and letters to cultivate the intellect of the nation, Scotland advanced with rapid strides in the new path on which it had entered. But every step was over tremendous difficulties.

We have seen Knox fight his first battle in the establishment of the Reformation; his second was to preserve it. This was the most arduous of the two. In the following year (1561) Mary Stuart arrived from France. She came with the settled purpose of overthrowing the Reformation in Scotland and restoring the Popish worship. A bigoted adherent of Rome, an adept in the craft of her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici, and an apt pupil of her uncles the Guises, she played her part very adroitly. But two things saved the Reformation. The first was the series of crimes into which Mary plunged, which first weakened, and ultimately destroyed

her. The second and main cause was the fidelity, sagacity, and courage of Knox, who read the character and penetrated the design of the queen. No blandishments could melt him, and no disguises or fair speeches could deceive him. While many of the nobility, whom the swelling wave of the Reformation had borne on its crest farther than they intended, had cast themselves into the back-going tide, and were deserting him; and while many even of the burgesses and common people were showing a base subserviency to the royal wishes, Knox stood erect, and remained incorruptibly on the side of his country's reformation. He fought two battles at once. He opposed the popish designs of the court on the one hand; and on the other he laboured to supply the country with faithful ministers, to plant it with schools, to maintain the freedom of the courts of the church and the strictness of discipline, knowing that these were the only effectual safeguards against the return of the ancient superstition. His life wore away in these conflicts, but he succeeded in his great object, and transmitted to posterity the glorious heritage of a recovered gospel and a reformed church.

The son of Mary Stuart, James VI., renewed the attempt. He would have arrived at the same goal which his mother so eagerly desired to reach, but he avowed his object less plainly, and he proceeded more cautiously in the prosecution of it. In the same year in which Knox died (1572) a modified Episcopacy had been set up in Scotland, mainly at the instigation of the

more avaricious of the nobles and the more ambitious of the churchmen. The superiority of the new bishops above their brethren lay more in their titles than in their office. They were equally subject to the jurisdiction of the Synods and Assembly, in which the real power of the church lay. But the change, though slight, was the commencement of a policy that was certain in the end to lay prostrate the Presbyterianism of the Church of Scotland, and with it the reformed religion and the national liberties. Knox was in his grave, but Andrew Melville, on whom his mantle had fallen, stood up to continue his battle. In 1574 Melville returned from Geneva. A man of vigorous intellect, of great learning, of ready eloquence, and views enlarged and matured by travel, he was qualified in no ordinary degree to lead the opposition to the treacherous and tyrannical policy of the court. Impressed by what he had seen at Geneva, and ascribing the flourishing condition of religion there to the simple scriptural order which Calvin had established, he deplored the change that had been begun in his native land, and he resolved that, be the labour or danger ever so great, he would not rest till he had restored the Church of Scotland to her former purity. He commenced his attack upon Episcopacy in the Assembly of 1575. He continued the battle in next Assembly. The malpractices in which some of the new bishops had begun to indulge gave force to his arguments. The tide turned. An unanimous resolution of the General Assembly declared "the office of a bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the Word of God and a human invention, tending to the great injury of the church; and ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission as ordinary pastors *de novo*, under pain of excommunication."^{*}

While these steps were in progress for abolishing Episcopacy on the one hand, the Assembly was labouring on the other to perfect its scheme of Presbyterian polity. A committee was sitting charged with this important matter. The work was at last completed, and it received the sanction of the General Assembly at their meeting held in the Magdalene Chapel of Edinburgh in April, 1578, and of which Melville was moderator. "From this time," says Dr. M'Crie, "'The Book of Policy,' as it was then styled, or 'Second Book of Discipline,' although not rati-

* M'Crie's Life of Melville. vol. i. p. 162.

fied by the Privy Council or Parliament, was regarded by the church as exhibiting her authorized form of government; and the subsequent Assemblies took steps for carrying its arrangements into effect, by erecting Presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and committing to them the oversight of all ecclesiastical affairs within their bounds, to the exclusion of bishops, superintendents, and visitors."^{**}

Never before, in any of the reformed countries, had the limits of civil and ecclesiastical power been drawn with so bold and just a hand. In none of the Confessions of the reformation had the church of God been so clearly exhibited as a society called into existence by the Word of God and ruled by the law of God, and therefore distinct from all secular societies, and in things spiritual not subject to human laws, or accountable to temporal governments. "The Second Book of Discipline" declared that Christ had appointed a government in his church, distinct from civil government, which is to be executed in his name by such office-bearers as he has authorized, and not by civil magistrates or under their direction. This marks a notable advance in the church universal. Luther had grasped the idea of the essential distinction between the spiritual and the temporal jurisdictions, but he shrunk from the difficulty of giving effect to it in his church organization. He left her government in the hands of the magistrate. Calvin, after a great battle, had succeeded in vesting the Church of Geneva in a small measure of spiritual independence. She could admit or exclude from the communion table without challenge from the Genevan government. But the spiritual rule of the consistory was overshadowed and fettered by the moral rule of the senate. The state was a theocracy with two branches, namely, the spiritual administration or the church, and the moral administration or the council, and hence the impossibility of instituting definite boundaries between the two. Knox could not and did not follow the Genevan model in all things: he could not give a Popish sovereign the power which Calvin had given to a Protestant senate; the distinction between church and state was necessarily more marked in Scotland; and this permitted a fuller development of the autonomy or self-government of the church than in Geneva. Still the arrangements of "The First Book of Discipline" were incomplete, being hastily prepared to meet the sudden

* Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 165. Edin. 1819.

triumph of Protestantism over the Popish faith. But in "The Second Book of Discipline" we have a scheme of church polity perfect in all its parts, and the whole developed from this one idea, that the church, being of supernatural origin, must necessarily have a king and law of her own. The Parliament did not ratify "The Second Book of Discipline" till 1592, but that diminished neither the truth of this idea, nor the inherent authority of the scheme of ecclesiastical government founded upon it.

James VI. greatly disliked the independence of the church: it circumscribed his prerogative as an absolute monarch; it constituted a domain within which he could not enter; and inasmuch as it conserved freedom in all matters appertaining to God and conscience, it was a rampart around the civil liberties of the kingdom. The king therefore hated the kirk's jurisdiction, and began to plot how he might throw it down, and govern in spiritual as well as in civil matters according to his own arbitrary will. His ready plan, of course, was to appoint ministers entirely subservient to him to sit in Parliament with the title of bishop. This he effected. He proceeded from one step to another, till in 1612 he was able to carry the legal establishment of Prelacy. The measure, so far from bringing him, as he expected, the quiet control of both church and state, filled his reign with troubles and his kingdom of Scotland with suffering and persecution, in the midst of which the monarch, in 1625, went to his grave.

Charles I. accepted the legacy of state-craft his father had left him, with all the arts, treacheries, and troubles attendant thereon. He ultimately out-did him in the violence of his measures and the tyranny of his government. His crowning act was his framing a "Book of Canons for the Scottish Church," and the publication of a Liturgy, of which Laud was the prime inspirer, and which came alarmingly near the Popish breviary, and in some points, particularly the communion service, borrowed the very words of the mass book. Both canons and liturgy were attempted to be forced upon the nation by arbitrary authority. The liturgy was proclaimed at Easter by sound of trumpet. The peremptory summons to bow down and worship as the king commanded roused a strong indignation in the sons of the men who had listened to Knox. Even the bishops themselves were dismayed, and warned the king that a tempest was gathering. Some of them entreated

him to abandon, or at least postpone, his design of enforcing the canons and liturgy. The headstrong monarch, counselled by a yet more headstrong primate, would not listen. The 23rd of July, 1637, was fixed as the day when the new worship would be commenced. The first notes of the liturgy would proclaim the king's triumph. They would be the signal of the casting down of the independent spiritual government of the kirk, on the ruins of which Charles meant to build up his darling scheme of arbitrary power. The day arrived. On the morning of this Sabbath the usual prayers were read "for the last time," said the reader, with tears in his eyes. The friends of Popery believed that the requiem of the Protestant church of Scotland had been sung. At the stated hour the dean of Edinburgh, in his canonicals, stepped forth to inaugurate the reign of Prelacy by singing the liturgy. As he walked from the vestry to the church, elbowing his way through the crowd that thronged round him, the scene was more animated than edifying. The church was packed with persons eager to witness the dean make his entrance, liturgy in hand and clad in surplice. He mounted to the desk, but had hardly begun to read when a frightful clamour of voices rose round him, in the midst of which he was farther startled by the *whizz* of a missile passing dangerously near his ear. The dean shut the obnoxious book, hastily threw off the surplice, which had helped to draw the tempest upon him, and fled with all speed. The bishop of Edinburgh, thinking, perhaps, that the greater dignity of his office would procure him more reverence from the crowd, ascended the pulpit, and exerted himself to pacify the tumult. The storm only raged the fiercer. Cries and missiles, worse than those which had saluted the dean, were showered upon the bishop. From the pulpit he managed to escape to his coach, and was escorted home by the magistrates.

Had this tumult been all the liturgy would have triumphed. But underneath was a deep-seated, intelligent, and high-minded indignation pervading the whole nation, and this feeling began to show itself in well-considered and resolute measures. The Privy Council paused before the firm attitude of the country. They sent to London a representation of the state of feeling in Scotland. The king's reply was more insolent and tyrannical than ever. The liturgy must be maintained, and a new royal

proclamation was issued, branding as with treason all who opposed it. This was all that was needed to band the nation in resistance to a despotism that seemed bent on the destruction of its liberties. From all the Lowland counties came noblemen, and gentlemen, and great crowds of people to Edinburgh to deliberate on the state of affairs and agree on united action. Four "Tables" were formed: one for the nobility, one for the barons, a third for the boroughs, and a fourth for the church. Over these was a general table for finally deciding on all matters. It was unanimously resolved to renew the national covenant of Scotland in a bond applicable to the present juncture. Than a whole nation lifting up their hands, and swearing by the Eternal King to abide faithful in his worship, and to resist to the death the tyranny that would take from them their God-given rights, there is no spectacle more sublime. It summoned the sanctions of vows and oaths to the defence of liberty, and invested the cause of patriotism with the sacredness of religion. This expedient has been had recourse to in all the grand crises of our history, and nothing has tended more to promote union and confidence among the friends of truth, and to discourage and disconcert their opponents, than the renewal of our national oath. Sworn twice before, this solemn bond, adapted to the present crisis, was read and subscribed, with great solemnity, in the Greyfriars church at Edinburgh on the 1st of March, 1638.

The subscribers, noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons, promised and swore, "all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto and to defend the true religion," and "to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel as it was established and professed" before the introduction of the late innovations, "and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power that God hath put into our hands, all the days of our life." The Covenanters further pledged themselves to support "the king's Majesty," and one another, "in the defence and preservation of the aforesaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom."

This was one of the grandest days in our history. It may be even doubted whether our annals can show another day so truly grand. We have had days of glorious victory, and days of heroic self-sacrifice, but none of them com-

bine so many of the elements of the nationally sublime as this. Here we have a whole nation gathered together from the Tweed to the Grampians; animated by one grand impulse, and moving towards one object, and that object the holiest and greatest conceivable. The assertion of *civil* liberty had often before assembled men on the battle-field. But with the men now met liberty, great and sacred as it is, is but the means to an end infinitely nobler and holier, even the pure service of the Eternal King. The record of their vow takes the most solemn and awful form it was possible to give it; it was not merely a promise, but an oath; not an oath to one another merely, as has sometimes bound together confederates for liberty, but an oath sworn to the Most High God. It was a yet more august transaction; the Scottish nation stood for the time on a reverent equality with the Sovereign of earth and heaven, seeing He was the other party in this great transaction—a transaction hallowed by the tears and consummated amid the praises of a nation. And according to the concurrent testimony of contemporary writers the nation felt that it was touching the steps of the Divine throne, that the skirts of the robes of the Eternal Majesty were enfolding it, and the beams of the Divine glory gilding it: in short, that it was standing at the foot of a new Sinai, but without its thunders and lightnings and darkness. A scene like this stamps as with a stroke a dignity and grandeur upon a nation's character never to be effaced; and the impress continues through succeeding generations to be perpetuated and deepened by the grand memory.

Let us attempt to realize the scene. No one building could contain a nation. The Greyfriars' church and churchyard were filled. Prince and peasant, wrinkled age and blooming youth, matron and maid, men of historic renown and faces unknown, were commingled in that mighty throng. The countenances of all glowed with the same fervour, because the same sacred and patriotic fire burned in all hearts. The proceedings of the day were opened with a solemn confession of national sins. A sermon followed. Then the Covenant was read by Warriston. He it was who had drafted the bond and taught Scotland in what words to bind herself to the service of the God of heaven; and the people listened in breathless silence as the document, so reverent, so compendious, and so appropriate in its phraseology, was being read. Next Loudon

rose, with sweet and eloquent voice, to exhort the people to steadfastness in the oath. Then lifting up their eyes to that heaven to which their hands were in a few minutes to be raised, the vast assembly engaged in prayer, Henderson leading their devotions. With most solemn awe did he address that "high and lofty One" with whom the Scottish nation now essayed to enter into covenant, "the vessels of clay with the Almighty Potter." Then there came a deep pause. It lasted for a minute or two, when the earl of Sutherland was seen to rise and step

forward to the table. Lifting up his right hand, he swore the oath, then taking the pen, he was the first of all the Scottish nation to affix his name to the Covenant. The other nobles followed, swearing the oath with uplifted hands, and subscribing the document. After them came the gentry, the ministers, the burghesses, and thousands of every rank. The ample sheet was soon filled, and many could find room on it for only their initials. Some wept, some sobbed aloud, some opened their veins and subscribed with their blood.



SIGNING THE COVENANT.

Beyond all doubt the Spirit of God was marvellously shed down. The fruits that followed the deed of that day were such only as that Blessed One can produce. There were deep searchings of heart, sorrow for past transgressions, an unfeigned turning to the Lord, and a resolution, through grace, to be faithful in his service. The spirit kindled that day bore the country through the tempests of fifty years, and gave birth to a noble army of martyrs. Some flagrantly violated their oath; but in numerous other instances it was followed by

lives of singular piety and beauty, and by what is even more valuable, by an enlarged and sanctified spirit that concerned itself about the cause of God in the world, and this is the highest style of the Christian. It has been well said that the deed of that day "saved the country from absolute despotism, and to it we may trace back the origin of all the efforts made by the inhabitants of Britain in defence of their freedom during the succeeding reign of the Stuarts."*

* Aikman's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 145.

The whole nation was united in this measure. The dissentients were an insignificant faction, confined almost to the bishops alone, with a few underlings whom they had intruded among the ministers. They were as weak in wealth and influence as in numbers. The one thing that gave them the least importance was their having the king on their side. The prelates were thunderstruck by the bold measures of the Scottish nation. When Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, heard that the national covenant had been renewed, he exclaimed in despair, "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years bypast is at once thrown down." The court was not less startled when the news reached it. Charles felt his visions of arbitrary power vanishing, and his throne beginning to totter beneath him. Promises, concessions, and threats were tried by turns to break the firm concord of the Scottish people, and repress their enthusiasm. The phalanx of Christian patriots formed in the Greyfriars' churchyard refused to dissolve. The king was mistrusted, in fact, he was known to be at that moment secretly preparing to invade Scotland. "So long as this Covenant is in force," said Charles to Hamilton, "I have no more power in Scotland than a duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer."*

Charles found himself at last obliged to convoke a *free* Assembly, the first that had met for forty years, to be holden at Glasgow the 21st of November, 1538. The celebrated Alexander Henderson occupied the Moderator's chair, and the marquis of Hamilton was Lord High Commissioner. When the Assembly entered on the trial of the prelates, the Commissioner rose and dissolved the court in the king's name, and discharged its farther proceedings. While the Lord High Commissioner was retiring, the clerk read a Protest, in which the Assembly declared, that sitting in the name and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, the **ONLY HEAD AND MONARCH OF HIS CHURCH**, it could not dissolve. The Assembly, proceeding in its business as if nothing had occurred, went on to try the bishops, and ultimately pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication upon them; it cast

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton, p. 60.

down that whole fabric of Prelacy which had been a-building for upwards of thirty years, and restored the church to the purity and vigour of her early days. The Moderator dismissed the Assembly with these memorable words, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho, let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite!"

The Reformed Church of Scotland uprose in greater power; the schemes of tyrants, who had hoped to plant arbitrary government upon its ruins, were baffled, and the nation hailed its recovered liberties with a shout of joy.

It is interesting to know the opinion which a great living contemporary has formed of this episode in our national history. Than the distinguished statesman whose letter is given below, no one is more able to estimate the power of a great idea in concentrating and subliming the energies of a whole people, and rendering them capable of high endurance and lofty achievement. Two citizens of Edinburgh respectfully transmitted, recently, a copy of the National Covenant to His Excellency Prince Bismarck, and the prince accompanied his acknowledgment of the communication with a letter, which the politeness of those to whom it was addressed enables us to lay before our readers. The position of the chancellor of the German empire permits him to take both a calm and an impartial view of a transaction which has been much and variously discussed nearer home.

BERLIN, *February* 21, 1875.

GENTLEMEN,—I received your letter of the 26th of last month, duly followed by the copy of the Covenant which you announced the kind intention of sending me. I thank you very cordially for the sympathy you so warmly express with reference to my providential escape from the hands of an assassin, and assure you that I am highly gratified, though by no means surprised, that Scotchmen should consider their own cause at stake in the pope's aggression against Germany. From my earliest reading of history I well remember that one of those events which more particularly affected my feelings used to be the Covenant: the spectacle of a loyal people uniting with their king in a solemn bond to resist the same ambitions of foreign priesthood we have to fight at the present day. I accept with pleasure your gift, which enables me to peruse that document as it was framed in the simple and touching speech of your forefathers. Receive, gentlemen, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

V. BISMARCK.

To David Thyne Fair, and Thomas Ogilvie Smith, merchants, Grassmarket, Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES AND THE ACTS OF SUPREMACY AND RESCISSORY.



HE church of Scotland had rest for full twenty years. Her Assemblies were free; and under the ægis of a free Assembly the religious and civil liberties of the country were safe. But while the church had peace the nation was afflicted with war. The conflict between the king and Parliament of England had by this time broken out; the swearing of the Solemn League and Covenant united the two kingdoms in resistance to a tyranny that threatened the religion and liberties of both with destruction; there followed the defeat, and trial, and execution of Charles, and the fall of his throne; then came the Commonwealth under Cromwell, with the short protectorate of his son. Such were the stirring and tragic events which filled up the interval between the Assembly at Glasgow in 1638 and the restoration of Charles Stuart in 1660. The one epoch witnessed the fall of Prelacy in Scotland, the other witnessed its re-establishment.

Scotland and England, at the era to which we have come (1660), united in calling back the old royal house. The unteachableness of the Stuarts, their incurable craft, their settled hatred of Protestant truth and constitutional government, rendered them unfit to reign; and now that we look back upon that epoch in our history we can see that God, by defeating them in battle and chasing them into exile, was making it plain that he had rejected that race as the rulers of Britain. But the nation failed to learn the lesson. The son of Charles I. was recalled from exile in Holland, and amid the universal joy of the nation was crowned on the 29th of May, 1660—a truly fatal day, which was followed by a flood of profanity and vice in England, and a torrent of righteous blood in Scotland.

When Charles returned the Anglican or Royalist party was supreme in the councils of the nation. Their darling scheme was the establishment of religious uniformity and arbitrary government—one altar and one will—in

the three kingdoms. This was not less the dearest project of Charles: and a beginning was to be made in Scotland. Of course the one religion was to be Prelacy. "Presbyterianism," said Charles, "is not a religion for a gentleman," and still less is it a religion for an arbitrary monarch.

For all who approached him Charles had a smiling face and pleasant words, which meant nothing. He was now about thirty years of age, but a veteran in vice. He was a consummate dissembler, for the school of adversity, which strengthens the virtues of other men, had but perfected him in hypocrisy. He was without heart and without conscience. He was a tyrant, not from ambition, but from the cold, cruel selfishness of the voluptuary, and prized his throne because it enabled him to wallow in bestial pleasures. His minister was Clarendon, and hating business, Charles devolved on him the care and toil of government. Among the first of Clarendon's cares was that of finding fitting tools for the work that was to be done in Scotland. He deemed himself fortunate in discovering two men that seemed as if shaped and moulded for his purpose. While they possessed every vile quality that could adapt them for the task that was to be assigned to them, they were distinguished by the happy absence of every noble gift that would have interfered with the discharge of it. These two men were Middleton and Sharp.

Of the two the first was the least base. Middleton had been a successful soldier, and had risen from a humble position by his valour and enterprise. He was daring, fierce, cruel, unprincipled, he laughed at oaths and covenants, he was a great contemner of the people, a drunkard, and in other ways a bad liver. But he was a favourite with Charles II., as well as a prized, because a prompt and unscrupulous agent of his minister Clarendon.

James Sharp was very unlike in his grave, decorous exterior, but in the inner qualities of suppleness, unscrupulousness, and ambition, he

was very like the man with whom he was mated in the work of selling his church and betraying his country. To describe him is superfluous. His very name has become a synonym for all that is double, dark, hypocritical, and vile. He was sent to London by the Scottish ministers at the period of the restoration to watch over the interests of Presbyterianism. Not only did he betray the cause that was confided to him, but he did so with a dissimulation so consummate that his treachery was not once suspected till it had become an accomplished fact. Thanks to this man, the Presbyterian church of Scotland was overthrown before it was known to be in peril. He received the wages for which he had done the work. He was known henceforward among his contemporaries as the archbishop of St. Andrews: he stands pilloried in history as the "Judas of the Kirk of Scotland."

Unhappily, Scotland was divided into two parties, when it ought to have been united as one man in resistance to the tyranny with which it was threatened. The schism known as that of the *Resolutioners* and *Protesters* had arisen in the year 1651. The Resolutioners thought good to appoint malignants and known enemies to the second reformation to command in the army, and to posts of honour and influence in the state. Those who opposed this policy, as at once inexpedient and sinful, were called Protesters. The contention betwixt the two was sharp; the spirits of men were embittered; and more perhaps than even the impetuous violence of Middleton and the darker craft of Sharp, this division in the ranks of the Covenanters paved the way for the triumph of Charles and the downfall of the Presbyterian establishment.

Only a brief space elapsed, after Charles II. ascended the throne, till the work of introducing Prelacy into Scotland was begun. Once begun it proceeded without pause. One stunning blow fell upon the country after another; scarce was there time to breathe between the strokes; and before men could calmly collect their senses and look around them, the work of razing to their very foundations, and laying utterly waste the whole liberties of the nation, had been completed. Never before, perhaps, had nation made so swift and terrible a descent from an ample liberty, fenced on all sides by law, into the gulf of an unmitigated and irresponsible despotism.

The Parliament of Scotland met in January, 1661. It was opened by Middleton as royal

commissioner, and his appointment to that dignity gave the country intimation of the work expected from the Parliament. Had the nation been fairly represented, the religion and liberty of Scotland would have been in no danger, for as yet the bulk of the aristocracy and the great mass of the common people were loyal and true to the principles of the Reformation. But the Parliament that now met, and which was termed Middleton's Parliament, did not represent the nation. Every means had been taken to prevent the free expression of the real sentiments of the country. The press was gagged; several gentlemen, known friends of liberty, were imprisoned, and some popular ministers were banished; considerable sums were expended in the purchase of votes; and terror was employed. Scotland having been exempted from the Act of Indemnity passed in favour of England at the king's return, every public man in the northern kingdom was liable to be called to account and punished for any word or action of his during the ten past years, which it might please the government to construe unfavourably; and as the result of all these violent methods the Parliament that was now assembled was notoriously a packed Parliament. The grand old chiefs of the Covenant, such as London, Rothes, and others, were dead or off the stage, and the young nobles that had arisen in their place, quick to imbibe the libertine spirit that had come along with the Restoration, possessed neither the piety nor the patriotism of their fathers. The great scholars and divines of the previous era, such as Hallyburton, Rutherford, Gillespie, no longer illumined the heavens of Scotland; and many of those who filled their places, never having had the bracing influence of coming into personal contact with great questions, but, on the contrary, emasculated by the narrow and bitter controversies that had raged in the church for a dozen years preceding, had neither the union nor public spirit necessary to present such a front as would repel the bold men and the strong measures with which they were about to be assailed. Matters were truly ominous: the day seemed wearing away, but no one had yet divined how black the night would be that was descending on the church and country.

The first measure was now launched. Early in the year 1661 the Act of Supremacy was enacted. This Act was passed under pretext of securing the royal prerogative; and the royal

prerogative, said the new interpreters of the constitution, comprehends *supremacy* over church and state, and makes the king absolute judge in both ecclesiastical and civil matters. This was a blow at the root. The Protestant idea of the church was, that she is a society of men and women gathered out of the world by God, distinct from civil kingdoms, and therefore in all matters peculiar to herself independent of temporal governments. We trace this as the *root* idea of the church's constitution and powers all down from Luther, through Calvin, to Knox, who gave it full development in Scotland, placing the church's whole organization upon it as its corner-stone, or deducing it from it as its radical idea. The Act of Supremacy now passed thus overthrew at a single stroke the Reformed church Knox had planted; for the Church of Scotland is independent in things spiritual, or it is nothing.

This Act was immediately followed by another, the design of which was to apply and carry the first into effect. Now came the Oath of Allegiance. This oath bound the swearer to uphold the supreme power of the king in all matters, civil or religious. To refuse the oath, or deny the principle it asserted, was declared to be high treason. But the whole nation, twenty-three years before, had sworn an oath declaring the very opposite doctrine, even that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only King and Head of his church; and the oath now required to be sworn by the Scottish people vested in an earthly throne that supremacy which they had already declared to be the exclusive right of Christ. How could they swear this second oath without perjuring themselves? Moreover, the doctrine of the spiritual supremacy administered only through spiritual office-bearers is a fundamental article in the standards of the church of Scotland, how then could the members of that church swear the new oath without renouncing their profession? The oath laid a grievous burden—a yoke, in short, not to be borne—on the conscience of the Christian people. To those who had no conscience to be outraged it was a matter of absolutely no consequence; but to others it presented the alternative of perjury or treason.

There came other and more sweeping measures. The floodgates of tyranny once opened the deluge continued to pour in, and every day saw the waters extending their area and increasing their depth. To raze the corner-stone of the church's constitution, to substitute

for a God-given independence a degrading servitude to earthly powers, was not enough: as if tyranny had become giddy—had grown delirious—a wild, an almost insane attempt was made to blot out and cause to perish from the memories of men that whole period in the history of the nation during which the church of Scotland had administered her doctrine and government subject only to the authority of her divine Head. The men who now reigned not only attempted to change the future, they made war upon the past. The "Act Rescissory" was passed. This Act swept away at a single stroke all the Parliaments, all the General Assemblies, in short, the whole legislation of Scotland since the year 1638. Not Acts of Parliament only, but Parliaments themselves were now put out of existence; and yet, as we shall see in the sequel, like the two mystic witnesses when slain, their dead bodies were not suffered to be put into graves. The National Covenant was declared an unlawful oath and condemned. The Solemn League and Covenant was also declared unlawful, and had equal condemnation passed upon it. The Glasgow Assembly of 1638, over which Henderson presided, and which struck the blow against the Prelacy of the previous period, was held to be an unlawful and seditious meeting, and of course condemned. In short, all that had been done for the reformation of the church and kingdom during the past twenty years was swept away by the Act Rescissory, which still stands unrepealed in our statute book, unless, indeed, it be held that it has been repealed by its own infamy.

We know not whether the wildest revolutionist ever indulged in greater excess and madness. Certainly he never did anything more fitted to bring authority into contempt, and dissolve the basis of all government, than the men into whose hands the country had now fallen. We see all the sanctions of law, and all the fences and bulwarks of the state, torn down and trampled upon; we behold all that makes monarchs revered, laws obeyed, and thrones powerful, dishonoured and vilified, and by men whose interest and duty it was to uphold authority and make the throne respected. In the wildest scenes that have since been enacted in a neighbouring country, liable to be visited by periodic tempests of revolution, we have seen nothing wilder than this. There the tempest comes from below, but in the instance before us

it descended on the country from above. It is from the communistic abyss in France that the devastators issue to make war on society; in Britain it was from the closet of the prince that the anarchists came to lay waste the Scottish liberties. The year 1661 is the true year of revolution. Then it was that violence rose upon law, and that a despotism, intoxicated by success and crime, destroyed liberty. The year 1688, which we commonly term the *Revolution*, was the return of order: it closed the saturnalia of despotism and anarchy which had lasted for twenty-eight years, and binding up the wounds of a bruised and bleeding nation, it gathered once more around the throne virtue and law, patriots and free men.

We have stigmatized the tyranny from which all these revolutionary measures proceeded as a tyranny that was intoxicated. History informs us that the intoxication was more than figurative: "It was a maddening time," says Burnet, speaking of that period, "when the men of affairs were perpetually drunk." Middleton, the head of this wretched junto, came seldom sober to the House. It is well known that a night of deep debauch preceded the proclamation of the Act Rescissory. The authors of that Act conceived it over their cups, and launched it into existence amid a chorus of bacchanalian shouts. Thus had the liberties of a nation and the rights of conscience become the playthings of drunkards.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARTYRDOM OF ARGYLE AND GUTHRIE, AND RESTORATION OF PRELACY.



LET us cast a glance on the state of Scotland at the period immediately preceding the king's return, as an old chronicler has graphically depicted it. There were in all Scotland, says Kirkton, nine hundred parishes, divided into forty-eight presbyteries, and these again "cantoned" into fourteen synods. The church overthrown at the Restoration was no feeble church, just taking root: her boughs covered the land, and the nation reposed beneath her shadow. "At the king's return," says Kirkton, "every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles either by their parents or by their ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the Reformed religion, according to the large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster by the divines of both nations. Every minister was obliged to preach thrice a week, to lecture and catechise once, besides other private duties in which they abounded, according to their proportion of faithfulness and abilities. . . . Among them were many holy in conversation and eminent in gifts. . . . In many places the Spirit seemed to be poured out with the word. . . . I have lived many years in a parish where I never heard an oath, and you might have ridden many miles before

you heard one: also, you could not for a great part of the country have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and public prayer."*

The touch of Rome is often felt where her hand is not seen. It can hardly be doubted that the Vatican was deeply concerned in the changes that followed. Scotland had become in 1660 what Geneva had been a century before. Our country was eminently the centre whence the principles of the Reformation and the regenerating influences of Protestantism were spreading over Europe. It was manifestly the interest of Rome to arrest this development of northern Protestantism. What is the plan she usually pursues in such cases? She produces a confusion, she weakens her enemies by dividing them, and then she brings back a despotism. She so proceeded at this juncture. Sending abroad her agents, she fomented divisions all over England and Scotland, played off party against party, inflamed the zeal of this man into rashness, flattered the vanity of that other into ambition: she made tools of the profligate, the hypocritical, the avaricious; and took care to render institutions unworkable, till men wearied and almost in despair were ready to welcome any change, in the hope that it would be for the better. Such had now come to be the position of matters in the three kingdoms. The great Oliver was dead: his

* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, pp. 59-69.

son Richard was glad to demit a task beyond his powers; now it was the army that governed in London, now it was the Parliament; and anon again came the army: the scenes were shifting with a stage-like rapidity. Men, not knowing what the morrow would bring, began to contrast the state of uncertainty and alarm in which they lived with the security and permanency which they promised themselves under a monarchy, and so they set up the throne without much considering what were likely to be the principles and measures of the man whom they were about to place upon it.

But a nation cannot be overthrown till first it has proved unfaithful to itself. To bring back such a prince as Charles II. was certainly a grave error on the part of the Scottish people. They knew that he was a worthless man, although we can well believe they did not know the full measure of his worthlessness. The leading men among the Scottish clergy and nobility had already had most melancholy experience of this man; they knew him to be a heartless voluptuary and a ready taker of oaths he had no intention ever to fulfil, but they charitably hoped that he had dropped some evil habits and acquired some virtues in exile. They laid stress, too, on the fact that they had stood by him and put their crown upon his head when England had cast him off, and that all through the period of the Commonwealth they had shown a measure of attachment and loyalty to his house which at times brought them into trouble and subjected them to suffering; and mean as they knew him to be, they did not dream that he was so mean as to forget all this, much less that he was sunk so far below the average level of the base and infamous as to demand the heads of the very men whose only crime had been that they were faithful to himself when all others forsook him. Not to speak of the rumours then widely and confidently circulated that Charles when abroad attended mass, took part in Popish processions, and had formally been admitted into the church of Rome, it cannot be doubted that there were men among his counsellors who fully intended the re-establishment of Popery in the three kingdoms as the final result of all the negotiations then on foot. All the movements of the time, more especially the dissolution of the Presbyterian Parliament as soon as it had recalled the king, and its substitution by an ultra-royalist one, bear unmistakably the print of the Jesuit.

But what was Scotland to do? Leaving England to go its own way, could it hope to maintain its independence in a state of isolation? The old kingdom, united under the ægis of its Presbyterianism, would, we believe, have been able to stand alone. Geneva, a much smaller state in the midst of far greater perils, had made good its independence for now more than a century. Scotland had been more than a decade without a king; during that decade its church had rest and was flourishing, and had the Scottish people been content to wait they might have found in the development of their church a better security for their liberties than either army or king could give them. England was in no condition to invade Scotland, and even war would not have brought half the calamities which the Restoration ultimately entailed. But there was not faith in the nation for so bold a course. Scotland had come to think that it could not stand without a king; that monarchy, rather than Presbyterianism, was the ark of its safety, and all ranks rushed into the Restoration with a zeal that left them no time to inquire what securities had been obtained for the church's liberties or the nation's independence. "A day of thanksgiving," says Wodrow, "was kept at Edinburgh, June 19, for the king's restoration. After sermons were over the magistrates came to the Cross, where was a covered table with sweetmeats; the Cross ran with wine, three hundred dozen of glasses were broke, the bells tolled, trumpets sounded, and drums beat. There were fire-works upon the Castle-hill, with the effigies of Cromwell and the devil pursuing him, till all was blown up in the air. Great solemnity, bonfires, music, and the like, were in other places upon this occasion."*

The peals of welcome were speedily exchanged for funeral bells, and instead of tables at the cross spread with luxurious banquets, there came scaffolds on which the best blood of Scotland was seen to flow. The three infamous edicts which had already been issued virtually swept away the free Presbyterian church of Scotland; but a fourth was to follow, legally and formally declaring Presbytery abolished, and substituting Episcopacy. But first the two men from whom the strongest opposition to that measure might be expected had to be put out of the way. The marquis of Argyle and Mr. James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, were singled out to die.

* Wodrow's History, book i. chap. i.

Argyle had gone up to London to congratulate the king on his restoration. He was instantly seized, thrown into the Tower, and sent down by sea to Scotland to be tried by the Parliament for high treason. The first of the Scottish nobles in point of wealth, talent, and influence, the burden of the state, and the protection of its Presbyterian church during the years that Scotland had no king, devolved mainly on Argyle.

This was the treason of which he was guilty, and for which he was now brought to trial. The marquis had protested against the execution of Charles I.; he was the first to invite his son, Charles II., to Scotland, and he had placed the crown of that ancient kingdom upon his head: but all this weighed nothing with the tyrant, who was following a policy that astuter spirits had chalked out for him. As the foremost



EXECUTION OF ARGYLE.

Protestant in Scotland Argyle must die. On Saturday, May 25, 1661, he was sentenced to be beheaded on the Monday following.

From the moment of receiving his sentence a Christian heroism took possession of his mind, which lifted him far above the fear of death. This was the more remarkable, inasmuch as he was reckoned constitutionally timorous. His demeanour had in it a singular calmness, and even majesty. In prison he enjoyed a ravishing sense of God's love and of the glory awaiting him. His eyes would fill with tears of joy, so

that he had to step aside to conceal his emotions. "What cheer, my lord?" inquired George Hutchison, an aged minister of the city. "Good cheer, sir," replied Argyle; "the Lord hath said to me from heaven, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee." He dined with his friends cheerfully the day of his execution, and after dinner retired for secret prayer. The procession being formed, "I could die like a Roman," said he, "but choose rather to die as a Christian. Come away, gentlemen; he that goes first goes cleanest." He halted the pro-

cession to have a few minutes' conversation with James Guthrie, then under sentence of death and confined in the same prison. They tenderly embraced and bade each other farewell; a short farewell, seeing it was but a few days and they would meet in the palace of the sky. "Such is my respect for your lordship," said Guthrie, "that if I were not under sentence of death myself I could cheerfully die for your lordship." Being come to the scaffold, he addressed the people with great composure. He reminded them that the nation had entered into covenant with God, and that it passed the power of all the magistrates under heaven to release Scotland from the obligation under which it lay to prosecute the work of religion and reformation. When about to lay his head on the block his physician approached and touched his pulse; so Burnet records; it was beating at its usual rate, calm and strong. He knelt down and prayed for a little; then lifting up his right hand the axe descended, and his head rolled on the boards of the scaffold. So fell this great patriot and Protestant.

His head was affixed to the west end of the Tolbooth, "a monument," says Wodrow, "of the Parliament's injustice and the land's misery." His body was carried by his friends to the Magdalene chapel, and laid out on a table which is still to be seen there. Being put into a coffin it was conveyed to Glasgow, and attended by a numerous company of mourners to Kilpatrick, and thence by boat to Kilmun, and buried in the family vault in the church.

Argyle was the first. The next to follow in the noble army of Protestant martyrs was James Guthrie. Descended of an ancient family, he was a man of deep piety, clear judgment, decided principles, and, says Wodrow, "of a sweet calmness in his temper of any man of his time." His indictment charged him with various offences, but all resolved themselves into this—his zeal, even, for the Protestant reformation. One former act of his was not likely to be forgiven: he had pronounced sentence of excommunication upon Middleton by appointment of the General Assembly, and now Middleton was the king's commissioner. Sharp had got matters ripe for the establishment of Prelacy; the scheme was ready to be launched; and if James Guthrie could be put out of the way Sharp would all the more easily grasp the much coveted mitre of St. Andrew's.

On his trial Guthrie defended himself with characteristic eloquence. But to what avail was the most triumphant vindication in the presence of men who had fore-doomed him to die! He was sentenced to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh as a traitor on the 1st of June, 1661, and thereafter his head to be struck off and affixed on the Netherbow, his estate to be confiscated, his coat of arms torn and reversed, and his children declared incapable, in all time coming, to enjoy any office, dignities, possessions, lands, or goods, movable or immovable, or any-



GUTHRIE ADDRESSING THE CROWD BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

thing within this kingdom." His doom did not discompose him. He expressed his wish with much serenity that this sentence would never affect their lordships more than it affected him, and that his blood would never be required of the king's family.

On the night before his execution he supped very pleasantly with his friends. On his way to the scaffold he begged that one of his hands, both of which were pinioned, might be loosed so far as to permit him to use a staff for his tottering steps. "On the ladder," says the historian Burnet, who was an eye-witness, "he

spoke an hour with the composedness of one who was delivering a sermon rather than his last words." "I take God to record upon my soul," he said in conclusion, "I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain." Lifting the napkin from his face as he was on the point of being turned over, he exclaimed, "The covenants! the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

After his execution, his body was carried into the Old Kirk Aisle, and decently prepared for burial. At these rites some matrons of rank assisted, and being observed to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of the martyr, Sir Archibald Primrose taunted them as indulging in the relic worship of Rome. "No," replied the ladies, "it is not relic worship we are about; we shall hold up those napkins to heaven, with our cries, that God would look on this blood, and recompense it." While so occupied a young man entered the church, and emptied upon the body of the martyr a phial of rich perfume, the odour of which filled the church. "God bless you, sir," exclaimed one of the ladies, "for this token of love shown to the slain body of a servant of Jesus Christ." The young man bowed, and retired without speaking a word. It was ascertained that the young man who had done this good deed was Mr. G. Stirling, who afterwards became eminent as a surgeon in Edinburgh.

The head of Guthrie was affixed to the Netherbow, where it remained all through the dark times that followed, even for the long period of twenty-seven years. Many a martyr, as he passed through the Netherbow on his way to the scaffold in the Grassmarket, must have looked up at that head, and drawn strength from the thought that James Guthrie had trodden the same path before him, and that as they had been joined in the same suffering, so would they also in the same glory. The head of the martyr, after remaining in that public place till towards the end of the persecution, was taken down by Mr. Alexander Hamilton, then a student in Edinburgh, and afterwards Guthrie's successor at Stirling.

The two chief leaders being out of the way, the road was now clear, and Prelacy was restored by royal edict. The king's letter, so commanding, was received by the Privy Council in Scotland, 6th September, 1661. It is the king's pleasure: this was the sole foundation of the Prelatic establishment now set up. In the December following four men were consecrated as bishops in Westminster Abbey, and sent down to Scotland to consecrate others. Sharp was elevated to the primacy. With him was associated Fairfoul, as bishop of Glasgow. Fairfoul had a comic vein, but his morals had been blown upon. Wishart was appointed for Edinburgh. He liked his bottle, and emphasised his talk with oaths; Sydserf, now in his dotage, was made bishop of Orkney; and Robert Leighton, whom it saddens one inexpressibly to find in such company, was installed in the episcopal chair of Dunblane. That Robert Leighton was a man of beautiful genius and fervent piety no one will question. His exposition of the first epistle of Peter, so graceful in style, so rich and warm in feeling, will long remain a monument of both. But no genius and no piety will ever atone for the weakness, the crime, of consenting to be the tool of the tyrant, and the partner of traitors and renegades in a scheme framed deliberately and avowedly for sapping the ancient liberties of his country, and destroying the sacred independence of his church. Was it a time in Scotland to seek mitres and cathedral churches? Leighton had sworn the Solemn League and Covenant, and the first and most essential part of piety is to fulfil one's vow. "What doth the Lord require of thee, O man? To do justly;" and then "to walk humbly with thy God." Leighton came by his bishopric easily enough, but Argyle and Guthrie had to pay for it with their blood; and how the archbishop could ever put on his mitre without feeling that it left its red marks on his brow we cannot understand. In those days in Scotland there were no honours but what the headsman bestowed. The lawn but polluted those who wore it; and the mitre bowed down in disgrace the head on which it sat.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE "FOUR HUNDRED"—THE PENTLAND RISING—MARTYRDOM OF HUGH M'KAIL.



HE king lived in London; the Privy Council exercised in his name supreme power in Scotland. The monarch loved his ease and pleasures too much to leave his court and visit his northern kingdom; nor was it the least necessary that he should do so, seeing there was the most thorough accord between Charles and the managers in Scotland in all the schemes of revolution and tyranny then on foot. The Scottish Privy Council could be thoroughly trusted. The year 1662 was one of the most fateful and fatal in our history. In that one year Scotland was reft of all that had been won by the struggles and blood of more than a century previous. The reformation appeared to have been consigned to its grave. In vain had the stakes of Hamilton and Wishart been set up; in vain had Knox, by his labours and preaching, laid the foundations of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland: these were now razed, as it seemed. Scotland, at a plunge, had sunk into the gulf of despotism.

Let us trace the steps of this melancholy change, which followed each other in rapid succession. On the 6th of September, 1661, the king issued a proclamation, restoring "the ancient and legal government of the church by archbishops and bishops, as it was exercised in the year 1637." This left the presbyterian machinery standing alongside the now restored prelatie form. This state of things could not long endure. There followed, as we have said, the consecration of four Scotch bishops, with great solemnity, at Westminster. On the 2nd of January, 1662, another step was taken. The Privy Council of Scotland received a letter from the king "discharging all meetings of synods, presbyteries, or kirk-sessions, till they be ordered by the archbishops and bishops." This forbade the exercise of the presbyterian government till such time as it should be set in motion by the prelates, which was not likely soon to happen. It was in fact the abolition of Presbytery. The course of action pursued by the king, by advice of his privy councillors, bore

an air of timidity. He went about his design not openly and directly, but step by step and inferentially. He plainly feared to arouse an opposition which he knew to exist in the nation against the restoration of Episcopacy. The next step was the arrival in Scotland of the four newly consecrated bishops. They were, in the king's eyes and their own, the only valid teachers or ministers of Christ at that moment in Scotland, seeing they had renounced their presbyterian ordination as null before receiving consecration in Westminster, and they came to Scotland to plant anew the order of the ministry, and begin the evangelization of our land. They began by ordaining in the church of Holyrood ten others who had been ministers in the presbyterian church, and thus Scotland was supplied with an anointed pastor in each of the fourteen dioceses into which it was divided. Of the apostolic gifts and labours of these men, who restored to us the gospel after the reformation under Knox had deprived us of it, history has left no record; and in these circumstances it would be very uninteresting to our readers simply to record their names. On the 2nd of May, 1662, the Parliament sat down, and in that assembly the new bishops, distinguished, if not by their learning and piety, by their titles and official robes, took their places. The first act of the Parliament was to carry into effect the king's proclamation of the September previous, mentioned above, by the re-institution of Episcopacy. In the Act it was laid down that the ordering and disposing of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong unto his Majesty as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical.* All church power in judicatories or ministers not based on the royal supremacy, that is, not held of the king, was swept away by the Parliament; the king's absolute power over all causes ecclesiastical, and his right to mould and fashion the church

* See the Act in Wodrow, book i. chap. iii. sec. 2.

according to his will and pleasure, were at the same time declared. The Parliament also passed a declaration, which it required all persons in trust to subscribe, to the effect that the covenants were unlawful and seditious; and to this they appended a curious clause, pronouncing virtual absolution on all who had sworn them, by declaring that no one in consequence was under any obligation to prosecute the ends of them. This power of releasing from oaths and bonds, and guaranteeing the violators of them from all penal consequences, was a new and curious assumption on the part of a professedly Protestant government. The Act of Patronage, abolished in 1649, was restored; and finally, all ministers ordained since 1649 were commanded to present themselves to the patron and bishop of the diocese, and receive presentation anew from the former and collation from the latter to their benefices. To the 20th of September was given them to implement this order. This was a carrying out of the idea that the government was planting Scotland anew with a validly ordained clergy. One of the clauses of that collation was, "I do hereby receive him into the functions of the holy ministry," which implied that now for the first time was the man truly clothed with the office of the ministry, and that till this moment he had never done an act in that function that was valid and good. If ministers neglected this, and the patron did not present another before March next year, the right of presentation fell to the bishop. One clause of the Act seemed to imply that all the churches had been vacant since the year 1637, the year preceding that in which Prelacy was abolished, and the bishops were instructed to proceed in planting ministers in all these parishes. Thus was it assumed that Scotland was a heathen country; that with the fall of the hierarchy in 1560 darkness had settled down upon it, and how long the night would have continued to brood, and false teachers to mislead its benighted inhabitants, it is impossible to say, had not Charles II., pitying its forlorn condition, sent Sharp and his thirteen apostles to deliver us from heathen darkness and ignorance, and restore to us the evangel.

The Parliament; by these acts, had cut out work which it left for the Privy Council and the bishops to execute. The first labour of the bishops was to compel the attendance of the ministers at the diocesan courts. The attendance of the ministers at these courts

would be an implicit confirmation of their office, and this confirmation the newly anointed men were exceedingly anxious to obtain. They were balked, however, mostly: all over the lowlands the Presbyterian ministers stood aloof from the assemblies of their diocesan. Indeed, in no part of the country was the bishops' court attended by the ministers, unless in solitary instances. The bishops were wroth at this affront to their person and their office, as they viewed it. Not less wroth was the king's commissioner Middleton, seeing it portended the failure of the scheme he was so intently pushing forward, and the failure of his scheme would bring with it the loss of the king's favour. Middleton was naturally imperious. He had brought into the conduct of matters of conscience and duty the irascible and violent spirit of the camp. His temper was still more excited by the headstrong counsels of the passionate men around him. Further, the whole junto was inflamed to fury by their habits of daily drunkenness, and it was resolved to adopt the most summary and high-handed measures against the recusant ministers. In pursuance of this resolution, Middleton and his council set out on a tour of inspection in the west and south-west of Scotland. Fairfoul, bishop of Glasgow, in especial, complained that not one of the clergy over which the king had set him would acknowledge him as their bishop. Middleton consoled him by hinting that he would throw in his sword along with the bishop's crook in compelling respect to his office and obedience to the king's command. On the 8th of October, 1662, the Privy Council, with Middleton at their head, met in the college hall of Glasgow. At that meeting it was resolved to extrude from their churches and banish from their parishes all ministers who had been ordained since 1649, and who refused to receive anew presentation and collation as the king's Act required. A proclamation was drawn up to that effect, commanding all such ministers to remove themselves and their families out of their parishes betwixt and the first day of November next to come, and not to reside within the bounds of their respective presbyteries. In what state were the members of Council when this Act was passed? In sober truth they were drunk, all except Sir James Lockhart of Lee. "Duke Hamilton told me," says Burnet, "they were all *so drunk* that day that they were not capable of considering any-

thing that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but executing the law without any relenting or delay." Other historians say the same thing. The fact was so notorious at the time that the Parliament was usually styled the *drunken Parliament*, and this proclamation the *drunken Act of Glasgow*. Indeed, we can hardly conceive of sober men passing such a resolution in the circumstances. The one sober man at the board remonstrated against the madness of the Council, and warned them that the bishops would sink under the odium this Act would bring upon them, and that the young ministers would relinquish more than their stipends rather than comply. Fairfoul, the archbishop of Glasgow, and one of the main counsellors of this cruel measure, affirmed that there were not ten men in all his diocese who would refuse to obey when brought to the point; and commissioner Middleton sneered at the very idea of men renouncing their livings for the sake of their consciences, and casting themselves and their families penniless upon the world.

Middleton fully anticipated that his bold policy would be crowned with success. Scotland, he believed, would bow to the yoke of the bishops, and his own place in the king's favour would be firmly established. What was the result? To Middleton, as often happens to wicked men, retribution came in the guise of victory. He carried his measure. It was decreed that all ministers ordained since 1649 who refused to receive collation from the bishops, that is, renounce Presbyterianism and embrace Episcopacy, should quit their parishes before the 1st of November. This measure was the means of overthrowing himself and of saving that Presbytery which he aimed to destroy, though only after twenty-eight years, which are at once the darkest and the most glorious of our annals. Hardly four weeks had been given the ministers to make up their minds. They did not need even that short space of time. Four hours, four minutes, were enough, where the question so manifestly was whether they should obey God or King Charles? When the 1st of November came *four hundred* ministers rose up, and quitting their manses, their churches, and their parishes, went forth with their families into banishment. Middleton was confounded. The bishops trembled with fear at their own success. Scotland, the Scotland of Knox and the Covenant, was reviving; and if the heroic spirit of these days stood up the bishops knew that they

must fall. Above the din of their carousals, and the shout awakened by the first moments of victory, they could distinctly hear the knell of their ultimate downfall.

The distress of the outed ministers was aggravated by the season of the year. It was the commencement of winter, and no time had been given them to provide accommodation for their families; but they followed the path of duty, and went forth not knowing whither they went. On rough roads, under inclement skies, in some poor hovel, and with scanty fare, they tasted a joy to which their persecutors were strangers. Their Master's approval and love sweetened the bitter cup, and made them ready to face the yet heavier tempests which they knew were gathering round them. Their act of loyalty to Christ had but deepened their guilt in the eyes of their monarch and his agents, and the sacrifice already exacted of them, they well knew, was but the beginning of sorrows. But rather than take their hand from the plough they would part with yet dearer possessions than those of which they had been stripped. They had counted the cost and would go onward, although they saw a scaffold at the end of their way; but if their blood should be shed on scaffold or moor, their cause by these means would gloriously triumph. After the black night would come a fair morning, the phantoms of the darkness would disappear, and a pure scriptural Presbyterian church would yet flourish in Scotland.

Next to the approbation of their Master and the peace of their own consciences as a support in their trials, was the attachment of their people and their admiration of their sacrifice. This was the first victory of their cause, and it was an earnest of greater victories to come. The religious people of Scotland knew that their turn would come next: the shepherds had been smitten, but the flock would not escape: and they prepared to act their part when the day of trial should arrive. Meanwhile the people mourned with their pastors, and lamentation and woe overspread the land. "Scotland," says Wodrow, "was never witness to such a Sabbath as the last on which those ministers preached; and I know no parallel to it save the 17th of August to the Presbyterians in England." * Tears, loud wailings, and bursts

* St. Bartholomew's day, when two thousand ministers were ejected for nonconformity; "a policy," says the younger M'Crie, "from which the Church of England has not recovered down to this day, and perhaps never will."

of sorrow broke in in many cases upon the public services. "It was a day," says Wodrow, "not only of weeping but howling, like the weeping of Jazer, as when a besieged city is sacked." The Sabbath that followed was sadder still. The silence of death reigned over the land. All over the west of Scotland, and in a great many parts of Lothian, Fife, Eskdale, Teviotdale, and Nithsdale, the churches were closed. To quote Naphtali's song of lamentation, "Then might we have seen the shepherds smitten and their flocks scattered, our teachers removed into corners, and the Lord's vineyard and sanctuary laid most desolate: so that in some whole counties and provinces no preaching was to be heard, nor could the Lord's day be otherwise known than by the sorrowful remembrance of those blessed enjoyments whereof now we are deprived."

The learned and pious clergy of Scotland ejected, how were their vacant places to be filled? The bishops turned their eyes in this emergency to the northern counties. Hundreds of raw, untaught, ignorant young men were brought from thence, drafted into the church, and taught to do service as curates. All of them were without letters, and many of them were without morality. The bishops, satisfied with a very moderate share of gifts in their protégés, gladly welcomed them, but the *lairds* complained that it was no longer possible to find herd-boys, seeing the bishops had carried them all off to be curates. To the people they were simply objects of contempt and ridicule.

Middleton's fall was not long deferred. His continual dissipation was too much even for Charles; and the drunken rashness with which he had precipitated matters in Scotland, and spoiled the chance of the quiet introduction of Episcopacy, showed that after all he was not the man for the work. Accordingly he was recalled as commissioner, and the earl of Rothes appointed in his room. Rothes was the unprincipled and profligate son of a father who had been distinguished for his piety, admired for his talents, and revered for his firm attachment to the cause of the Covenant.

In 1663 field meetings or conventicles began to be held. The people refused to attend the preaching of the curates, who, says Wodrow, "the better they were known they were the more loathed." But while the parish church was empty large assemblies would gather on the open moor, or in the solitary glen, to listen

to the outed ministers, now more endeared to the people than ever. The bishops were incensed at this, and they obtained an Act to silence all who had no authority from the bishop to preach, and to compel the people to attend the parish church under fines and penalties. This Act was called the "bishops' *drag-net*." It did not help to make the ministry of the curates more popular. One tyrannical measure only necessitates another yet more tyrannical. Sharp next set up the Court of High Commission, having gone to London for the purpose of obtaining authority from the king for this end. This court was the Star Chamber of England over again: in truth it bore a close resemblance in its flagrant defiance of form and its inexorably merciless spirit to the Roman Inquisition. The soldiers were to scour the country; Presbyterians were the criminals, who were to be hunted out and arrested; and Sharp sat ready, like another Rhadamanthus, in his High Commission Court to condemn all whom the military might capture and drag to his bar. The laymen in disgust soon left the management of the court to himself and his bishops. Sharp and his assistant-judges presented no indictment; they examined no witnesses; they permitted no pleading; they kept no record; they walked by no statute; and they permitted no one to escape. All who came to that bar were condemned. Its punishments were various: its victims were fined, whipped, banished, imprisoned, branded with hot irons, sold as slaves and shipped off to Barbadoes. The High Court of Commission forgot the maxim, "Be not overmuch wicked;" it sank in two years under the odium its atrocious iniquity and tyranny drew down upon it.

Presbytery and liberty fell together in Scotland. We have seen a Parliament assemble in 1662 under Middleton. Another was held in 1663 under the earl of Rothes: but for six years after no Parliament was held in Scotland. The ordinary forms of rule were suspended; the laws were virtually defunct; the will of the monarch was the sole authority in the state. Charles issued his proclamations: the Privy Council passed Acts, and the military enforced them; in this way was the country governed. There was no longer constitutional government. The liberty as well as the religion of Scotland had been laid at the feet of the tyrant.

The south and west of Scotland was now occupied by the military, under the command

of Sir James Turner. Sir James was an imperious and hasty man, and when his passions were inflamed by drink, which often happened, his fury rose to madness. His soldiers were worthy followers of such a leader. Recruited from the dregs of the people, they were brutal and ruffianly. This troop of furies scoured the country and did as it pleased them; and the barbarities and oppressions they inflicted upon the people are beyond expression. The great crime of the population was still the empty church of the curate. The roll of the parishioners was called over after sermon, the names of the absentees were marked and given to the soldiers, who were empowered to levy the fines to which non-attendance at the parish church rendered the absentee liable. If the family was not able to pay the fine the troop took up their quarters in the house, cursing, blaspheming, carousing, and destroying what they were not able to use. Many families, formerly in affluence, were reduced to beggary, and might be seen wandering about the country in circumstances of want and destitution. When landlords were eaten up the soldiers would make a prey of the tenants. They devoured the country like locusts, and polluted it by their profanity and wickedness. The cry of its suffering was waxing great.

It was now that an event took place that led to a heightening of the oppression under which the nation was already groaning. It fell out in this wise. About the beginning of November, 1666, four of the wanderers, who were in hiding in the hill-country of Glenkens, worn out with cold and hunger, ventured down into the low lands, and came to the village of Dalry in Ayrshire. Entering a small inn, they asked for refreshments. As they were seated at breakfast they were informed that a party of soldiers, belonging to the troop of Sir James Turner, had seized an old man, who being poor was unable to pay his fines, and that they were binding his hand and foot, and threatening to strip him naked and roast him on a gridiron. Being men, and not tigers, like the soldiers of Sir James, they resolved to liberate the old man. On going to his house they found him lying bound on the floor. In attempting to loose the cords a scuffle ensued, one of the soldiers was killed, and the rest were disarmed and made prisoners. A little way off was another party of soldiers, similarly engaged in exacting fines. To prevent reprisals the countrymen resolved to repair to the spot and make them prisoners

also; this they did without much trouble, having been joined on their way thither by a considerable number of country people.

All this they had done on impulse, and without concert or prearrangement. But now when they came to reflect they saw that they had gone too far to retreat. To disperse would be to expose themselves singly to the vengeance of the government; and, on the other hand, to remain united as a body and adopt measures of mutual defence was to defy the whole power of the government. Either way the risks were great. The latter alternative was the one they adopted. They kept together; marched to Dum-



RESCUE OF THE OLD MAN OF DALRY.

fries, where they surprised and took prisoner Sir James Turner. They now turned northwards, carrying with them Sir James and their other prisoners. Their little army grew bigger and bigger as they went along, being joined by numbers from the towns and villages on the line of their march. They reached Lanark late on the evening of Sabbath the 25th of November. They were now, horse and foot, from 1500 to 2000, but without discipline, and almost without arms; their weapons being mainly scythes made straight and fastened to long poles. Here they renewed the covenants, and emitted a declaration setting forth the grounds of their

appearing in arms, even self-defence, and their religious liberties. Their little army was now at its best; its spirit was excellent, and had it been possible at this moment to have joined battle with the government forces, the day would probably have gone in favour of the covenanting army. The government, panic-stricken, had sent General Dalziel, with 3000 well-appointed horse and foot, and four pieces of cannon, to oppose them.

Under the command of Colonel Wallace, a courageous and skilful officer, the Covenanters started in the direction of Edinburgh. They now entered a district, the population of which



BATTLE OF RULLION GREEN.

was not so well affected to their cause. The weather was dismal. They were beset by storms of wind, torrents of rain, and occasional snow-drifts. Cold, hunger, wretched roads and swollen rivers, thinned their numbers. Nevertheless the main body, now reduced to about 900, kept marching onwards till they arrived within five miles of Edinburgh. They had hoped that the capital would declare itself on their side, but the east was less zealous than the west. On hearing that Edinburgh had closed its gates, and was preparing to resist them, they turned round the eastern flank of the Pentlands, intending to pursue their march along the south-

ern side of that chain to their homes. Here Dalziel's army came up with them. Battle was joined at Rullion Green on the southern slopes of the Pentlands. The first assault of the government troops was repulsed, and had the untrained cavalry of the Covenanters been able to pursue the enemy, Dalziel, it is thought, would have been defeated. The sun was already set, and the shadows had begun to gather. Dalziel, fearing that his prey would escape him, gathered up all his strength, and threw masses of soldiers upon all the positions of the Covenanters. They fought gallantly, on the testimony of even Sir James Turner, who was still kept a prisoner in their camp; but exhausted by marching, and badly armed, it was not possible that they could stand before the odds opposed to them. They were defeated, fifty being slain, and a hundred made prisoners, and the night having now fallen, the darkness permitted the rest to escape. The dead were buried on the field, and the prisoners were carried to Edinburgh, crowded into a dungeon, brought to trial, condemned as rebels, and almost all of them executed.

Among the prisoners were two who demand special notice. These are John Neilson of Corsac and Hugh M'Kail. The former, "a meek and generous gentleman," had saved the life of Sir James Turner; but the good deed was not remembered. He was cruelly tortured in the boot, in the hope that he would reveal the springs of the "rebellion;" but seeing the uprising had been purely accidental, he could tell nothing. His fellow-sufferer, Hugh M'Kail, a preacher of the gospel, was remarkable for his beauty of person, his elevation of soul, and his sweet impressive eloquence. He, too, had to undergo the dreadful torment of the boot, an instrument which had not been seen in Scotland these forty years, but which was refurbished by the Privy Council to compel the people to submit to Episcopacy. Neither could M'Kail disclose anything; on the contrary, before receiving the last stroke, he solemnly protested that "he could say no more though all the joints in his body were in as great torture as that poor limb." He had given offence four years before when preaching in the High Church of Edinburgh. He then took occasion to refer to the sufferings of the church, saying that "the Scripture doth abundantly evidence that the people of God have been persecuted sometimes by a Pharaoh upon the throne, sometimes by a Haman

in the state, and sometimes by a Judas in the church." Henceforward Sharp was known only as Judas.

It rests on good authority that at this time a letter arrived from the king ordering that no more executions should take place on account of the Pentland rising. Sharp, who as president received this letter, ought to have immediately communicated it to the Council. Instead of this he kept it back till several, and among others Hugh M'Kail, were put to death. The good deed of Neilson of Corsac was forgotten, but the sermon of Hugh M'Kail was remembered, and, we may add, recompensed.

When condemned he was only twenty-six, but the near approach of an awful death had for him no terrors. It was not able to quench the natural gaiety and buoyancy of his spirit. On returning to prison after his trial, some one having asked him how his limb was, he replied, "the fear of my *neck* now makes me forget my leg." He prayed with and encouraged his fellow-sufferers. On the night before his execution he slept soundly. When he appeared on the scaffold his youthful and delicate figure, the sweet gravity of his countenance, and the serenity of his air struck every beholder. Mingled pity and horror took possession of the crowd. "There was," says Kirkton, "such a lamentation as was never known in Scotland before: not one dry cheek upon all the street, or in all the numberless windows in the marketplace." Having ended his last speech, he took hold of the ladder to go up. He paused, and turning yet again to the people he said, "I care no more to go up that ladder and over it than if I were going to my father's house." Then

turning to those who were to suffer with him he bade them be of good cheer and not fear, seeing every step in that ladder brought them so much nearer to heaven. Then he went up; and having reached the top of the ladder, he drew aside the napkin that covered his face that he might say yet a few more words to the people. Bidding them take note that there was no alteration or sign of discouragement on his face, he said that this was the reason of it, that besides the justice of his cause, it was now as it was with Lazarus, whom angels carried to the bosom of Abraham. "As there is a great solemnity here of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking out at windows, so is there a greater and more solemn preparation in heaven of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom." Anything sublimer than his last words it is impossible to conceive. The terms are those of farewell, but the tone is that of triumph. His song—for it is an epic—thrills us as do the odes of Inspiration. This majestic address became the form in which after martyrs, before taking their flight upwards, uttered their shout of victory; thus beginning on their scaffolds the pæans which they were to prolong in heaven. "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, sun, moon, and stars! Welcome, God and Father! Welcome, sweet Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant! Welcome, blessed Spirit of Grace, the God of all consolation! Welcome, glory! Welcome, eternal life! And welcome, death!"

CHAPTER XIX.

DALZIEL—LAUDERDALE—THE INDULGENCE—A COVENANTER'S COMMUNION.



HE Pentland rising, though now completely suppressed, left the government under the terror of a second and more formidable insurrection. To keep down the country it was resolved to have recourse to measures of yet greater severity. Numbers of the prisoners taken at Rullion Green were sent to the provincial towns to be hanged, and thereafter to be quartered, and their limbs dispersed over the kingdom. To the terrors of

the scaffold was added the scourge of the army. General Dalziel, at the head of a band of miscreants, for they did not merit the name of soldiers, was sent to the West, the seat of the late rising, with instructions to harass and ruin all who were suspected of being unfriendly to the bishops. Thomas Dalziel of Binns was a crack-brained savage, who had lost whatever touches of humanity he ever possessed in his wars against the Turks and Tartars. In these

distant campaigns he learned those cruelties and barbarities which he returned to Scotland to practice upon his countrymen and countrywomen. His only religion was attachment to the house of Stuart. He had not trimmed his beard since the execution of Charles I., and now it hung down, white and bushy, to his girdle. His thin figure was rendered still more weird and gaunt by the close-fitting habit which he usually wore. His sharp cut face, streaming hair, gleaming eyes, and the air of haste, and hurry, and violence that surrounded him, notified



DALZIEL OF BINNS.

to all the crazy, cruel, and brutal bigot. "Dalziel acted the Muscovite too grossly," says Bishop Burnet. "He threatened to spit men, and to roast them; and he killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood, for he was then drunk when he ordered one to be hanged because he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in search."* The soldiers who served under him were worthy of their commander. They knew that they were not expected to display any one soldier-like quality. This would have been a positive disqualifi-

* Burnet, Hist., vol. i. p. 349.

cation in the eyes of their masters. They were simply a horde of profligates and ruffians. They shot, tortured, violated, and plundered the poor people. Both officers and men took their orders from the curates. They lived at free quarters in the houses to which their ecclesiastical superiors sent them; they mocked at the devotions of the family, they swore, threatened, and blasphemed; they insulted, and sometimes murdered, the inmates; they consumed the provisions, and what they were not able to use they wantonly destroyed before taking their departure. Indescribable terror, wretchedness, and suffering overspread the country. But these oppressions only burned the deeper into the heart of the nation a detestation and loathing of the prelatic system and of all concerned in upholding it, from the mitred primate of St. Andrews down to the ignorant and immoral curate and the swearing and murdering dragoon.

In 1667 came a breathing space: a change of policy took place at London. The court drew off from the Church of England party, and adopted a more conciliatory attitude to the nonconformists, in order to pave the way for the introduction of Popery under the king's brother, the duke of York, an unavowed but very sincere papist. The mollifying effect of this change was felt in Scotland. Lauderdale came in the room of the earl of Rothes, and he began his administration in Scotland with an attempt at a reconciliation or amalgamation of Prelacy and Presbyterianism. Almost the only qualification which Lauderdale possessed for conducting such a scheme to a successful issue was his perfect indifference to either form of faith—in short, to all religion. Utterly selfish, the creed, in his eyes, the most orthodox was that which would most advance his own interests. His intellectual powers, which were good, were entirely dissociated from elevation of mind. Honour, truth, principle, generosity, were virtues entirely unknown to him. Greedy of power, and more greedy of money, his habits were low and his manners coarse. His bloated face was the index of his gross sensuality. The innate meanness and cowardliness of the man were shown in his abject cringing to those above him, while he bore himself with a vulgar and brutal imperiousness to those beneath him. If his scheme of reconciling the Prelatists and Presbyterians did not succeed, and of this there was not the slightest chance, it was easy to see that Lauderdale would become as great a

persecutor as the cruel and blood-thirsty man whom he had succeeded.

One of the first fruits of the new policy was what is known as the *INDULGENCE*. A survey of affairs in Scotland made it plain to the government that they had only three courses in their choice. The first was to leave the country without religious ordinances, and permit it to lapse into a state of heathenism, for it was hopeless to think of persuading the people to attend the ministry of the curates; or, second, they might extinguish Presbyterianism by exterminating Presbyterians, that is, some nine-tenths of the population; or if they shrunk from these two alternatives a third course only remained open to them, even that of granting a certain amount of liberty to the outed ministers to exercise their office. They resolved to make trial of this last method. In 1669 a letter arrived from the king granting a qualified liberty to the outed Presbyterian ministers to preach. Those of them who were willing to receive collation from the bishops were to be inducted into vacant parishes, with a right to the whole benefice; those who refused to acknowledge the bishops were to enjoy only the glebe and manse, with liberty to preach. This Indulgence led to a deplorable division among the Presbyterians, which by weakening them exposed them in the end to greater sufferings. Those who accepted the Indulgence and returned to the exercise of the ministry were condemned by their brethren as holding their office of the king, homologating the royal supremacy, and violating the fundamental article the Presbyterianism, that Christ is the sole fountain of office and power in his church. The *indulged* ministers defended themselves by saying that their acceptance of the liberty given them to preach was no acknowledgment on their part of the royal supremacy, any more than the captive's quitting the prison when the doors are opened is an acknowledgment of his enslaver's right to hold him in bondage. Nevertheless, the genius of Presbytery being adverse to the Indulgence, the sympathies of the people were with those who refused it, and such as accepted it they denominated "the king's curates." One thing was plain, that it could be accepted only at the risk of splitting up the Presbyterians, and the preservation of their unbroken unity was a much greater good than this Indulgence could be. Besides, those who stood out against the government offer would be sure to be denounced by

the ruling party as impracticable bigots, and all the more severely treated that the compliance of their brethren seemed to justify the government in holding them as obstinate schismatics and treating them as such. And such, in fact, were the results that flowed from it.

The government, seeing that they were not to gain their end by the Indulgence, tried another method. They sent Leighton and Burnet (afterwards bishop of Salisbury), with a few others, obscure men, to the West, for the purpose of enlightening the people on the beauties of the Prelatic order and reasoning them out of their obdurate attachment to Presbyterianism. It is easy to gather from the confessions of Burnet that the bishops were no match in argument for the Presbyterians of the West: in short, that not only did the mission not speed, but that those to whom it had been entrusted were notoriously beaten. Burnet expressed his astonishment at the power with which the common people could argue, and their readiness to fortify their position with proofs from Scripture.

Archbishop Leighton, who had now been translated to the See of Glasgow, next came forward with his *ACCOMMODATION*. This was a project for combining Prelacy and Presbytery, in the way of admitting a small infusion of Presbyterian order into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, while the bishop still remained at the head and wielded the actual government of the church. Supposing that Leighton's scheme of *Accommodation* had been adopted, the Presbyterian element would soon have been purged out, and the pure and unmixed Prelacy would have remained. The attempt proved an utter failure, but that failure might have convinced the amiable archbishop, whose piety was characterized rather by its fervour than its manliness, that there were men to whom the constitution and government of the church of God are not matters of indifference, but matters of conscience and duty, and who could bring what seemed strong arguments indeed for their opinions, both from the word of God and the history of the church. There was another circumstance in the case, which had the worthy archbishop reflected upon it, might have not only prompted a little self-examination, but led him to reconsider his opinions; even that while his views were, happily for himself, in harmony with his interests and honours, the views of his brethren were bringing them nothing but fines, prisons, and death.

The dialectic weapon had failed, and the government saw that it had nothing for it but to fall back once more on the sword. One thing caused the government great irritation and even alarm, the Field Meeting, or "armed Conventicle," as they termed it. These assemblies were every day becoming more common, and the attendance at them was swelling to a prodigious amount. While the parish church was empty, the hillside or the glen was crowded with thousands of worshippers; for the people followed their pastors to the moor or the mountain, and there, braving all the terrors of a tyrannical government, uplifted the psalm, or spread the communion table and commemorated, under the open sky, that great death by which redemption was achieved. It will lighten this dark page of our country's history to place upon it the record of one of these scenes, and it will refresh our own spirits to turn aside for a little space from the men of blood to the pious children of Scotland, far from temple and city, offering their worship amid the holy calm of the wilderness.

It is the year 1677, and the Lord's Supper can be celebrated only in the fields, with armed men keeping watch round the worshippers. The communion was celebrated at this time at East Nisbet, in the Merse. The ministers present were Messrs John Dickson, John Blackadder, John Welsh, Archibald Riddell, and Mr. John Rae. The worshippers had gathered from far and near, and numbered some thousands. It was whispered that they would not be permitted to keep their communion in peace. The earl of Hume and his troop of horse were about, scouring hill and dale for conventicles; and having got an inkling of this intended field-meeting, the earl had profanely threatened that he, too, would be there, and that he would make his horses drink the communion wine. It added to the apprehensions under which the worshippers assembled that the gentry around and the population of the district were not well affected to their cause. To guard against surprise, a few of the gentlemen present had mustered a little troop of horse, some hundred and fifty in all, armed with such weapons as came readiest to hand. This small body of men were distributed thus: about an hundred and twenty formed a circle round the congregation, a little way off, but still within hearing of the preacher. Some twenty of the troop were stationed at a greater distance, their looks watchfully directed

to the more suspected quarters of the horizon; while some dozen rode out into the country some considerable distance, and took up their post singly, where they might descry the first approach of an enemy and report to the rank behind them, as they in their turn were to report to those in their rear. In this way a circuit of from fifty to one hundred miles of country was under the eye of the watchmen, who were ready to announce the approach of the enemy while yet afar off, and there was time to provide against his coming. In the centre of this area stood the communion table, with the crowd of worshippers around it. The minister spoke and the people heard with comparative composure, knowing that three lines of defence had been drawn around them; and the third was at such a distance that some hours must elapse between the first signal of danger and the actual arrival of the dragoons. But above all, their trust was in the name of Him who had made the mountains that rose around them, and the open vault beneath which their communion table was spread and the memorials of their God's death set forth. There they sat down under His shadow, and his fruit was sweet unto their taste.

The spot chosen on the present occasion was finely adapted for the sacred service to be conducted in it. It was an amphitheatre of nature's own fashioning—a pleasant valley or haugh on the banks of the Whitader, the ground swelling in front and on either hand into goodly heights, and the slopes clothed with rich grass. The communion table was set on the level ground. The numerous assembly not only covered the bosom of the valley, but occupied the entire face of the green slopes that rose all round it, which displayed row on row of earnest and devout faces rising one above the other from base to summit. All present confessed that so goodly and solemn a sight they had never elsewhere beheld.

The solemnity lasted three days. The worshippers found accommodation for the night in three neighbouring country towns, paying punctually for their lodgings and the provisions supplied to themselves and their horses. Some of the yeomen in good condition refused to accept payment, and insisted on entertaining at their own expense both ministers and people. When the worship had ended for the day and the congregation was about to be dismissed, the horsemen formed in a body and stood drawn up till the ministers and worshippers had defiled

past them, and the little valley where they had worshipped was clear. Then they fell in and marched in the rear. When they came to the point where the multitude separated to go to their respective towns, the horsemen formed themselves into three bodies and accompanied each their own party to their place of abode for the night. They kept watch in empty barns and out-houses in case of a night surprise, and for greater security sent scouts into the country to give timely notice of the approach of danger.

When the morning came they returned in the same order of march to their place of assemblage as they had retired from it on the previous evening. Each little squadron of horse led forth its body of worshippers, and when all the separate divisions had come to the point of junction, which was within a mile of the valley where they had set up their altar, they formed into one company and marched forward in a body, and took their places in the fine green hollow which had been so suddenly converted into a church, and which had in their eyes a reverent beauty and grandeur far surpassing any that mystic rite or architectural grace can bestow on aisled cathedral. The congregation seated, their armed defenders took up their posts as before, the main body forming an immediate rampart round the people, a smaller division forming a more distant circle; while afar in the wilds sat the solitary horseman, ready to give the signal the moment the figure of trooper should be seen across the moor emerging above the horizon. The order, the seriousness, the calm immovable heroism of these assemblages, inspired by the consciousness of a holy cause, gave them an unspeakable sublimity. "I confess," says Blackadder in his *Memoirs*, "this new providential party of volunteers were more formidable from the spiritual majesty shining in the work, and their devout, grave, composed countenances, than from any outward ability, warlike provisions, or fierce looks."

This was no promiscuous crowd, composed of all sorts of characters who chose to gather round the standard of the Covenant. The leaders of the movement knew that their strength lay not in numbers, but in character. Nor was this communion table, though set up in the open wilds, free to all who chose to seat themselves at it. The outed ministers never forgot that this table, whether placed under gorgeous roof or the open firmament, was holy, and that none but the disciples of the Saviour could be worthy

communicants. Accordingly the usual "token," without which none might come to the table, was given to the people on the Saturday, just as in settled times, and none received this "pass" to the communion but such as were known to the ministers, or other officers present, to be persons of Christian deportment. Though cast out and placed beyond the pale of human law, and their blood sought as if they had been felons, they were nevertheless "a royal priesthood, a holy nation."

The morning rose calm and bright. The day that followed was serene throughout. There came no rain-cloud nor gusty wind to mar the order and stillness of their worship. The azure cloudless sky covered them all day long till the calm evening began to gather its shadows around them, as their worship was drawing to a close. The voice of the minister fell with silvery clearness upon the thousands of listening ears around him. Solemn was felt the prayer as it rose in the calm air from the lips of the minister, conveying upwards the desires and supplications of the vast multitude, of whom he was the mouth. But the psalm! it must have been listened to, as it rose in mighty volume and was pealed forth in grander and yet grander bursts of melody, and rolled away in majestic echoes over the silent region around, making the chance traveller, who caught its distant cadence but saw not whence it came, believe that it had been wafted to him from a higher sphere, and that he heard the music of that great company who have come out of "the great tribulation," rather than of those who were still in it—all this must have been heard to know how sublime and thrilling it was.

Mr. John Welsh preached the action sermon. This was the part ordinarily assigned to him on such occasions. His text was taken from Song ii. 10-12, "My Beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away. For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land." Scotland was then in the depth of its winter; and that winter was all the blacker that it had succeeded the fair and flourishing time of a *first* and *second* reformation, during which its skies had been so full of light and its earth so lovely with flowers. Now no stars but the baleful ones of tyranny were seen in its sky, and the sound of the gospel had been silenced in its

pulpits; but such gatherings as that now around him assured him that, brief as had been the summer which this dark winter had chased away, it had sufficed to permit the heavenly vine to strike its roots so deep in Scotland that neither the tempests of tyranny, nor the mephitic air of a returning superstition, would be able to destroy it. If the tyrant should ask the blood of its children he should have it, but that blood would be the seed of the church; the months of winter would run out, the spring would again open, the Scottish earth would again become molient and send forth its flowers, and its sky would again become balmy with the fragrance of the gospel. But the preacher did not content himself with this application of his text, as descriptive or prophetic of the future and happier times in store for his nation and church; he spoke to the existing circumstances of those before him, assembled at the peril of their lives to seek the bread of their souls, and he took care to distribute freely that bread. "He made a free and full offer of Christ to sinners, and addressed many sweet and endearing words to secure believers to awaken and encourage them to follow Christ." The sermon ended, there followed, amid the deep stillness of the multitude, the prayer of consecration; then the elements—those simple but majestic monuments which carry the mind back to the night of betrayal, and upwards to the Lamb in the midst of the throne—were uncovered; then the communicants, while the hymn was being sung, came forward and took their seats at the table. Then came another pause of deep solemn stillness, and Mr. Welsh was heard addressing the table. A yet deeper hush reigns amid these many thousands; the bread and the cup are being distributed to the communicants; and so with the second table, which Mr. Welsh also addressed. So with the fourteen tables that followed, and which were addressed by the other four ministers present in their turn, while the elements were carried round by gentlemen and persons eminent for their piety, who waited at table.

The ministers wore no robe or symbol of office, nor needed they any. "The priests of Zion," were that day "clothed with health," and they who listened to them had occasion to say, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of them that bring good tidings." Their "anointing was that of the Holy Ghost," and their word was "in demonstration of the Holy Spirit and in power." To the people it was a

day "of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Though met in this green hollow, it may be said "that the glory of the Lord filled the house;" and what is pillar and aisle and oriel, and gorgeous roof and stoled minster, if Christ is absent, but an empty fabric, a land of the shadow of death, a wilderness where no water is. Here was seen the princes of Israel, the choice sons of Scotland, digging with their staves, and singing, "Spring up, O well!" and the waters gushed out, even living waters, and the people drank and praised the name of the Lord. A day here was better than ten thousand of those which their royal persecutor was passing in the saloons of Whitehall. "The presence of the Lord Jesus was sensibly experienced, conveying the pardoning, peace-speaking, comforting influences of his blood to his people, and the glow of gladness which warmed the hearts of ministers and people was evident from the joy which lighted up their countenances. All seemed to feel like Jacob, who, on awakening out of his sleep, in which he had seen the visions of God as he lay on the cold earth with the stone for his pillow and the canopy of heaven for his covering, said, 'Surely the Lord is in this place; this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' When the solemn work of communicating was over, Welsh offered up a fervent prayer and thanksgiving, and then the vast congregation united in a song of praise, 'glorifying and praising God for all the things which they have heard and seen.' And well they might give praise; a table had been spread for them in the presence of their enemies; and they had seen One more majestic than kings, fairer than the sons of men, seated at it. That day had been made to them one of the days of heaven."

Simple indeed was the arrangement of the tables, and in no ways very different from what takes place in an ordinary church. Two parallel tables ran along the plane of the hollow, and were joined at the upper extremity by a cross one, at which stood the officiating minister with the bread and the cup before him. Seats were placed on both sides of the tables, which might accommodate at once two hundred persons, and the table services being sixteen in all, we may conclude that not fewer than three thousand two hundred communicated that day. The communion services ended, a hymn was sung, and a short interval took place.

In the afternoon the worship was resumed.

Mr. Dickson preached, taking for his text Gen. xxii. 14, "And Abraham called the name of that place Jehova Jireh, as it is said to this day. In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." Preaching with great fervour, Dickson brought his text to bear on the circumstances of those he addressed. The great duty which he urged upon his hearers was that of walking by faith. All who travelled the road to the heavenly country were called to walk by faith, but those who made the journey in days so dark as those in which they lived were called emphatically so to walk. *Faith*, not *sight*, could alone guide them safely. The cloud would descend upon them, its darkness might thicken and its perils multiply at every step; they were not, therefore, to stand still or turn out of the path, they were to go forward in faith, walking by the light of the Bible till they came to the mount of the Lord, and there they would be delivered. He appealed to their experience on the present occasion in proof of the sure fulfilment of the promise in his text. Had they not come hither with many perplexing thoughts; they knew not if ever they should go hence; their blood, for aught they could tell, might dye the sward on which their communion was celebrated. But the text had been made good in their experience: their enemies were all about, but an unseen arm had guarded their assembly—not an hair of their heads had fallen to the ground, the hours of their fellowship had passed in peace, and now they were about to depart in peace. In the mount of the Lord it had been seen.

Once more, before bidding adieu to a spot which must have lived all their days after as sacred ground in their memories, they assembled in their valley to listen to their beloved ministers, who might the next day be in the hands of their enemies and on their way to the scaffold. On this day, Monday, Mr. Dickson preached first, Mr. Archibald Riddell followed,


and Mr. Blackadder closed the work of these three days with a sermon on Isaiah liii. 10, "The pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand."

The same man who closed the services has left us, in his memoirs, his impression of this most impressive and solemn scene. Mr. Blackadder says:—"Though the people at first meeting were something apprehensive of hazard, yet from the time the work was entered upon till the close of it they were neither alarmed nor affrighted, but sat as composed, and the work was as orderly gone about, as if it had been in the days of the greatest peace and quiet; for there, indeed, was to be seen the goings of God, even the goings of their God and King in that sanctuary, which was encouraging to them and terrible to His and their enemies out of His holy place. His ordinance of preaching and administration of His last supper—that love token left for a memorial of Him till his coming again—was so signally countenanced, so backed with power and refreshing influences from heaven, that it might be said, 'Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary.' The table of the Lord was covered accordingly in the open fields in presence of the raging enemies. Many great days of the Son of Man have been seen in thee, O now how desolate Kirk of Scotland! ever since the last invasion of that monstrous Prelatic party, smiting shepherds and scattering the flocks at first; but few the like of this, either before or after, at least this manner, as it was at East Nisbet on these days. . . . James Learmont, before many thousands, in his last words on the scaffold, did confidently testify to the commendation of the glorious presence and powerful grace of Christ which he observed and which he found at these days at East Nisbet." *

Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS AND THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

N a brief sketch like the present all that we can attempt is to convey a general idea of the condition of the nation and church of Scotland, and the grosser acts of that tyranny under which

both were at this moment groaning. For details respecting the individual sufferers we must refer our readers to the body of the work. With simple and graphic fidelity Howie has portrayed the lives and deaths of those men to

whom it is mainly owing that we are living at this hour under a constitutional government, and in the profession of a scriptural faith. We must essay, in closing, to group the general features of the persecution, which was every day growing more severe, but which as yet gave no sign of coming to an end, unless indeed its now intolerable rigour could be regarded as a symptom that it was about to exhaust itself with its own violence.

We closed our previous chapter with a description of the field conventicle. These

gatherings were the object, not of hatred only, but of terror to the government. And with just reason. It was at these field preachings that the nation's heart was fed and its strength recruited. These assemblies of devout worshippers, bending before the God of heaven, were more terrible to the government than thousands of armed men would have been marshalled in battle array. Force the government could overcome by force, but against men who armed themselves with prayers and patience, who were ready to go from the conventicle to



MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

the Grassmarket, with what weapons could they successfully fight? For every one whom they sent to the scaffold there were a dozen ready to step forward and maintain their cause. The government could see no end to the movement while the field preachings were kept up, and therefore, whetting the sword of persecution anew, they turned its edge specially against what it denominated the "armed conventicle."

Let us pause to contemplate the condition of Scotland about the year 1676. The Privy Council was found too large for the quick despatch of such work as it had in hand. A smaller court, termed the "Committee of

Affairs," was formed, to give speed and certainty to the execution of the bloody laws which had replaced the ancient statutes of the kingdom. Sharp, like vulture perched on his eyrie and watching the prey, might often be seen presiding over that court, and around him were men who were true yoke-fellows of the red primate, for never were their hands slack when blood was to be shed. New and severer laws were promulgated against the Presbyterians. Attendance on sermon in the open air was to be punished with fine, imprisonment, confiscation of goods, or transportation to Barbadoes, there to undergo the doom of a slave. If a servant

attended a conventicle his master was instantly to dismiss him, however exemplary in other respects he might be, and however serviceable or necessary to his master. Landlords were required to watch the conduct of their tenants, and to make them subscribe a bond promising not to attend a field preaching. If the tenant refused so to subscribe the landlord was to eject him from his farm, and appropriate his property and goods for his trouble. Magistrates were made answerable for the conduct of the lieges. No conventicle or house preaching was to be held in city or burgh. For every day

that one was absent from the parish church one was liable to a fine. If one was found at a conventicle, or seen repairing to one, he might be seized by any one who was able to capture him, and the person who did so was rewarded with the fine imposed on the delinquent, or the forfeiture of his goods, if such was inflicted. If an outed minister preached to his flock the penalty was death. To execute these most iniquitous laws it was found necessary to increase the army; this in its turn necessitated a tax termed the "cess;" and thus was the nation compelled to provide the miscreants



ESCAPE FROM DRUMCLOG.

which the government employed to spoil and massacre it. Borrowing a leaf from the Church of Rome, by which the man against whom sentence of excommunication has been launched is cut off from all human society and from all sympathy and succour, *letters of intercommuning* were issued by the government against the more eminent Presbyterians, forbidding the least intercourse with them. All men were forbidden to "furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, or any other thing useful or comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way." This was enjoined under

heavy penalties. Such was the atrocious regimen styled government! Such was the gulf of oppression and suffering in which Scotland lay sunk!

The violence of Sharp provoked at last a terrible retaliation. The primate of St. Andrews was slaughtered on Magus Moor. Under the righteous Power that governs the universe criminals like this man are certain to be overtaken in the end by a greater vengeance than any that man can inflict, and to that Power such ought ever to be left. This truth was forgotten in the irritation and impatience produced by the ever-recurring tyrannies and

murders of the times, of which Sharp was accounted the main instigator. But assassination never aids the cause in which it is committed. We know of no Presbyterian who justified the act, yet it became the occasion of greatly increased sufferings to the Presbyterian body.

The primate was gone, but the evil he did lived after him; for the edict he had drafted only a few days before his death, ratified by the king, was added to the already long list of cruel and oppressive statutes under which the country groaned. That edict empowered judges, officers, and even sergents, to put to instant death as traitors all whom they found going with arms to field meetings. After this field meetings, if held at all, could be held only in thousands. The assembly must be a camp as well as a congregation, and its members must come prepared not only to worship, but, if need were, to fight. In short, the field preaching now developed into the "armed conventicle," and thus were the Covenanters forced by the government into a state of incipient war.

Claverhouse and his dragoons now appear on the scene. It is Sabbath morning, the 1st of June, 1679. The Covenanters have met for worship in Avondale, about a mile to the east of Loudon Hill. Mr. Douglas is just beginning his sermon when the out-post fires his signal gun. On the instant the armed men step out from the worshippers, and prepare to receive the approaching enemy. They were fifty horse, fifty footmen with muskets, and an hundred and fifty armed with halberds, forks, and similar weapons. It was Claverhouse and his men whom they were to encounter. They met at the morass of Drumclog. The first mutual volley left the Covenanters untouched, but emptied not a few saddles in Claverhouse's cavalry. Both sides now plunged into the swamp and grappled hand to hand. The enthusiastic valour of the Covenanters bore down the enemy. The dragoons were thrown into confusion. Claverhouse fled, leaving on the field forty dead, and a considerable number wounded. The Covenanters had one killed and five mortally wounded.

The Presbyterians had conquered by their heroism, not by their numbers. The lesson read to them by the event was to keep united in heart, to maintain the spirit of devotion which alone could feed the fire of their valour, and in the exercise of a believing trust to leave the issue

with the God of battles. Numbers were now flocking to their standard from all quarters, most of these well armed, and many of them gentlemen of family. The nation was with them in the main. Their heroism made them equal to any odds: the government had no forces in Scotland capable of opposing them, but unhappily they were not united. The Covenanters at this hour were split up by miserable controversies which grew out of the Indulgence. The question which divided them in sentiment was not whether the Indulgence in itself was sinful. All agreed that it was so. The question was whether those who had accepted the Indulgence were to be permitted to assert their civil and religious rights in arms along with their brethren. The conclusion arrived at by those who had refused the Indulgence was that they ought not to be suffered to do so. The Covenanters, moreover, laboured at this hour under the disadvantage of having amongst them no master mind. The leadership of their forces had fallen into the hands of Sir Robert Hamilton, a young man who, according to all accounts, was pious and well-meaning, but lacked military capacity, and had what was not a less grave disqualification for such a post at such a crisis, a narrow judgment and a bitter spirit. Under these fatal conditions, a few weeks afterwards Bothwell Bridge was fought and lost.

After Bothwell the times became dark indeed. The Covenanters smitten down on that field, the government redoubled its severity, in the hope of effecting their utter extermination before they should have time to rally. In their flight from the scene of action great numbers were cut down: about twelve hundred surrendered on the field. These were brought to Edinburgh; and the cells being filled to overflowing, the prisoners were penned, as if they had been wild beasts, in Greyfriars' churchyard, where they remained from the beginning of July to the end of November, exposed to wind and weather without the least shelter. They suffered, besides, from scanty food, insufficient clothing, and the misery of sleeping night after night on the bare earth. Those of them that survived were taken to Leith, and embarked for the slave region of Barbadoes. About two hundred and fifty were crowded into the hold of the ship, where there was scarce room for a hundred. The heat, thirst, and other horrors of this floating dungeon were dreadful. Over-taken by a terrible tempest off the coast of Orkney, the ship was dashed upon the rocks,

and most of the prisoners were drowned. Those that escaped the waves were carried to the Western plantations and sold as slaves. These days were styled "the killing times." They truly were so. Claverhouse and his dragoons were continually on the prowl, shooting down in the fields and on the high roads every one whom they suspected to be a Presbyterian, and massacring wholesale the conventicles they surprised in the depths of the hills. Nor was the gallows idle. Some of the noblest in rank, the most gifted in intellect, and the most accomplished in statesmanship of which Scotland could then boast, perished barbarously on the scaffold. Pious matrons, and sweet and pure maidens, were drowned on our sea coasts. In the midst of these awful crimes the heartless voluptuary and cruel tyrant, Charles II., was suddenly summoned to his account (1685). He was succeeded by one who was less the voluptuary, but as much the tyrant, and even more the man of craft—James VII. of Scotland and II. of England. Charles was a papist at heart, James was an open and avowed papist. He issued an edict of toleration, with the design of opening the widest possible door for the entrance of Popery, by repealing all the laws which barred its way to establishment in the three kingdoms. It was an unavoidable concomitant of such an edict that the consciences of nonconformists should meanwhile enjoy relief, but it was an equally unavoidable concomitant of it that they should return under the old coercion whenever the end of the edict had been gained. James' toleration was issued in the interests not of liberty, but of tyranny. Nevertheless, a vast majority of the outed ministers accepted of it, and resumed the discharge of their functions.

The close of the persecution was signalised by two distinguished deaths. The roll of Scottish martyrs, now a long one, and comprehending all ranks and conditions of persons, from the peer to the peasant, had been opened by Argyle and Guthrie, and now it was to be closed by Argyle and Renwick. Surely it was meet before that scaffold was taken down on which the marquis of Argyle had been the first to die, and on which so much of the piety, the patriotism, and the worth of Scotland had, since that day, been sacrificed, that the son of the proto-martyr should come forward and set the final seal to the men who had preceded him, and the cause for which they suffered, by joining

his blood to theirs. He had an hereditary right, so to speak, to close this illustrious roll. The sweet deep sleep into which he fell about an hour before his execution has become historic. It was God's testimony to him in the presence of his enemies. He withdrew him into a pavilion, and made him enjoy "quiet sleep" as a prelude of that everlasting rest to which he was about to ascend. Equally historic are his last words on the scaffold, "I die with a heart hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatever." Having so spoken he laid his head on the block, and took his departure.



GREYFRIARS CHURCHYARD.

Yet one other martyr—James Renwick. His youth, his eloquence, and his heroism have made his name and story famous. Of all the Presbyterians Renwick alone, and those who adhered to him, continued to worship in the fields. The other Covenanters had seen it their duty to take advantage of the liberty accorded them by the king's insidious toleration. Renwick indeed denied the authority of the king altogether, rather on scriptural grounds, however, than on those broad political reasons which led the nations a few months afterwards to the same conclusion. On his trial he boldly announced his principles, and neither threat nor promise

could make him swerve from them. On the scaffold he displayed the same intrepidity, mingled with a sweetness, a serenity, an elevation of soul, and a fervour of devotion that well became one who was to close the list of martyrdoms. "Lord," he said, in his last prayer, "I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses to be the seed of the church, and wilt return again, and be glorious in this land." The drums beat all the time he was upon the scaffold. Once there came a pause in the noise,



PRINCE OF ORANGE.

and then the martyr was heard to say, or rather to sing, "I shall soon be above these clouds—I shall soon be above these clouds; then shall I enjoy Thee and glorify Thee, O my Father, without interruption, and without intermission for ever."

The death song of the martyr was the morning hymn of Scotland; for hardly had its last notes ceased to thrill the heavens when the dawn of deliverance broke.

Scotland now began to raise the question, Has not the house of Stuart forfeited its right to the throne? The king, it was argued, has

abolished the religion of the nation, he has overturned the civil constitution of the country, he has broken every pledge and trampled on every right, and for law he has substituted violence and crying oppression: what right has he to a crown, not one of the obligations of which he fulfils? What obedience do we owe to one who discharges no duty to us? Not many months elapsed till the three nations put the same question, and gave their answer to it in the Revolution. In 1688 the tyrant fled, and the deliverer, in the person of William of Orange, ascended the throne. Thus, at the supreme moment, when all seemed lost and the friends of the gospel and of liberty had begun to despair, the contendings and sufferings of the Covenanted Presbyterians were gloriously crowned with victory.

And to see how grand their struggle, we must think both of what the Covenanters contended *against* and what they contended *for*. That which they opposed was Popery and arbitrary power, and that for which they fought was Protestant truth and constitutional government. Martyr after martyr fell, and it seemed as if their cause was falling with them. But no; although men saw it not at first, the tide was stemmed, was turned, was rolled backwards, and yet farther backwards with every head that fell on the scaffold, till at last the change which had been long in progress was consummated and openly proclaimed in the Revolution, when Presbytery was restored to the church and a free Parliament to the nation.

And as the victory which was won by our forefathers' blood was not limited to one country, so it has not been confined to one age. The principles of Protestant truth and constitutional government have ever since, with some occasional retrogressions, been making steady progress. They have rooted themselves in the world's opinion, and are year by year extending their sway over a wider area. We see them flourishing in the colonies of our vast empire. We see nations of continental Europe framing their ecclesiastical and political constitutions upon them: we see them installed in Rome itself; and the day is not far distant when regions wider still and nations more remote will embrace them, and place their civil and religious liberties under their ægis. It is a world wide triumph that awaits the principles for which our forefathers died. Verily their blood was not shed in vain.

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THE

SCOTS WORTHIES.

PATRICK HAMILTON.

PATRICK HAMILTON was born about the year of our Lord 1503, and was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother; he was also related to King James V. of Scotland.* He was early educated with a design for future high preferment, and had the abbacy of Ferne, in Ross-shire, given him for the purpose of prosecuting his studies, which he did with great assiduity.

In order to complete this laudable design, he resolved to travel into Germany. The fame of the university of Wittenberg was then very great, and drew many to it from distant places, among whom our Hamilton was one.

* Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation, was the second son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel and Stonehouse, by his spouse, Catharine Stewart, daughter of Alexander, duke of Albany, second son of King James II. Sir Patrick's father, who was James, second Lord Hamilton, married the Princess Mary, widow of Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, sister of King James III. The

He was the first who introduced public disputations upon faith and works, and such theological questions, into the university of Marburg, in which he was assisted by Francis Lambert, by whose conversation he profited not a little. Here he became acquainted with those eminent reformers, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, besides other learned men of their society. By these distinguished masters he was instructed in the knowledge of the true religion, which he had little opportunity to become acquainted with in his own country, because the small remains of it in Scotland at this time were under the yoke of oppression. He made an amazing proficiency in this most im-

fruit of that marriage was James, third Lord Hamilton and earl of Arran, the father of James, earl of Arran, who after the death of King James V., in 1542, was appointed guardian of the infant Queen Mary and governor of Scotland; and who, by an Act of the three estates of Parliament, was declared to be next heir to the Scottish crown, failing issue of Queen Mary.

portant study, and became soon 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 of returning to his own country, and there, in the face of all dangers, of communicating the light which he had received. Accordingly, being as yet a youth, and not much past twenty-three years of age, he began sowing the seed of God's word wherever he 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, unto whom he readily "shewed the way of God more perfectly." His reputation as a scholar, and his courteous demeanour, contributed not a little to his usefulness in the good work.

The city of St. Andrews was

* Hamilton, though an abbot, never assumed the monastic habit; and to demonstrate still more emphatically that he had abandoned the church of Rome, which in violation equally of the law of nature and of Scripture, imposed upon its clergy the yoke of celibacy, he "married a young lady of noble rank shortly before his death"—a fact in his history for which we are indebted to a contemporary re-

at this time the grand rendezvous of the Romish clergy, and might with no impropriety be called the metropolis of the kingdom of darkness. James Beaton was archbishop, Hugh Spence dean of divinity, John Waddel rector, James Simson official, Thomas Ramsay canon and dean of the abbey, with the several superiors of the different orders of monks and friars. It could not be expected that Patrick Hamilton's conduct would be long concealed from such a body as this. Their resentment against him soon rose to the utmost height of persecuting rage; the archbishop particularly, 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 Patrick Hamilton, until he had drawn him into the ambush prepared for him, which he effected by prevailing on him to attend a conference at St. Andrews.

Being come thither, Alexander Campbell prior of the Black

former, Alexander Alesius. By this lady he had a daughter Isobel, who when growing up to womanhood was an attendant, in 1543, at the court of her relative, Regent Arran, and whose name repeatedly appears in the accounts of the lord treasurer in connexion with certain articles of dress, which were provided for her at the expense of the government.—*Dr. Lorimer's Life of Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 123, 124, 160.

Friars, who had been appointed to exert his faculties in reclaiming Patrick Hamilton, had several private interviews with him, in which he seemed to acknowledge the force of his objections against the prevailing conduct of the clergy, and the errors of the Romish church. Such persuasions as Campbell used to bring him back to Popery, had rather the tendency to confirm him in the truth. The archbishop and inferior clergy appeared to make concessions, allowing that many things stood in need of reformation, which they could wish had been brought about. Whether they were sincere in these acknowledgments, or only intended to conceal their bloody designs, and 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 Patrick Hamilton spoke truth would, perhaps, have warded off the blow for at least some longer time, or would have divided their councils and measures against him. That neither of these was the case will now appear.

Patrick Hamilton was apprehended under night, and committed prisoner to the castle; and at the same time the young

king, James V., at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, was prevailed upon to undertake a pilgrimage to St. Duthach in Ross-shire, that he might be out of the way of any applications that might be made to him for 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 some time, they had from the beginning resolved on his ruin; but such instances of popish dissembling were not new even in Patrick Hamilton's time.

The next day after his imprisonment, he was brought before the archbishop and his convention, and there charged with maintaining and propagating sundry heretical opinions; and though articles of the utmost importance had been debated betwixt him and them, they restricted their charges 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 Spottiswoode, afterwards archbishop of that see, assigns the follow-

ing as grounds for his sufferings: 1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the mere power of his free will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth. 4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a man good, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works; yet the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all. 8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man; and grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin. These articles make up the whole charge along with the following: (1.) That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. (2.) That actual penance cannot purchase the remission of sin. (3.) That there is no purgatory, and that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion. (4.) That the Pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as he.

For holding 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, the bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblane, and fourteen underlings, who all set their hands to the sentence; which, that it might have the greater authority, was likewise subscribed by every person of note in the university, among whom the earl of Cassillis was one, then not exceeding thirteen years of age. The sentence follows as given by Mr. Foxe in his "Acts and Monuments," vol. ii. folio edition, 1661, p. 227:—

"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 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 passed, we have found the same Patrick 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, we decerning before him, to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts, forth of the realm, suspected and noted for heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence 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; all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians do know that

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

“ All these premises being considered, we, having the fear of 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 being, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the foresaid heresies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities), to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and punish, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to

be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices, of the church: and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

“This our sentence definitive, was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, this 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, James bishop of Dunblane, Patrick prior of St. Andrews, David abbot of Aberbrothwick (afterwards Cardinal Beaton), George abbot of Dunfermline, Alexander abbot of Cambuskenneth, Henry abbot of Lindores, John prior of Pittenweeme, the dean and subdean of Glasgow, Mr. Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramsay, Allan Meldrum, etc. In presence of the clergy and people.”

TESTIMONY OF PATRICK HAMILTON.

On the afternoon of that same day (for they were afraid of an application to the king on his behalf) he was hurried to the stake immediately after dinner; the fires being prepared before the old college.

Being come to the place of martyrdom, he put off his clothes and gave them to a

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

Thus died this noble martyr of Jesus on the last day of February, 1527, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. His death excited very considerable interest, and was overruled by the Sovereign Disposer of all events in greatly promoting the interests of the Reformation. Says Pinkerton: “The flames in which he expired were in the course of one generation to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume with avenging



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

fury the Catholic superstition, the papal power, and the prelacy itself.”*

Friar Campbell soon after became distracted, and died within a year after 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

* Such has often been the result of the shedding of the blood of martyrs by the overruling providence of the Head of the church, in whose sight their blood is precious. The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton and others gave such an impulse to the minds of men in the new direction in which their ideas had begun to flow, that John Lindsay, servant to Archbishop Beaton, said wittily to his lordship:—“Yf ye burne any mo except ye follow my counsall, ye will utterlie destroy yourselves. Yf ye will burne thame, let thame be brunt in how sellarris, for the reik of Maister Patrik Hammyltoun hes infected as many as it blew upoun.” The cruel deaths of the Scottish martyrs of a later period, of the Guthries and Argylls, who in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII. suffered in reality in the same cause though under a different form, contributed in like manner to advance the truths of Christ—and these involved the religious and civil liberties of our country—which it was the determined purpose of their persecutors to crush, if violence could crush them.

“They never fail who die
In a great cause: their gore may soak the block,
Their heads may sodden in the sun, their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls—
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
E lapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to freedom.”—*Byron’s Marino Faliero.*

† At the tragedy of Hamilton’s death the doctors of the university of Louvaine were exultant with joy. In a letter to the archbishop of St. Andrews and doctors of

served the cause of reformation than retarded it; especially when the people began deliberately to compare the behaviour of Patrick Hamilton and Friar Campbell, they were induced to inquire more narrowly into the truth than before. The reader will find a very particular account of the doctrines maintained by Hamilton in Knox’s “History of the Reformation in Scotland,” nigh the beginning.

Scotland, dated 21st April, 1528, they thank them for the service they had rendered to the church by the execution of “the wicked hereticke Patrike Hamelton;” and congratulate the university of St. Andrews upon the enviable distinction which it had acquired by this demonstration of Catholic zeal; nor do they doubt that an example so praiseworthy would find ready and energetic imitators in other countries. “In the meantime,” they add, “let us labour with one consent, that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. . . . Let us have inquisitors and espies of books containing that doctrine, especially that is brought in from far countries, whether by apostate monks or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days.”—*Knox’s History*, Mr. Laing’s edition, vol. i. pp. 512, 513.

The reformers of Marburg, on the contrary, heard of the fate of the Scottish youth, who had distinguished himself within the walls of their university, with feelings of the profoundest grief, mingled with not less profound admiration of the holy heroism with which, when his life had been offered him as the reward of recantation, he at once rejected the tempting bribe. Francis Lambert, in the dedication of his work on the Apocalypse to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, thus writes:—“He came to your university out of Scotland, that remote corner of the world; and he returned to his country again, to become its first and now illustrious apostle. He was all on fire with zeal to confess the name of Christ, and he has offered himself to God as a holy living sacrifice. He brought into the church of God, not only all the splendour of his station and gifts, but his life itself.”

GEORGE WISHART.

THIS gentleman was a brother of the laird of Pittarrow,* in the

* George Wishart was apparently a younger son of John Wishart of Pittarrow, and brother of James Wishart of Pittarrow, who held the

county of Mearns, and was educated at the university of Cam-

office of clerk of justiciary and king’s advocate, and who died towards the end of the year 1524. (*Knox’s Works*, vol. vi. p. 668.) The original

bridge,* where his diligence and progress in useful learning soon made him to be respected. From an ardent desire to promote the truth in his own country, he returned to it in the summer of 1544, and began teaching a school in the town of Montrose, which he kept for some time with great applause.† He was particularly

name of Wishart was "Guiscard," a name common in France, from which country the family of Pittarrow originally came. (*The Ragman Rolls in Nisbet's Heraldry*, p. 26.) Assuming Wishart to have been thirty years of age at his martyrdom, he was born about the year 1516.

* Wishart was probably first educated at King's College, Aberdeen, the only university in Scotland where, at that time, he could have acquired a knowledge of the Greek language. This he certainly had done before he became a student at Cambridge, which was subsequent to his having opened a school at Montrose, about the year 1538, in which he taught Greek; the first Greek grammar school in Scotland.

† A few facts illustrative of Wishart's history at an early period of his life, omitted by Howie, may be of interest. To teach Greek, and particularly the Greek New Testament, which Wishart did in his school at Montrose, was then regarded as a heresy deserving the severest anathemas of the church and the heaviest punishment which the secular power could inflict. In 1538 Wishart was summoned by John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, to answer to this charge of heretical pravity. He prudently sought safety in flight. In the following year we find him in Bristol, which was then in the diocese of Worcester, of which Latimer was bishop, occupied as a lecturer and preacher in some of the churches of that city, having, no doubt, been recommended and patronized by that reformer. Whilst thus engaged, his knowledge of the truth, though he had discovered the errors of Popery, being as yet immature, he was publicly accused by the dean of the diocese of teaching the "blasphemous heresy," "that

celebrated for his uncommon eloquence and agreeable manner of communication. The sequel of this narrative will inform the reader that he possessed the spirit of prophecy to an extraordinary degree, and was at the same time humble, modest, charitable, and patient, even to admiration. One of his own scholars gives

Christ neither had nor could merit for him nor yet for us." Having been tried before Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops and doctors, he was convicted of teaching that heresy, and was sentenced to bear a faggot in St. Nicholas Church of Bristol and the parish thereof on 13th July, and in Christ Church and parish thereof on 20th July; a penance to which he submitted.

Leaving England in 1540, he went to Switzerland, where, by intercourse with the divines of the Swiss cantons, and by studying the Helvetic Confession of Faith, which he so much admired that he translated it into his vernacular tongue, he attained a fuller and more correct knowledge of divine truth. Having returned to England, probably late in the year 1541, he went to Cambridge, and took up his residence in Corpus Christi or Bennett College, where he met with many students of a kindred spirit, and where he taught as well as studied. One of his pupils, Emery Tylney, who regarded him with the deepest veneration and affection, contributed many years after to Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" an account of Wishart's person, character, and habits.

Wishart returned to Scotland in July, 1543, with the Scottish commissioners who had been in London negotiating a marriage between Prince Edward of England and Mary Queen of Scots; a treaty which promised to produce a lasting peace between England and Scotland, and greatly to promote the cause of the Reformation in the latter kingdom. (*Dr. Lorimer's Scottish Reformation*, pp. 91-99). Not long after his arrival in Scotland Wishart appeared preaching in Dundee, as Howie narrates in the next paragraph.



CHARLES DE BOURBON

the following picture of him: "He was a man of a 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, and white bands and hand-cuffs. He frequently gave away several parts of his apparel to the poor. In his diet he was very moderate, eating only twice a-day, and fasting every fourth day; his lodgings, bedding, and such other circumstances, were correspondent to the things already mentioned." But as these particulars are rather curious than instructive, we shall say no more of them.

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

From the time that Mr. Patrick Hamilton suffered until this period, papal tyranny reigned by fire and fagot without control. In the year 1539 Cardinal David Beaton succeeded his uncle in the see of St. Andrews, and carefully trod the path his uncle had marked out. To show his own greatness, and to recommend himself to his superior at Rome, he accused Sir John Borthwick of heresy, whose goods were confiscated, and himself burnt in effigy: for, being forewarned of his danger, he had escaped out of the country. After this he suborned a priest to forge a will of King James V., who died about this time, declaring himself, with the earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Moray, to be regents of the kingdom. The cheat being discovered, the earl of Arran was elected governor, and the cardinal was committed prisoner to the castle of Dalkeith; but he soon found means to escape from his confinement, and prevailed with the regent to break all his promises to the party who had elected him to that office, and to join with him in imbruing his hands in the blood of the saints. Accordingly, several professors of the reformed religion in the town of Perth were arraigned, con-

demned, hanged, and drowned, others were sent into banishment, and some were strangled in private. We have departed thus far from the course of our narrative to show the reader, that the vacancies betwixt the respective lives in this collection were as remarkable for persecution as the particular instances which are here set before him.

It was this cardinal who, incensed at Mr. Wishart's success in Dundee, prevailed with Robert Mill (formerly a professor of the truth, and who had been a sufferer on that account, but who was now a man of considerable influence in Dundee) to give Mr. Wishart a charge, in the queen's and governor's name, to trouble them no more with his preaching in that place. This commission was executed by Mill one day in public, just as Mr. 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, 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 for 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 Marischal, 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 for the west country, gladly received by many.

Being come to the town of Ayr, he began to preach the gospel with great freedom and faithfulness. But Dunbar, 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, and 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 the town. They offered to put Mr. Wishart into the church, but he would not consent, saying, "The bishop's sermon would not do much hurt, and that, if they pleased, he would go to the market-cross," which he did, and preached with such success that several of his hearers, formerly enemies to the truth, were converted on that occasion. During the time Mr. Wishart was thus employed, the archbishop was haranguing some of his underlings and parasites in the church; having no sermon to give them, he promised to be better provided against a future occasion, and speedily left the town.

Mr. Wishart continued with the gentlemen of Kyle after the archbishop's departure, and being desired to preach next Lord's day in the church of Mauchline, he went thither with that design;

* Hugh Campbell of Kinzeanleuch was a younger son of Sir George Campbell of Loudoun. His ancestors were associated with a considerable number of the first families in the West of Scotland, known as the disciples of John Wickliffe, and generally called "the Lollards of Kyle," who made their appearance in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and gradually increased in number; a body of men and women to whose memory it would be unjust not to pay

but the sheriff of Ayr had in the night-time put a garrison of soldiers in the church to keep him out. Hugh Campbell of Kinzeanleuch,* and others of the parish, were exceedingly offended at such impiety, and would have entered the church by force; but Mr. 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 oftener in the desert and upon the seaside than in the temple of Jerusalem." Upon this the people were appeased, and went with him to the edge of a moor on the southwest side of Mauchline; where, having placed himself upon a ditch-dyke, he preached to a great multitude who resorted to him. He continued speaking for more than three hours, God working wondrously by him, insomuch that Laurence Rankin,

a grateful tribute, and who, though not honoured by Providence to achieve a deliverance, yet contributed much, as did Patrick Hamilton, Wishart, and others by their teaching and martyrdom, to prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of the Reformation in Scotland. Following the example of his ancestors, Hugh Campbell of Kinzeanleuch fervently embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and hospitably entertained at his residence at Kinzeanleuch its disciples and preachers.

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. While in this country, Mr. Wishart often preached with most remarkable success at the church of Galston and other places. At this time and in this part of the country, it might be truly said that "the harvest was great, but the labourers were few."

After he had been about a month thus employed in Kyle, he was informed that the plague had broken 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 every day. This affected him so much that he resolved to return unto them. Accordingly, he took leave of his friends in the west, who were filled with sorrow at his departure. The next day after his arrival at Dundee he caused intimation to be made that he would preach; and for that purpose chose his station upon the head of the Eastgate, the infected persons standing without, and those that were whole within. His text was Psalm cvii. 20: "He sent his word, and healed

them, and delivered them from their destructions." 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, which he complied with, preaching often, and taking care that the poor should not want necessaries more than the rich; in doing which he exposed himself to the infection, even where it was most malignant, without reserve.

During all this time his sworn adversary, the cardinal, had his eye upon him, and bribed a priest called Sir John Wightman 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 Mr. Wishart's approach he looked sternly upon the priest, asking him what he intended to do; and instantly clapped his hand upon the hand of the priest that held the dagger, and took it from him. Upon this, the priest having openly confessed his design, a tumult immediately ensued, and the sick without the gate rushed

in, crying to have the assassin delivered to them; but Wishart interposed, and defended him from their violence, telling them that he had done him no harm, and that such as injured the one injured the other likewise. So the priest escaped without harm.

The plague being now considerably abated, Wishart determined to pay a visit to the town of Montrose, intending to go from thence to Edinburgh to meet the gentlemen of the West. While he was at Montrose he administered the sacrament of our Lord's supper in both elements, and preached with success. Here he received a letter directed to him from his intimate friend the laird of Kinnear, 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 when all of a sudden he stopped, saying to the company, "I am forbidden by God to go this journey. Will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger to a little hill), and see what you find, for I apprehend there is a plot

against my life;" whereupon he returned to the town, and they who went forward to the place found about sixty horsemen ready to intercept him. By this the whole plot came to light; they found that the letter had been forged; and upon their telling Mr. Wishart what they had seen, he replied, "I know that I shall end my life by the hands of that wicked man (meaning the cardinal), but it will not be after this manner."

The time he had appointed for meeting the West-country gentlemen at Edinburgh drawing near, he undertook that journey, much against the inclination and advice of John Erskine, laird of Dun. The first night after leaving Montrose he lodged at Invergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with James Watson, a faithful friend; where being laid in bed, he was observed to rise a little after midnight, and to go out into an adjacent garden, that he might give vent to his sighs and groans without being observed; but being followed by two men, William Spalding and John Watson, at a distance, in order that they might observe his motions, they saw him prostrate himself upon the ground, weeping and making supplication for nearly an hour, and then re-

turn to his rest. As they lay in the same apartment with him, they took care to return before him; and upon his coming into the room they asked him, as if ignorant of all that had passed, where he had been. But he made no answer, and they ceased their interrogations. In the morning they asked him again why he rose in the night, and what was the cause of such sorrow (for they told him all that they had seen him do), when he answered with a dejected countenance, "I wish you had been in your beds, which had been more for your ease, for I was scarcely well occupied." But they praying him to satisfy their minds further, and communicate some comfort unto them, 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 waxeth most hot." Hearing these words they burst into tears, saying, "that was but small comfort to them." He replied, "God will send you comfort after me; this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm ever was since the days of the apostles; the house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemies shall devise to the contrary) the

very copestone; 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."

After this prediction, which was accomplished in such a remarkable manner afterwards, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived at Leith about the 10th of December, where, being disappointed of a meeting with the West country gentlemen, he kept himself retired for some days, and then, 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 him," which he did upon the parable of the sower (Matt. 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 after noon, to a crowded audience, among whom was Sir George Douglas, who after the sermon publicly said, "I know that the governor and cardinal shall hear that I have been at this 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;" which open and candid declaration was very grateful to the whole congregation. During the time of this sermon, Wishart perceived two grey friars standing in the entry of the church, and whispering to every person that entered the door. He called out to the people to make room for them, because, said he, "perhaps they come to learn;" and then addressed them, requesting them to come forward and hear the word of truth. When 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; and in all his sermons after leaving Montrose, he more or less hinted that his ministry was near an end. The next place he preached at was Haddington, where his congregation was at first very large, but the following day very few attended him, which was thought to be owing to the influence of the earl of Bothwell, who at the instigation of the cardinal had inhibited the people from attending; for his authority was very considerable in that part of the country. 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 John

Knox, who then attended him, and told him that he was weary of the world, since he perceived that men were become weary of God. Notwithstanding the anxiety and discouragement which he laboured under, he went immediately to the pulpit, and sharply rebuking the people for their neglect of the gospel, he warned them, "that sore and fearful would 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." * This prediction was soon after verified, when the English took and possessed the town, and while the French and Scots besieged it 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 acquaintances farewell, as if it had been for ever. He went to Ormiston,

* Observing that the audience was small in the church of Haddington, Wishart, instead of proceeding, as he intended, to expound the second table of the Decalogue, thus commenced:—"O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at a vain Clerk play two or three thousand people; and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all thy town and parish cannot be numbered a hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue this thy contempt;" and in the

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

Being come to Ormiston, he entered into some spiritual conversation in the family, particularly concerning the happy state of God's children; appointed the 51st psalm, according to an old version then in use, to be sung; and then recommended the company to God, going to bed some time sooner than ordinary. About midnight the earl of Bothwell beset the house, so as none could escape, and then called upon the laird, declaring the design to him, and entreating him not to hold out, for it would be to no purpose, because the cardinal and governor were coming with all their train; but if he would deliver Mr. Wishart up, Bothwell

same strain he proceeded for nearly an hour and a half. He then gave a short exposition of the second table of the law. (*Knox's Works*, vol. i. p. 138). The Clerk plays to which Wishart refers are those dramatic representations founded on some passage of scripture, usually called Mysteries, which were performed by the clergy in the churches on the occasion of the festivals of the church. They continued to be performed for many years after the Reformation in 1560, notwithstanding the acts of successive General Assemblies for their suppression.

promised upon his honour that no evil should befall him. Being inveigled with this, and consulting with Mr. Wishart, who requested that the gates should be opened, saying, "God's will be done," the laird complied. The earl of Bothwell entered with some gentlemen, who solemnly protested that Mr. Wishart should receive no harm, but that he would either carry him to his own house, or return him again to Ormiston in safety. Upon this promise hands were stricken, and Mr. Wishart went along with him to Elphinstone, where the cardinal was; after which he was first carried to Edinburgh, then to the house of Hailes, the earl of Bothwell's principal residence in East Lothian—perhaps upon pretence of fulfilling the engagement which Bothwell had come under to him—after which he was reconducted to Edinburgh, where the cardinal had now assembled a convocation of prelates for reforming some abuses, but without effect. Buchanan says that he was apprehended by a party of horse, detached by the cardinal for that purpose; that at first the laird of Ormiston refused to deliver him up; upon which the cardinal and regent both posted thither, but could not prevail until the earl of Both-

well was sent for, who succeeded by flattery and fair promises, not one of which was fulfilled.

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

Wishart being now in St. An-

draws, the cardinal without delay summoned the bishops and superior clergy to meet at that place on the 27th of February, 1546, to deliberate upon a question about which he was already resolved. The next day after this convocation, Mr. Wishart received a summons in prison, by the dean of the town, to answer on the morrow for his heretical doctrine before the judges. The next day the cardinal went to the place of judgment in the Abbey church, with a train of armed men, marching in warlike order; immediately Mr. Wishart was sent for from the sea-tower, which was his prison, and being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man asked alms of him, to whom he threw his purse.

When he came before the cardinal, John Winram, the sub-prior, went up into the pulpit by appointment, and made a discourse upon the nature of heresy from Matthew xiii.; which he did with great caution, and 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 rose up one John Lauder, a most virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Mr. Wishart's accuser. He pulled out a long roll of maledictory charges against Mr. Wishart,

and dealt out the Romish thunder so liberally, as terrified the ignorant bystanders, but did not in the least discompose this meek servant of Christ. He was accused of disobedience to the governor's authority, for teaching that man had no free will, and for contemning fasting (all which charges he absolutely refused); for denying that there are seven sacraments, and that auricular confession, extreme unction, and the sacrament of the altar, so-called, are sacraments, and that we should pray to saints; for saying that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism; that the Pope had 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; also for condemning conjuration, the vows of single life, the cursings of the Holy Church, &c.

While Lauder was reading these accusations, he had put himself into a most violent sweat—frothing at the mouth, calling Mr. Wishart a runagate traitor, and demanding an answer. This Wishart gave in a short and modest oration, at which they cried out with one consent in a

most tumultuous manner. Perceiving that they were resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity, he appealed to a more equitable and impartial judge: upon which Lauder, repeating the several titles of the cardinal, asked him, "If my lord cardinal was not an equitable judge?" Mr. Wishart replied, "I do not refuse him, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, the Temporal Estates, with some of your lordships, because I am my lord governor's prisoner." After some scornful language thrown out both against him and the governor, they proceeded to read the articles against him a second time, and hear his answers, which he made with great solidity of judgment; after which they condemned him to be burned as a heretic, paying no regard to his defences, nor to the emotions of their own consciences, but thinking that by killing him they should do God good service. Upon this resolution (for their final sentence was not yet pronounced), Mr. Wishart kneeled down and prayed in the following manner:—

"O Immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage of the ungodly? how long shall they exercise their fury upon thy servants who further thy word

in this world, seeing they desire to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by which thou hast 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, both persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thy prophets and apostles have shown us; but yet we desire thee, merciful Father, that thou wouldst preserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen from before the foundation of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

After this the common people were removed until the definitive sentence should be pronounced, which being so similar to Mr. Hamilton's need not here be inserted. This being done, he was recommitted to the castle for that night. In his way thither two friars came to him requesting him to make his confession to them, which he refused, but desired them to bring Mr. Winram, who had preached that day; who being come, after some discourse with Mr. Wishart, he asked him if he would receive

the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Mr. Wishart answered, "Most willingly, if I may have it administered according to Christ's institution, under both kinds of bread and wine." Hereupon the sub-prior went to the bishops, and asked if they would permit the sacrament to be given to the prisoner; but the cardinal, in all their names, answered "that it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic condemned by the Church."

All this night Mr. Wishart spent in prayer, and next morning the captain of the castle gave him notice that they had denied him the sacrament, and at the same time invited him to breakfast with him; which Mr. Wishart accepted, saying, "I will do that very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian and a man fearing God." All things being ready, and the family assembled to breakfast, Mr. Wishart, turning himself to the captain, said, "I beseech you in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while till I have made a short exhortation, and blessed this bread which we are to eat, so that I may bid you farewell." The

table being covered and bread being 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 broke the bread, distributing a part to those about him who were disposed to communicate, entreating them to remember that Christ died for them, and to feed on it spiritually. Then taking the cup, he bade them remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, and having tasted it himself he delivered it unto them, and then concluding with thanksgiving and prayer, he told them "that he would neither eat nor drink more in this life," and retired to his chamber.

Soon after, by the appointment of the cardinal, two executioners came to him, and arraying him in a black linen coat, they fastened some bags of gunpowder about him, put a rope about his neck, a chain about his waist, and bound his hands behind his back, and in this dress they led him to the stake, near the cardinal's palace. Opposite to the stake they had placed the great guns of the castle, lest any should attempt to rescue him. The fore-tower, which was immediately

opposite to the fire, was hung with tapestry, and rich cushions were laid in the windows for the ease of the cardinal and prelates while they beheld the sad spectacle. As he was going to the stake it is said that two beggars asked alms of him, and that he replied, "I want my hands wherewith I used to give you alms; but the merciful Lord vouchsafe to give you all necessities, both for soul and body." After this the friars came about him, urging him to pray to our Lady, to whom he answered, "Cease; tempt me not, I entreat you."

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE WISHART.

Having mounted a scaffold prepared on purpose, he turned towards the people and declared that he felt much joy within himself in offering up his life for the name of Christ, and told them that they ought not to be offended with the good word of God because of the afflictions he had 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 comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your everlasting comfort; but for

* It has been alleged by Tytler in his "History of Scotland," that Wishart acted as a messenger in carrying letters from Crichton of Brunstone to the earl of Hertford at Newcastle, and other letters from that town to Henry VIII. of England, relating to a conspiracy formed by Brunstone for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton; and that after being admitted to an interview with Henry VIII. at Greenwich, Wishart returned to Newcastle and then proceeded to Scotland.

the true gospel which was given me by the grace of God I suffer this day with a glad heart. Behold and consider my visage; ye shall not see me change my colour. I fear not this fire, and I pray that you may not fear them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul. Some have said that I taught that the soul shall sleep till the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night." Then he prayed for his accusers that they might be forgiven, if through ignorance or evil design they had forged lies upon him. After this the executioner asked his forgiveness, to whom he replied, "Come hither to me;" and when he came he kissed his cheek and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; do thine office." Being raised up from his knees, he was bound to the stake, crying with a loud voice, "O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands!" The executioner having kindled the fire, the powder fastened to his body blew up. The captain of the castle, perceiving that he was still alive, drew near and bid him be of good courage; whereupon Mr. Wishart said, "This flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my spirit; but he who from yonder place beholdeth us with such pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously as he is now seen proudly to rest himself." 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 on the 1st of March, 1546.*

For this charge against Wishart, which Tytler regards as a great historical discovery, there is certainly no evidence whatever. It is founded wholly on the fact mentioned in a letter of the earl of Hertford, dated 17th April, 1544, that "a Scottishman called Wyshart" was the bearer of the letters referred to; and Crichton of Brunstone having been the friend and protector of Wishart in 1546, it is concluded that this Wishart was no other than our martyr. It is surprising that a his-

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

The popish clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the cardinal's courage for proceeding in it against the governor's order; but the people very justly looked upon Wishart as both a prophet and a martyr. It was also said that, abstractly from the grounds of his suffering, his death was no less than murder, in regard no writ was obtained for it, and the clergy could not burn any without a warrant from the secular power.

This stirred up Norman and John Leslie

torian would risk his reputation as a judge of historical evidence, by drawing such a conclusion from the fact recorded by Hertford, and expect still to maintain his credit for impartiality. The Christian name of the bearer is not given; but though it had been George, this would not have formed a sufficient basis on which to rest so grave an imputation, or even to warrant an unfavourable presumption. There were then many who bore this name besides the martyr. Beaton was not ignorant of this conspiracy against him; and had Wishart been in any way implicated, this would doubtless have formed a principal article in his indictment, which it does not; nor was it ever alleged by the cardinal himself or by any of his friends that Wishart had been involved in such a plot. The man who, when the

of the family of Rothes, William Kirkaldy of Grange, James Melvill of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael, and others, to avenge Mr. Wishart's death. Accordingly upon the 28th of May, 1546 (not three months after Mr. Wishart suffered), they surprised the castle early in the morning, and either secured or turned out the persons that were lodged in it. On coming to the cardinal's door, he was by this time alarmed and had secured it; but upon their threatening to force the door he opened it (relying partly upon the sanctity of his office and partly on his acquaintance with some of them), crying, "I am a priest, I am a priest." But this had no effect upon them; for James Melvill having exhorted him in a solemn manner to repentance, and having apprised him that he was now to avenge Mr. Wishart's death, stabbed him twice or thrice, which ended his wretched days. These persons, with some others who came in to them, held the castle for nearly two years, being assisted by England. They had the governor's eldest son with them, for he had been put under the cardinal's care, and was in the castle at the time they surprised it. The castle was at length besieged by the French, and surrendered upon having the lives of all that were in it secured.

Between this and the time of Mr. Walter Mill's sufferings, whose life follows, Adam Wallace, *alias* Fean, a simple but very

Lollards of Kyle would have forcibly made entrance for him into the church of Ayr, replied that it was the word of peace which he preached to them—that the blood of no man should be shed for it that day, and who saved the life of his intended assassin when the people were about to take instant vengeance on the culprit, exhibited a temper of mind so thoroughly alien to a disposition to shed blood, that we must have some evidence before we can believe that he was concerned in a murderous plot. From the narrative in the text it is clear how Wishart was occupied after his return from England to Scotland in July, 1543; and though the dates are not precise, it is evident that he was preaching in Scotland, probably at Dundee, at the very time that "a Scotchman called Wyshart" was occupied as before stated



THE TOWER OF THE CLIFF

zealous man, was taken at Winton, and was brought to his trial in the Blackfriars' church in Edinburgh, where he was charged with articles of heresy similar to those with which others before him had been charged. He was condemned and burnt on the Castlehill, suffering with great patience and resolution.

* The good dean's memory is still cherished in the parish where he was vicar. Dollar is a beautifully situated village at the foot of the Ochill hills, now grown to almost a town, and the seat of a well-known educational institute. Some two miles to the east of Dollar they still show a substantial stone bridge across the Devon, which goes by the name of the Vicar's

Bridge, the tradition being that Vicar Forrest was the first to erect a bridge at this spot, for the convenience of his parishioners in coming to church. The impressions left by his humble, holy, and beneficent life, for which, as stated above, his reward was to be burnt at the stake, have not even yet been wholly effaced.

There were others condemned before that time ; among whom were Robert Forrester, gentleman ; Sir Duncan Simson, priest ; Friar Killore, Friar Beveridge, and Dean Thomas Forrest, a canon regular and vicar of Dollar*—who were all burnt at one stake upon the Castlehill of Edinburgh, February 28, 1538.

WALTER MILL.

WALTER MILL was born about the year 1476. He was educated in the popish religion, and made priest of Lunan, in the shire of Angus, where he remained until he was accused by the archbishop of St. Andrews of having left off saying mass, which he had done long before that time. On that account he was condemned in the year 1538, but escaped into Germany, where he married a wife, and was more perfectly instructed in the true religion.

He returned to Scotland about 1556, but kept himself as retired as possible, going about the land reproving vice, and instructing the people in the grounds of religion. This coming at length to the ears of the ecclesiastics,

in 1558 he was by order of the bishops apprehended at Dysart, in the shire of Fife, by two priests, and imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrews ; where the Papists, both by threatening and flattery, laboured with him to recant, offering him a place in the abbey of Dunfermline all the days of his life, if he would deny what he had already taught. But continuing constant in his opinions, he was brought to a trial before the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and others, who were assembled in the cathedral of St. Andrews.

When he came to make his defence, he was so old, feeble, and lame, that it was feared none

would hear him; but as soon as he began to speak he surprised them all: his voice made the church to ring, and his quickness and courage amazed his very enemies. At first he kneeled and prayed for some time; after which Sir Andrew Oliphant, a priest, called upon him to arise and answer to the articles of charge, saying, "You keep my lord of St. Andrews too long here;" nevertheless he continued some time in prayer; and when he arose, said, "I ought to obey God rather than man. I serve a mightier Lord than your lord is; and whereas ye call me *Sir Walter*, call me now *Walter*: I have been too long one of the Pope's knights (for in those days all priests, after their ordination, had the title of *Sir*). Now, say what you have to say.

Oliphant began his interrogations as follows:—

Oliph. Thou sayest there are not seven sacraments?

Mill. Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you all the rest?

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

Mill. I think it a blessed bond ordained by God, and approved of by Christ, and free to all sorts of men: but ye abhor it, and in the meanwhile take other men's

wives and daughters. Ye vow chastity, and keep it not.

Oliph. How sayest thou that the mass is idolatry?

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

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

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

Oliph. Thou deniest the office of a bishop?

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

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

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

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

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

Oliph. If you will not recant I will pronounce sentence against you.

Mill. 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.

Then Oliphant, as the mouth of the court, was ordered to pronounce sentence against him, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as an heretic. But they could not procure one as a temporal judge to condemn him. Learmont, provost of the town and bailie of the archbishop's regality, refused, and went out of town; and the people of the place were so moved at Walter Mill's constancy, and offended at the wrong done to him, that they refused to supply ropes to bind him, and other materials for his execution, whereby his death was retarded for one day. At last Somerville, a domestic of the archbishop, undertook to act the part of temporal judge, and the ropes of the archbishop's pavilion were taken to serve the purpose.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER MILL.

All things being thus prepared, he was led forth by Somerville, with a guard of armed men, to his execution. Being come to the place, some cried out to him to recant, to whom he answered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who do so cruelly pursue the servants of God. As for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but an hundred shall rise out of my ashes, who shall scatter you, ye hypocrites and persecutors of God's people; and such of you as now think yourselves the best, shall not die such an honest death as I now do. I trust in God I shall be the last who shall suffer death in this fashion, for this cause, in the 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* ("I will go unto the altar of God"), and desired that he might be permitted to speak to the people. He was answered by Oliphant, "That he had spoken too much already, and that the bishops were exceedingly displeased with him for what he had said." But some youths took his part, and bade him to say on what he pleased.

He first bowed his knees and prayed, then arose, and standing upon the coals, addressed the people to this effect: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God; but only for the defence of the truth 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; 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 anti-christ, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that so ye may be delivered from condemnation."

During this speech loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude; some admiring the patience, boldness, and constancy of this martyr, others complaining of the hard measures and cruelty of his persecutors. After having spoken as above, he prayed a little while, and 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 so he cheerfully yielded up his soul into the hands of his God, on the 28th of April, anno 1558, being then about the eighty-second year of his age.

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

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

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MORAY.

JAMES STUART, earl of Moray, was a natural son of King James V., and brother by the father's side to Mary Queen of Scots.* In his infancy he was placed under the care of the celebrated George Buchanan, who instilled

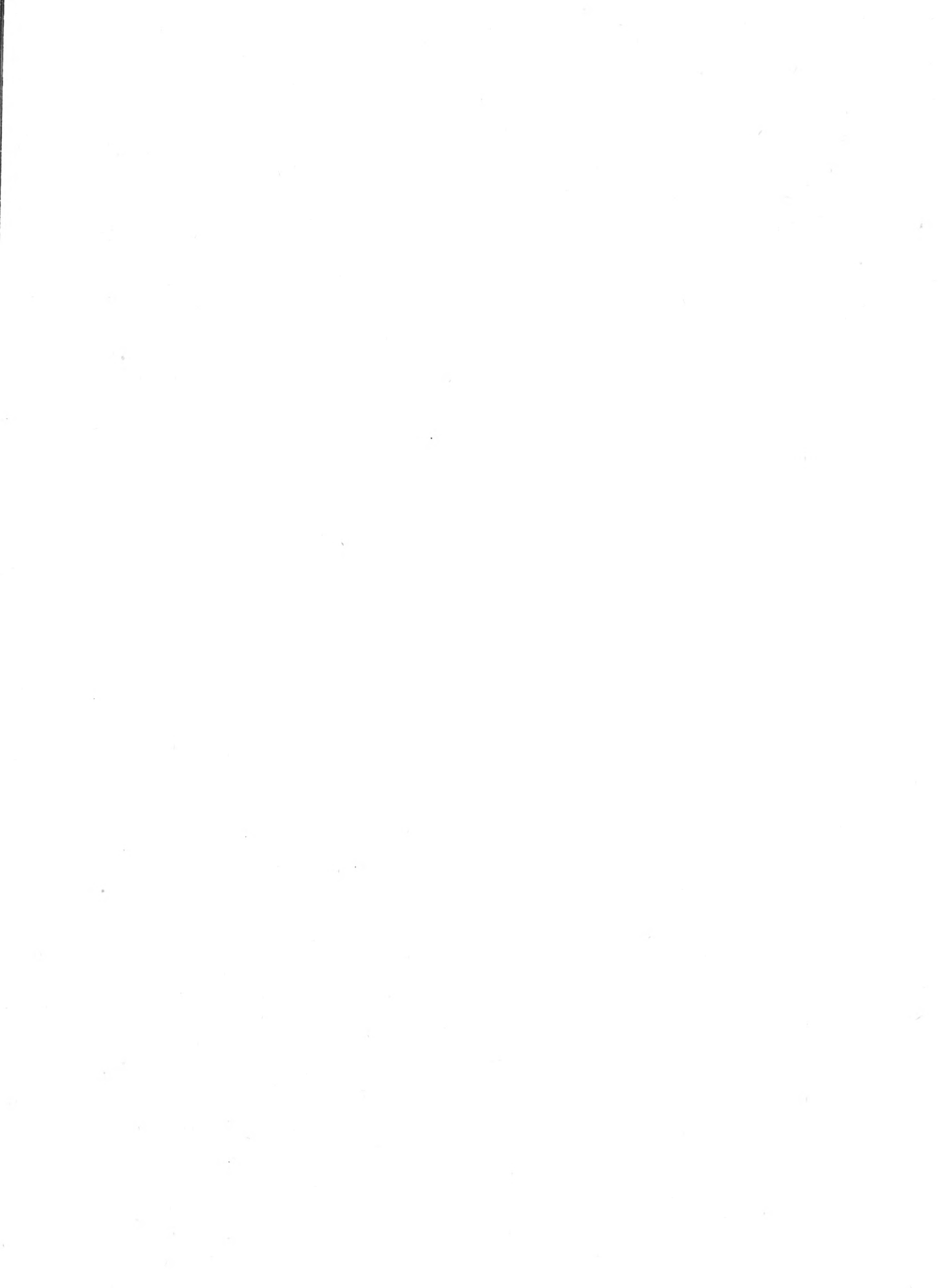
* James Stuart, earl of Moray, was born in the year 1533. His mother was Margaret, daughter of John, twelfth Lord Erskine, who was afterwards married to Sir Robert Douglas, laird of Lochgoin. When only in the third year of his age the priory of St. Andrews was allotted to him in conformity with the policy of King James V., in providing all his sons with ecclesiastical benefices while they were infants, that during their minority he might

such principles into his mind in early life, as, by the divine blessing, made him an honour to the Scottish nation.†

The reader cannot here expect a very minute detail of all the heroic and patriotic deeds of this

appropriate to his own use the revenues. Hence this nobleman was designated lord prior of St. Andrews till he was created earl of Moray, 10th February, 1561-62.

† Howie is here mistaken. Buchanan, as noticed under his life, was a tutor, not to Moray, but to a natural son of King James V. of the same Christian name, which some authors have mistaken for Moray. It is not now known who were Moray's early instructors.





WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

worthy nobleman, considering the station which he filled, and his activity in the discharge of the duties belonging to it.

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

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

In the year 1556, he and Argyll wrote to John Knox at Geneva to return to Scotland and further the Reformation. Upon this, after having been detained some time at Dieppe, Knox returned in the year 1559,

and went to St. Johnstone (or Perth), where the reforming congregation resorted to him; which fact coming to the ears of the queen regent, Mary of Guise, she sent the earl of Argyll and Lord James (for that was the earl of Moray's title at this time), to know the intent of so great an assembly. Knox returned this answer, "That her enterprise would not prosper in the end, seeing that she intended to fight against God." Upon receiving this reply she summoned them to depart from the town of St. Johnstone; 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 further danger; on which they obeyed, and left the town. But they had no sooner done so than she, with her French guards, entered it in a most outrageous manner, telling the inhabitants that no faith should be kept with heretics. This flagrant breach of promise so provoked Lord James that he left the queen regent, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, for so were the nobles called who favoured the work of Reforma-

* At Dieppe, when returning from their attendance on the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin of France, they all fell sick, and

some of them died. This was in the year 1558. (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. i. p. 243.)

tion. As soon as the queen regent got intelligence of this she sent a threatening letter to him and Argyll (for they agreed 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 popish images. Here they continued for some time; but being informed that the queen regent intended to go to Stirling, they went off from Perth late in the night, and entered Stirling with their associates, where they immediately demolished the monasteries, and purged the churches of idolatry. Such was the zeal of these worthy noblemen for the interest of the reformed religion in Scotland.

From Stirling they marched for Edinburgh, purging all the superstitious relics of idolatry out of Linlithgow in their way. These summary proceedings alarmed the queen regent, in-somuch that her zeal for Popery gave way to fears about her civil authority. To make the conduct of these Reformers the more odious to the unthinking part of the nation, she gave out that they were in open rebellion against her, and that while making a pretence of religion, their real design was to set Lord James on the throne, there

being now no male heir to the crown. These insinuations she found means to transmit to Lord James himself in a letter, said to be forged, in the names of Francis and Mary, the king and queen of France, wherein he was further upbraided with ingratitude on account of the favours they pretended to have shown him, and commanded to lay down his arms and return to his allegiance. To this letter, notwithstanding there were strong reasons to suspect it to be a forgery, he nevertheless returned a resolute answer, declaring that he was not conscious to himself, in word or deed, of any offence either against the regent or the laws; but seeing that the nobility had undertaken the reformation of religion, which was delayed, and that they aimed at nothing but the glory of God, he was willing to bear the reproach which the enemies of religion would load him with; neither was it just for him to desert that cause which had Christ himself for its head and defender, whom unless they would voluntarily deny, they could not give up the enterprise in which they were embarked.

While these things were transacting, the Lords of the Congregation being then in and about

Edinburgh, French troops to the number of three thousand were landed at Leith at different times, to support the queen regent, between whom and the Lords of the Congregation there were several skirmishes, with little success on either side; yet the lords retired to Stirling, leaving the French for a time masters of the field, but not without apprehensions of danger from the arrival of an English fleet which was then expected. In the meantime they went over to Fife, spreading devastation everywhere around them, without resistance; whereupon the queen regent thus expressed herself: "Where is John Knox's God now? my God is stronger even now in Fife." This impious boast lasted not long, for Argyll and Lord James went to the town of Dysart immediately, to stop their career along the coast. The French were four thousand strong, besides the Scots who adhered to them. The army of the Congregation were not above six hundred men, yet they behaved with such courage and resolution, that for twenty days successively they faced this army; and for each man they lost in skirmishes the French lost four. As an evidence of the uncommon attention which these two noblemen bestowed on this

business, they never put off their clothes during the whole time, and slept but little.

In the month of June, 1560, the queen regent died, and, a little after her, Francis king of France died likewise, by which events Scotland was delivered from this foreign army. Lord James went to France to visit his sister Mary, now left a widow, after settling matters in Scotland as well as he could. He was attended by a splendid retinue, and appears to have met with a cold reception; but after several conversations with Queen Mary, she agreed to return to Scotland. During his stay at Paris he met with many insults on account of his known attachment to the reformed religion. A box containing some valuable things was stolen from him; several persons were likewise hired to assassinate him in the street; but being apprised of his danger by an old friend of his own, not, however, before he was almost involved in it—being instantly surrounded by a rabble calling out *Huguenot! Huguenot!* and throwing stones—he made his way through them on horseback. Soon after this he left Paris and returned home in May, 1561, with a commission from the queen, appointing him regent until her return, which

was in August following, when, as Knox expresses it, "dour and darkness came along with her."* For though justice and equity were yet administered, and crimes were punished (because the administration of civil affairs was yet in the hands of Lord James, who for his management of public concerns was beloved by all), yet upon the queen's arrival French levity and dissipation soon corrupted the court to a very high degree.

About this time a banditti, called the moss troopers, broke in upon the 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 the opportunity of acquiring military reputation, but to expose him to danger, that, if possible, she might get

rid of him; for his popularity made her very uneasy, and his fidelity and boldness in reproofing her faults and withstanding her tyrannical measures made him still more the object of her hatred and disgust. But, contrary to the expectations of many, God so prospered him in this expedition, that in a short time he brought twenty-eight ring-leaders of the band to public execution, and obliged the rest to give hostages for their better behaviour in time coming. Thus he returned crowned with laurels, and was immediately created earl of Mar, and the February following he was made earl of Moray, with the universal approbation of all good men. Some thought this act of the queen was intended by her to conciliate his affections, and make him of her party.

About this time he married a daughter of the Earl Marischal,

* The Reformers dreaded that the policy of Queen Mary would be persistently directed to the overthrow of the reformed faith, which had been established in Scotland in 1560; nor were their apprehensions groundless. In a letter to her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, from Edinburgh, January 30, 1563-64, she expressed her desire to re-establish the Catholic religion in her kingdom, even at the peril of her life; she declared that she would rather die than change her faith and give any protection to heresy; and she prayed the cardinal to explain her sentiments to the holy father. (*Labanoff's Lettres de Marie Stuart*, tom. i. p. 175). She

wrote similarly to Pope Pius IV. on the 31st of the same month; and in a letter to him, on the 20th of October, 1564, she assured him that it was her firm resolution to retain her subjects in obedience to the Catholic church, and to annihilate heresy. (*Ibid.* tom. i. p. 177; and vii. p. 6). The reformers, who happily included in their ranks many of the most powerful of the nobility, were too strong for this policy to take immediate effect; but had not Queen Mary's own infatuated personal conduct soon deprived her of all power in Scotland, it is not easy to say what might have happened.

according to Knox (Buchanan says the earl of March).* The marriage took place publicly in the church of Edinburgh, and after the ceremony was over, the preacher (probably John 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 afterwards, 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 interests of religion. This was soon at an end, for the noblemen at court broke out into factions; among whom the earl of Bothwell, envying the prosperity of Moray, stirred up some feuds between him and the Hamiltons, which increased so much that they laid a plot for his life, which Bothwell took in hand to execute while Moray was with the queen, his sister, at Falkland. But the earl of Arran, detesting such an action, sent a letter privately to him discovering the whole conspiracy, by which he escaped

that danger. Bothwell fled from justice into France; but his emissaries were not less active in his absence than they had been while he headed them in person; for another design was formed against the earl's life by one of the Gordons, while he was with the queen at Dumbarton. But this proved ineffectual also.

Soon after, the queen received letters from the Pope and her uncles, the Guises of France, requesting her to put the earl of Moray out of the way, because they found by experience that their interest in Scotland could not prosper while he was alive. Upon this the faction against him became more insolent, and appeared in arms under the earl of Huntly. They were at first suppressed, but soon assembled again, to the number of eight hundred men. This body he was obliged to fight with little more strength in which he could confide than a hundred horse; but notwithstanding this disparity, by the divine blessing he obtained a complete victory, killing of them a hundred and twenty, and taking a hundred

* Buchanan is here incorrect. The earl of Moray married Lady Agnes Keith, daughter of William, the fourth Earl Marischal. By her he had two daughters—Elizabeth, who was married to James, Lord Down, and Mary, who was married to Francis Hay, earl of Errol.

Moray's countess survived him, and married Sir Colin Campbell of Buquhan, who in the year 1575 became the sixth earl of Argyll, by whom she had two sons, Archibald, the seventh earl of Argyll, and Sir Colin Campbell of Lundie.

prisoners, among whom were Huntly himself and his two sons; and it is said that he did not lose a single man. He returned to Aberdeen with the prisoners late in the night, where he had appointed a minister of the gospel to meet him, with whom he returned thanks to God for such a deliverance, exceeding the expectations of all men.

The earl of Bothwell was soon after this recalled by the queen from France, and upon his arrival Moray accused him of his former treasonable practices, and commenced a process at law against him. Bothwell knew that he could not stand an open scrutiny, but relied upon the queen's favour, which he knew he possessed in a very high degree, and which increased so much the more as her enmity to Moray, on account of his popularity, was augmented. This led her to join more warmly in the conspiracy with Bothwell against his life; a new plot was the result of their joint deliberations, which was to be executed in the following manner. Moray was to be sent for with only a few attendants, to speak with the queen at Perth, where Lord Darnley, then in suit to her for marriage, was. They knew that Moray would speak his mind

freely, upon which they were to quarrel with him, and in the heat of it David Rizzio was to strike the first blow, and all the rest were to follow. But of this design also he got previous intelligence by a friend at the court; nevertheless he resolved to go, until, advised by Patrick Ruthven, he turned aside to his mother's house, and there staid till the storm was over.

The earl of Moray, foreseeing what would be the consequence of the queen's marriage with Lord Darnley, set himself to oppose it; but finding little attention paid to anything he said on that subject in the Convention of Estates, he chose rather to absent himself for some time; and accordingly retired to England, where he staid until the queen's marriage with Darnley was over.

The tragical events which succeeded disgusted Moray 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, have 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; whereupon he 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 promise not to make any stay in England. He went over to France, where he remained till he heard that the queen was in custody in Lochleven, and that Bothwell had fled to Denmark; he then returned home.*

Upon his arrival, by the joint consent of the queen and nobles, in the year 1567, he was made regent during the young king's minority, and entered on the exercise of his office in the spring following. He resolved to make a tour through the whole kingdom, to settle the courts of justice and repair what was wrong; but his adversaries, the Hamiltons, perceived that by the prudence and diligence of this worthy nobleman the interests of religion would be revived, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to them who, being dissipated and licentious to an extreme degree, could

not endure to be regulated by law. They never ceased, therefore, crying out against his administration, and fixed up libels in different places full of dark insinuations, by which it was understood that his destruction was being meditated. Some astrologers told him that he would not live beyond such a day; by which it appeared that they were not ignorant of the designs formed against him. All this had no effect upon his resolution; his common reply was, that he knew well enough he must die one time or other, and that he could not part with his life more nobly than by procuring the public tranquillity of his native country.

He summoned a Convention of estates to meet at Glasgow, for 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, where those of her faction were assembling with the utmost haste. A hot

* After the murder of Darnley on 10th February, 1566-67, by the earl of Bothwell and his accomplices, matters rapidly hastened to a crisis in the history of Queen Mary. She was accused by her subjects of complicity in the crime. Only three months after its perpetration she married Bothwell, by which the exasperation of

all classes of her subjects was excited to the highest pitch. A month after, namely, on 15th July, 1567, her forces were defeated by the army of the confederated lords, to whom she surrendered herself, and who, having conducted her to Edinburgh, thence sent her on the following day under a guard to Lochleven Castle.

dispute arose in council, whether the regent and his attendants should repair to the young king at Stirling, or stay and observe the motions of the queen and her party; but in the very time of these deliberations a hundred chosen men arrived from Lothian, and many more from the adjacent country were approaching. This made them resolve to stay where they were, and refresh themselves for one day; after which they determined to march out and face the enemy. The queen's army, being six thousand five hundred strong, resolved to make their way past Glasgow, to lodge the queen in Dumbarton Castle, and afterwards either to fight the regent or protract the war at pleasure.

The regent being informed of this design of the enemy, drew his army out of the town to observe which way they intended to pass: he had not above four thousand men. The queen's army was discovered passing along the south side of the river Clyde. Moray commanded the foot to pass the bridge and the horse to ford the river, marched out to a small village called Langside,

upon the river Cart, and taking possession of a rising ground before the enemy could well discover his intention, drew up in order of battle. The earls of Morton, Semple, Hume, and Patrick Lindsay, were on the right; the earls of Mar, Glencairn, Monteith, with the citizens of Glasgow, on the left; and the musqueteers were placed in the valley below. The queen's army approaching, a very brisk but short engagement ensued. The earl of Argyll, who was commander-in-chief of the queen's troops, falling from his horse, they gave way, so that the regent obtained a complete victory; but by his clement conduct there was very little blood spilt in the pursuit. The queen, who all the time remained with some horse at about the distance of a mile from the place of action, seeing the rout, escaped and fled for England;* and the regent with his troops returned to Glasgow, where they gave thanks to God for their deliverance from Popery and Papists, who threatened to overturn the work of God among them. This battle was fought upon the 13th of May, 1568.

* Regarding her person as in the utmost danger, she resolved, contrary to the earnest entreaties of Lord Herries, one of the shrewdest of her friends, to escape to England, and to cast

herself on the protection of Queen Elizabeth. Carrying this resolution into effect, she became the prisoner of the English queen, and continued to be treated as such.

After this the regent summoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, which the queen's party laboured to hinder with all their power. In the meantime 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 declared she could not bear with the affront which her kinswoman said she had received from her subjects. The Parliament, however, assembled;* and after much reasoning it was resolved to send commissioners to England to vindicate their conduct.† But none consenting to undertake this business, the regent resolved upon going himself, and accordingly chose three gentlemen, two ministers, two lawyers, and Mr. George Buchanan, to accompany him; and with a guard of a hundred horse they set out and arrived at York, the appointed place of conference, on the 4th of October. After

several meetings with the English commissioners to little purpose, the queen called the regent up to London, that she might be better satisfied by personal conversation with him about the state of these affairs. But the same difficulties stood in his way here as at York; he refused to enter upon the accusation of his sister, the queen of Scots, unless Elizabeth would engage to protect the young king's party, provided the queen was found guilty.

But while matters were thus remaining in suspense at London, Mary had stirred up a new commotion in Scotland by means of Sir James Balfour; so that the regent found himself exceedingly embarrassed, and resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion as soon as possible. After several interviews with the queen and council, in which the regent and his party supported the ancient rights of their country, and wiped off the aspersions

of her excessive affection towards Bothwell, the chief author and executor of the murder of Lord Darnley, as it was impossible, so long as she was at liberty, to punish him according to law. When, however, the conferences were transferred to Westminster about the end of November, for their fuller vindication they accused Queen Mary of having been accessory to the murder of her husband, and assigned this as the principal cause of their proceedings against her. Now it was that they produced the famous casket letters in proof of her guilt.

* It was held at Edinburgh, 16th August, 1568.

† Both Queen Mary and the Regent Moray's party agreed to refer their respective differences to the decision of Queen Elizabeth, who accordingly proposed that commissioners from the regent and from Queen Mary should state their cases before her commissioners at York. At the conferences at York, which were opened 4th October, 1568, the regent and his colleagues simply alleged in their own defence that they had deprived their queen of regal authority, and detained her in Lochleven Castle, in consequence

many had thrown on them, 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 2nd of February, where he was received with acclamations of joy, particularly by the friends of the true religion.

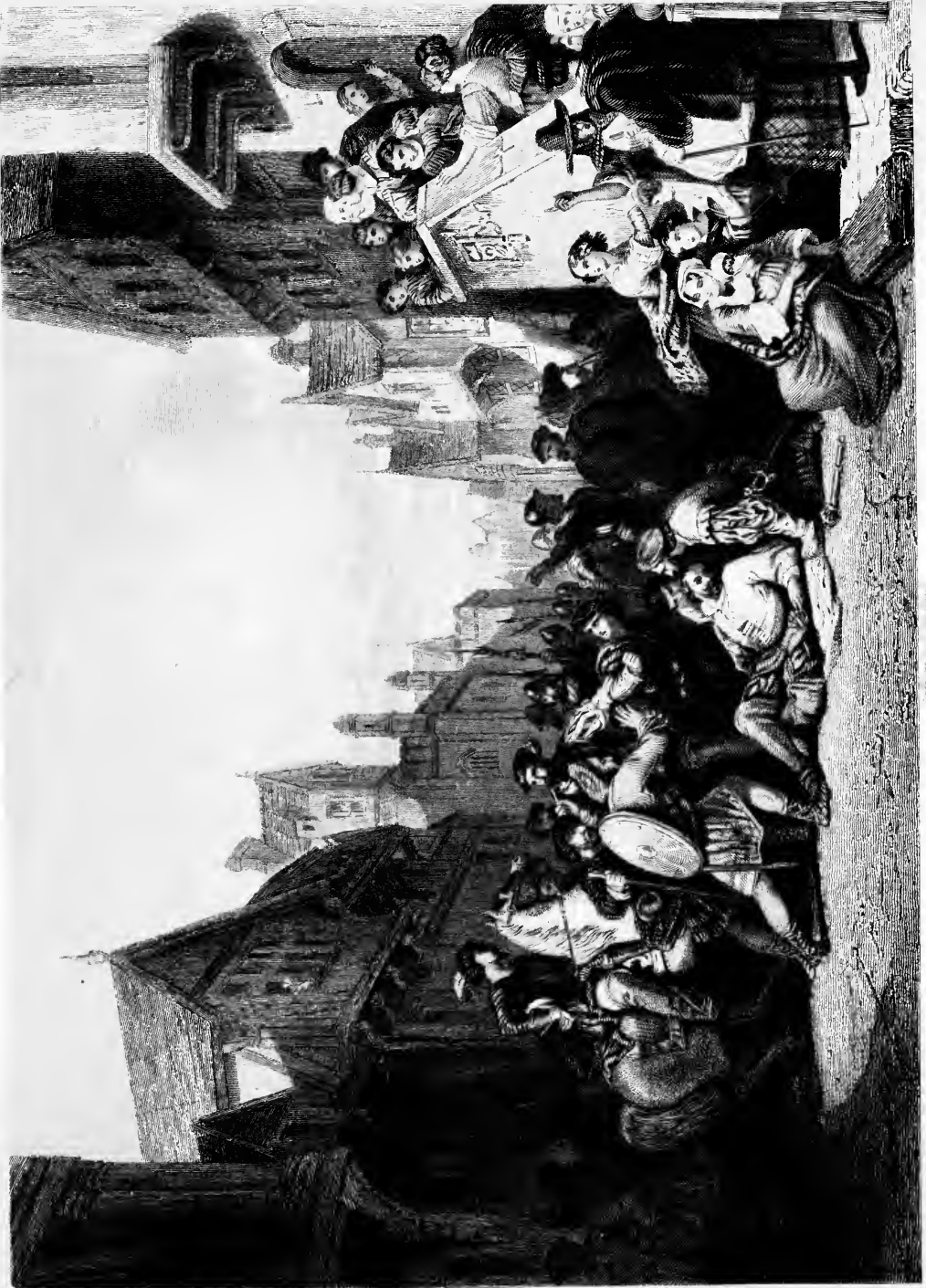
During his administration many salutary laws in favour of civil and religious liberty were made, which rendered him more and more the object of popish malice. At last his enemies resolved at all events to take his life; the many unsuccessful attempts formerly made having only served to render them more bold and daring. Though the queen was now at a distance, yet she found means to encourage her party; and perhaps the hope of delivering her gave strength to their resolution. 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 offered itself. He first lay in wait for him at Glasgow, and then at Stirling, but both failed him; after which he thought Linlithgow the most proper place for perpetrating that execrable deed. His uncle had a house near the regent's, in which he concealed himself, that he might be in readiness for the assassination. Of this design the regent got intelligence likewise, but had not that regard to the danger he was exposed to which he should, and would go no other way than that in which it was expected the ambush was laid. He trusted to the fleetness of his horse in riding swiftly by the suspected place; but the great concourse of people, who crowded together to see him, stopped up the way. Accordingly, he was shot from a wooden balcony; the bullet, entering a little below the navel, killed the horse of George Douglas behind him. The assassin escaped by a back door. The regent told his attendants that he was wounded,

* Howie is here incorrect. The conferences at York, Westminster, and also at Hampton Court, ended without any definite conclusion. The commissioners, both of the regent and of Queen Mary, were dismissed by Queen Elizabeth with a declaration that nothing had been found to impeach the regent's dutiful conduct towards

his sovereign, and that nothing had been produced to cause her to form an unfavourable opinion of the actions of the queen of Scots. (*Robertson's History of Scotland*, book v.). Queen Elizabeth, however, acted as if she believed in Queen Mary's guilt, and supported the party of the regent.





THE GREAT BAZAAR, LONDON, 1851

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 remarked 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 of my clemency." Having settled his private affairs, he committed the care of the young king to the nobles there present: and without speaking a reproachful word of any, he departed this life on the 23rd of January, 1569-70.

Thus fell the earl of Moray (whom historians ordinarily call the Good Regent), after he had escaped so many dangers.* He was certainly a worthy governor. "His death," says Buchanan, "was lamented by all good men, who loved him as the public

*Moray was interred on the 14th of February in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh. "The country for the moment," says Froude, "forgot its feuds to pay honour to the noblest of Scotland's sons; lords and gentlemen, knights and citizens, all who were able came together to take part in the sad procession. The standard was borne by Grange; five earls and three barons—Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Cassillis, Ruthven, Lindsay, Ochiltree, and Glamis—carried the coffin, and behind was a train of mourners, 'in such sorrow' as Randolph 'never saw.' Three thousand people were in the church, and the funeral sermon was preached by Knox. His text was, 'Blessed are

father of his country. Even his enemies confessed his merit when dead; they admired his valour in war, his ready disposition for peace, his activity in business, in which he was commonly very successful; the divine favour seemed to shine on all his actions; he was very merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his decisions. When the field did not call for his presence he was busied in the administration of justice, by which means the poor were not oppressed, and the terms of 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." (*Buchanan's History*, vol. ii. p. 392.)

In a word, he was both in his

the dead which die in the Lord.' His words have not been preserved, but in all that iron crowd there was not a man but was in tears." (*History of England*, vol. iv. p. 24.) Knox closed a second sermon in the same place on the following day with a remarkable prayer on the subject, in which was the following sentence, so emphatically true of Moray as a ruler: "Oh Lord, in what misery and confusion found he this realm! and to what rest and quietness now by his labours suddenly he brought the same, all estates, but especially the poor commons, can witness." (*Knox's Works*, vol. vi. pp. 569, 570.)

public and private life a pattern worthy of imitation; and happy would it be for us that our nobles were more disposed to walk in the paths which he trod. For Spottiswoode says: "Above all his virtues, which were not few, he shined in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such a sort as did more resemble a church than a court; for therein, besides the exercise

of devotion which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, nay, not an unseemly or wanton word to be heard. A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongst the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the title of *the Good Regent.*" (*Spottiswoode's History,* p. 234.)

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 Ranferlie. When he left the grammar school he was sent to the university of St. Andrews to

* THE BIRTH-PLACE OF KNOX.—It was long uncertain and undecided whether our great national reformer Knox was born in the Gifford-gate of Haddington, or at Gifford, a village some four miles distant from Haddington. His historians were equally divided between the two. But now we think we are entitled to hold that the controversy is at an end, and that all uncertainty touching the exact spot where Knox was born is removed. A recently discovered entry in the town council records of Geneva assigns the honour of being the birth-place of our reformer to Haddington. The entry is under 1558, and is to the following effect:—"Jehan, filz de Gille (Guilliam) Cnoxe, natif de Hedington en Ecosse, et Cristoffle filz de Gille Goodman de Chestres d'Angleterre, ministres, ont estez recuz gratis;" that is, "John, son of William Knox, native of Haddington in

study under Mr. John Mair, a man of considerable learning at that time, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him while very young. He excelled in philosophy and polemical divinity, and was admitted

Scotland, and Christopher, son of William Goodman, of Chester in England, have been admitted free burgesses of Geneva." Doubtless the information on which Knox was styled a native of Haddington, when he and Goodman were enrolled citizens of Geneva, came from Knox himself. Further, as Chalmers in his "Caledonia" shows, at the time of Knox the village of Gifford did not exist, but one of the suburbs of Haddington was then and still is styled the Gifford-gate; and as this formed part of the estate of Gifford, Knox may be truly called, as Beza in his "Icones" styles him, Giffordiensis. And finally, on the spot to which tradition pointed as Knox's birth-place stood some fabrics, which retained to a recent date the name of "Knox Walls." (See *Knox's Works*, edited by David Laing, Esq.; *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries in Scotland*, vol. ii. part 1.)

into church orders before the usual time appointed by the canons. Then laying aside all unnecessary branches of learning, he betook himself to the reading of the ancients, particularly Augustine's and Jerome's works, with which he was exceedingly pleased. He profited considerably by the preaching of Thomas Guillaume, or Williams, a black friar of sound judgment and doctrine, whose discourses led him to study the holy scriptures more closely, by which means his spiritual knowledge was increased, and such a zeal for the interest of religion begot-

* Knox was now forty-two years of age. His adherence to the reformed faith had been avowed some four years before. Being with the party that occupied the castle of St. Andrews, as stated in the text, he was urged to become their preacher. Estimating the office of a preacher of the evangel very highly, and his own talents and fitness to fill it very lowly, he declined the responsible post. When they renewed their entreaties, that "he would not refuse this holy vocation," he burst into a flood of tears. When from entreating they began to adjure him, that he would proclaim to them the Word of life, he shut himself up in his closet for some days. When he re-appeared it was with traces on his countenance of the struggle through which he had passed, but to the joy of the little congregation, with a willing devotion of himself to the great work to which he had been called. He had seen in the case of Hamilton and Wishart to what the resolution he had just taken might conduct him; but he had put his hand to the plough, and God helping him, he would never withdraw it. With that day began those labours which continued to be prosecuted without intermission, amid manifold perils and sufferings, till they issued in the

triumph of his country's reformation, and then Knox departed to his rest.

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

After the death of Cardinal Beaton he retired into the castle of St. Andrews, where he preached to the garrison for some time;* but the castle being obliged to surrender to the French, he became their prisoner, and was

triumph of his country's reformation, and then Knox departed to his rest.

KNOX'S FIRST PUBLIC SERMON.—His first public sermon was preached in the parish church of St. Andrews. That sermon stamped him as the reformer. While men believed that Christ had established a vice-gerency at Rome, with authority to define doctrines, enact decrees, and command the obedience of men, the reformation of Christendom was hopeless, indeed, was impossible. Some minor abuses might be corrected, but the great upas tree would still be left standing, and what though some of its branches were lopped off, they would grow again. It was some time before Luther was able to perceive this truth, and to strike at the root of the tree. Hamilton and Wishart had not very clearly seen it, and this places them in the rank of pioneers. Knox at once grasped the master idea: the whole system of the papacy, he said, was corrupt from its very root; it must be plucked up, and the gospel of Christ planted in its room. This was the announcement he made to his countrymen in his very first sermon; out of that principle came the whole of his life, and the whole of his reformation. The reformer of Scotland now stood before his countrymen.

sent aboard the galleys. Having made his escape about the year 1550, he went to England, where he preached for several years in Berwick, Newcastle, and London, with great applause. His fame at last reached the ears of King Edward VI., who offered him a bishopric,* which he rejected, as contrary to his principles.

During his stay in England he was called before the council, and required to answer the following questions:—

1. Why he refused the benefice provided for him at London?

2. Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the laws and rights of the realm of England?

3. If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?

To the first he said, that his conscience witnessed to him that he might profit more in some other place than in London. To the second, that many things needed reformation in the ministry of England, without which no minister did or could discharge his duty before God; for no minister there had authority to separate the leprous from the

whole, which was a chief part of his office; and that he refused no office which might in the least promote God's glory and the preaching of Christ's gospel. And to the third he replied, that Christ's action was most perfect; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was a human invention. The answer which he gave to this question occasioned a considerable deal of altercation betwixt the council and him. There were present the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, the lord treasurer, the earls of Northampton, Shrewsbury, &c., the lord chamberlain, and the secretaries. After long reasoning, he was desired to take the matter into further consideration, and so was dismissed.

After the death of King Edward VI. he retired to Geneva; † but soon left that place and went to Frankfort, upon the solicitation of the English congregation there, whose call to him was dated 24th September, 1554. While in this city he wrote his "Admonition to England," and was soon involved in troubles because he opposed the English

† Like many other English Protestants, he had to seek an asylum on foreign shores upon the death of Edward VI., 6th July, 1553, and the accession of Queen Mary to the English throne.

* This was the bishopric of Rochester, which was offered to Knox in October, 1552. (*Knox's Works*, vol. iii. p. 81*, &c.)

liturgy, and refused to communicate 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 his wife, Queen Mary of England; and to prove the charge they had recourse to the above-mentioned "Admonition," in which they alleged he had called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. But the magistrates, perceiving the design of his accusers, and fearing lest he should some way or other fall into their hands, gave him secret information of his danger, and requested him to leave the city, for they could not save him if he should be demanded by

* WITTEMBERG, GENEVA, AND SCOTLAND.—When Wittemberg could no longer fulfil its end effectively as the centre of the Reformation, Geneva came in its room. The history of this little town strikingly displays the hand of God in the whole drama of the Reformation. On the shores of the Lake Lemman, in a region as fertile as lovely, Geneva was rotting in luxury, profligacy, and riches. All suddenly an inextinguishable desire for liberty seized its inhabitants in the beginning of the sixteenth century. They drove away their oppressors, the bishop and the duke of Savoy, and after much generous blood had been shed the ancient liberties of the city were partly restored. At this stage of the conflict came Farel, and planted the gospel in it. This drew down upon the little city the redoubled assault of its old enemies, backed by the pope and the emperor, Charles V. These were for-

the queen of England in the emperor's name; and having taken the hint, he returned to Geneva.

Here he wrote an admonition to London, Newcastle, and Berwick; a letter to Mary of Guise, dowager of Scotland; an appeal to the nobility; an admonition to the Commons of his own country; his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," and other works. He intended to have blown this trumpet three times, if the death of Mary, the queen regent, had not prevented him: understanding that an answer was to be given to his first blast, he deferred the publication of the second till he saw what answer was necessary for the vindication of the first.*

While he was at Geneva he had formidable antagonists, but the Genevese dared to throw down the gage of battle to them. After severe sufferings, and a contest in which the one half of Geneva was destroyed to save the other half, the citizens succeeded in establishing Protestantism in it in August, 1535. This happened just about the time that the Reformation, as a spiritual movement, had culminated in Germany, and that the political in that country had begun to overshadow the evangelical. It seemed necessary to find a new centre for the movement in its purely religious form. Than Geneva no city in all Europe was better adapted to this end. It was placed on the frontiers of many kingdoms, and the conflicting ambitions of their monarchs served as ramparts to protect its independence.

The year after, 1536, came Calvin, and took up his abode in Geneva. From this time dates

contracted a close intimacy with John Calvin, with whom he consulted on every emergency. Towards the end of harvest, 1554, he returned home, upon the solicitation of some of the Scots nobility, and began privately to instruct such as resorted to him in the true religion; among whom were John Erskine of Dun, David Forrest, and Elizabeth Adamson, spouse to James Baron, burgess of Edinburgh. The idolatry of the mass particularly occupied his attention, as he saw some men remarkable for zeal and godliness drawn aside by it. Both in public and private he exposed its impiety and danger; and his labours succeeded so far as to draw off some and alarm many others. In a conversation upon this subject at the laird of Dun's house in Forfarshire, in presence of David Forrest, Robert Lockhart,

the era of its glory. His labours and writings within its walls evolved the system of divine truth in a clearness and completeness which had not been attained in Germany. At Geneva, under Calvin, Christianity shone forth in the purity and splendour of its early days. This little town became, moreover, an asylum for the persecuted of all lands, and a school of instruction for all nations. Here men could study the best models, and here they could learn the purest principles of the gospel. The influence which Geneva then exerted was truly wonderful, nor is there anything like it in the history of the world. Rome felt herself eclipsed by the glory of this little town, and trembled at the name of him who here, in the guise of an

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

John Knox continued a month at the laird of Dun's, preaching every day; the principal gentlemen of that country resorting to his ministry. From thence he went to Calder House, the residence of Sir James Sandilands, where the earl of Argyll, then Lord Lorn, and Lord James, 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

humble pastor, wielded an influence more truly great than any of her popes had ever attained.

It is also noteworthy that, a century after, when Geneva had declined, the Scottish Reformation was found to be in its full flower. It was with us the bright gleam that preceded the dark storm of persecution. Wittemberg, Geneva, and Scotland have been successively the main centres of that great revival of Christianity which we designate the Reformation. We trust the day is approaching when the universal diffusion of the light shall make it impossible for any city or country to claim the distinction of being a centre, and that, as the light of the sun gilds all climes, so the light of truth shall irradiate the whole globe.

to Kyle, 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 inferior popish clergy so much, that they came from all quarters complaining to the bishops; whereupon 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; so that, on the same day that he should have appeared before

* Marjory Bowes, who was the fifth daughter of Richard Bowes (youngest son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam), by his wife, Elizabeth Aske, a daughter and co-heiress of Sir Roger Aske of Aske, in Yorkshire. Marjory's mother was by this time a widow, and a woman of deep piety as well as devotedly attached to Knox, as is shown by their epistolary correspondence, which reveals the strength of the tender sympathies of the stern reformer. Forsaking the fair land of her birth, and her wealthy and honourable kindred, she resolved, in the spirit

them, he preached to a greater audience in Edinburgh than ever he had done before. The Earl Marischal, being desired by Lord Glencairn to hear Mr. Knox preach, complied, and was so delighted with his doctrine that he immediately proposed that something should be done to draw the queen regent to hear him likewise. He made this proposal in a letter, which was delivered into her own hand by Glencairn. When she had read it she gave it to Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, saying in ridicule, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil."

About this time, 1555, he received a letter from the English congregation at Geneva, who were not in communion with the congregation of that name at Frankfort, in which they besought him, in the name of God, that as he was their chosen pastor he would speedily come to them. In obedience to this call he sent his wife* and

of the widow of sacred story, to pass the remainder of her days in his society and under his ministry, wherever his lot should be cast. "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me." (Ruth i. 16, 17.) She survived her daughter several years, and true to her resolve,

mother-in-law before him to Dieppe, but by the importunity of some gentlemen he was prevailed on to stay some time behind them in Scotland, which he spent in going about exhorting the several congregations in which he had preached to be fervent in prayer, frequent in reading the scriptures, and in mutual conferences, till God should give them greater liberty. The earl of Argyll was solicited to press John Knox's stay in this country, but he could not succeed. Knox told them that if they continued earnest in the profession of the faith God would bless these small beginnings, but that he must for once go and visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave; and being thus resolved, he went immediately to Geneva. As soon as he was gone the bishops summoned him to their tribunal, and for non-compearance they burned 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.

Upon the receipt of a letter,

she continued to reside with Knox till her death, which took place only a short time before his own. Her ashes, it is probable, rest in the same grave with those of her daughter Marjory and Knox.

dated March 10, 1556, subscribed by the earls of Glencairn, Erskine, Argyll, and Moray, Knox resolved to return to Scotland. Committing the care of his flock at Geneva to John 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 threatened death and damnation to such as, either in their forehead or right hand, have the mark of the beast; and a portion of this mark are all 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 Dieppe much longer than was expected; which obliged the Scots nobility to renew their solicitations, which he complied with, and arrived in

Scotland on the 2nd of May, 1559, being then fifty-four years old.* He preached first at Dundee, and afterwards at Perth, with great success. About this time the queen regent put some preachers to the horn, prohibiting all, upon pain of rebellion, to comfort, relieve, or assist them; which enraged the multitude so that they would be restrained neither by the preachers nor magistrates from pulling down the images and other monuments of idolatry in Perth: which being told to the queen regent, it so enraged her that she vowed to destroy man, woman, and child in that town, and burn it to the ground. To execute this threat she caused her French army to march towards the place; but being informed that multitudes from the neighbouring country were assembling in the town for the defence of its inhabitants, her impetuosity was checked, and she resolved to use stratagem where force could not avail her. Accordingly she sent the earls of Argyll and Moray to learn what was their design in such commotions.

* At this advanced age his greatest work in Scotland may be said to have commenced; and his labours in it altogether did not exceed fourteen years. But such were their effects

Mr. Knox, in the name of the rest, made answer: "The present troubles ought to move the hearts of all the true servants of God and lovers of their country, to consider what the end of such tyrannical measures will be, by which the emissaries of Satan seek the destruction of all friends of religion in the country. Therefore I most humbly require of you, my lords, to tell the queen in my name, that we, whom she in her blind rage doth thus persecute, are the servants of God, faithful and obedient subjects of this realm; and that the religion which she would maintain by fire and sword is not the true religion of Jesus Christ, but expressly contrary to the same; a superstitious device of men, which I offer myself to prove against all who in Scotland maintain the contrary, freedom of debate being allowed, and the word of God being the judge. Tell her from me that her enterprise shall not succeed in the end; for she fights not against man only, but against the eternal God." Argyll and Moray promised to deliver this message; and Knox preached a sermon,

that, within that comparatively limited period, he accomplished in Scotland a revolution which has moulded its character, institutions, and sentiments, even down to the present day.

exhorting them to constancy; adding, "I am persuaded that this promise (meaning the promise she had made to do them no harm if they would leave the town peaceably) shall be no longer kept than the queen and her Frenchmen can get the upper hand;" which accordingly happened, for she took possession of the town and put a garrison of French in it. This breach of promise so displeased the earls of Argyll and Moray, that they forsook her and joined the Congregation. Having assembled with Erskine of Dun and others, they sent for John 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 bishop, he raised a hundred spearmen, and sent a message to the lords of the congregation, that if John Knox offered to preach there he should have a warm reception. They, in their turn, forewarned Knox of his danger, and dissuaded him from going. He made answer, "God is my witness that I never preached Jesus Christ in contempt of any man, neither am I concerned about going thither. Though I would not willingly injure the worldly interest of

any creature, I cannot, in conscience, delay preaching to-morrow, if I am not detained by violence. As for fear of danger to my person, let no man be solicitous about that, for my life is in the hand of Him whose glory I seek, and therefore I fear not their threats so as to cease from doing my duty, when of his mercy God offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me; only I crave audience, which if denied to me here at this time, I must seek further where I may have it." The lords were thus satisfied that he would fulfil his intention, which he did with such boldness and success, and without interruption, that the magistrates and people of the town, immediately after sermon, agreed to remove the monuments of idolatry; which they did with great expedition.

After this several skirmishes ensued between the queen regent and the lords of the congregation. But at last the queen sickened and died, and a general peace, which lasted for some time, was procured; during which the commissioners of the Scots nobility were employed in settling ministers in different places. John Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where

he continued until the day of his death.*

The same year, 1560, the Scots Confession was compiled and agreed upon; and that the church might be established upon a good foundation, a commission and charge were given to John Knox and five others to draw up a form of government and discipline. When they had finished it they presented it to the nobility, by whom it was afterwards ratified and approved of. †

* Foreseeing that, in upholding in Scotland the reformed cause, the calamities and hazards of a civil war would almost to a certainty have to be encountered from the opposition of the queen regent and her supporters, who, aided by the power of France, intended nothing less than its extermination, Knox no sooner landed, on 2nd May, 1559, than he strenuously urged the lords of the congregation to apply for assistance to Elizabeth, queen of England, and her council—a proposition the wisest that could have been made in the then existing circumstances, when success without foreign aid was so extremely doubtful. In the correspondence which he maintained with some of the leading statesmen of Queen Elizabeth, Sir William Cecil, Sir James Croft, and Sir Henry Percy, he with equal earnestness pressed them to assist the Protestants of Scotland—a policy, he emphatically argued, demanded even by a regard to the interests of England, inasmuch as France, after having subjugated Scotland, would invade England with intent to dethrone Queen Elizabeth, and to invest Mary Queen of Scots with the English crown. The eagle-eyed statesmen of Queen Elizabeth saw the danger, and they supported the Lords of the Congregation with money, and sent into Scotland an army of ten thousand men; by whose help, though not without bloodshed, the French were soon compelled to leave Scotland. Thus was the civil war at that time terminated, and one of the most formidable obstacles to the triumph of the Reformation in

But the progress which was daily making in the Reformation soon met with a severe check by the arrival of the young Queen Mary from France, in August, 1561. With her came Popery and all manner of profanity; the mass was again publicly set up, at which the religious part of the nation were highly offended, and none more than John Knox, who ceased not to expose the evil and danger of it on every occasion. On this account the

that kingdom removed. Soon after, namely, in August, 1560, the Confession of Faith was ratified, and the mass and the jurisdiction of the Pope abolished by the Scottish Parliament.

† The commission to prepare a code of discipline was given by the privy council of Scotland 29th April, 1560. “The Book of Discipline” was presented to the council, 20th May following, and it received their sanction 27th January, 1560–61. It was drawn up mainly by Knox, and it affords ample evidence throughout of his sagacious and enlarged ideas as a practical reformer. In proof of this we may simply refer to his plan of a national education, secular and religious, supported from the ecclesiastical revenues, as laid down in that masterly document. According to this plan, wherever there was a church, a school in which grammar and the Latin tongue were to be taught was to be attached to it; and besides the universities, every notable town was to have a college in which the knowledge of the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the learned languages, might be acquired. (*Knox's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 208–10). Knox powerfully advocated the adoption of this scheme by the council and Parliament, and though from the avarice of the nobility it was long before it received pecuniary aid from the state, yet by the efforts of the church it was carried out to a large extent in Scotland. For this scheme alone, had Knox done nothing more for his country, he would have been entitled to everlasting honour and gratitude.

queen and court were much exasperated; they called him before them, and charged him as guilty of high treason. The queen, being present, produced a letter written by him, wherein it was alleged that he had convoked her Majesty's lieges against law; whereupon a long reasoning ensued between him and Secretary Lethington upon the contents of the said letter, in which Mr. Knox gave such solid and bold answers in defence of himself and doctrine, that at last he was acquitted by the lords of the council, to the no small displeasure of the queen and those of the popish party.

John Knox, in a conference with the queen about this time, said, "If princes exceed their bounds, they may be resisted even by power, for there is no greater honour and obedience to be paid to princes than God hath commanded to be given to father

and mother. If children join together against their father stricken with a frenzy and seeking to slay his own children, apprehend him, take his sword and other weapons from him, bind his hands, and put him in prison till his frenzy overpass, do they any wrong, or will God be offended with them for hindering their father from committing horrible murder? Even so, madam, if princes will murder the children of God, their subjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. To take the sword from them, to bind them, and to cast them into prison till they be brought to a sober mind, is not disobedience, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God." The queen hearing this, stood for some time as one amazed, and changed countenance. No appearance was at this time of her imprisonment.

After the queen's marriage with Henry, Lord Darnley,* a

* Henry, Lord Darnley, was the eldest surviving son of Matthew, earl of Lennox, by his Countess Margaret Douglas, who was the daughter of the Princess Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. of England and queen dowager of King James IV. of Scotland, by her second husband, Archibald, sixth earl of Angus. Darnley was educated in the popish faith by his parents; his mother especially being not less devoted to the old religion than was Mary, queen of England. The marriage of Queen Mary with Darnley was celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood on Sabbath, 29th July, 1565, between five and six o'clock in the morning, in

the presence of many of the nobility, according to the forms of the Church of Rome; Darnley not having completed his twentieth year, and Queen Mary being in the twenty-third year of her age. (*Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 80.) The day after the marriage Lord Darnley was, by the orders of Queen Mary, proclaimed king with sound of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh. (*Keith's History*, p. 307, and Appendix, p. 162.) This marriage caused much anxiety to Knox and the Protestants of Scotland, who dreaded that it might result in the overthrow of the Protestant faith in the kingdom, and in the loss of the friendship of Queen Elizabeth.

proclamation was made, in 1565, 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, therefore it 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 Darnley came to the High Church of Edinburgh, where John Knox preached from these words: "O Lord, our Lord, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us." In his sermon he took occasion to speak of wicked princes, who for the sins of a people were sent as scourges upon them; and also said, "That God set in that room boys and women, and that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with the harlot, Jezebel." These things enraged Darnley to a very high degree. Knox was immediately ordered before the council, and went thither, attended by some of the most respectable citizens. When he was called in, Lethington signified that Darnley was much offended with some words in his sermon, and ordered him to ab-

stain 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 the queen's order prohibited from preaching for a considerable time.

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

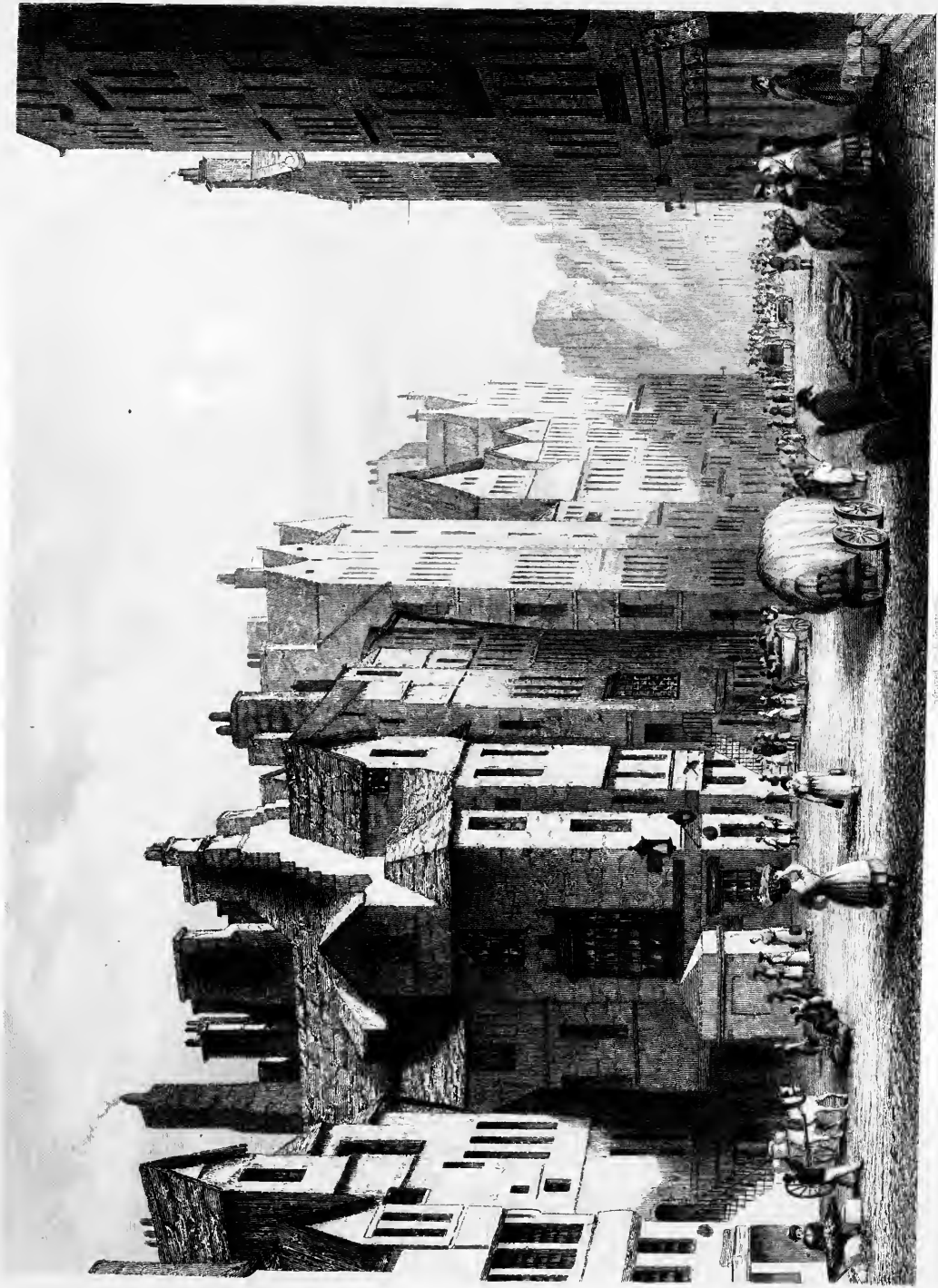
The popish faction now found that it would be impossible to get their idolatry re-established while the Reformation was making such progress, and while John Knox and his associates had such credit with the people. They therefore set other engines to work than those they had hitherto used, sparing no pains to blast his reputation by

malicious calumnies, and even making attempts upon his life. One night as he was sitting at the head of a table in his own house, with his back to the window, as was his custom, he was shot at from the other side of the street, on purpose to kill him. The shot entered at the window; but he being near the other side of the table, the assassin missed his mark. The bullet struck the candlestick before him, and made a hole in the foot of it. Thus was He that was with him stronger than they that were against him.

John Knox was an eminent wrestler with God in prayer, and like a prince prevailed. The queen regent herself had given him this testimony, when upon a particular occasion she said that she was more afraid of his prayers than of an army of ten thousand men. He was likewise warm and pathetic in his preaching, in which such prophetic expressions as dropped from him had the most remarkable accomplishment. As an instance of this, when he was confined in the castle of St. Andrews, he foretold both the manner of the surrender of the garrison, and their deliverance from the French galleys; and when the lords of the congregation were twice dis-

comfited by the French army, he assured them that the Lord would ultimately prosper the work of Reformation. Again, when Queen Mary refused to come and hear sermon, he bade them tell her that she would yet be obliged to hear the word of God whether she would or not; which came to pass at her arraignment in England. At another time he thus addressed himself to her husband, Henry, Lord Darnley, while in the king's seat in the High Church of Edinburgh: "Have you, for the pleasure of that dainty dame, cast the psalm-book into the fire? The Lord shall strike both head and tail." Both king and queen died violent deaths. He likewise said, when the castle of Edinburgh held out for the queen against the regent, that "the castle should spue out the captain (meaning Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange) with shame; that he should not come out at the gate, but over the wall; and that the tower called Davis Tower should run like a sand-glass: which was fulfilled a few years after—Kirkaldy being obliged to come over the wall on a ladder, with a staff in his hand, and the said fore work of the castle running down like a sand-brae.

On the 24th of January, 1570,



THE GREAT STREET, LONDON, 1850

John Knox being in the pulpit, a paper was put into his hands, among others containing the names of the sick people to be prayed for. The paper contained these words, "Take up the man whom you accounted another god," 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 near him to hold up his head." Thomas Maitland, the author of that insulting paper, hearing what Knox said, confessed the whole to his sister, the Lady Trabrown, but said that John Knox was raving, to speak of he knew not whom; she replied with tears, that none of John 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 comfort him.

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

Here he continued till the end of August, 1572, when the civil

broils were a little abated; upon which, receiving a letter from Edinburgh, he returned to his flock. He was now much oppressed with the infirmities of old age and the extraordinary fatigues he had undergone. The death of the good regent, the earl of Moray, had made deep impression on him; and when he heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, and the murder of the good Admiral Coligny, these melancholy news almost deprived him of his life.* Finding his dissolution approaching, he prevailed with the council and kirk session of Edinburgh to concur with him in admitting Mr. James Lawson as his successor, who was at that time professor of philosophy in the college of Aberdeen. He wrote a letter to Mr. Lawson, entreating him to accept of this charge; adding this postscript,

* Intelligence of this infernal massacre having reached Scotland, Knox, though then very feeble, was enabled to lift up his voice by denouncing, in a sermon which he preached in St. Giles' Church, the vengeance of heaven against "that cruel murderer and false traitor, the king of France;" and he bade Le Croc, the French ambassador, tell his master that sentence had gone forth against him in Scotland, that unless he repented the vengeance of God should never depart from him nor from his house; that his name should remain an execration to posterity, and that none issuing from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace. "The prediction was bold," says Froude, "for the queen of

Accelera, mi frater, alioqui sero venies ("Make haste, my brother, otherwise you will come too late"); meaning that if he did not come speedily, he would find him dead; which words had this effect on Mr. Lawson, that he 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 unto that congregation. Knox, though still weaker, preached upon that 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 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

France was pregnant, and the news of the birth of a Dauphin was hourly looked for." (*History of England*, vol. iv. p. 443.) Le Croc complained to the Regent Mar of the indignity done to his royal master, and desired him to silence the preacher. This the regent declined to do, upon which the French ambassador left Scotland in indignation. (*Bannatyne's Journal*, pp. 401, 402.) The queen of Charles IX. gave birth to a daughter, his only child, who according to the Salic law, which excluded females from succession to the French throne, could not succeed him at his death, which happened within less than two years after. His last illness was embittered by the most pungent agonies of remorse.

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, with which the congregation were much affected.

Being carried home that same day, he was confined to his bed, and on the 13th of the month was so enfeebled that he was obliged to lay aside his ordinary reading of the scriptures. The next day he would rise out of bed. Being asked what he intended by getting out of bed, he replied he would go to church, thinking it had been the Lord's day, and told them that he had been all the night meditating upon the resurrection of Christ, which he should have preached on in order after the death of Christ, which he had finished the sabbath before. He had often desired of God that he would end his days in teaching and meditating upon that doctrine; which desire seems to have been granted to him.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN KNOX.*

On Monday, the 17th, he thus addressed the members of his session, who with Mr.

* This account of Knox's last illness and death is substituted for Howie's from Dr. Mc'Crie's biography of our reformer, as being more minute and graphic.

Lawson his colleague, and Mr. Lindsay, one of the ministers of Leith, assembled in his room for that purpose:—"The day approaches and is now before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now God is my witness, whom I have served in spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God, and have had it for my only object to instruct the ignorant; to confirm the faithful; to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace; and to fight against the proud and rebellious by the divine threatenings. I know that many have complained, and do yet loudly complain, of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny but that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged; but I still kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter whatever the Lord put into my mouth so boldly, without respect of persons, was a reverential fear of my God, who called and out of his grace appointed me to be a steward of divine mysteries, and a belief that he will demand an account of my discharge of the trust committed unto me, when I shall stand before his tribunal. I profess, therefore, before God and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandise of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talent intrusted to me for the edification of the church over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the meantime, my dearest brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel; wait diligently on the flock over

which the Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou, my dear brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you and the whole church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall not prevail."

When they were going out, he desired Messrs. Lawson and Lindsay* to remain behind, and thus continued: "There is one thing that greatly grieves me. You have been witnesses of the former courage and constancy of Grange in the cause of God; but now, alas, into what a gulf has he precipitated himself! I entreat you not to refuse the request which I now make to you. Go to the castle, and tell him from me 'that John Knox remains the same man now, when he is about to die, that ever he knew him when able in body, and wills him to consider what he was and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble.' Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man (Maitland) whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his rest to punishment, and hung on a gallows before the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life and flee to the mercy of God. That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish if I could save it."

To the earl of Morton, after having asked him as to his previous knowledge of Darnley's murder, he said, "Well, God has beautified you with many benefits which he has not given to every man; as he has given you riches, wisdom, and friends, and now is to prefer you to the government of the realm.

* Mr. David Lindsay was the reformed minister of Leith. He had become acquainted with Knox at Geneva, and had zealously co-operated with him in the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. Submitting to the ecclesiastical policy of King James VI.,

And therefore in the name of God I charge you to use all these benefits aright, and better in time to come than ye have done in times bypast; first, to God's glory, to the furtherance of the evangel, the maintenance of the church of God and his ministry; next, for the weal of the king, and his realm and true subjects. If so ye shall do, God shall bless you and honour you; but if ye do it not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame."

On Thursday, the 20th, the Lords Glencairn and Ruthven having called, and the latter having tendered his services to do for him any thing in his power, his reply was, "I care not for all the pleasure and friendship of the world." A lady of his acquaintance, desiring him to praise God for what good he had done, and speaking in his commendation, he thus interrupted her:—"Tongue, tongue! lady, flesh of itself is overproud, and needs no means to esteem itself." He then exhorted her to put off pride and be clothed with humility, protesting as to himself that he relied wholly on the free mercy of God, manifested to mankind through his dear Son Jesus Christ, whom alone he embraced for wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. And the rest of the company having taken their leave of him, he said to the laird of Braid—"Every one bids me good night, but when will you do it? I have been greatly indebted unto you, for which I shall never be able to recompense you; but I commit you to one that is able to do it, to the Eternal God."

On Friday, the 21st, these words were often in his mouth, "Come, Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Be merciful to thy church which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up faithful

he was made bishop of Ross; but he, notwithstanding, continued minister at Leith till his death, in 1613, at the advanced age of eighty-three; and at his own desire he was buried in the midst of the people among whom he had lived and laboured so long.

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." In the midst of his meditations he would often address those who stood by in such sentences as these: "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God."

On the afternoon of Sabbath, the 23rd, he suddenly exclaimed, "If any be present let them come and see the work of God." And to Johnston of Elphinston, who was sent for, he said: "I have been these two last nights in meditation on the troubled state of the church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised by the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her head Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys where presently I am."

To some who inquired if he felt much pain, he answered that he was willing to lie there for years if God so pleased, and if he continued to shine upon his soul through Jesus Christ, and then went on to emit such pious ejaculations as the following: "Live in Christ, live in Christ, and then flesh need not fear death. Lord, grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. Once, Lord, make an end of my trouble. Lord, I commend my spirit, soul and body and all, into thy hands. Thou knowest, O Lord, my troubles: I do not murmur against thee."

On Monday, the 24th, which was the last day he spent on earth, being asked by Campbell of Kinzeanleuch* if he had any

* This was Robert Campbell of Kinzeanleuch, son of Hugh Campbell of Kinzeanleuch, noticed under the Life of George Wishart. Following in his father's footsteps, he had at an early period of his life embraced

pain, he replied: "It is no painful pain, but such a pain as shall I trust put an end to the battle. I must leave the care of my wife and children to you, to whom you must be a husband in my room." He afterwards desired his wife to read the 15th chapter of I. Corinthians, saying when it was finished, "Is not that a comfortable chapter? O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!" A little after he said, "Now for the last time I commend my soul, spirit, and body (touching three of his fingers) into thy hand, O Lord." About five o'clock in the evening he said to his wife, "Go, read where I cast my anchor," meaning the 17th chapter of John's Gospel.

Appearing after this to fall into a slumber, he sighed deeply, and being asked on awakening the cause of this, he replied: "I have formerly during my frail life sustained many contests and assaults of Satan, but at present that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously, and put forth all his strength to devour and make an end of me at once. Often before hath he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often endeavoured to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but these weapons being broken by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, he could not prevail. Now he has attacked me in another way; the cunning serpent has laboured to persuade me that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But blessed be God, who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart by suggesting to me such passages of scripture as these, "What hast thou, that thou hast not received?" "By the grace of God, I am what I am." "Not I, but the grace of God in me." Being thus vanquished, he left me. Wherefore, I give thanks to my God, through

with great ardour the reformed faith. He was one of Knox's earliest friends in Scotland, having brought him to Kyle in 1556. He died on 24th April, 1574, in the forty-third year of his age.

Jesus Christ, who was pleased to give me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me, but within a short time I shall, without any great bodily pain or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life for a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ."

About ten o'clock, being asked by Dr. Preston if he heard the prayers which had just been read, he replied, "Would to God that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them; I praise God for that heavenly sound." About eleven he gave a deep sigh, and said, "Now it is come." Immediately his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, drew near, and perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give a sign that he died in peace. Upon this he lifted up one of his hands, and sighing twice, expired without a struggle!*

He was buried in the churchyard of St. Giles, now that square called the Parliament Close, upon Wednesday the 26th of November, 1572. His funeral was attended by the regent earl of Morton, 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 one who in his life never feared the face of man, who hath been

* Knox had issue by his first wife, Marjory Bowes, two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, who were educated at the university of Cambridge, in which they obtained preferment; and by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, youngest daughter of Andrew, second Lord Ochiltree, three daughters: first, Martha, the eldest, who married Alexander Fairlie, eldest son and heir of Robert Fairlie of Braid (*Knox's Works*, vol. vi. p. lxi.); second, Margaret, who married Zachary Pont, eldest son of Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh; and third, Elizabeth, who married Mr. John Welsh, minister of Ayr.

† "No grander figure," says Froude, "can be found in the entire history of the Reformation in this island than that of Knox. Cromwell and Burghley rank beside him for the work which they effected; but, as politicians and statesmen, they had to labour with instruments which they soiled their hands in touching. In purity, in uprightness, in courage, truth, and stainless honour, the Regent Moray and our English Latimer were perhaps his equals; but Moray was intellectually far below him, and the sphere of Latimer's influence was on a smaller scale. His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man, the

often threatened with dag and dagger, but hath ended his days in peace and honour."

John Knox was low in stature, and of a weakly constitution; which made Mr. Thomas Smeaton, one of his contemporaries, say, "I know not if God ever 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 reproving sin, in a manner that showed he was not awed by the fear of man, makes up the most remarkable part of his character; and the success wherewith the Lord blessed his labours was very singular, and is enough to stop the mouth of every enemy against him.†

His works are, "An Admonition to England;" "An Application to the Scots Nobility, equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers. He was the one antagonist whom Mary Stuart could not soften nor Maitland deceive; he it was that raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow, superstitious, and fanatical, but who nevertheless were men whom neither king, noble, nor priest, could force again to submit to tyranny. . . . But for him Mary Stuart would have bent Scotland to her purpose, and Scotland would have been the lever with which France and Spain would have worked in England. But for Knox and Burghley—those two, but not one without the other—Elizabeth would have been flung from off her throne, or gone back into the Egypt to which she was too often casting wistful eyes." (*History of England*, vol. iv. pp. 455, 457.)

LUTHER, CALVIN, AND KNOX.—Now that we look back on the era from the distance of three centuries, unquestionably its three bulkiest figures are Luther, Calvin, and Knox. They tower grandly up above all the actors who lived in that busy time, and figured on that crowded stage. They were the kings of their age, though they wore no crowns; and the leaders of the world, though they stood not at the head of armies. It

&c.;" "A Letter to Mary the Queen Regent;" "A History of the Reformation;" "A Treatise on Predestination;" "The First and Second Blasts of the Trumpet;" a Sermon, delivered

was theirs to discover and apply those great moral levers by which the sacerdotal tyranny that oppressed the middle ages was overturned, and a new order of things planted on the basis of a free conscience and of equal political rights. Charles V. made a great noise with his kettle-drums and his battles; Francis I. cut a brilliant figure at the head of his humanists, who flattered his pride by styling him the "Father of Learning;" Leo X. thought that he could arrest at any moment the movement which Luther's Theses had commenced, simply by fulminating a few lines of excommunication from amidst the statues and courtizans of the Vatican: and yet the issue showed that Charles, Francis, and Leo were but puppets, who but deceived themselves and others by the empty noise which they made, while the direction of affairs had been grasped by other hands, and the world was being moved onward by the force of great principles which all their armies could not withstand.

And there was an admirable distribution of the work among these three reformers. Each was the complement of the other: Calvin was the complement of Luther, and Knox was the complement of Calvin, and the one without the other could not have been made perfect. Luther came first: he shook the fabric of Roman bondage into ruins by placing underneath it the principle of "Salvation by Grace," and he cleared the ground in the minds of men on which that system of spiritual and intellectual slavery had stood. Calvin came next, and on the ground which his predecessor had cleared he began to build the temple of truth, entire and complete, in its due proportions and full splendour, even as it had been shown to the apostles at the beginning in the mount of Revelation. Last of all came Knox, and he set up that organization in which a pure and entire gospel, as restored to the world in the teaching of Calvin, might be enshrined, and through which it might be perpetuated.

In whatever country the gospel is planted, it necessarily regulates and modifies the spirit and action of the government of that country. The first principle which the gospel teaches man, as regulating his relations to others, is that "God alone is Lord of the conscience." This shuts out all lordship over the conscience on the part of man, whether pope or prince. The enfranchisement which the gospel bestows on the individual, it bestows on the whole congregation of believing believing men. It says to them, as a federation or church, that God alone is Lord of the conscience. Translated into fact, this implies that, in framing their religious creed and in directing all their spiritual affairs, they are to be guided solely by the word of God, which is the law by which He makes known his will. "Spiritual independence" is but another way of expressing that which is the fundamental maxim of all liberty, even, that "God alone is Lord of the conscience."

August 1565, on account of which he was for some time prohibited from preaching. He left also sundry sermons, tracts, and other unprinted manuscripts.

But this cannot consist with a despotism, and wherever the gospel is introduced there necessarily comes along with it a certain measure of civil liberty. The church organization which Knox set up in Scotland was based on the great principle that "God alone is lord of the conscience:" hence the God-given, independent, unfettered, spiritual jurisdiction which he claimed for the Scottish Kirk. He was simply claiming freedom of conscience. He was claiming no power to over-ride the state, but simply the right of free conscience within the church. Nor was he seeking to vest in the church the power of oppressing the conscience of any of her members; he was simply guarding the divine birth-right of all within her pale, for her rights and privileges cannot be encroached upon without encroaching to the same extent upon the consciences of her members.

At the same time Knox laboured zealously to remove those outward hindrances which made it difficult for the church to exercise the right of freedom of conscience. He secured that the temporal jurisdiction of the popish bishops should be abolished, and that the Protestant church should be recognized as coming in the room of the popish, but only to the extent of being able to act upon her fundamental maxim, that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," in other words, the liberty of guiding herself by the law of Christ, which is the Bible. And he ceased not to inculcate on rulers those principles of free constitutional government, by embracing which the state would bring its machinery into harmony with the spiritual rights and privileges of the church, and which, had they been heartily adopted as Knox recommended, would have given us the blessings of political freedom a full hundred and fifty years before we were able to attain them. A not less enlightened measure than any of these was his scheme of education, which, crippled and starved though it was, has yet resulted in vast benefits to our country, which would have been augmented a hundred fold had that measure been carried out in the spirit in which Knox devised it. These were the safe-guards which our far-seeing reformer sought to erect around the Reformation in Scotland. He did not intrust its continuance and welfare to king, or nobles, or parliament. He knew the Reformation must preserve itself. He set up a scripturally constituted, free, and living church; he made every provision in his power for preserving that freedom and life, and carrying them down among the masses of the people. If the church should preserve her freedom and life she would continue to bless and rule over the land; if not, no good, he knew, would come of a defunct ecclesiastical organization sitting entrenched in corpse-like stillness behind legal edicts. To the more free and popular constitution of our church we ascribe the happier state of our country, as well as the fact that in Scotland alone has the Reformation, both as a doctrine and as a life, been preserved much as conceived of by Luther and Calvin.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in the parish of Killearn, Stirlingshire, in the year 1506, and belonged to a family, as he himself characterized it, more remarkable for its antiquity than its opulence. His father died in the flower of his age, while his grandfather was yet alive, by whose extravagance the family, which was but low before, was now almost reduced to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Heriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to men's and women's estate. Of the five sons, George was the third. His uncle, James Heriot, perceiving his promising ingenuity in their own country schools (those of Killearn and Dumbarton), took him from thence, and sent him to Paris. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to poetry—having partly a natural genius that way, and partly out of necessity, it being the only method of study propounded to him in his youth.

Before he had been there two years his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme want, he was forced to go home to his friends.

After his return to Scotland, he spent almost a year in taking care of his health, and then went into the army, with some French auxiliaries newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the military art. Their expedition into England having proved fruitless, and the troops having suffered much from the severity of the 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, or Mair, who, though very old, read logic, or rather sophistry, in that university. The summer after he accompanied him into France, and there he fell into the troubles of the Lutheran sect, which then began to increase. He struggled with the difficulties of fortune almost two years, and at last was admitted into the college of St. Barbe, where he was grammar-professor almost three years. During that time Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, one of the young Scottish nobles, being in that country, was much taken with his ingenuity and abilities, so that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him to Scotland.



Afterwards, having a mind to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by King James V., and made tutor to James, his natural son.* In the meantime, a poem made by him at leisure times came into the hands of the Franciscans; wherein he writes that he was solicited in a dream by St. Francis to enter into his order. In this poem there were one or two passages that reflected on them very severely; which those ghostly fathers, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, took more heinously than men having obtained such a vogue for piety among the vulgar ought to have done, upon so small an occasion of offence. 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 they did not wish well to. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran cause. In the meantime, the king, with Magdalene his wife, came from France, not without

the resentment 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 the king, and in that matter James V. being persuaded that the Franciscans dealt insincerely, commanded Buchanan, who was then at court, though he was ignorant of the feud between him and that order, to write a satire upon them. He was loath to offend either of them; and therefore, though he made a poem, it was but short, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, whereby he satisfied neither party; not yet the king, who would have a sharp and stinging invective; nor yet the fathers, who looked on it as a capital offence to have anything said of them but what was honourable. So that, receiving a second command to write more pungently against them, he began that miscellany which now bears the title of "The

* This son was not James Stuart, who became regent, but another illegitimate son of King James V. of the same name, whose mother was

Elizabeth Shaw, of the family of Sauchie. He was made abbot of Kelso, and died in the year 1548. (*Irving's Life of Buchanan*, p. 17).

Franciscan," and gave it to the king. Shortly after he was arrested and committed to custody; but being made acquainted by 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 escaped out of prison, and fled to England. There, also, things were at such an uncertainty that the very same day, and almost in one and the same fire, the men of both factions, Protestants and Papists, were burned; 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 their natural courtesy, drew him again into that kingdom.

As soon as he came to Paris he found Cardinal Beaton, his utter enemy, ambassador there: so that, to withdraw himself from his fury, he went to Bordeaux at the invitation of Andrew Govean. There he taught three years in the schools, which were erected at the public cost. In that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards occasionally published. But that which he wrote first, called *Baptistes*, or the *Baptist*, was

printed last, and next the *Medea* of Euripides. He wrote them in compliance with the custom of the school, which was to have a play written once a year, that the acting of them might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a false taste, and bring them back as much as possible to a just imitation of the ancients. This affair succeeding even almost beyond his hopes, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called *Jephtes* and *Alcestes*; because he thought they would fall under a severer scrutiny of the learned. And yet during this time he was not wholly free from trouble, being harassed with the menaces of the cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other; for the cardinal had written letters to the archbishop of Bordeaux to apprehend him. Providentially, those letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends, and besides, the death of the king of Scots, and the plague which then raged over all Aquitaine, dispelled all fear of further persecution.

In the interim an express came to Govean from the king of Portugal, commanding him to return to that country, and bring with him some men, learned both in

the Greek and Latin tongues ; that they might read the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which he was then building at a great expense. Buchanan being asked, readily consented to go ; for whereas he saw that all Europe besides was either actually in foreign or domestic wars, or just upon the point of being so, this one corner of the world was in his opinion likeliest to be free from tumults and combustions. Besides, his companions in that journey were such, that they seemed rather his acquaintances and familiar friends than strangers or aliens to him ; for many of them had been his intimates for several years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholaus Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Venetus. This was the reason that he did not only make one of their society, but also persuaded his brother Patrick to do the same.

And truly the matter succeeded excellently well at first ; till in the midst of the enterprise Andrew Govean was taken away by a sudden death, which proved most prejudicial to his companions. For after his decease, all their enemies endeavoured first

to ensnare them by treachery, and soon after ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth ; and their agents and instruments, being great enemies to the accused, laid hold of three of them, and haled them to prison ; whence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were called out to give in their answers, and after many bitter taunts were remanded to prison again ; and yet no accuser did appear in court against them. As for Buchanan, they exulted most bitterly over him, as being a stranger, and knowing also that he had very few friends in that country who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathize with his grief, or revenge the wrongs offered to him. The crime laid to his charge was the poem he wrote against the Franciscans, which he himself, before he went from France, took care to get excused to the king of Portugal ; neither did his accusers perfectly know what it was, for he had given but one copy of it to the king of Scots, by whose command he wrote it. They farther objected to his eating of flesh in Lent, though there was not a man in all Portugal but used the same liberty. Besides, he had given some sly side-blows to the monks ; which, however, nobody

but a monk himself could well except against. Moreover, they took it heinously ill that in a certain familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention made of the eucharist, he affirmed that in his judgment Augustine was more inclinable to the party condemned by the Church of Rome. Two other persons (as some years after came to his knowledge) viz., John Tulpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius of Sub-alpine Liguria, had witnessed against him, that they had heard from divers creditable persons that Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion.

After the inquisitors had wearied both themselves and him for almost half a year, that they might not seem to have causelessly vexed a man of name and note in the world, they shut him up in a monastery for some months, there to be more exactly 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. This was the time he took to form the principal part of David Psalms into Latin verse.

At last he was set at liberty; and suing for a pass and accom-

modations from the crown to return to France, the king desired him to stay where he was, and allotted him a small sum for daily necessaries and pocket expenses till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But he, tired out with delay, and having got the opportunity of a passage in a ship then riding in the bay of Lisbon, was carried over into England. He made no long stay in that country, though fair offers were made him there; for he saw that all things were in a hurry and combustion under a very young king (Edward VI.), the nobles being at variance one with another, and the minds of the commons yet in a ferment upon the account of their civil commotions. Whereupon he returned into France, about the time that the siege of Metz was raised. There he was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem concerning that siege; which he did, though somewhat unwillingly, because he was loath to interfere with several of his acquaintances, and especially with Mellinus Sangelasius, who had composed a learned and elegant poem on that subject. From thence he was called over into Italy by Charles de Cossé, Marshal de Brissac, who then presided with

very good success over the Gallic and Ligurian countries about the Po. He lived with him and his son Timoleon, sometimes in Italy and sometimes in France, for the space of five years, till the year 1560; the greatest part of which time he spent in the study of the Holy Scriptures, that so he might be able to make a more exact judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts and took up the time of most of the men of these days. These disputes were silenced a little in Scotland when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France;* so he returned thither, and became a member of the Church of Scotland, 1560.

[Though previously attached to the principles of the Reformation, Buchanan had not formally joined the Reformed Church. In January, 1561-62, he was at the Scottish court. Thomas Randolph, English ambassador at that court, in a letter to Sir William Cecil, 30th of that month, asks, "Who is fittest to be sent as ambassador to England?" and answers, Mr. George

* As might be expected, Buchanan's sympathies were strong on the side of the persecuted French Huguenots. In his address to the cardinal of Lorraine, who had produced so much misery in France by the atrocities of persecution, he bids him survey the price of his grandeur—a nation

Buchanan.† In April following Buchanan was performing the duties of classical tutor to Queen Mary, then in the twentieth year of her age, who daily read with him after dinner a portion of Livy. In 1564 Queen Mary conferred upon him the temporalities of Crossraguel, which amounted annually to five hundred pounds Scots; and in the year 1566 he was appointed by Regent Moray principal of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews, of which the regent, as prior of St. Andrews, was patron. He was frequently a member of the General Assembly of the church, and in 1567 he presided as moderator over the deliberations of that court. He was one of the commissioners who accompanied Regent Moray to the conferences which were opened at York, 4th October, 1568, in reference to the contention between Queen Mary and her subjects, who had deprived her of all authority in the kingdom; and after the conferences were transferred to Westminster, when Regent Moray accused her of complicity in the crime of the

of widows and orphans, a country covered with blood and ashes—and sternly assures him, that to such a prodigy of guilt hell must be a desirable refuge from the curses of mankind.

† Calendar of State Papers, Scotland—Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 178, No. 15.

murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, Buchanan produced to the commissioners his "Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots," which he had composed in Latin, consisting of a narrative of the events which had led to her deposition. His "Detectio," which was printed in the year 1571, contained three of Queen Mary's letters to Bothwell, known as the casket letters,* translated into Latin. A Scotch translation of this work soon after appeared, to which were subjoined in Scotch the

* There were eight letters, with a love sonnet, all in French, from Queen Mary in her own handwriting to the earl of Bothwell, some of them written shortly before the death of Lord Darnley, others of them after that event and before her marriage with Bothwell. Bothwell had put them into a silver enamelled box that had belonged to Queen Mary's first husband, Francis II. king of France, which she had brought with her to Scotland. After his flight from Carberry Hill, Bothwell, who had intrusted the box with its contents to Sir James Balfour, having sent his servant Dalglish from Dunbar to Edinburgh Castle to fetch it, Balfour gave it to Dalglish, but privately apprised the confederates, who captured both the casket and the bearer.

On 14th and 15th December, 1568, the originals of these letters were produced to Queen Elizabeth's commissioners at Hampton Court by Moray and the Scottish commissioners, who unhesitatingly affirmed that they were in her handwriting, in proof of her complicity in the crime of the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley; and the letters being compared as to the manner of writing and fashion of orthography with sundry letters which long before had been written and sent by Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, no difference was found. Queen Elizabeth's commissioners did not state

three letters which had formerly appeared in Latin and five other of the casket letters which were not in the Latin edition. Next appeared a French translation of the "Detectio" and of the eight letters, the three first being translated from the Latin edition, and the other five from the Scotch. Having received a copy of Buchanan's Latin work, Queen Mary, in a letter in French from Sheffield, 22nd November, 1571, to M. Fénélon, French ambassador at the English court, complained of a Latin book

in express terms that the result was a belief in the genuineness of the letters; but throughout the whole discussion it was never insinuated, save in Queen Mary's own instructions, that they were forgeries—that being a solution of the problem suggested at a somewhat later period—though her enemies were charged with propagating calumnies against her.

The originals of these letters have been lost or destroyed. Moray had taken them with him on his return to Scotland. On his death they passed into the hands of the Regent Lennox, and then into the hands of the Regent Morton. On his fall they are said by some means or other to have got into the possession of the earl of Gowrie, but this he denied. If these letters are genuine, as has been strongly argued on the ground of the testimony of those who were well acquainted with Queen Mary's handwriting, and also of internal evidence, it is certain that she had been plotting with Bothwell the destruction of Darnley. The disappearance of the originals has rendered it impossible for modern critics to test their genuineness by comparing them with existing letters in Queen Mary's handwriting.*

* "In spite of all the efforts of her defenders, it is ill proved that the love letters to him are not genuine, that the scented French verses to Bothwell were not by her hand. Even Ranke considers them genuine in the main."—*Ludwig Häusser, The Period of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 315. London, 1873.

just published against her, and begged him to write to the king of France to resent such an outrage. She had asked for a priest to administer the holy sacrament to her, in lieu of which they had given her a defamatory book, by an atheist, Buchanan, whom they had also appointed preceptor to her son.* In the preceding year, soon after the assassination of Regent Moray, Buchanan had been appointed one of the tutors of King James VI., who was then only four years of age.† In the same year he was made keeper of the Privy Seal, an office which entitled him to a seat in Parliament.

Buchanan's treatise, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus," was published in 1579. "Its professed subject are the rights of the crown of Scotland; but the work comprehends a subtile and eloquent delineation of the general principles of government." Of this work there are

* Labanoff's *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, tom. iv. p. 3.

† It seemed at first as if Buchanan would have had much credit in his royal pupil. King James early showed a capacity and taste for the acquisition of languages. Henry Killigrew, English ambassador at the Scottish court, in a letter to Walsingham from Edinburgh, 30th June, 1574, reporting a visit which he paid to the king, who was then only eight years of age, speaks in high terms of his scholarship. The king's pretty speeches about the Queen of England, his growth and learning

several English translations, and it had no inconsiderable influence in moulding the political sentiments of the English Puritans. Having received a copy of this treatise, Randolph, the English ambassador, in a letter to Peter Young, also tutor to King James VI., writes in 1580, that "being lately moved with the remembrance of his master, Mr. George Buchanan, by the sight of his book 'De Jure,' &c., and calling to mind the notable acts of his life, his study, his travail, his danger, his wisdom, his learning, and in short, as much as could be wished in a man—he thought the king more happy to have had Buchanan for a master than Alexander the Great to have had Aristotle. He thanked God that he himself was acquainted with him, and marvelled that no man had written of his life, even although he was yet living; for if it be done after his death many things

delighted him. He translated a chapter of the Bible from Latin into French, and from French into English extempore. His preceptors, Buchanan and Peter Young, made him dance before Killigrew, which he did with a very good grace. (*Calendar of State Papers, Scotland—Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 385.) In future life King James had always a ready command of Latin words. Buchanan, however, strove to make him something better than merely a good Latin or French scholar, namely, a patriotic king, a great constitutional monarch; but unhappily in this he signally failed.

may be omitted that are worthy of famous memory." Randolph writes similarly in a letter to Buchanan himself.*

Buchanan's treatise "De Jure" was attacked by numerous writers. In 1584 it was condemned by the Parliament of Scotland; in 1664 its circulation was prohibited by the Scottish privy council; and in 1683 it was doomed to the flames, along with the political works of Milton, Languet, and others, by the university of Oxford. Most will now subscribe to the encomium pronounced upon it by an eloquent writer of the present century, Sir James Mackintosh, that in it "the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision and enforced with an

* Calendar of State Papers, Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 416.

† *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, 2nd edition, p. 309.

‡ In September, 1581, a year before his death, Buchanan's friends, Andrew Melville, James Melville, and his cousin Thomas Buchanan, provost of the collegiate church of Kirkcubright, having heard of his illness, went to Edinburgh for the express purpose of paying him a visit. On entering the chamber they found him engaged in teaching a young man in his service the letters of the alphabet. "I perceive," said Andrew Melville, "you are not idle." "Better this," replied Buchanan, "than stealing sheep, or sitting idle, which is as bad." He showed his visitors the Epistle Dedicatory to the king of his History; and Andrew Melville having read it over observed that in some passages it was obscure, and needed certain words to be supplied to complete the sense. "I can do nothing more," said

energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."†]

A little before his death he left the court to visit his friends, during which time King James sent him several messages, and at last a threatening letter, to return in twenty days. But finding his death approaching, he sent him back a letter of admonition relative to the government of his kingdom and well-being of his council; and in the end 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.‡ He died at Edinburgh, September 28, 1582, and was buried

Buchanan, "for thinking on another matter." "What is that?" inquired Melville. "To die," answered Buchanan; "but I leave that and many other things for you to help." On leaving him his friends went to Arbuthnot's printing office, and glancing at the narrative of David Rizzio's interment, the part of the history to which the printing had advanced, afraid that from the freedom of the historian's statements the king might prohibit the publication of the work, they returned to Buchanan to speak to him about the passage. To their inquiries as to his health, he said that he was "even going the way of welfare." His cousin having informed him of their errand, Buchanan asked, "Tell me, man, if I have told the truth?" "Yes," replied his cousin, "I think so." Then rejoined Buchanan, "I will abide his feud, and all his kin's. Pray to God for me, and let him direct all." (*Melville's Diary*, pp. 120, 121.)

in the common place,* though worthy to have been laid in marble, for in his lifetime he used to condemn and despise pompous monuments.†

Sir James Melville, in his *Memoirs*, gives him the following character: "He was a stoic

philosopher who looked not far before him; too easy in his old age; somewhat revengeful against those who had offended him. . . . But, notwithstanding, he was a man of notable endowments, great learning, and an excellent Latin poet;‡ he was

great movement of his age. The great scholar did not grow in elevation as he grew in years. He became timid and self-indulgent. He loved to correspond with princes. He trembled lest anything should dim the brightness of his literary glory. If the combat against Rome could have been carried on with the expenditure of nothing more precious than ink, Erasmus would have continued to fight in the ranks of Protestantism to the end of his life. But when it became manifest that other things beside ink must be shed in this conflict, that fame, emolument, and life would all have to be risked in this battle, Erasmus drew off, and pitched his tent between the two parties, though a little nearer to Rome than to Wittenberg. He cherished to his life's end a hearty detestation of the monks, and at times he lashed them mercilessly with his wit and irony; but while he hated the cloak, he cherished a singular veneration for the mitre; while he condemned the vulgarity of the cowl as unpardonable, he had a large charity for the crimes which in that age often disgraced the men who wielded crosiers; and while smiting the poor monks with the shafts of his satire and ridicule, and raising the laugh against them, he was bowing very respectfully before popes, some of whom were at heart as gross, vulgar, and sensual as the monks, but whose coarseness was covered by the fine robes they wore and atoned for by the golden dignities they had to bestow.

* Grey Friars Churchyard.

† The whole works of Buchanan were first published in two volumes, folio, at Edinburgh, 1715, under the editorship of Thomas Ruddiman.

‡ BUCHANAN, ERASMUS, AND MORE.—Scotland has some reason to be proud of having produced, in the case of George Buchanan, one of the finest, if not the finest writer of the tongue of ancient Rome, who has flourished since the age of Augustus. Scholars are not agreed, it is true, to which of the two, Buchanan or Erasmus, the palm of superiority is to be assigned; some give it to the Scotchman, and some to the Dutchman, but it is generally admitted that it lies between the two, and in either case remains with the Reformation. There is a third person who may have some pretensions to contest this honour with Buchanan and Erasmus, Thomas More of England, namely; but it will be generally admitted that More is altogether a slenderer character, and both in thinking and in expression lacks the classic vigour and terseness of the other two. Indeed, in these qualities, Buchanan stands incontestibly first: while he equalled Erasmus in wit and satire, and did more than rival him in that peculiar humour which is characteristic of his countrymen, he far excelled him in the originality and boldness of his thinking, and in the depth of his political philosophy. Buchanan is one of the great founders of modern constitutional liberty.

Erasmus rendered one service which ought never to be forgotten. He was the first to give to Christendom the New Testament in the original Greek. This opened the oracles of inspiration to the learned, led them to the sources of divine knowledge, and had an immense effect upon the Reformation in its earlier stages. But this forms the one contribution of great and lasting value which Erasmus made to the

But we find none of these weaknesses in Buchanan. On the contrary, he was marked by a sturdy independence. This quality must have stood greatly in the way of his preferment, for his renown abroad as a scholar and a man of great and varied talent was immense, and had he cast in his lot with the Roman party, or had he been a master of trimming to anything like the same degree as Erasmus, there was scarcely

much honoured in foreign countries, pleasant in conversation, into which he happily introduced

any office or dignity to which he might not have aspired. He early attached himself to the reforming party; and he continued all along, through many perils and much sacrifice of position, to advocate the cause of political liberty and a reformed Christianity. His Christian character deepened and mellowed as his years advanced. He braved on his death-bed the royal displeasure, and departed "not fearing the wrath of the king, as seeing him who is invisible."

As stated above, Buchanan on one occasion filled the moderator's chair of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. So far as our memory serves, he is the one solitary instance of a layman having occupied that seat. Why he should be the solitary instance we do not very well know. There is no principle of the word of God, and no law of the church which makes it unlawful for a lay-elder to preside in the deliberative assemblies of the church, or in her courts met and constituted in the name of

short moral maxims which his invention readily supplied him with upon any emergency."

Christ. On the contrary, the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and the genius of presbytery, would seem to warrant the occupation from time to time of the moderator's chair by one selected from among those who have been ordained to rule though not to teach. In the popish church, for obvious reasons, this could not be; but Protestantism knows nothing of a sacerdotal caste, and of the sole transmission of the Spirit through a priestly channel. We are taught at least this lesson from the fact we are animadverting upon, that in the Presbyterian church, in which the laity have been assigned their due place and influence, they have shown themselves to be not lovers of pre-eminence, and their presence has formed an element in the government of the church's affairs, which is not only legitimate but eminently safe and wholesome. Indeed, the survey of ecclesiastical history warrants the assertion that when the vice of ambition has broken out it has almost always been among the ecclesiastics.

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

ROBERT ROLLOCK 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, his modesty, and sweetness of temper, soon procured him the particular

friendship of his master, which subsisted ever after. From this school he went to St. Salvator's college in the university of St. Andrews, where he prosecuted his studies for four years; at the end of which his progress had been so great, that he was chosen professor of philosophy, the duties of which office he dis-

* Rollock was the second son of David Rollock of Powhouse, a branch of the family of the barons of Duncrub in Perthshire, afterwards raised to the dignity of the peerage, under the title of Lord

Rollo, and of Marion Livingston, daughter of Henry Livingston of Westquarter.

† Thomas Buchanan was the nephew of the celebrated George Buchanan.

charged with applause for other four years.

About the year 1583 he was invited by the magistrates of Edinburgh to a professorship in their university, which shortly before this time had been founded by King James VI.* He complied with their invitation, at the earnest desire of Mr. James Lawson, who succeeded John Knox. His reputation as a teacher soon drew a number of students to that college, which was soon afterwards much enlarged by being so conveniently situated in the capital of the kingdom. At first he had the principal weight of the academical business laid upon him; but in process of time other professors were chosen from among the scholars whom he had educated; after which his chief employment was to exercise the office of principal,

* He was the first, and for a short time the only regent or professor, in the college of Edinburgh. On the 11th October, 1583, proclamation was made by the town council, requiring all students who desired to receive instruction in the college to present themselves before one of the magistrates and enrol their names. A great number appeared, attracted by the reputation of Rollock. But finding that many of them, from their inadequate knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which the lectures were to be delivered, were unfit to enter with advantage upon the philosophical course, and no professor of humanity having been as yet appointed, Rollock recommended to the patrons the appointment of Mr.

to which he was elected on 9th February, 1585-86, and by superintending the several classes, to observe the proficiency of the scholars, to compose such differences as would arise among them, and to keep every one to his duty. Thus was the 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, when he prayed among them; and one day in the week he explained some passage of scripture to them, in the close of which he was frequently very warm in his exhortations; which wrought more reformation upon the students than all the laws which were made, or the discipline which was exercised. After the lecture was over, it was his custom to reprove such as had been guilty of any misdemeanour

Duncan Nairn, a young man of ability and learning, as one of the four intended regents or professors of philosophy, but proposed that in the meantime Nairn should have committed to his charge for the first year those who were deficient in Latin, that they might be prepared for entering in the following year on a course of philosophy. Nairn was accordingly chosen, and the plan which Rollock suggested was adopted; so that during the first session, which lasted from October, 1583, till the end of August, 1584, there were only two classes of students, a Bejan class under Rollock, and a Latin class under Nairn. (*Dalzell's History of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 11, 12.)

through the week. "How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!" He was likewise very attentive to such as were advanced in their studies and intended the ministry, and his care was productive of much good to the church, while 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 fervency and demonstration of the Spirit, that he became the instrument of converting many to God. About this time also he wrote several commentaries on different passages of Scripture. His exposition of the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians coming into the hands of the learned Beza, he wrote to a friend of his, telling him that he had an incomparable treasure, which for

* In the month of August, 1587, Rollock conferred the degree of master of arts on the students who had completed their four years' course under his own immediate instruction, being forty-seven in number; and all of them, in terms of a statute of the college, subscribed the national covenant. After the solemnity of the graduation, having resigned his office of regent or professor of philosophy, he was elected, 27th August, by the town council, with the advice and approbation of the ministers and kirk session of the city, and of the Presbytery, professor of divinity, an office which he held jointly with that of principal.

its judiciousness, brevity, and elegance of style, had few equals.

He was chosen moderator to the Assembly held at Dundee in 1597, wherein matters were managed not altogether in favour of Presbytery; but this cannot be imputed to him, although Calderwood, in his History, calls him "a man simple in matters of the church." He was one of those commissioned by the Assembly to wait upon his Majesty about seating the churches of Edinburgh; but in the meantime he sickened, 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 returned upon him with greater violence than before, and confined him to bed.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT ROLLOCK.†

Perceiving that his end was approaching, he with his wonted prudence settled his domestic concerns, and solemnly com-

† This account of Rollock's last illness is translated from a life of Rollock written in Latin by Henry Charteris, his successor as principal and professor of divinity in the college of Edinburgh, which was printed in 1826, for the first time, for the Bannatyne Club. Another life of Rollock, in Latin, was written by Mr. George Robertson, who had been one of his students, and who became one of the ministers of Edinburgh: it was published in the year 1599, the year in which Rollock died. Charteris' life of Rollock is fuller and more correct than that of Robertson. It is prefixed with an English translation to "Select Works of Rollock," printed for the Wodrow Society, 1849, under the editorship of Mr. William M. Gunn.

mended his wife, at that time pregnant of her first and only child, to the care of his friends.* Two of these friends (Patrick Galloway and David Lindsay) who had always stood high in his regard, having come to see him, he solemnly declared his affection to his prince, which had ever been deep-seated in his heart, and said that he would die in the same sentiments. He then implored them to go in his name to the king, and to exhort him to prosecute the path of religion in the same unwavering course he had hitherto followed; to proceed in it with an unfaltering step till the last hour of life, and not allow himself to be drawn from it, either by the hope of enlarging his authority or by the crafty artifices of designing men; and to feel and speak of pastors of the church with that reverence which was their due. "The ministry of Christ, though in human calculation a mean and humble office, was yet glorious in the sight of God; and though ministers are earthen vessels, the refuse and offscourings of the earth, they will hereafter shine in glorious splendour."

Afterwards the ministers of Edinburgh having waited upon him, he discoursed to them as follows:—"Wearied out with a weight of sickness, and longing for rest and the end of my life, I continue to breathe and hope; yet I have not so learned nor preached Christ, as not to feel in him sup-

* Immediately after the graduation of his first class, and before entering on the duties of professor of divinity, that is, between August and November, 1587, Rollock married Helen Baron, daughter of the laird of Kinnaird, in Fife. At his death they had been married upwards of eleven years. Their child, who was born after his death, was a daughter. She became the wife of Robert Balcanqual, minister of Tranent, son of Walter Balcanqual, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Remembering Rollock's dying request, the town council of Edinburgh assigned on the 15th June following 100 merks of annuity to his widow for five years, and 1000 merks as a portion to his posthumous daughter, whose name was Jean; on whom also, 22nd February, 1611, they bestowed 100 merks yearly for her education and maintenance, to continue to the time of her marriage. (*Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 39.)

port under all my distresses. The care of the college, brethren, has always stood highest in my thoughts: God is my witness with what faithfulness and diligence he enabled me to look after its administration, and I am sensible to myself, you are not ignorant of the advantages that redound to the church and the commonwealth from the right management of that society. The thread of my life is now breaking; I am fast hastening to my home, my country, my Father's house, long and much desired by me. I beg of you when I am taken away, let not the college mourn too bitterly over its bereavement. Do you, I repeat, act the part not of stepfathers to her, but of affectionate and kind parents; nourish and cherish her in your bosom. As to the office of the ministry, it is not long since it was laid upon me, and you are not ignorant of my motives in entering upon it. I dare not say I have ever done any thing worthy of that high office, yet I will venture to say that it was in my heart so to do. As to doubling the number of the ministers of Edinburgh, and especially introducing two† who studied under me, when I saw gifts in them suitable to such a trust, and God blessing their labours, I am so far from repenting any share I had in it, that to this hour it affords me the most lively satisfaction ‡ You will remember that I was chosen by the Assembly at

† These two were Mr. Peter Howat and Mr. George Robertson.

‡ This sentence is taken from Robertson's biographical sketch of Rollock. Previously there were only four ministers of Edinburgh; but the city, with the consent of the Presbytery and town council, and by the advice of Rollock, having been divided into eight districts, though not till long after formed into distinct parishes, eight ministers were appointed, of whom Rollock was one. Edinburgh still constituted but one parish, and there was only one kirk session. It may here be added that before this, namely, on 5th September, 1587, it was appointed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, at the earnest desire of the congregation, that Rollock should preach every Sabbath morning before the regular service in the New Church, that is, in the portion of the edifice now called the High Church; an evidence of his popularity as a preacher.

Dundee to watch over the church, and as in this I had before mine eyes the glory of God and the safety of the church, miserably shaken by a sudden tumult,* I can now declare that my conscience does not smite me with any blameworthy departure from duty. It was lately told me that a rumour is propagated, as if I were vexed in mind for the hand I had in this. But I can appeal to God, the witness and judge of secrets, before whose tribunal I am shortly to stand, that in all that matter I had right and straight ends before me, according to the grace and prudence God has vouchsafed to me; and there is nothing that vexes and troubles me now. I am persuaded the wise Maker of the world has tied the church and state together with a brotherly and adamant chain, and it hath been my great care to advance the good of both; so that the temporal sword should not be perniciously drawn against the church, nor the church incited against the king and state, and that no unnecessary war should be kindled. And yet the love of peace has not so far bewitched me that I could not distinguish between genuine and adulterous peace, neither has my affection to my sovereign carried me that length as that, to please him, I would submit to the least stain on my conscience. I hope the integrity and candour of my practice shall appear when I am dead. In a word, brethren, join together with the most intimate love and concord in the work of the Lord. What can be more unnatural than that the ambassadors of peace should be rending one another with strife and discord? especially at a season when our enemies are so busy, and our forces ought not to be scattered by strife, but by all means united, that so we may aim our weapons at the bosom of the enemy, and not at each other's throats. Let me put you in mind to pay the most obsequious obedience to the king. You live in happy

* The allusion here is to the tumult at Edinburgh, 17th September, 1596, which the king so much exaggerated and resented so highly as to banish the

times, and enjoy a singular felicity. You are blessed with a prince who has imbibed from his earliest years a sense of religion which has grown with his growth. He has walled round religion with sound discipline, and has covered both doctrine and discipline with his protection; he has taken the church so much into his care as by open and plain unanswerable documents to make it evident that he will never desert her while he breathes. Therefore, what you may easily and pleasantly enjoy, it will be folly to seek after by harsh methods. You will then take particular care that the church be not ruined by a fall from such high happiness. Paul might have retained Onesimus with him, but without Philemon he would do nothing, "that his benefit should not be as of constraint, but willingly." It is my opinion we should follow the apostle's pattern in matters of far greater weight. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ enrich you with all spiritual blessings, and furnish you with all might and strength for the faithful discharge of your office!"

Towards the evening of the same day he appeared to feel that death was fast approaching, and fell out into a most rapturous discourse which edified all that heard him. The physicians having attempted by some prescriptions to alleviate his trouble, he turned himself and said, "Thou, O Lord, wilt be my Physician." He then prayed most fervently for the pardon of his sins through the Redeemer's merits, declaring that he counted all things dross and dung, be they ever so great, for the excellency of the cross of Christ. He then besought God that he would give him a comfortable and happy end to this life, that being covered under the wings of mercy, he might sleep in Christ, and enjoy the face of God, which he most vehemently longed to see. "I have seen thee," he added, "in the faint glass of the word, as through a glass darkly; ministers of the city; but through the intercession of Rollock he was at length reconciled, and allowed the ministers to return.

allow me that long and much wished for enjoyment of the light of thy countenance for eternity." He then discoursed of the resurrection and eternal life, as if he were already in heaven; and taking all present by the hand, like the patriarchs of old, he blessed them, adding exhortations suited to the disposition and duties of each individual.

Next day the magistrates and councillors of the city having waited on him, he addressed them as follows:—"As far as I can conjecture, I am going over the threshold of time, and entering into my native country and my Father's house. This is not uneasy to me: I have frequently longed for the end of this life. I have still been most anxious about the college; and now when I am about to leave it, were I silent in giving my opinion about my successor to be set over it, I could scarcely be free of the reproach of negligence. It would be of little use, in my judgment, to go abroad and bring in a stranger to preside in that society, who would know little of the doctrine and discipline of this college. You have at home a person richly endowed with gifts and qualifications for this station, Mr. Henry Charteris, who, while a scholar of mine, made vast advances in learning, and has now for ten years filled the place of a professor of philosophy with the greatest reputation. Place him in the principal's place, set him at the helm of the college, and you will see God favouring him and blessing his labours. By your office you are patrons and cherishers of the college; permit me to wish you may be sincerely careful of it."

When he had ended what he had to say to the magistrates and masters, he spoke as follows with reference to his spiritual state: "I thank my God that my memory, sight, hearing, and the rest of my senses, are as perfect as ever; but my heart is loosed from this world. Lord Jesus, when wilt thou come and take full possession of my heart? Thou hast the sole claim upon it. It was my main study through my life to dedicate and consecrate it to thee. O

come and take it, that I may for ever be thine!" When he had said this he fell into a soft rest for a little; but on awakening he thus resumed: "Come, Lord Jesus, break the thread of this miserable life! Haste, Lord, and make no tarrying: thou hast redeemed me, not to enjoy this frail life, but life eternal! Come, Lord Jesus, grant that life to which thou hast redeemed me!"

When some about him regretted their loss in his removal, he said, "I have gone through all the stages of life. I am come to the last step of my race: why do you hinder me? Lord Jesus, with thy help I will comfortably step this last step. Take me to that glory which I have seen only as through a glass! O to be for ever with thee!" And when it was told him that the day following was the Sabbath, he exclaimed, "Lord, may my everlasting Sabbath have its happy beginning from thy Sabbath!"

From this time he got tolerable rest till the middle of the night, when his trouble having increased he began to expect his last struggle. Having desired Mr. Balcanqual to be sent for, he addressed him thus: "Sir, because you are the oldest minister in Edinburgh, and my friendship with you is not of late, I have sent for you that I may show the reverence with which from the cradle I have venerated Christ's ministers. I have, according to the measure God has bestowed on me, been pouring out my prayer before the Lord: pray you now for me, and with me. I'll join with you in heart and affection, only let me beg you'll not ask the lengthening out of my life." When all present had kneeled, Mr. Balcanqual prayed; and having, among other things, entreated that the Lord would yet allow the enjoyment of such a valuable person, whom the church and commonwealth so much needed, Mr. Rollock, interrupting him, said, "I am fully weary of this life, and only desire the heavenly life which is hid in Christ with God."

When prayer was ended he broke out in raptures, commending the preached gospel.

“The preached word,” said he, “is life : without it none can be saved. Believe me, it is not a light matter to preach the word. It is quite another matter than to explain the text of Plato or Aristotle, or to make an oration with the colours and allurements of rhetoric. The preaching of the word takes in sanctity, humility, and the demonstration of the Spirit.” And turning again unto prayer, he said, “Come, Jesus Christ, break the nerves of my eyes, grant me new eyes ! I long to be dissolved, and to be with thee. Hasten to come, Lord Jesus, do not delay. Poor life, remove ! that the better, infinitely better life of God, may enter in. Lay hands, Lord Jesus, on this body, arrest it, and take to thyself this soul !”

After this he lay silent till about day-break on Sabbath morning, when he broke out in these words, “Come, Lord, and do not tarry ! I am weary with my trouble, day and night. Come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee ! O how sweet would the end of this life be to me ! My sweet Lord, come, divorce my soul from this body, that I may enjoy thee, my husband ! Separate this soul of mine from all things, that I may fly to thee, its head and centre !” Here one of the bystanders said, “Do not weary, your Lord will come :” to whom he replied, “Most welcome to me is that news. I wish that to-morrow may be my funeral day.” Then another having observed, “Happy is the soul which is so near to God as yours is ;” he said, “In myself there is nothing which I would not count as dung, that I may win Christ. Christ is the only ground of my comfort : all my own righteousness is as filthy rags.” Being asked whether he desired the presence of any minister, he replied that he wished not to trouble them whilst preparing for public service. “Allow me,” said he, “parrot-like, to babble incoherent words with my Lord !” Being informed that the public service had commenced, he said, “Give me, O Lord, to see and feel the things which others are at this moment hearing.” About mid-day a certain

person thus spoke to him : “Throughout your whole life, with unwearied diligence and constant labour, you have promoted the glory of God :” to which he replied, “My sole ground of glorying is the mercy of God through Jesus Christ : all other things I reckon as loss.” After this he fell into a soft sleep, which lasted till the evening. When he awoke, being visited by the lord provost of Edinburgh, he thus addressed him : “I have already seriously commended to the care of the magistrates, of which you, my lord, are the chief, the interests of the college : do you also take it under your protection ; let it experience in you a parent and benefactor. Seeing by the high station in which you preside over the city, and the august office with which God has invested you, you are able to give support to the church, do not, I beseech you, withdraw such support ; on the contrary, do exert your power and influence towards its protection ; apply yourself with the utmost vigour to obtain salvation through Jesus Christ. All worldly things are fleeting, and will soon fade away ; may God enrich you, your wife, and all your family, with the treasure of his own blessing !” During the same night he let fall such expressions as these : “In a diseased body I have a tranquil mind. Death, sin, and Satan terrify me not ; they have no dominion over me ; yet I am so borne down with a weight of sickness that my surviving so long is far beyond all expectation. The Lord is as it were breaking me in his mortar, with the pestle of affliction, that he may form me anew for his own kingdom.”

On the following Monday he thus spoke : “It is wonderful,” said he, “that afflicted as I am with such acute pain, my life should be so long protracted ; but I shall wait in patience the good pleasure of the Lord. I shall bear with it, I shall bear with it ; let him do with me as seems good to him : I shall not contend with him. What is man that he should dare to dispute with God ? Nay, even should he thrust him

into hell, he ought to be obeyed and not opposed! Be gracious to me, O Lord, for the sake of Jesus Christ. I am not ashamed to confess, that never have I arrived at such a high point in the knowledge of God as by means of this illness! O how dreadful to fall into the hands of Jehovah! but for me there is mercy laid up in Christ. Why then art thou disquieted, my soul? Why art thou cast down within me? In a very little thou shalt see his face, and enjoy ravishing communion with him."

When it was drawing towards evening he said, "Now do I experience the truth of the 6th Psalm," quoting some words from it, "Be gracious to me, O Lord, for I am oppressed with pain. Save me, O Lord, for my bones are sore vexed." Then, after a short pause, he began, "Christ shall bear my yoke, and I, upheld by his grace, shall follow in his footsteps." When the bystanders, perceiving him convulsed with the violence of the pain, were weeping and lamenting, he thus rebuked them: "Weep not on my account, but weep for your sins: since no one is free from sin, no one is without good cause for tears. With regard to myself, I shall ere long behold the fulfilment and consummation of all things." Towards evening, one of his relatives having come to him, excited his displeasure by this impious request, that, when received into heaven, he would mediate in behalf of him and his other friends; immediately on hearing it, as if burning with indignation, he suddenly raised up his emaciated and almost lifeless body, and said, "I disclaim that office: Christ is the alone Mediator." Not long after this he was visited by his

elder brother, whom he thus addressed: "Do you carry a reproof to our kinsman: admonish him to adopt a different line of conduct, otherwise there can be no safety for him, but on the contrary inevitable destruction." From this time forward he refused all sustenance, saying, "I shall no more eat or drink until I am translated to the kingdom of heaven." He intrusted the care of his funeral to two intimate and long tried friends. "Why," said he, "should I not have a concern for my body, since it is yet to be glorified and made like unto Christ's own glorious body?" and looking to his hands, "These very hands," he exclaimed, "shall then shine with effulgent glory!" After this his speech became gradually more constrained and difficult. His short sentences, yet impressive and powerful—breathing and savouring of heavenly joy—by degrees gave place to a gentle shudder, in which, having continued for a while, he placidly and quietly commended his spirit to his Creator and Redeemer. His death took place on the 8th of February, 1598-99.*

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, as to Effectual Calling.

* Rollock's premature removal in the midst of his useful labours was deeply lamented. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of persons of all ranks; and upwards of thirty elegies to his memory, all written in Latin, except one in Greek by Mr. Henry Charteris, were composed by his literary friends. (*Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 39, 373).

JOHN CRAIG.

JOHN CRAIG was a man of considerable learning and singular

* He was born in the year 1512, and in the year after his birth he lost his father, who fell

abilities.* During his travels abroad he was frequently deliv-

at Flodden, 9th September, 1513. Having finished his curriculum at the university of St.

ered out of very great dangers by the kind interposition of a gracious Providence: an instance of which we have while he was in Italy. Being obliged to flee out of that country, on account of his regard for the Reformation, in order to avoid being apprehended he was obliged to

Andrews, he acted as tutor for two years in the family of Lord Dacre in England. War having broken out between Scotland and England, he returned to his native country, and became a monk of the Dominican order. After a short imprisonment on a groundless charge of heresy, he again left Scotland for England in the hope of obtaining, through the influence of Lord Dacre, a place in Cambridge; but disappointed in this expectation he went to France, and thence to Italy. Having acquired the confidence of Cardinal Pole, he was upon his recommendation received into a monastery of the Dominicans in the city of Bologna, in which he was appointed to instruct the novices, and intrusted with the management of affairs of the greatest importance, as well as made rector of the school. Finding a copy of Calvin's "Institutions" in the library of that fraternity, he read it with the greatest avidity, and became a convert to the Reformed faith. Unable to conceal from others the light which had dawned upon his own mind, he was by the freedom of his language exposed to the danger of being proceeded against as a heretic, when by the friendly offices of a father in the monastery, who was a Scotsman, he obtained a discharge. He was now received as a tutor into the family of a neighbouring Protestant nobleman; but he, as well as his patron, was soon arrested by the orders of the Inquisition for heresy, and conducted to Rome, where, after an imprisonment of nine months in a wretched dungeon, which was often flooded by the waters of the Tiber, he was tried and sentenced to be burnt alive along with other heretics, on 19th August, 1559. On the evening preceding the day appointed for their execution the pope, Paul IV., having died, the prisons, as was usual on the death of a pope, were thrown open; but

lurk in obscure places in the day-time, and travel over night. By this means any little money he had was soon exhausted, and being in the extremity of want, a dog brought a purse to him with some gold in it, by which he was supported until he escaped the danger of being taken.*

while other culprits were released, heretics, after being taken out of their cells, were immediately reconducted to them. Happily for Craig and his companions, a tumult occurred on that night in the city, by which they were enabled to make their escape. They were, however, quickly found by a company of soldiers who had been sent to apprehend them in a house only a short distance from Rome, whither they had gone for refuge and refreshments. "Kill the heretics," cried the soldiers; but the captain of the company recalled an incident in his own history on looking closely at Craig, and ordered the soldiers not to touch them. Taking Craig aside, he asked him whether he remembered having on a certain occasion relieved a poor wounded soldier in the neighbourhood of Bologna. "I remember," said Craig. "I was that poor wounded soldier," rejoined the captain, "and the money which I received from you I gave to the physician who cured my wound, so that you were the means of saving my life. The fortunes of war having favoured me, it is now in my power to repay with interest the money which you kindly gave me, and to assist you in your sad condition." Having been dismissed by the captain, who first ordered refreshments to be brought to him, and supplied him with money, Craig left the city of Rome, and journeyed to Milan. It was on his way thither that the remarkable occurrence narrated in the text happened. (*Row's History*, pp. 457-462. *Spottiswood's History*, vol. iii. pp. 91-94. *M'Cre's Life of Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 53-57).

* With the help of the money thus providentially brought to him Craig travelled into Germany; and coming to Vienna, the Austrian capital, he preached with much acceptance before the archduke of Austria, afterwards

After his return home he was settled as John Knox's colleague at Edinburgh, where he continued many years, and met with many trials of his fortitude and fidelity. In the year 1567, the earl of Bothwell having obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, as preparatory to his marriage with Queen Mary, she sent a letter to John Craig, commanding him to publish the banns of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwell. But the next Sabbath, having declared at length that he had received such a command, he added that he could not in conscience obey it, the marriage being altogether unlawful: and he would declare that to the parties if present. He was immediately sent for by Bothwell, unto whom he declared his reasons with great boldness; and the very next Lord's day he

emperor under the title of Maximilian II., who, being favourable to the reformation of the church, was desirous to retain him. But Pius IV., who now occupied the pontifical chair, having received intelligence that Craig was in Vienna, demanded that the condemned heretic should be sent back to Rome. The archduke, too generous to comply with this demand, allowed him to depart, giving him a safe-conduct out of Germany.

Craig now returned to Scotland, where the cause of the Reformation had triumphed in August, 1560. Having almost forgotten his vernacular tongue after an absence of twenty-four years, he preached for a short time in Latin to such as understood that language in the Magdalene chapel. He was then appointed minister of the parish of the Canongate; and in June, 1563, he became colleague to Knox.

told the people what he had said before the council, and took heaven and earth to witness that he detested that scandalous marriage, and that he had discharged his duty to the lords. Upon this he was again called before the council, and reproved by them as having exceeded the bounds of his calling. He boldly answered, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these he offered to prove the said marriage scandalous; at which he was silenced and set out of the council. Thus John Craig continued not only a firm friend to the Reformation, but a bold opposer of every encroachment made upon the crown and dignity of the Lord Jesus Christ.*

In the year 1584 an Act of

* During the civil war in Scotland in 1571 and 1572, when Kirkaldy of Grange kept possession of the castle and town of Edinburgh for Queen Mary, and when Knox had withdrawn to St. Andrews, Craig was blamed by the people for temporizing with Queen Mary's adherents. A misunderstanding arose in consequence between him and his congregation, and they separated by mutual agreement. Having left Edinburgh, he preached for two years in Montrose, and then removing to Aberdeen, he assisted in visiting the churches in Buchan and Mar. In 1580 he was appointed minister to the royal household, "for which choice the Assembly held at Dundee in July that year blessed the Lord, and praised the king for his zeal." He held that situation till his death. (*Row's History*, p. 68; *M'Crue's Life of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 213.)

Parliament was made, that all ministers, masters of colleges, &c., should, within forty-eight hours, compare and subscribe the Act of Parliament concerning the king's power over all estates, spiritual and temporal, and submit themselves to the bishops. Upon this, John Craig, John Brand, and some others, were called before the council and interrogated, how they could be so bold as to controvert the late Act of Parliament? Craig answered, that they would find fault with anything repugnant to God's word: at which the earl of Arran started upon his feet, and said they were too pert, that he would shave their heads, pare their nails, and cut their toes, and make them an example unto all who should disobey the king's command and his council's orders; and forthwith charged them to appear before King James VI. 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 bishops' injunctions; when there arose some hot speeches betwixt Craig and the archbishop of St. Andrews. On this the earl of Arran spake again most outrageously against Craig; who

coolly replied, that there had been as great men set up higher that had been brought low. Arran returned, "I shall make thee, of a false friar, a true prophet;" and sitting down on his knee he said, "Now am I humbled." "Nay," said Craig; "mock the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but shall make thee find it in earnest, when thou shalt be cast down from the high horse of thy pride, and humbled." This came to pass a few years after, when he was thrown from off his horse with a spear by James Douglas of Parkhead, killed, and his corpse exposed to dogs and swine before it was buried.

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

In the year 1591, when the earl of Bothwell and his accomplices, on the 27th December, came to the king and chancellor's chamber doors with fire, and to the queen's with a hammer, in

the palace of Holyrood House, with a design to seize the king and the chancellor, John 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 Craig, who was his own minister) would have dealt in that manner with him, he should not have suffered him so long in his house." Craig, by reason of the throng not hearing what he said, went away.

In the year 1595, John Craig being quite worn out by his labours and the infirmities of age, the king's commissioner presented some articles to the

* He died at Edinburgh, 12th December, 1600, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. (*Row's History*, p. 461.) In his last will, in which he is designated "minister of the evangel of Christ Jesus to the King's Majesty," made 17th May, 1585, he constituted Marion Small, his spouse, and Mr. William Craig, his son, his executors. He left the third of his gear to his spouse, and earnestly requested his small bairns to remain in household with their mother till their marriage, with her consent and advice, with parties honest. The inventory of his goods and

General Assembly, wherein amongst other things it was stated, that in respect Mr. Craig was awaiting what hour God should please to call him, and was unable to serve any longer, and his Majesty designed to place John Duncanson, Mr. Craig's colleague, 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 a short time after this.*

John Craig will appear, from this short memoir, to have been a man of uncommon resolution and activity. He was employed in the 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 the year 1591.

gear, with the debts owing to him at his death, amounted to £1322 13s. 4d. (*Register of Confirmed Testaments*, Edinburgh, 23rd March, 1601.) His widow survived him until the year 1630. His son William became professor of theology in the university of Saumur, and died in November, 1616, after languishing a long time; "my good friend and well beloved brother, old condisciple and colleague," says Boyd of Trochrig, "a grave and learned man, retired, moderate, and without reproach." (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, pp. 47, 48, 259, 260.)

DAVID BLACK.

DAVID BLACK was for some time colleague to the worthy Mr. Andrew Melville, minister of St. Andrews. He was remarkable for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of his duty as a minister, applying his doctrine closely against the corruptions of that age, whether prevailing among the highest or lowest of the people; in consequence of which he was, in the year 1596, cited before the council for some expressions uttered in a sermon, alleged to strike against King James VI. and his council; but his brethren in the ministry, thinking that by this method of procedure with him the spiritual government of the house of God was intended to be subverted, resolved that Black should decline answering the citation, and that in the meantime the brethren should be preparing themselves to prove from the Holy Scriptures that the judgment of all doctrine, in the first instance, belonged to the pastors of the church.

Accordingly David 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 for 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, only in so far as after trial he should be found to have passed from his instructions, which trial only belonged to the prophets, &c. 2. The liberties of the church and discipline presently exercised being confirmed by divers acts of Parliament, approved of by the confession of Faith, and the office-bearers of the church being now in the peaceable possession thereof, the question of his preaching ought first, according to the grounds and practice foresaid, to be judged by the ecclesiastical senate, as the competent judges thereof at the first instance.

This declinature, with a letter sent to 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; unto whom he answered, that if Mr. Black would pass from his declinature he would pass from the summons. This they would not consent to do. Upon which the king summoned Mr. Black again, on the 27th of November, to the 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 David Black's second citation before 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 word, the other compelling by the temporal sword; the one spiritually procuring the edification of the church, the other by justice pro-

curing the peace and quiet of the commonwealth. The latter, being grounded in the light of nature, proceeds from God as he is Creator, and is so termed by the apostle (1 Peter ii.), but varies according to the constitution of men; the former, being above nature, is grounded upon the grace of redemption, proceeding immediately from the grace of Christ, the only king and only head of his church (Eph. i. Col. ii.). 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 commission is set down and limited in the word of God, that cannot be extended or abridged by any mortal king or emperor: they being sheep, not pastors, who are to be judged by the word of God, and not to be the judges thereof.

A decree of council was passed against him, upon which his brethren of the commission directed their doctrines against the council. The king sent a

message to the commissioners, signifying that he would rest satisfied with Black's simple declaration of the truth. But Robert 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 Black was charged by a macer to enter his person in ward on the north of the Tay, there to remain at 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 suffered 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 until the day of his death. He had always been a severe check on the negligent and unfaithful part of the clergy,

but now they had found means to get free of him.

After his removal to Angus he continued the exercise of his ministry, preaching daily unto such as resorted to him, with much success, and an intimate communion with God, until a few days before his death.

In 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 easy yoke of Christ upon themselves. He found in his own soul also such a sensible taste of eternal joy, 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 put off, that he might be admitted into the mansions of everlasting rest. In the midst of these earnest breathings after God, the Lord was wonderfully pleased to condescend to the importunity of his servant, to let him know that the time of his departure was near. Upon this he took a solemn farewell of his family and flock, with a discourse, as Melville says, that seemed to be 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 heavy groans, he went a little while to bed: and the next day, having called his people to the celebration of the Lord's supper, he went to church. Having brought the communion service near a close he felt the approach of death, and all discovered a sudden change in his counten-

ance, so that some ran to support him. But pressing to be on his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven in the very act of devotion and adoration, as in a transport of joy, he was taken away with scarcely any pain at all. Thus this holy man, who had so faithfully maintained the interest of Christ upon earth, breathed forth his soul in this extraordinary manner, so that it seemed rather like a translation than a real death. See more of him in Calderwood's History; De Foe's Memoirs; and "Hind Let Loose."

JOHN DAVIDSON.

JOHN DAVIDSON* was minister at Salt Preston (now known by

* John Davidson was born in Dunfermline about the year 1549, and was educated at St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews, in which he was enrolled in 1567, and took his degree of A.M. in 1570. Having completed his course of philosophy he became a regent in that college, and was distinguished equally as a scholar and as an ardent disciple of the reformed faith. He had a taste for poetical composition in his native tongue, which he early cultivated, and of which various specimens, superior to the most of similar fugitive pieces of the time, are still extant. In 1572, whilst one of the regents in the college, he composed a drama to be represented at the marriage of his friend Mr. John Colvin, "which," says James Melville, "I saw played in Mr. Knox's presence; wherein, according to Mr. Knox's doctrine, the castle of Edinburgh was besieged, taken, and the captain, with one or

the name of Prestonpans), and began very early to discover

two with him, hanged in effigy." (*Melville's Diary*, p. 27.) In the following year he published a poem on the death of Knox, entitled, "Ane Breif Commendatioun of Vprichtnes;" which is reprinted in supplement to the appendix of M'Crie's "Life of Knox."

Davidson's next poetical literary production, which was printed by Leprevick at St. Andrews in January, 1573-74, exposed him to the resentment of Regent Morton and involved him in much trouble. It was a poem composed in the form of a dialogue between a clerk and a courtier, intended to point out the evils which would necessarily result to the spiritual interests of the parishes of Scotland from an Act passed by the privy council in 1573 at the instance of Morton, for uniting two, three, or four parishes, and placing them under the charge of one minister, to enable the court to appropriate for their

uncommon piety and faithfulness in the discharge of his duty. He was involved in the sufferings brought upon several ministers on account of the "Raid of Ruthven," in August, 1582. Robert Montgomery, minister in 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 8, 1582, Montgomery came to Glasgow with a

own use a large proportion of the revenues of the church, which might thus be saved. The poem, which was printed without the knowledge of the author, though written in a temperate spirit, greatly incensed the court, and by a Justice-air held at Haddington Davidson was imprisoned, but was soon after liberated. He was summoned to appear before the regent and council at Holyrood House on 6th March following, when he defended himself with much spirit. He brought the case before the General Assembly which was then sitting; but overawed by Morton the Assembly, though of the same sentiments as Davidson, did not venture to defend him; upon which Campbell of Kinzean-cleuch, who was attending the Assembly, took him with him to his residence in the West. On 17th April Davidson was summoned to appear as a prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh to underly the law on the 3rd of June; and it was necessary for him to obtain sureties for his making his appearance. By the interposition of influential parties the day of his appearance was delayed to the 17th of June, but further respite Morton refused to grant. Davidson therefore, acting on the advice of some of his friends, made his escape into England, and his sureties paid the penalty. During his exile he visited the continent. Leprevick, the printer of the poem, was also prosecuted, and was imprisoned for some time in the castle of Edinburgh. Davidson returned to Scotland during

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;* but Lennox obtained a commission from

the lifetime of the regent, but not until his fall. He visited him in prison before his execution. Morton, who was very penitent, embraced him and said, "You wrote a book for which I was angry with you; but I never meant any ill to you—forgive me." Davidson was so affected that he could not refrain from weeping. Morton suffered 2nd June, 1581. (*Melville's Diary*, p. 117. *Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Douglas and Angus*, vol. ii. p. 279.)

Davidson was first minister of Libberton in the county of Edinburgh. He appears as minister of that parish in 1581 and till 7th October, 1584. He became minister of Prestonpans in 1595. From the proceedings of the Presbytery of Haddington, 29th October to 24th December that year, we learn that when it was proposed that he should be settled as minister of Salt-preston and the Pannes, "ane grit multitude of the honest men of bayth the tounes foirsaidis come and shew their gude lyking of Mr. John and his doctrine to us of the Presbyterie [which met at Tranent], desyring us maist earnestly with ane voice" to settle him among them. Thanks were returned to my lord of Newbottle, whose concurrence in the settlement had been requested by the Presbytery.

* The General Assembly which met at St. Andrews in April, 1582, proceeded with the trial of Montgomery, notwithstanding a letter presented from the king desiring them to desist. Montgomery in vain appealed to the privy

King James VI. 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 constrained him to revoke his commission to Lennox, and to banish him from the kingdom. This was called "The Raid of Ruthven." Afterwards, however, the persons concerned in the affair at Ruthven, being charged to leave the realm upon pain of corporal punishment, assembled an army at Stirling, took the castle, and from thence sent a supplication to the king to redress their grievances. In the meantime the earl of Gowrie, lingering about Dundee, was apprehended and committed to prison, which discouraged the party at Stirling so much, that they fled in the night and got to Berwick. The cap-

council. The sentence of the Presbytery of Stirling suspending him from the exercise of his ministry was ratified. It was declared that he had incurred the censures of deposition and excommunication; and it was only in consequence of his withdrawment of his appeal, and of his solemn promise not to interfere further with the bishopric of Glasgow, that the sentence was not pronounced. Meanwhile the Presbytery of Glasgow was instructed, in the event of his violating his engagements, to inform the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who were authorized to appoint one of their number to pronounce sentence of excommunication upon him. Montgomery contravened the Act of Assembly; and by

tain of the castle and three others were hanged. Gowrie was likewise executed on May 2, 1584.*

Having returned to Scotland in the year 1596, when the ministers and other commissioners of the General Assembly were met at Edinburgh for prayer, in order to a general and personal reconciliation (there were about four hundred ministers, besides elders and private Christians), John Davidson was chosen to preside amongst them. He caused the 33rd and 34th chapters of Ezekiel to be read, and discoursed upon them in a very affecting manner, showing what was the end of their meeting, in confessing sin and resolving to forsake it, and that they should turn to the Lord and enter into a new league and covenant with him, that so by repentance they might be the more meet to stir up others to the same duty. In

appointment of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Davidson, who was then minister of Libberton, pronounced upon him the sentence of excommunication. (*McCrie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. pp. 268-70.)

* Being one of the commissioners afterwards sent by the General Assembly to remonstrate with King James at Stirling in reference to the cause of Montgomery, Davidson, from the plainness and fidelity with which he spoke to his Majesty on this subject, and in regard to the *Black Acts* of Parliament passed in May, 1584, investing the king with supreme power in all causes civil and ecclesiastical, so offended him, that to escape persecution he withdrew for a time to England.

this he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that, within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them to these duties the whole meeting was in tears, every one provoking another by his example, whereby that place might have justly been called Bochim. After prayer he treated on Luke xii. 22; wherein the same assistance was given him. Before they dismissed they 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 King James VI. was present, it was proposed whether ministers should vote in Parliament in the name of the church. John Davidson entreated them not to be rash in concluding so weighty a matter. He said, "Brethren, see you not how readily the

* Previous to the meeting of the General Assembly at Dundee, the Provincial Synod of Fife met at St. Andrews in February, 1597-98, and strenuously opposed King James' measure for the voting of ministers in Parliament in name of the church. It was at this Synod that Davidson, in arguing against the clerical Parlia-

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 required that his protest should be inserted in the books of Assembly. Here the king interposed, and said, "That shall not be granted; seeing you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, sire," said Mr. Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." He then presented his protestation in writing, which was handed from one to another, till it was laid down before the clerk. The king taking it up and reading it, showed it to the moderator and others about, and at last put it into his pocket.

This protest and letter 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 the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but on account of bodily infirmity this place of confinement was

mentary voter, who he contended was a bishop in disguise, exclaimed in these memorable words: "Busk, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill eneuch; we see the horns of his mitre." (*Melville's Diary*, p. 437. *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 128.)

changed to his own dwelling-house, after which he obtained liberty to exercise his ministry in his own parish. When the king was departing for England in 1603, 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.

Davidson likewise in some instances showed that he was possessed, in a considerable measure, of the spirit of prophecy. While in Preston he was very anxious about the building of a church in that parish, and had from his own private means contributed liberally to it. Lord Newbottle, having considerable interest in that parish, likewise promised his assistance, but afterward receded from his engagements; upon which Davidson told him that these walls there begun should stand as a witness against him, and that ere long God should root him out of the parish, so that he should not have one bit of land in the same; which was afterwards accomplished.

At another time, being moderator of the Synod of Lothian, Mr. John Spottiswoode, minister at Calder, and Mr. James Law,

minister at Kirkliston, were brought before them for playing at football on the Sabbath. Davidson urged that they might be deposed, but the Synod, because of the fewness of the ministers present, agreed that they should only be rebuked; which having been accordingly done, he turned to his brethren and said, "Now, let me tell you what reward you shall have for your lenity. These two men shall trample on your necks, and on the necks of the ministers of Scotland." How true this proved was afterwards too well known, when Spottiswoode was made archbishop of St. Andrews and Law of Glasgow.*

Being at dinner one time with Robert Bruce, who was then in great favour with the king, he told him he should soon be in as great discredit, which was likewise accomplished. At another time, when dining in the house of one of the magistrates of Edinburgh with the same eminent minister, in giving thanks he brake forth in these words, "Lord, this good man hath respect, for thy sake, to thy servants; but he little knoweth that in a short time he shall carry us

* This may serve to explain the manifest personal animosity with which Spottiswoode in his History invariably speaks of Davidson.

both to prison:" which afterwards came to pass, although at the time it grieved the bailie exceedingly.

Robert Fleming, in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," relates another remarkable instance of this kind. A gentleman nearly related to a great family in the parish of Preston, but a most violent hater of true piety, did on that account beat a poor man who lived there, although he had no manner of provocation. Among other strokes which he gave him, he gave him one on the back, saying, "Take that for Mr. Davidson's sake." This maltreatment obliged the poor man to take to his bed, complaining most of the blow which he had received on his back. In the close of his sermon on the Sabbath following, Davidson, speak-

* Davidson died in the beginning of September, 1604. On the 5th of that month commissioners appeared at the Presbytery of Haddington "lamenting the death of our father, Mr. John Davidson their last pastor." (*Row's History*, p. 463.) While at Prestonpans he exercised his ministry "without any fee or reward." He also built at his own expense the church and manse of the parish, providing at the same time a garden for the manse and an acre of arable land for a glebe to the minister. He is entitled to honourable commemoration as the founder of a grammar school in that parish for teaching the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, having built a commodious school-house, and a dwelling-house for the master, and to provide a salary bequeathed all his moveable goods, namely, his household furniture, his clothes, his library, consisting of a large collection of books of all

ing of the oppression of the godly and the enmity which the wicked had to such, in a particular manner mentioned this last instance, saying, "It was a sad time when a profane man would thus openly adventure to vent his rage against such as were seekers of God in the place, whilst he could have no cause but the appearance of his image;" and then said with great boldness, "He who hath done this, were he the laird or the laird's brother, ere a few days pass God shall give him a stroke that all the monarchs on earth dare not challenge." Which accordingly came to pass in the close of that very same week; for this gentleman, while standing before his own door, was struck dead with lightning, and had all his bones crushed to pieces.*

kinds, his bills and obligations for debts owing to him, and all the money in his possession, with the exception of certain legacies to his friends. (*Mr. Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 504.)

Besides the two poetical productions already mentioned, Davidson was the author of several other pieces, including an answer to Dr. Bancroft's sermon preached before the Parliament of England 9th February, 1588-89, and immediately printed, in which he violently attacked the Church of Scotland; "A Memorial of the Life and Death of two worthy Christians, Robert Campbell of the Kinzean-cleugh and his wife Elizabeth Campbell, in English metre," 1595; and a catechism entitled "Some Helpe for Young Schollers in Christianity," Edinburgh, 1602, reprinted in 1708 with a preface by Mr. William Jameson, professor of ecclesiastical history in the univer-

A little before his death he happened occasionally to meet with Mr. Ker, a young gentleman lately come from France, and dressed in the court fashion. Davidson charged him to lay aside his scarlet coat and gilt rapier; for, said he, "You are the man who

city of Glasgow. Shortly before his death he wrote a treatise "De Hostibus Ecclesie Christi," "wherein he affirms that the erecting of bishops in this kirk is the most subtle and prevalent means to destroy and overthrow religion that ever could have been devised." (*Row's History*, p. 421.) He left a diary, not now existing, which Calderwood had the advantage of consulting in writing his *History*. (*Calderwood's History*, vol. viii. p. 129.) That historian refers to Davidson's "Catalogue of the Scottish Martyrs," written in Latin, which has not been preserved. Davidson's "Poetical Pieces" were reprinted at Edinburgh in 12mo. in 1829, with a biographical account of the author prefixed.

* Mr. John Ker was the son of Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, by his spouse Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, Knox's second wife. Under the circumstances narrated in the text he was induced to devote himself to the Christian ministry, and having completed his preparations he attracted the people of Saltpreston or Prestonpans, who evinced the greatest anxiety to have him for their minister. His ordination by the Presbytery of Haddington as minister of that parish took place on 11th April, 1605, in the presence of a numerous assembly of the parishioners. The account of his induction as recorded in the manuscript minutes of the Presbytery of Haddington we here quote, as affording an interesting example of the solemn manner in which a minister was ordained to the office of the ministry in those days. "The sermon being made by Mr. James Carmichael from Acts xx. 28, the said Mr. James called on Mr. John Ker, being risen, [and] demanded [of] him if he had found the inward calling of the Lord to the office of the ministry: Answered that after earnest invocation on the name of God, he found the same. Next, if he

shall succeed me in the ministry of this place;" which surprised the youth exceedingly, but was exactly accomplished; for he became an eminent and faithful minister at that place.*

Such as would see more of John Davidson's faithful labours

was willing to accept the charge of that people, who were so earnest in suing of him? Answered, he was most willing to bestow that talent which the Lord had given him among that people. And lastly, if he was purposed to be faithful and diligent in preaching the word, ministering of sacraments, discipline, and all other points pertaining to that function? Answered, it was his purpose; beseeching the hail b[rethren] and people to be earnest with him by prayer to the Lord for that effect. The which conference being ended, after incalling on the name of God to bless that work, the said Mr. John was admitted to the office of the ministry by laying on of the hands of the brethren, after which ceremony Mr. John desired to be sure before he was delivered to that people, who proceeded on this manner that he was content to accept of that flock under conditions following, viz., that they would faithfully one and all promise obedience to the voice of God's word proceeding out of his mouth, as also that the hail persons there present would be subject to discipline themselves and concur with him for establishing of good order, as likewise defend the gospel from receiving any indignity in his person to the uttermost of their power. To the which conditions the people with uniform voice consented by holding up of their hands, testifying the same."

Mr. Ker was the father of Mr. Andrew Ker, who on the demission of Mr. Archibald Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston, was appointed clerk to the General Assembly; an office which he occupied till the restoration of Charles II. He had another son, who is described by Row as an "honest minister" (*History*, p. 463); a designation which implies that he opposed the attempts of the court to force prelacy on the Church of Scotland and to subject the church to the state.

in the work of the ministry may consult the "Apologetical Rela-

tion" and Calderwood's "History."

WILLIAM ROW.

WILLIAM ROW was a son of Mr. John Row, minister at Perth, who gave him a very liberal education under his own eye.

William Row was settled minister at Forgardenny, in the shire of Perth, about the year 1600, and continued there for several years. He was one of those ministers who refused to give public thanks for King James VI.'s deliverance from his danger in Gowrie's conspiracy, until the truth of that conspiracy was made to appear. This refusal brought upon him the king's displeasure. He was summoned to appear before the king and council at Stirling soon after. On the day appointed for his compearance two noblemen were sent, the one before the other, to meet him on the road, and under the pretence of friendship to inform him that the council had a design upon his life, that he might be prevailed on to decline going up thither. The first met him near his own house, the second a few miles from Stirling; but Row

told them that he would not, by disobedience to the summons, make himself justly liable to the pains of law, and proceeded to Stirling, to the amazement of the king and his court. When challenged for disbelieving the truth of the Gowrie conspiracy, he told them one reason of his hesitation was that Henderson, who was said to have confessed that Gowrie hired him to kill the king, and to have been found 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 deserve not to live."

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

Being at Edinburgh, before the Assembly there, at which the king wanted to bring in some innovation, and meeting with James Melville, who was sent for by the king, he accompanied him to Holyrood House. While

Melville was with the king Row stood behind a screen, and not getting an opportunity to go out with his brother undiscovered, he overheard the king say to some of his courtiers, "This is a good simple man; I have stroked cream on his mouth, and he will procure me a good number of voters, I warrant you." This said, Mr. Row got off; and overtaking James Melville, asked him what had passed? Melville 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 told him what he had overheard. Melville suspecting the truth of this report, Mr. Row offered to go with him and avouch it to the king's face. Accordingly, they went back to the palace, when Melville, seeing Row as forward to go in as he was, believed his report, and stopped him; and next day, when the Assembly proceeded to voting, Melville having voted against what the king proponed, his Majesty would not believe that such was his vote, till he being asked again did repeat it.

Again, being deputed to open

the Synod of Perth in 1607, to which King James sent Lord Scone, captain of his guards, to force them to accept a constant moderator, Scone sent notice to Row, that if in his preaching he uttered aught against constant moderators, he should cause ten or twelve of his guards to discharge their culverins at his nose; and when he attended the sermon which preceded that synod he stood up in a menacing posture to outbrave the preacher. But Row, no way dismayed, knowing what vices Scone was charged with, particularly that he was a great belly-god, drew his picture so like the life, and condemned what was culpable with so much severity, that Scone thought fit to sit down and even to cover his face. After which Row proceeded to prove that no constant moderator ought to be suffered in the church; but knowing that Scone understood neither Latin nor Greek, he wisely avoided naming the constant moderator in English, and always gave the Greek or Latin name for it. 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 who 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, Scone said, "The devil a Jesus is here:" and when Row called 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 off Scone with one hand, and holding the synod-roll in the other, called out the names of the members.

After this William Row was put to the horn, and on the 11th of June following he and Henry Livingstone, the moderator, were summoned before the council to answer for their proceedings at the Synod above mentioned.

* He died in the beginning of October, 1634. William his son and successor was a zealous covenanter, and in the civil war he attended the Scots army into England as one of their chaplains.

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 make him free of the Scone comptrollers, who had letters of caption to apprehend him and commit him to Blackness. This was refused and a search made for him; which obliged him to abscond, and lurk among his friends for a considerable time.

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

He died in 1660, before the re-establishment of episcopacy, to which he and his ancestors had been so strongly opposed. (*Scott's Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland*, p. 260.)

A N D R E W M E L V I L L E.

ANDREW MELVILLE,* after finishing his classical studies, went

* Andrew Melville, who was born 1st August, 1545, was the youngest son of Richard Melville, proprietor of the small estate of Baldovy, situated on the banks of the South Esk, about a mile to

abroad, and taught for some time, both at Poitiers in France

the south-west of the town of Montrose, by his wife Giles Abercrombie, daughter of Thomas Abercrombie, a burgher of Montrose. When only two years old he lost his father, who fell

and at Geneva. He returned to Scotland in July, 1574, after

at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and his mother died in the course of the same year; both of them having before their death embraced the Reformed faith. Thus left an orphan, he was brought up by his eldest brother, Richard, minister at Maritoun after the establishment of the Reformation, who acted towards him in every respect the part of a father, and whose wife, Isabel Scrimger, sister to Henry Scrimger, subsequently professor of civil law in the Protestant university of Geneva, loved and treated him as if he had been one of her own children. Observing young Andrew's capacity and taste for learning, Richard resolved to give him a learned education. Andrew was first sent to the grammar school of Montrose, where he learned Latin; after which he attended for two years a Greek class established in that town by John Erskine of Dun, and then taught by a learned Frenchman, Pierre de Marsilliers, from whom he also had an opportunity of perfecting himself in the French language, the elements of which were then usually taught along with the Latin grammar. In 1559 he entered St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, commonly called the New College, at which having finished the usual curriculum he took his degree of Master of Arts with great applause in 1564. In his ardent devotion to learning he was extremely desirous to attend some of the most famous universities on the Continent, and with his brother's consent he set out for France in the autumn of that year. Having reached Paris after a tedious and perilous voyage, he immediately commenced his studies in the celebrated university of that city, where under able masters he applied himself to philosophy, medicine, and mathematics, and to the study of the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, which he could not acquire in his native country. In 1566 he left Paris for the university of Poitiers, at which it was his intention especially to attend the lectures delivered on civil law, simply from his thirst for universal learning—for the church, not the bar, was the profession to which he aspired; and such was his fame as a scholar that on his arrival at Poitiers, though a stranger and only twenty-one years of age, he was appointed a regent in the college of St. Marceon, a situation which he creditably held

having been absent from his native country nearly ten years.

for three years, while at the same time he devoted himself to the study of law. The flames of civil war on account of religion having been rekindled in France in 1567, and the city of Poitiers, which was defended by the young duke of Guise, having been besieged in the following year by Admiral Coligny, the Huguenot chieftain, Melville's studies were interrupted as well as his personal safety endangered.

The siege being raised he quitted Poitiers; and in company with a young Frenchman he set out for Geneva, with the design of prosecuting his theological studies in the academy there, carrying with him letters of introduction to Theodore Beza. Melville at his first interview with Beza made so favourable an impression upon him, that at his recommendation he was appointed to the chair of humanity, which was then vacant in the academy. The academy of Geneva was at that time provided with teachers of the highest reputation; and Melville, while he faithfully discharged his duties as a regent, attended the classes of most of the professors, to whose friendship he was at the same time cordially admitted. He acquired from Cornelius Bertramus, a celebrated Oriental scholar, the knowledge of Syriac; and such was the friendship between them that four recommendatory poems written by Melville were prefixed to Bertram's "*Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ et Aramicæ.*" printed in 1574. Melville also availed himself of the instructions of the Greek professor in the academy, Franciscus Portus, a native of the island of Candia, who admired the young Scotsman's intimate acquaintance with the Greek language, on the beauties of which he delighted to expatiate to one who could so well appreciate them, though Melville sometimes begged leave to differ from him on questions in philology. Melville especially valued the friendship of Beza, who had a great liking for Scotsmen. two of the most illustrious of whom, Knox and Buchanan, were among his most intimate and honoured friends. At Geneva he made acquaintance with many other learned men, especially after the St. Bartholomew massacre in 1572, when numerous ministers, and others distinguished for their talents and learning,

Upon his return the learned Beza, in a letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, said, "The greatest token of affection the kirk of Geneva could show to Scotland was, that they had suffered themselves to be spoiled of Mr. Andrew Melville."

found refuge in that little town, which became so wonderfully an asylum to the persecuted.

At last, moved by pressing invitations from his friends in Scotland to return and to devote his talents and acquirements to the service of his country, he yielded to their importunities. His colleagues in the academy, and the magistrates who were its patrons, were reluctant to part with him; but in compliance with his urgent desire, the magistrates granted him permission to return to Scotland, 4th April, 1574: and he obtained letters bearing testimony to his piety and erudition. Taking farewell of his friends he left Geneva with feelings of tender regret, in company with Alexander Campbell, the youthful presentee to the bishopric of Brechin, who in his travels had visited Geneva, attended by Andrew Polwart as his tutor; and he arrived in Edinburgh in the month of July, 1574. In after life he often recalled to memory the happy years he had passed at Geneva, and the great and good men with whose friendship and society he had there been honoured. In his poems he repeatedly introduces the theme, and especially in his poem on the death of his countryman, James Lindsay, who died at Geneva in July, 1580.

* After his arrival in Edinburgh, Melville was offered a situation as tutor in the family of Regent Morton, which he declined, from his desire to receive an academical appointment. It was even said that Morton had marked him out for a bishopric, had he been sufficiently pliant. His great reputation as a scholar had preceded him to Scotland; and at the General Assembly which met in 1574, rival suits were made by commissioners from Fife and Glasgow, for the honour of having him appointed as principal of the universities of St. Andrews and

Soon after his return the General Assembly appointed him to be the principal of the college of Glasgow,* where he continued for some years. In the year 1576, the earl of Morton being then regent, and thinking to bring Melville into his party, who were endeavour-

Glasgow. That office in the university of St. Andrews was vacant by the recent death of Mr. John Douglas, archbishop. Mr. James Boyd, who had lately been prevailed upon to accept the bishopric of Glasgow, a man of amiable character and a lover of learned men, and Mr. Andrew Hay, superintendent of those parts and rector of the university of Glasgow, "an honest, zealous, frank-hearted gentleman," were specially earnest to obtain Melville as principal of the university of Glasgow. Melville was induced to visit Glasgow, and see what encouragement should be offered him. Thither he proceeded, accompanied by his brothers James and Roger, and Mr. James Balfour, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh. An agreement was arrived at; and after paying a visit to his friends at Baldov, he set out at the end of October for the seat of his future academical labours, accompanied by his brother John and his nephew James. Passing through Dundee and Perth, they journeyed to Stirling, where they remained two days and saw the king, "the sweetest sight in Europe that day," says James Melville (for King James' precocity of mind then attracted universal attention). "for strange and extraordinary gifts of ingyne, judgment, memory, and language. I heard him discourse, walking up and down in the auld Lady Mar's hand, of knowledge and ignorance, to my great marvel and astonishment." At Stirling Melville conferred at length on the best methods of academical training with Buchanan, who had then begun to write his history of Scotland, with Peter Young, and Alexander his brother, and with Mr. Gilbert Moncrieff, the king's physician, whom he had known well at Geneva. He arrived at Glasgow on the 1st of November, and was immediately installed into his office. (*Diary*, pp. 47, 48.)

ing to introduce Episcopacy, he 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 Melville rejected his offer with scorn.*

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

When the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh in 1582, Andrew Melville inveighed against the absolute authority

* While Melville refused to accept of the benefice of Govan for himself, he earnestly dealt with Regent Morton to annex it to the university of Glasgow, whose emoluments were extremely scanty, and urged Mr. Patrick Adamson the regent's minister, who was then Melville's friend and companion, to use his influence with Morton for the same purpose. After keeping the benefice undisposed of for nearly two years, blaming Melville for defrauding both the college and himself of such a prize, because of his new opinions and "over-sea [far-fetched] dreams anent the kirk discipline and policy," Morton in 1577 made a gift of the benefice to the university. "This was the best turn," says James Melville, "that ever I knew either the regent or Mr. Patrick to do." (*Diary*, pp. 53, 54.) This donation having been made, a new foundation commonly called the *Nova Erectio*

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. When several articles, of the same tenor with his speech, were presented by the commission of the Assembly to King James VI. and council craving redress, the earl of Arran cried out, "Is there any here that dare subscribe these articles." Melville went forward and said. "WE DARE, and will render our lives in the cause;" and then took up the pen and subscribed. We do not find that any disagreeable consequences ensued at this time.

But in the beginning of February, 1584, he was summoned to appear before the secret council on the 11th of that month, to

was given to the college by royal charter, according to the terms of which the principal was to preach on the sabbath in the church of Govan. For a number of years only a small portion of this living was realised by the university. (*M' Crie's Melville*, vol. i. pp. 76, 77).

† King James VI. in October, 1580, addressed a letter to the General Assembly, informing them that it was his intention to translate Melville from the university of Glasgow to the principalship of St. Mary's, or the New College, St. Andrews, which had been remodelled to afford a complete course of theological instruction. The General Assembly agreed to the translation; and Melville, though not without reluctance, having accepted the new appointment, was installed in December following as principal of that college.

answer for some things said by him in a sermon on a fast-day, from Dan. iv. At his first appearance he made a verbal defence; but being again called, he gave in a declaration, with a declinature of the judicature of the king and council, being accused of no civil crime, but only of his doctrine uttered from the pulpit,* importing that he had said nothing, either in that or any other sermon, tending to dishonour King James VI., 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 where the offence was alleged to have been committed; and that as there were special laws in favour of St. Andrews to the above import, he particularly claimed the privilege of them. He further protested that what he had said was warranted by the word of God; that he appealed to the congregation who heard the sermon; that he craved to know his accusers; that, if the calumny was found to be false, the informers might be punished; that

* Melville's Diary, p. 142.

the rank and character of the informer might be considered, &c.: after which he gave an account of the sermon in question, alleging that his meaning had been misunderstood and his words perverted.

When he had closed his defence, the king and the earl of Arran, who was then chancellor, raged exceedingly against him. Melville remained undisquieted, and replied, "You are too bold, in a constituted Christian kirk, to pass by the pastors, and take upon you to judge the doctrine and control the messengers of a Greater than any present. That you may see your rashness, in taking upon you that which you neither ought nor can do" (taking out a small Hebrew Bible from his belt, and laying it down before them), "there are," said he, "my instructions and warrant—see if any of you can judge thereon and control me therein, that I have passed my injunctions." The chancellor, opening the book and finding it was Hebrew, put it into the king's hand, saying, "Sire, he scorneth your Majesty and the council." "Nay, my lord," said Andrew Melville, "I scorn not, but with all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his

kirk."* In the time of this debate they frequently removed and instantly recalled him, that he might not have time to consult with his friends. They proceeded against him, and admitted his avowed enemies to prove the accusation; and 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 the competent judges of doctrine, and therefore remitted him to ward in the castle of Edinburgh during the king's will. Being informed that if he entered into ward he would not be released, unless it should be to bring him to the scaffold, and that the decree of the council being altered, Blackness † was appointed for his prison, which was kept by some dependents of the earl of Arran, he resolved to get out of the country. A macer

* Diary of James Melville, p. 142.

† "A foull holl," as his nephew describes it. (*Melville's Diary*, p. 143).

‡ Archbishop Adamson was excommunicated by the Synod of Fife in April, 1586. James Melville opened the Synod by a discourse in defence of the divine authority of the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland. In the course of his sermon turning to Adamson, who was present, he accused him as being the subverter of this scriptural government, which he had solemnly promised to maintain, and then exhorted the Synod boldly to proceed in cutting off such a corrupt member. Adamson

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. Messrs. Lawson and Balcanquhal gave him the good character he deserved, and prayed earnestly for him in public, in Edinburgh; which both moved the people and galled the court exceedingly.

After the storm had abated he returned to St. Andrews in 1586, when the Synod of Fife had excommunicated Patrick Adamson, pretended archbishop of St. Andrews, on account of some immoralities. Adamson having drawn up the form of an excommunication against Andrew Melville and James his nephew, sent out a boy with some of his own creatures to the kirk to read it; † but the people paying no

was immediately brought to trial. At first he refused to answer before this tribunal as incompetent; but at last he defended himself, and among other things objected to the Melvilles, who he alleged were his avowed enemies, being permitted to act as his judges. Having cleared themselves of malice, they were allowed to judge and vote in the case. Adamson protested and appealed to the General Assembly. The Synod found him guilty, resolved on his excommunication, and the sentence was immediately pronounced. In retaliation the archbishop, after the dissolution of the Synod, wrote out an excommunication of Melville and some other

regard to it, the archbishop, though both suspended and excommunicated, would himself go to the pulpit and preach; whereupon some gentlemen and others in town convened in the New College to hear Andrew Melville. The archbishop being informed that they were assembled on purpose to put him out of the pulpit and hang him, for fear of this called his friends together, and betook himself to the steeple; but at the entreaty of the magistrates and others he retired home.

This difference with the archbishop brought the Melvilles again before the king and council, who pretending that there was no other method to end that quarrel, ordained Mr. Andrew to be confined to Angus and the Mearns, under pretext that he would be useful in that country in reclaiming papists.

ministers, which he caused his servants to read in the church, and appealed to the king, the privy council, and the estates of Parliament. "Without denying," says Dr. M'Crie, "that Adamson merited the censure inflicted on him, I cannot help thinking that the procedure of the Synod was precipitant and irregular. The manner in which James Melville introduced the affair was certainly a material prejudging of the cause. There is reason to think that his uncle was not a stranger to the manner in which he was to act. At any rate, both had suffered severely from the bishop; and although this does not prove that they had conceived malice against him, and might not warrant the Synod to exclude them from a voice in the trial, yet

Because of his sickly condition, Mr. James was sent back to the New College; and the university sending the dean of faculty and the masters with a supplication to the king in Mr. Andrew's behalf, he was suffered to return, but was not restored to his place and office until the month of August following.

The next winter Melville 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 and Robert Bruce, who began preaching about this time.

After this he was chosen moderator in some subsequent Assemblies of the church; in

their voluntarily declining to act as judges would have given an appearance of greater decorum and impartiality to the process. In fine, to gain in any due measure the end proposed, it was fit that the sentence should have higher authority than that of a provincial Synod, and that the cause should have been referred to the General Assembly, especially as the bishop had appealed to that judicature." (*Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 353.) The excommunication was removed by the General Assembly which met in May following, upon condition of the bishop's subscribing a declaration disclaiming all supremacy over the synod of Fife, as well as all right to judge other ministers, and submitting to the authority of the General Assembly.

which several acts were made in favour of religion, as maintained at that period.

When the king brought home his queen from Denmark in 1590, Andrew Melville 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 Melville opposed his arbitrary measures in grasping after an absolute authority over the church, he conceived a daily hatred against him ever after, as will appear from the sequel.

When Andrew Melville went with some other ministers to the Convention of Estates at Falkland in 1596 (wherein they intended to bring home the excommunicated lords who were then in exile), though he had a commission from last Assembly to watch against every imminent 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 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, his church, and their native country. In the midst of this speech he was commanded by the king to withdraw.

The commission of the General Assembly was now sitting, and understanding how matters were going on at the Convention, they sent some of their members, among whom Andrew Melville was one, to expostulate with the king. When they came, he received them in his closet. James Melville, being first in the commission, told the king his errand; upon which he appeared angry, and charged them with sedition. Mr. James, being a man of cool passion and gentle behaviour, began to answer the king with great reverence and respect; but Mr. 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, he 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 kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of the commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the Head of 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. 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."

There is little difficulty in conjecturing 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, he gloried, and made it his constant rule of conduct; for in the Assembly at Dundee in 1598, Andrew Melville being there, he discharged him from the Assembly, and would not suffer business to go on till he was removed.

There are other instances of the magnanimity of this faithful witness of Christ which are worthy of notice. In the year 1606 he and seven of his brethren, who stood most in the way of having prelacy advanced in Scotland, were called up to England, under pretence of having a hearing granted them by the king, who had now succeeded to that throne, with respect to religion; but rather to be kept out of the way, as the event afterwards proved, until Episcopacy should be better established in Scotland. Soon after their arrival they were examined by the king and council at Hampton Court, on the 20th of September, concerning the lawfulness of the late Assembly at Aberdeen.* The king, in particular, asked Andrew Melville 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 could be 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 Andrew Melville, with his usual freedom of speech, supported the conduct of his brethren at Aberdeen, recounting the wrongs done them at Linlithgow, whereof he was a witness himself. He blamed the king's advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was then present, for favouring Popery and maltreating the ministers, so that the Accuser of the brethren could not have done more against the saints of God than had been done; that prelatists were encouraged, though some of them were promoting the interests of Popery with all their might, and the faithful servants of Christ were shut up in prison: and addressing the advocate personally, he added, "Still you think all this is not enough, but you 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

* This was a General Assembly held at Aberdeen, 2nd July, 1605, by nineteen ministers, the meeting of which King James endeavoured to prevent, but which was notwithstanding perfectly legal. The ministers who held it were on

that account treated with great severity. The history of this Assembly will come particularly under review in the life of John Welsh.

† Richard Bancroft. He died at Lambeth in November, 1610. (*Melville's Diary*, p. 804).

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, when they received a charge not to return to Scotland, nor to come near the king's, queen's, or prince's court, without special license and being called for. A few days after they were again called to court, and examined before a select number of the Scots nobility; where, after Mr. James Melville's examination, Mr. Andrew being called, told them plainly "that they knew not what they were doing; they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lives and lands for the freedom of their country and the gospel, which they were betraying and overturning." But night drawing on they were dismissed.

Another instance of his resolution is this: he was called before the council* for having made a Latin epigram upon seeing the king and queen making an offering at the altar, whereon were two books, two basins, and two candlesticks, with two unlighted candles, it

* This was on Sabbath, 30th November, 1606.

being a day kept in honour of St. Michael. 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 sua,
Romano et ritu, regalem dum instruit aram?
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam!"

The following is an old and literal translation:

"Why stand there on the royal altar hie,
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins drie?
Doth England hold God's mind and worship closse,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross?
Doth she, with chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express?"

When he compeared, he avowed the verses, and said he was much moved with indignation at such vanity and superstition in a Christian church, under a Christian king, born and brought up under the pure light of the gospel, and especially before idolaters, to confirm them in idolatry, and grieve the hearts of true professors. The archbishop of Canterbury began to speak, but Andrew Melville charged him with a breach of the Lord's day, with imprisoning, silencing, and bearing down of faithful ministers, and with upholding antichristian hierarchy and popish ceremonies; shaking the white sleeve of his rochet, he called them "Romish rags, and a part of the beast's mark," told him

that if he was the author of the book entitled "Scotiseing Genevating Discipline," he estimated him the capital enemy of all the reformed churches in Europe, and therefore he would profess himself an enemy to him in all such proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of his blood; and said he was grieved to the heart to see such a man have the king's ear, and sit so high in that honourable council. He also charged Bishop Barlow* with having stated, in writing of the conference at Hampton Court, that the king had said he was in the Church of Scotland, but not of it; and wondered that he was suffered to go unpunished, for making the king of no religion. He refuted the sermons which Barlow had preached before the king, but was often interrupted and at last removed; and order was given to Dr. Overwall, dean of St. Paul's, to receive him into his house, there to remain, with injunctions not to let any have access to him till his Majesty's pleasure was signified.† Next year he was ordered from the dean's house to the bishop of Winchester's,‡ where, being not so strictly guarded, he sometimes kept company with his brethren;

but was at last committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for the space of four years.

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

* Bishop of Rochester.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 679, 680. ‡ Dr. Bilsoun.

he desired some who attended the court to get their business, which was managing through Dunbar's interest, expedited without delay, being persuaded that the word of that servant of Christ should not fall to the ground; which 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 with Lord Walden. †

In 1611, after four years' confinement, Andrew Melville was, by the interest of the duke de Bouillon, ‡ released on condition

* Namely, on 30th January, 1611.

† Walden was the eldest son of the earl of Suffolk, lord high chamberlain.

‡ Melville received a letter from the duke of Bouillon in February, 1611, informing him that he had procured his release from the Tower on the condition mentioned in the text. "On this occasion," says Dr. M'Crie, "he felt great embarrassment as to pecuniary matters. The government was so illiberal as to make him no allowance for bearing his expenses. He had been obliged to support himself in the Tower, where every individual who performed the smallest service expected to be rewarded according to the rank of the prisoner. His finances were so exhausted that he could not fit himself out for making an appearance in a foreign country becoming his station and connections. His nephew, James Melville, was quite unable at present to assist him. A collection was made and remitted to him by his friends in Scotland; but it was so late in reaching him that, as he expresses it, it was like 'moutarde après diner.'" (*M'Crie's Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 411-413.)

It, however, appears that the government, after using Melville so badly, so far relented, or

that he would go with him to the university of Sedan; where he continued enjoying the calm repose denied him in his own country, but maintaining the usual constancy and faithfulness in the service of Christ which he had done through the whole of his life.

The reader will readily observe 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 Spottiswoode styled the principal agent, or apostle, of the Presbyterians in

rather so far affected to treat him with generosity, as to give him £60 before his departure from England. Sir Thomas Lake, in a letter to the earl of Salisbury, lord high treasurer of England, dated "From the Court at Royster, 6th April, 1611," says, "I am further willed to let your lordship know that his Majesty would bestow upon Mr. Andrew Melvyn at his departure forty or fifty pounds, and if your lordship thinks fit I will make a warrant for it here, and your lordship may cause the money to be delivered." The same writer, in a letter to the earl of Salisbury, 10th April, says, "My duty to your lordship most humbly remembered. It may please your lordship to receive herewith the Privy Seal for Mr. Andrew Melvyn, which is for £60, forty added to the £20 given him by your lordship before, so as now there is warrant to repay that and to give him £40 more. (*State Papers, England*—James I., Domestic, vol. lxiii. Nos. 13, 20.)

Melville embarked for France 19th April. In passing through Paris he was hospitably entertained by Monsr. du Moulin, Protestant minister at that city, who formed the highest opinion of his talents and scholarship. In the university of Sedan he was associated in the

Scotland. He did indeed assert the rights of Presbytery to the utmost of his power against diocesan Episcopacy. He possessed great presence of mind, and was superior to all the arts of flattery that were sometimes tried with him. Being once

department of theology with Daniel Tilenus, who lectured on the system, whilst Melville prelected on the Scriptures. In his letters Melville gratefully mentions the urbanity and munificence with which he was treated by the duke of Bouillon. His relations with Tilenus were not altogether such as could have been desired. Not only was Tilenus hostile to the presbyterian polity and favourable to hierarchical prelacy, but he laid in the French church the foundation of the Arminian system, which was afterwards refined and improved upon by Cameron, one of our own countrymen, and Amyraut. Melville, who was of very different sentiments, taught the leading doctrines of Calvin, and refuted those of Arminius whenever an opportunity offered in his lectures. Tilenus, who was intolerant of opposition, and of a temper somewhat morose, afterwards left Sedan and became a violent antagonist of Calvinism, which at a former period of his life he had zealously defended.

* The month and circumstances of Melville's death are unknown. A certificate in Latin of his relatives, dated at Baldovie, 8th December, 1622, and having eight signatures appended, bears that his brother, David Melvin of Baldovie, in the province of Angus in Scotland, was his lawful heir, and entitled to receive his books, manuscripts, clothes, money, and whatever he possessed in France at the time of his decease. It at the same time expresses an apprehension that his arrival had been delayed in consequence of the mournful civil war that had broken out and the shameful butchery of the pious, as well as of the insecurity of the roads, which were infested by robbers and assassins. (*State Papers, England*—James I., Domestic, vol. cxxxiv. No. 69.) Sir George Calvert, secretary, in a letter

blamed as being too fiery in his temper, he 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." He died at Sedan, in France, in the year 1622, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years.*

to Secretary Conway, dated St. Martin's Lane, 25th March, 1623, says, "I send you now a letter to the duke of Bouillon [*i.e.* for signature] in the behalf of David Melvin, according to the directions I received from you." (*Ibid.* vol. cxi. No. 31.)

The honourable tribute which Boyd of Trochrig pays in his obituary to the memory of Andrew Melville may well close these notices of this accomplished scholar and illustrious Christian patriot:—"May the Lord have pity upon us and preserve in us the work of his own grace for the good and salvation of our soul, and the destruction of this body of death and sin. As to the death of that venerable father of our church, the ornament of his nation, and great light of this age in all virtue, learning, vivacity of spirit, promptitude, zeal, holy freedom and boldness, and invincible courage in a good cause, with a holy course of life and resolution, [Mr. Andrew Melville] who died at Sedan last year, 1622, aged about eighty years: he was rejected of his native country by the malice of the times and men, because he had with fortitude and firmness maintained the truth and given testimony to it before the princes of this world. He had kept a good conscience without change, either out of fear or by the flattery and favour of men. As to his death I say, after his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and living an exile more than ten years, and the particular circumstances of it, I have not yet received distinct and certain information, because of the troubles and persecutions arisen in the church of France for some years. May the Lord conduct us by the strait gate to his kingdom of everlasting peace, for the merits of his well-beloved son, Jesus Christ our Saviour! Amen." (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 263.)

PATRICK SIMPSON.

PATRICK SIMPSON,* after having finished his academical course,

*Patrick Simpson was the son of Mr. Andrew Simpson, who was master of a very successful grammar school at Perth, having sometimes under his training more than three hundred boys, including the sons of some of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland, and many who were afterwards distinguished as ministers of the Reformed Church and as ministers of state.

The conversion of Mr. Andrew Simpson to the Reformed sentiments resulted from a remarkable circumstance connected with his scholars. He regularly conducted them to public worship in one of the churches of Perth. On one occasion during the season of Lent, between the years 1550 and 1558, when the officiating friar, after relating certain popish miracles, was vehemently inveighing against the Huguenot preachers, as he called the Reformed ministers, in withdrawing by their preaching the people from the Catholic faith, loud hissing proceeded from the part of the church occupied by Simpson's scholars. The friar fled from the pulpit in consternation. A complaint was made to the magistrates, and the master was required to investigate the cause of the disturbance, in order to the punishment of the chief offenders. It was found to have originated from the circumstance that one of the boys had been in the habit of amusing his fellow scholars by reading telling passages from the poetical writings of Sir David Lindsay about the monks from a copy which belonged to his father. Simpson, who as yet was a true disciple of the Roman church, was about to inflict punishment on the boy, when the spirited youth maintained that the book was not heretical as was alleged, and he besought his master to read it and judge for himself. Simpson, who thought this request a very reasonable one, perused the book, and the effect was a conviction that it contained nothing but what was perfectly true. Reporting to the complainants, "I cannot discover," he said, "who began the hissing in the church, but I am persuaded that if the friars will leave off their invectives against these new preachers, the children will be quiet

spent some considerable time in retirement, which he employed

enough." Having examined the Reformed doctrines, he was persuaded of their truth, and on the establishment of the Reformation he became minister, first at Dunning and Cargill, and subsequently by an act of the General Assembly in 1564 was translated to Dunbar, where he was both minister of the parish and master of the grammar school. He was the author of the Latin rudiments which were taught in the schools of Scotland till they were supplanted by Ruddiman's (*Row's History*, pp. 7-9). He was alive in 1582, for on 18th of September that year "Mr Alexander Home, minister, was presented to the parsonage of Dunbar, vacant by the demission of Mr. Andrew Simpson (*Ibid.* p. 8). How long he lived after this is uncertain.

Andrew Simpson had six sons, of whom five were ministers of the word, and learned and devoted men. 1. Matthew became a professor of humanity, and died young. 2. William was minister at Dumbarton, and the author of a Latin work on the Hebrew accents, the first work on Hebrew literature which appeared in Scotland. 3. Alexander was minister at Dryburgh and Merton, and the author of a work published in 1644 entitled, "The Destruction of Inbred Corruption, or the Christian's warfare against the bosom enemy." He is honourably mentioned by Livingstone in his "Memorable Characteristics" among the ministers in the church of Scotland eminent for grace and gifts, for faithfulness and success, of whom he had only heard. (*Select Biographies edited for the Wodrow Society*, vol. i. p. 303.) 4. Abraham was minister of Norham. 5. Archibald was minister at Dalkeith; and besides writing a true record of the life and death of his brother Patrick, printed for the first time in the work just mentioned in 1845, and other pieces, he was the author of a Latin work which treated of the different branches of natural history mentioned in Scripture—animals, fowls and fishes, reptiles and insects; "which" says Dr. M'Crie, "shows the learning of the author: but his fancy led

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 translated to Stirling, where he continued until his death. He was a faithful contender against the lordly encroachments of prelacy. In the year 1584, when there was an express charge given by King James

him in this, as well as in his other works, to expatiate in the field of allegory." (*Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii. p. 314.) 6. Patrick, the subject of the memoir in the text.

* Simpson was prepared for the university at his father's grammar school. When only fourteen years of age he entered the New College at St. Andrews, and graduated when eighteen. His father discovering his aptitude for learning, then sent him to England to prosecute his studies at Cambridge. But young Simpson was prevented from carrying this intention into effect by an engagement with a family in Bridgstock, where he had the advantage of a valuable library; and here by his own private studies he acquired great proficiency in the Greek language, having read Plato, Xenophon, Thucydides, Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Josephus, and the Greek ecclesiastical historians, which he did with much facility. Being asked why he spent so much time in reading heathen writers, he replied: "I get the benefit of the language by them, not only the pure Greek, but the Ionic, Doric, and Attic, whereby I may understand all; and as the Israelites borrowed jewels of Egypt, which they dedicated to the tabernacle,

VI. to the ministers, either to acknowledge Patrick Adamson as archbishop of St. Andrews or else lose their benefices, Mr. Simpson opposed that 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 to Adamson, so far as it was agreeable to the word of God, he rebuked them sharply, saying that would be no salve to their consciences, seeing it was altogether absurd to subscribe an agreement with any human invention when it was con-

so whatever golden or precious sentences I read among those writers, I consecrate them to the worship of God; and as pearls must not be contemned suppose they be gathered from the dunghill, so good sentences may be collected from the mouth of heathen philosophers, writers, and poets, and are not to be contemned in respect of the authors." (*Select Biographies edited for the Wodrow Society*, vol. i. p. 71.) His father becoming sick sent to England for Patrick, who immediately returned home, and he was soon after appointed minister at Spotkirk, in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he served three years, preaching on Sabbath and teaching during the week days the Greek language, which he spread in East Lothian as did Andrew Melville in the West. He was thence translated to Cramond in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, where he remained twelve years, and during that time he married his first wife Martha Barron, daughter of James Barron, provost of Edinburgh, and sister of the wife of Principal Rollock. (*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 72, 73). On 4th August, 1590, he was translated by the General Assembly to Stirling. (*Row's History*, p. 139.)

† Simpson's mother was Violet Adamson.

demned by the word of God. A bishopric was offered him, and a yearly pension besides from the king, in order to bring him into his designs; but he positively refused both, saying that he regarded preferment and profit as a bribe to enslave his conscience, which was dearer to him than anything 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, in patronizing a manifest breach of 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 1605 was condemned by the state, he in a very solemn manner

* Being minister of Stirling, Simpson had sometimes an opportunity of preaching before King James whilst he passed through or remained for a time in that town. One of these occasions is that mentioned in the text, and though Howie does not state the precise circumstances, and is incorrect as to the year, there is little reason to doubt that it occurred only a few days after the murder of James, earl of Moray, in the castle of Dunnibrissle by the earl of Huntly, who on the night of Monday, 7th February, 1591-92, went out of Edinburgh from the king to that castle, and set it on fire. The youthful earl of Moray attempted to escape, but being discovered by some sparks of fire on his knapskall, he was driven back and consumed in the flames. The news of this cruel murder, which reached Edinburgh on the morning of the following day, caused great lamentation. A

denounced the judgment of God against all such as had been concerned in distressing and imprisoning the ministers who were tried at Linlithgow, who maintained the lawfulness and justified the conduct of that Assembly. And the protestation given in to the Parliament in 1606 (which Parliament did many things to the further establishment of prelacy), was written by him, and having been signed by forty-two ministers, was by him delivered into the hands of the earl of Dunbar. It was as follows:—

“THE PROTESTATION OFFERED TO THE ESTATES
CONVENED IN PARLIAMENT AT PERTH, IN
THE BEGINNING OF JULY, 1606.

“The earnest desire of our hearts is to be faithful, and in case we would have been silent and unfaithful at this time, when the undermined estate of Christ’s kirk craveth a duty at our hands, we should have locked up our hearts with patience and our mouths

prevalent suspicion in the capital was that the king was implicated in the murder of Moray, whom he hated, partly as being a descendant of the good regent, and partly because he believed that Moray accompanied the earl of Bothwell, when Bothwell on the 27th of December preceding had attempted to seize his royal person in Holyrood House, and that Chancellor Maitland, who hated Moray for the same reasons, was similarly involved. The king having sent for five or six of the ministers, was at great pains to convince them of his innocence, and he desired them to clear him before the people. His part, he said, was to be like David when Abner was slain by Joab (2 Sam. iii. 27-39). They advised him to be something more, namely, to clear himself by vigorously pursuing Huntly. But this the king never did. So great and general was the indignation of the people at Edinburgh,

with taciturnity, rather than to have impeached any with our admonition. But that which Christ commandeth, necessity urgeth, and duty wringeth out of us, to be faithful office-bearers in the kirk of God, no man can justly blame us, providing we hold ourselves within the bounds of that Christian

that though restrained from acts of violence by the magistrates, they threw aside all respect for the king and his ministers, and threatened both. The king deemed it prudent to withdraw for some time to Glasgow. It was when the king was passing through Stirling that Simpson had the opportunity of preaching before him referred to. With the freedom claimed as the privilege of the pulpit at that period, Simpson addressed the king with great plainness. His text was Gen. iv. 9: "The Lord said to Cain, Where is Abel thy brother?" In the course of the sermon he thus addressed his Majesty—"Sir, I assure you in God's name, the Lord will ask at you, where is the earl of Moray, your brother?" The king before all the congregation said, "Mr. Patrick, my chamber door was never steeked upon you; ye might have told me any thing ye thought in secret." Simpson returned, "Sir, the scandal is public;" and after sermon being sent for to the castle, he went with his Bible under his arm, affirming that that would plead for him. (*Row's History*, p. 144.)

In the letters of Robert Bowes, English ambassador at the Scottish court, to Lord Burghley, various particulars which are given concerning Moray's murder account still more for the freedom used by Simpson in the pulpit in presence of the king on that subject. In a letter dated Barnes, 17th February, 1591-92, he writes, "Where[as] this late and odious murder of Moray hath been laid to the charge only of Huntly and his complice, now some would gather and allege many circumstances (with what mind and truth I know not) that the king and the lord chancellor should be blemished with the grant of the blank commission (by colour whereof Huntly attempted this fact), and with privity and assent to the execution. Wherein, albeit the king at the first had so well persuaded many noblemen the friends of Moray and the ministry of his own innocency and honourable part in the behalves mentioned, as the hearers were satisfied, and the ministers

moderation which followeth God without injury done to any man, especially those 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 the present Parliament under the most high

published the same in their sermons to the great comfort of the people, with promises given to them by the king, resolved to confirm his mind and actions herein by the expedition of the due punishment which he should lay on Huntly and all others found guilty of the outrage. . . . The picture of Moray's naked body and wounds are drawn and intended to be showed at the cross in Edinburgh. But the king liked not to look upon his corpse; which is thought shall be buried in St. Giles' church, notwithstanding that the king hitherto is not pleased therewith. When Moray found himself void of all hope of life he committed his children and the revenge of his death to the Lord Ochiltree, praying his sister then with him and now saved to make the same known to Ochiltree; who prepareth either to receive the like end to be given him by Huntly or his means, or else that he shall yield the like reward to some of them. In like manner the mother of Moray, taking with her own hand three bullets out of her son's dead body, hath delivered them to the keeping of several and especial friends, who solemnly have vowed to bestow the same bullets and others in the bodies of some principal executioners of this slaughter, for the taking of which revenge it appeareth that many of good quality will hazard themselves and lives, however their enterprise therein shall be afterwards punished." (*State Papers, Scotland*—Elizabeth, vol. xlviii. No. 17.) Bowes in another letter from Berwick, 27th February, 1591-92, writes, "At this time I received letters from many of my friends in the west parts of Scotland, agreeing all in one opinion and expectation of hasty troubles threatened to arise by the present course holden by the king in the favour of Huntly, by the discontentment of many noblemen and others of good quality, seeking Huntly's immediate punishment or forcible revenge for Moray's slaughter, and by the general rage of the people stirred with Huntly's fact herein, and despairing due chastisement in the same." (*Ibid.*, vol. xlviii. No. 19).

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 the greatest of all other waters, so it containeth itself better within the coasts and limits appointed by God, than any rivers of fresh running water have done.

“Next, remember that God hath set 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*; but 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) authorise 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 mounteth up on the steps of pre-eminence of bishops; until that Man of sin came forth, as the ripe fruit of man's wisdom, whom God shall consume with the breath of his own mouth. Let the sword of God pierce that belly which brought forth such a monster, and let the staff of God crush that egg which hath hatched such a cockatrice; and let not only that Roman antichrist be thrown down from the high bench of his usurped authority, but also let all the steps whereby he mounteth 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 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 year of our Lord 600, when the people were so shaken and brangled with contrary doctrines, some affirming and others denying the opinion of Eutyches, 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 of 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 flock, 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 shewed 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 anything 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 as it is statute and ordained already by his Majesty, with advice of his Estates in Parliament, that all ministers provided to prelacies should have vote in Parliament;* as likewise, the General Assembly (his Majesty being present thereat) hath found the same lawful

* This was done at the Parliament held at Edinburgh, 19th December, 1597.

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, besides 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 that is to be made

* By the General Assembly held at Dundee, 7th March, 1597-98, it was concluded by a majority of ten that it was necessary and expedient that the ministry,

for confirmation of their vote in 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 ingoing have they behaved themselves therein. And therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall hold that great court of parliament to judge both the quick and the dead, at his glorious manifestation, and in the 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 dissension, these forty-six years bypast; also in name of our presbyteries, from which we have our commission; and in our own names, office-bearers and pastors within the same, for discharging of our necessary duty, and disburdening of our consciences 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."

Patrick Simpson was not more distinguished for zeal in the cause of Christ than for piety and an exemplary life, which had a happy effect upon the people with whom he stood connected. He was in

as the third estate of the kingdom, should have a vote in Parliament in name of the Kirk. (*Scol's Apologetical Narration*, p. 103.)

a very eminent degree blessed with the spirit and return of prayer; and the following fact, attested by old Mr. Row of Carnock, shows how much of the divine countenance he had in this duty.

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 distracted condition, which continued for some time increasing; she breaking forth into very dreadful expressions. She was in one of those fits of despair one Sabbath morning when Mr. Simpson was going to preach; he was exceedingly troubled at her condition and went to prayer, which she took no notice of. After he had done he turned to the company present, and said that they, who had been witnesses to that sad hour, should 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 continued for some days after. On a Tuesday morning about daybreak he went into his garden as privately as possible, and Helen Gardiner, wife

to one of the bailies of the town, a godly woman, who had sat up that night with Mrs. Simpson, being concerned at the melancholy condition he was in, climbed over the garden wall to observe him in this retirement; but coming near the place where he was, she was terrified with a noise which she heard, as of the rushing of multitudes of people together, with a most melodious sound intermixed; she fell on her knees and prayed that the Lord would pardon her rashness, which her regard for his servant had caused. Afterwards she went forward and found him lying on the ground; she entreated him to tell her what had happened unto him, and after many promises of secrecy, and an obligation that she would not reveal it in his lifetime, but if she survived him she would be at liberty, he said, "O! what am I! being but dust and ashes, that holy ministering spirits should be sent with a message to me!" He then told her that he had seen a vision of angels, who gave him an audible answer from the Lord respecting his wife's condition; and then returning to the house, he said to the people who attended his wife, "Be of good comfort, for I am sure that ere ten hours of the day

this brand shall be plucked out of the fire ;” after which he went to prayer at his wife’s bedside. She continued for some time quiet, but upon his mentioning Jacob’s 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 hast 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 the Friday following, August 13, 1601.

Patrick Simpson lived for several years after this, fervent and faithful in the work of the ministry. In the year 1608, when the bishops and some commissioners of the General Assembly convened in the palace of Falkland, the ministers assembled in the kirk of the town and chose him for their moderator; after which they spent some time in prayer, and tasted some of the comfort of their former meetings.

They then 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 till the next Assembly, and in the meantime took all possible precautions to strengthen their own party, which they effected.

In 1610 the noblemen and bishops came to Stirling, after dissolving the Assembly. In preaching before them Mr. Simpson openly charged the bishops with perjury and gross defection. They hesitated for some time whether they should delate him or compound the matter; but after deliberation they dropped the affair altogether for the present. 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. For in the month of March, 1618, which was about four months before the Perth Assembly when the five articles were agreed upon, viz., (1.) kneeling at the communion; (2.) private communion; (3.) private baptism; (4.) observance of holidays; (5.) confirmation of children—he said that this month

should put an end to all his troubles; and he accordingly died about the end of it, blessing the Lord that he had not been perverted by the sinful courses of these times, and testifying 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 the space of about

* The title of this work, which is long, begins as follows:—"The Historie of the Church since the dayes of our Saviour Jesus Christ untill this present age. Divided into foure bookes," &c. The third edition in folio, corrected and enlarged, appeared in 1634. The work is the fruit of much learning and research, and the facility with which the author could read both the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical historians was of great advantage in its compilation. His Epistle to the Reader he concludes with the following characteristic quaint sentences:—"Take in good part the goats' hair and the rams' skins which I present to cover the tabernacle of our God. I refer the ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones, for beautifying the inner parts of the tabernacle, to others upon whom God hath vouchsafed greater gifts. The house of God is large and ample, and as it hath need of bright-shining torches for the halls, parlours, and chambers; so it hath need of smaller lights for cellars and office-houses. If my farthing candle give light in the

ten centuries.* There are some other little tracts, besides a History of the Councils of the Church, which are nearly out of print. Upon some of his books he had written, "Remember, O my soul, and never forget the 9th of August, what consolation the Lord gave thee, and how he performed what he spake, according to Zech. iii. 2: Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"†

lowest cellar of the house of God, my heart is fully content."

Simpson was also the author of "A Short Compend of the Historie of the First Ten Persecutions moved against Christians. Divided into three centuries," &c. (*Select Biographies edited for the Wodrow Society*, vol. i. pp. 75-77).

† Simpson died 31st March, 1618; and his funeral took place on 1st April, after a sermon preached by Henry Livingstone from 2 Tim. iv. 7, "I have fought a good fight," &c. During the night his brother, Mr. Archibald Simpson, minister at Dalkeith, who had been silenced by the prelates for his opposition to prelacy, preached a sermon in a private house in Stirling on the occasion of his brother's death to a select audience, including the provost, bailies, and council of Stirling, and the Honourable Mary Erskine, lady of the Orchard, from John v. 35, "He was a burning and shining candle, and in his light ye would have rejoiced for a season."

ANDREW DUNCAN.

ANDREW DUNCAN was settled minister of Crail, in the shire of

* Andrew Duncan was a regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in the year 1580, when

Fife,* and was afterwards summoned before the High Commis-

Andrew Melville was installed as principal of the New College. He was among the keenest

sion Court at St. Andrews, in 1619, on account of his faithfulness in opposing the five articles of Perth.

At the first time of his appearance he declined their authority, and at the second adhered to his former declinature; upon which the High Commission Court passed the sentence of deposition against him, and or-

of Melville's opponents, but he afterwards became his warm and steady friend. He was admitted minister of Crail in September, 1597 (*M' Crie's Melville*, vol. i. p. 259; *Selections from Minutes of the Synod of Fife, Abbotsford Club*, 1837). He was one of the six ministers who were imprisoned in the castle of Blackness for holding a General Assembly at Aberdeen in July, 1605, and who under a charge of treason, which rested solely on the fact of their having declined the authority of the privy council as competent judges in that matter, were brought to trial at Linlithgow before a jury on the 10th of January, 1606, and against whom the jury returned a verdict by a majority of nine to six. After a lapse of more than eight months from their trial, their sentence, which King James VI. kept so long in his own breast as an *arcantum imperii*, was pronounced upon them on 23rd October, 1606, by which they were banished from his Majesty's dominions for life, under the penalty of death in the event of their returning. Some of them went to Holland and others to France.

In May, 1607, Duncan was installed professor of divinity in the college of Rochelle (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd of Trochrig*, p. 295).

In 1612 or 1613 overtures having been made by the government to the ministers exiled for holding the Aberdeen Assembly, offering them liberty to return to Scotland provided they would make some concession, Duncan accepted these overtures. Returning to London, he wrote to the king a letter, dated 1st July, 1613, in which are the following sentences, which contain the amount of his concession:—"As to these proceedings,

dained him to enter himself in ward at Dundee. After this sentence was pronounced he gave in a protestation, which was as follows: "Now seeing I have done nothing in 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

which wrought your sacred Majesty such displeasure, my purpose is not absolutely to stand by the justifying thereof, being sorry I should have done any thing which might offend my dear sovereign, the Lord's anointed, whom I serve in his glorious gospel. Certainly I was persuaded at that time that these things, for which I have lain so long under your Majesty's indignation, were not contrary to your Majesty's pleasure; and therefore doubt not but your high Majesty will esteem this simplicity of mine to have been punished sufficiently, both by imprisonment and banishment these eight years and more" (*Calderwood's History*, vol. vii. p. 182). The other exiled ministers, less compromising, refused to accept of the overtures and much regretted Duncan's submission. Forbes, in a letter to James Melville, in referring to it thus writes:—"I have been grieved, but not in the least staggered, at the weakness of A. D., who has 'suffered so many things in vain.' He will not add to the strength of those to whom he has gone over, nor will he weaken us whom he has deserted. The crown which he has taken from his own head he has placed on ours" (*M' Crie's Melville*, vol. ii. p. 435).

The reader will observe from what follows that if Duncan in this instance was more compliant than his fellow-confessors in exile, he afterwards showed himself a steadfast defender of the established discipline of the church and of the purity of God's worship, when he was prosecuted before the High Commission for nonconformity to the articles of Perth.

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 his Majesty shall think expedient; and in the meantime 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, that never did him good. Better be pined to death by hunger, than for a little pittance of the earth to perish for ever, and never be recovered so long as the days of heaven shall last and the years of eternity shall endure. Why should ye distress your own brethren, sons and servants of the Lord Jesus? This is not 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 archbishop 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." In the space of a month after he was deposed for nonconformity.

In the month of 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 for breaking ward, after he was suspended and confined to Dundee, because he had preached the week before at Crail. Mr. Duncan denied that he had been put to the horn: and as for breaking ward, he said, "that for the sake of obedience he stayed at Dundee, separated from a wife and six children, for half a year, and the winter approaching forced him to go home. In the end he requested them not to imprison him on his own charges; but the sentence had been resolved on before he compeared. He was conveyed

to Dumbarton Castle next day, some say to Blackness Castle; here he remained until the month of October thereafter, when he was again brought before the council, and by them was confined to Kilrennie upon his own charges. This was a parish neighbouring to his own.

Upon another occasion of the same nature with this just now narrated, this worthy man was banished out of the kingdom, and went to settle at Berwick; but having several children, and his wife being near her confinement, they were reduced to great hardships, being obliged to part with their servant, having scarcely subsistence for themselves. One night in particular the children asked for bread, and there being none to give them, they cried very sore; the mother was likewise much depressed in spirits; 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, but would undoubtedly provide for them; and added, that though 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 bag with twenty pounds Scots, two loaves of bread, a bag of flour, another of barley, and such like provisions; and having brought the whole to his wife he said, "See what a good Master I serve." After this she hired a servant again, but was soon reduced to a new extremity: the pains of child-bearing came upon her before she could make any provision for 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 early in the morning riding to the door; and having sent her servant back with the horse, with orders when to return, she went in, and asked the maid of the house how her mistress was, and desired access to her, which she obtained. She first ordered a good fire to be made, and directing Mrs.

Duncan to rise, without any other assistance than the house afforded she delivered her, and afterwards accommodated Mrs. Duncan and the child with abundance of very 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 them both be of good comfort, for they should not want. After which she went away on the horse, which had 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 his immediate care and providence, when men had wrongfully excluded him from enjoying his worldly comforts. He continued zealous and steadfast in the faith, and to the end of his life his conduct was uniform with the circumstances of this narrative. The following is a copy of the last will and testament of Mr. Duncan, a valuable memorial of the piety of this worthy :—

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW DUNCAN.

“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 of 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 reunited 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 the tutor, curator, and agent in all their adoos, 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-on 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.

Sic. Sub.—ANDREW DUNCAN."

JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.

JOHN SCRIMGEOUR was settled minister at Kinghorn, in the shire of Fife, and went as chaplain with King James VI., in 1590, to Denmark, when he brought home his queen. He was afterwards concerned in several important affairs of the church, until that fatal year 1618, when the five articles of Perth were agreed on in an Assembly held at that place. He attended this Assembly, and gave in some proposals (see Calderwood's History), upon being, along with others of his faithful brethren, excluded from having a vote by the prevailing party of that Assembly.

In 1620 he was, with some others, summoned before the High Commission Court for not

preaching upon holidays, and not administering the communion, conform to the agreement at Perth; with certification, if this was proven, that they should be deprived of exercising the functions of a minister in all time coming. But there being none present on the day appointed except the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishop of the Isles, and Mr. Walter Whiteford, they were dismissed at that time; but were warned to compear again 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 Mr. Scrimgeour, that notwithstanding all the threatenings of the bishops, he celebrated the communion conform to the ancient practice of the church a few days thereafter.

On the day appointed for their next compearance the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, the Isles, Dunblane, Mr. Hewison, commissary of Edinburgh, and Dr. Blair, being assembled in the archbishop of St. Andrews' lodging in Edinburgh, John Scrimgeour was again called upon to answer, and the archbishop 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 is not mine, and so I cannot quit it." After long reasoning betwixt him and the bishops, concerning church policy and the keeping of holidays, he was removed for a little. Being called in again, the archbishop 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 archbishop. This brought on some further reasoning, in the course of which Scrimgeour gave a faithful testimony against the king's supremacy over the church, and among other things said, "I have had opportunity to reason with the king himself on this subject, and have told him that Christ is the sovereign and only director of his own house; and his Majesty is subject to him. 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 archbishop of St. Andrews, "that the king is pope, and shall be so now." He replied, "That is an evil style you give him." He then gave in his reasons in writing, which they read at leisure, and afterwards the archbishop of St. Andrews 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." "You cannot deprive me of my ministry," said

Scrimgeour; "I received it not from you; I received it from the whole Synod of Fife, and for anything ye do I will never think myself deposed." The archbishop of St. Andrews replied, "You are deprived only of the present exercise of it." Then Scrimgeour 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, and 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 archbishop of St. Andrews. He answered, that Dundee was far off, and he was not able for far journeys, as physicians could witness; and added, "Little know ye what is in my purse." "Then where will you choose your place of confinement," said the archbishop.

He answered, "At a little room of my own, called Bowhill, in the parish of Auchterderran." "Then," said the archbishop, "write, at Bowhill during the king's pleasure."

Thus this worthy servant of Christ lived the rest of his days in 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 negligent in his clothing and in some of his expressions and behaviour; and yet was a very loving, tender-hearted man, of a deep natural judgment and 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 power and familiarity with him, as appears from the following instances:—

When he was minister at Kinghorn a godly woman under

his charge fell sick of a lingering disease, and was all the while assaulted with strong temptations, leading her to think that she was a castaway, though her whole conversation had been eminently Christian. He often visited her while in this condition, but her trouble and terrors still remained. As her dissolution drew on her spiritual trouble increased. He went with two of his elders to her, and began first, in their presence, to comfort and pray with her, but she still grew worse. He ordered his elders to pray, and afterwards prayed himself, but no relief came. Then sitting pensive for a little space, he thus broke silence—"What is this? Our laying grounds of comfort before her will not do; prayer will not do. We must try another remedy. Sure I am this is a daughter of Abraham; sure I am she hath sent for me; and therefore, in the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent him to redeem sinners; in the name of Jesus Christ, who obeyed the Father and came to save us; and in the name of the holy and blessed Spirit, our quickener and sanctifier, I, the elder, command thee, a daughter of Abraham, to be loosed from these bonds." And immediately peace and joy ensued.

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

JOHN WELSH.

JOHN WELSH was by birth a gentleman, his father being laird of Collieston in Nithsdale, an estate rather competent than large.* He was born about the year 1570, the dawning of our Reformation being then but dark, and became a rich example of grace and mercy, although with him the night went before the day, being a most hopeless extravagant boy. It was not enough for him, frequently, when he was a young stripling, to run away from school and play the truant; but after he had passed his grammar and was come to be a youth, he left the school and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the English border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and amongst them he stayed until he spent a suit of clothes. Then, when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolution, so he resolved to return to his father's house, but durst not adventure till he should interpose a reconciler.

In his return homewards he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, Mrs. Agnes Forsyth, and with her he spent some days, earnestly entreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her house his father came providentially to the house to visit Mrs. Forsyth; and after they had talked a while she asked him whether he had ever heard any news of his son John. To her he replied with great grief, "O cruel woman, how can you name him to me! The first news I expect to hear of him is that he is hanged for a thief." She answered that many a profligate boy had become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He insisted upon his sad complaint, but asked whether she knew if his lost son were yet alive. She answered yes, he was, and she hoped he should prove a better man than he was a boy, and with that she called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping and kneeled, beseeching his father, for Christ's sake, to pardon his misbehaviour,

part of the country.—*Life of John Welsh*, by the late Rev. James Young, published in 1866, p. 9; a work replete with information and full of interest, which we strongly recommend to the reader who would know more of the history of this eminent man.

* Welsh was the second son of John Welsh, proprietor of Collieston and other lands in the parishes of Dunscore and Holywood, in the shire of Dumfries, by his wife Marion Grier, who was probably related to some of the landed families or tenantry of that name who then lived in that

and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached and threatened him, yet at length by his tears, and Mrs. Forsyth's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to send him to college, and there try his behaviour; and if ever thereafter he should break off, he said he should be content that his father should disclaim him for ever. So his father carried him home and put him to the college, and there he became a diligent student of great expectation, showing himself a sincere convert; and so he proceeded to the ministry.*

His first settlement was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young and the country rude. His ministry was rather admired by some than received by many, for he was always attended by 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

* Welsh entered the college of Edinburgh when it was first opened in October, 1583, by Robert Rollock, who for a short time was the only professor. Being one of those students, of whom there was a considerable number, who on applying for admission were found not sufficiently acquainted with the Latin tongue to enter Rollock's class, which according to the custom at that time was taught in Latin, Welsh attended the class which Mr. Duncan Nairn, a few weeks after the opening of the college, was

person than to follow his doctrine, as may appear to this day in their synodical records, where we find he had many to censure and few to defend him. Yet it was thought his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though he stayed but a short time there. Being a young man unmarried, he boarded himself in the house of a man named Mitchelhill, and took a young boy of his to be his bedfellow, who to his dying day retained both a respect to John Welsh and his ministry, from the impressions Mr. Welsh's behaviour made upon his apprehension, though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bedclothes, and when he went to his night-prayers to sit up and cover himself negligently therewith, and so to continue; for from the beginning of his ministry to his death he reckoned the day ill-spent if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer.

appointed to conduct for the benefit of this description of students. He quickly surmounted the defects of his previous education; and though not a student in Rollock's class, he doubtless derived many advantages from the general superintendence of that excellent man. Having completed his regular course, he took his degree of master of arts in August, 1588. In the following year he was appointed to the pastoral charge of Selkirk, a town thirty-eight miles to the south of Edinburgh.

This the boy did not forget, even to old age.

An old man of the name of Ewart, in Selkirk, who remembered Mr. Welsh's being in that place, said "he was a type of Christ;" an expression more significant than proper, for his meaning was that he was a man who imitated Christ, as indeed in many things he did. He also said that Welsh's 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 because of the malice of wicked.

The special cause of his departure was a profane gentleman in the country, Scot of Headschaw, whose family is now extinct. Welsh, either because he had reproved him, or merely from hatred, was most unworthily abused by the unhappy man, and among the rest of the injuries he did him this was one: Mr. Welsh kept always two good horses for his own use; and the wicked gentleman, when he could do no more, either with his own hand or by his servants, cut off the rumps of the two innocent beasts, upon which they both died. Such base usage as this

persuaded him to listen to a call to the ministry at Kirkcudbright, which was his next post.*

When he was preparing to leave Selkirk, he could not find a man in the whole 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. Welsh's goods, and so left him; but as he took his leave Welsh gave him his blessing, and a piece of gold for a token, exhorting him to fear God, and promised he should never want, which promise Providence made good through the whole course of the man's life, as was observed by all his neighbours.

At Kirkcudbright he stayed not long; but there he reaped a harvest of converts, who continued long after his departure, and became a part of Samuel Rutherford's flock, though not in his parish, 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, so his translation to Ayr was the more easy.

* He was not translated from Selkirk to Kirkcudbright till after 18th March, 1594-95. His marriage with Elizabeth Knox, third and youngest daughter of John Knox the Reformer, by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Andrew, second Lord Ochiltree, probably took place while he was minister at Selkirk.

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

John Welsh was translated to Ayr in the year 1590,* and there he continued till he was banished. There he had a very hard beginning, but a very sweet end; for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not be found one in all the town who would let him a house to dwell in, so he was constrained to accommodate himself for a time, as best he might, in part of a gentle-

man's house, whose name was John Stuart, merchant, and some time provost of Ayr, an eminent Christian, and great assistant of Mr. Welsh.

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

* Having received an invitation in 1600 to become assistant to Mr. John Porterfield, minister of Ayr, who was then advanced in years, he accepted the invitation, though on the distinct understanding that, on the death of Porterfield, the town council should be at liberty to appoint him successor or not, according to their pleasure. He removed to Ayr in the autumn, or towards the close of that year. In this new field of labour the difficulties with which he had at first to contend were great, as the reader will

see from what follows in the text; but his ministry soon became not only very acceptable, but remarkably successful in turning many to righteousness. Upon the death of Porterfield, 10th April, 1604, the people having met, unanimously made choice of Welsh as the minister of the town and parish; and at their earnest request the town council ratified their choice, and assigned him a suitable stipend by an Act dated 12th June that year, which is very minute and precise.

reconciled them, to cause a table to be covered upon the street; he there brought the enemies together, and beginning with prayer, persuaded them to profess themselves friends, and eat and drink together; then last of all he ended the work with singing a psalm. After the rude people began to observe his example, and listen to his heavenly doctrine, he came quickly to such respect amongst them, that he became not only a necessary counsellor, without whose advice they would do nothing, but also an example to imitate.

He gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises, preaching once every day; he prayed the third part of his time, and was unwearied in his studies. For 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 this it appears that he had been not only a man of great diligence, but also of a strong and robust natural constitution, otherwise he had never endured the fatigue.

Sometimes, before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to the pulpit, because he found himself sore de-

served; he would therefore desire one or more of them to pray, and then he would venture to the pulpit. But it was observed that this humble exercise used ordinarily to be followed by a flame of extraordinary assistance; so near neighbours are, many times, contrary dispositions and frames. He would often retire to the church of Ayr, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expression, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes a loud voice.

There was in Ayr, before he came to it, an aged man, a minister of the town, named Porterfield. He was judged no bad man for his personal inclinations, but was of so easy a disposition, that he frequently used to go too great a length with his neighbours in many dangerous practices; and amongst the rest he used to go to the bow butts and archery on the Sabbath afternoon, to Welsh's great dissatisfaction. But the way he used to reclaim him was not by bitter severity, but this gentle policy. Welsh, together with John Stuart and Hugh Kennedy,* his two

* These two excellent men were prominent among the members and office-bearers of Welsh's congregation at Ayr, as his fellow helpers in every good work.

intimate friends, used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer, and to this exercise they invited Porterfield, which he could not refuse; by which means he was not only diverted from his former sinful practices, but likewise brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour in his course of life.

While Welsh was at Ayr, the Lord's day was greatly profaned at a gentleman's house about eight miles distant, by reason of a great confluence of people play-

John Stuart, who was provost of Ayr, is commemorated by Livingstone in his "Memorable Characters" as "a godly and zealous Christian of a long standing." He was the correspondent of Samuel Rutherford, several of whose printed letters are written to him. Inheriting from his father, Adam Stuart, burgess of Ayr, considerable property, he largely applied it to benevolent purposes. He died in the year 1641. By his last will and testament he appointed Margaret Stuart, his daughter, his only executrix, and Margaret Stuart, his spouse, during her widowhood, the daughter's tutress. (*Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, vol. i. pp. 395-97. *Register of Confirmed Testaments*, Glasgow, 27th May, 1642.)

Hugh Kennedy, who was frequently provost of Ayr, is described by Boyd of Trochrig as "that holy and excellent person, a man who walked with the Lord, endowed with singular piety, exercised in secret and in the practical part of religion, discreet, wise, zealous, and tried with many family crosses and afflictions." Boyd adds, "Before his death he was filled with peace, an inexpressible joy in the Holy Ghost, above what it was possible for him to express or apprehend. He was one of the most remarkable converts and disciples, and one of the most familiar friends of that man of God, Mr. John Welsh." (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 265.)

ing at the football and other pastimes. After writing several times to him to suppress the profanation of the Lord's day at his house, which he slighted, not loving to be called a puritan, Welsh came one day to his gate, and calling him out, told him that he had a message from God to show him; because he had slighted the advice given him from the Lord, and would not restrain the profanation of the Lord's day committed in his bounds, therefore the Lord would cast him out of his house, and

A worthy minister, Mr. Ferguson, in conversing with him on his death-bed, said, "You have cause, sir, to be assured that the angels of God are now waiting at the stoops of this bed to convey your soul into Abraham's bosom." "I am sure thereof," replied his dying friend, "and if the walls of this house could speak, they could tell how many sweet days I have had in secret fellowship with God, and how familiar he hath been with my soul." Welsh, in a letter from France, bore this high testimony to Kennedy's Christian worth—"Happy is that city, yea, happy is that nation, that hath a Hugh Kennedy in it; I have myself certainly found the answers of his prayers from the Lord in my behalf." (*Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, vol. i. p. 376.) He died at Ayr in June, 1623. By his last will and testament, executed on the 3rd of March preceding, he constituted John, Elizabeth, Janet, Susanna, Joseph, and Rachel, "his bairns," his executors, giving them right to his hails goods and gear; which he ordained Susanna Bannatyne, their mother, whom he appointed their tutress and administratrix, to detain, keep, and use till the perfect age of each of the said children, whom she was to maintain till they reached that age, when she was to deliver to them their respective portions. (*Register of Confirmed Testaments*, Glasgow, 2nd August, 1623.)

none of his posterity should enjoy it. This accordingly came to pass; for although he was in a good external situation at this time, yet henceforth all things went against him, until he was obliged to sell his estate; and when giving the purchaser possession thereof he told his wife and children that he had found Welsh a true prophet.

Welsh married Elizabeth Knox, daughter of the famous John Knox, minister at Edinburgh, who lived with him from his youth till his death, and by whom he had three sons. The first, named William, who was a doctor of medicine, was unhappily killed upon an innocent mistake in the Low Countries, whither he had gone for the practice of his profession.* The second, Josias, who was heir to his father's graces and blessings, was minister at Temple-Patrick in the north of Ireland, and was commonly called the Cock of the Conscience by the people of that country, because of his extraordinary awakening and rousing gift. He died in his youth, and left for his successor his son, Mr. John Welsh, minister of Irongray in Galloway, the

* He left a daughter Margaret, who died previous to 6th August, 1633, on which date "Josias Welsh, minister of the word of God in Ireland," was served her heir. (*Inquisitiones de Tutela*, No. 500.)

place of his grandfather's nativity. Nathaniel, the third son, was most lamentably lost at sea; for, when the ship in which he was sunk, he swam to a rock in the water, and starved there for want of necessary food and refreshment. When, some time afterwards, his body was found, he was in a praying posture, upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out; and this was all the satisfaction his friends and the world had upon his melancholy death.†

As the duty wherein John Welsh abounded and excelled most was prayer, so his greatest attainments fell that way. He used to say, he wondered how a Christian could lie in bed all night and not rise to pray; and many times he rose, and many times he watched. One night he rose and went into the next room, where he stayed so long at secret prayer that his wife, fearing he might catch cold, was constrained to rise and follow him, and as she hearkened, she heard him speak as by interrupted sentences, "Lord, wilt Thou not grant me Scotland?"

† Welsh had also two daughters. The eldest, not named, died at Jonsac, in France, September, 1614. Louise, the youngest, who was born at that place in May, 1613, is mentioned in her mother's testament, but nothing more is known of her history.

and after a pause, "Enough, Lord, enough." She asked him afterwards what he meant by saying, "Enough, Lord, enough?" He showed himself dissatisfied with her curiosity; but told her that 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 bishops first overspread the land and corrupted the church. This is more wonderful still:—An honest minister, who was a parishioner of his for many a day, said, that one night as Welsh watched in his garden very late, and some friends were waiting upon him in his house, and wearying because of his long stay, one of them chanced to open a window toward the place where he walked, and saw clearly a strange light surround him, and heard him speak strange words about his spiritual joy.

But though John Welsh, on account of his holiness, abilities, and success, had acquired among his subdued people a very great respect, yet was he never in such admiration as after the great plague which raged in Scotland in his time. And one cause was this:—The magistrates of Ayr, forasmuch as this town

alone was free, and the country around 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 to the town desiring entrance, that they might sell their goods, producing a pass from the magistrates of the town from whence they came, which was at that time sound and free. Notwithstanding all this, the sentinels stopped them till the magistrates were called, and when they came they would do nothing without their minister's advice; so John Welsh was called, and his opinion asked. He demurred, and putting off his hat, with his eyes towards heaven for a pretty space, though he uttered no audible words, yet he continued in a praying posture, and after a little space told the magistrates that they would do well to discharge these travellers their town, affirming, with great asseveration, that the plague was in these packs. So the magistrates commanded them to be gone, and they went to Cumnock, a town about twenty miles distant, and there sold their goods, which kindled such an infection in that place that the living were hardly able to bury their dead. This made the

people begin to think of Mr. Welsh as an oracle. Yet though he walked with God, and kept close with him, he forgot not man, for he used frequently to dine abroad with such of his friends as he thought were persons with whom he might maintain the communion of the saints; and once in the year he used to invite all his familiar acquaintances in the town to a treat in his house, where there was a banquet of holiness and sobriety.

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

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

sign, he resolved first to destroy general assemblies, knowing well that so long as assemblies might convene in freedom, bishops could never get their designed authority in Scotland; and the dissolution of assemblies he brought about in this manner: The General Assembly which was held at Holyrood House in November, 1602, with the king's consent, appointed their next meeting to be kept at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July, 1604; but before the day came the king, by his commissioner the laird of Laureston, and Mr. 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, at the same place. In June, 1605, the meeting expected to be kept in the month following 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 another assembly; and so the series of our assemblies expired, never to revive again in due form till the Covenant was renewed in 1638. However, many of the godly ministers of Scotland, knowing well if once

the hedge of the government was broken, that corruption of doctrine would soon follow, resolved not to quit their assemblies so.* And therefore a number of them convened at

* From the Reformation it has been held by the Church of Scotland to be a doctrine of the word of God, that the church has intrinsic power to meet in her own courts and to transact her own affairs, not dependent on the will and sanction of the civil magistrate. Had the ministers then, at the period of her history referred to in the text, yielded the point that the king had the power to determine when general assemblies should meet, and to prorogue or prohibit them *sine die*, according to his pleasure, they would have been guilty of surrendering the rights and liberties granted to the church by her divine Founder; and the general assemblies of the church would have ceased to be free deliberative courts, and have been converted into conventions entirely subservient to the will of the sovereign.

But in contending for the regular annual meetings of their General Assembly, the ministers were contending not only for what was a right of the church in itself, but for what had been guaranteed by law. The Act of Parliament of 1592, in "ratification of the liberty of the true kirk," "declares that it shall be lawful to the kirk and ministers, every year at least, and oftener, *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require, to hold and keep general assemblies; providing that the king's Majesty, or his commissioners, with them to be appointed by his Highness, be present at each General Assembly, before the dissolving thereof nominate and appoint time and place when and where the next General Assembly shall be holden; and in case neither his Majesty nor his said commissioners be present for the time in that town, where the said General Assembly is holden; then and in that case it shall be lawful to the said General Assembly by themselves to nominate and appoint time and place where the next General Assembly of the Kirk shall be kept and held, as they have been in use to do these times bypast." It was then in violation of an Act of Parliament that King James prorogued and

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.

prohibited the meetings of the General Assembly as he had been doing. The question between the ministers and him was, whether the law or the arbitrary will of the sovereign was to be regarded as superior. On this question the ministers without hesitation maintained that the royal authority should be confined within the limits of law, that it was not a prerogative of the crown to dispense with the laws, of which it ought to be the guardian—a prerogative which, if conceded to a monarch, would lay a nation bound hand and foot under the power of absolute despotism. These ministers then were contending for principles which, though at that time imperfectly understood, triumphed at the Revolution of 1688, when the crown was deprived of the power of dispensing with the laws, and when the true relation between subjects and their rulers was more precisely determined than had been done before in the British constitution.

It is worthy of notice that King James himself, in his speeches before the English Parliament, sometimes avowed these liberal principles, and on such occasions we feel as if he were repeating the lessons on true freedom which George Buchanan had been at some pains to teach him. "I do acknowledge," says he, in his speech to the Parliament in 1603, "that the special and greatest point of difference that is between a rightful and usurping tyrant is, that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his kingdom and people are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires and unrestrained appetites, the righteous and just king doth by the contrary acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth and prosperity of his people." In his speech to the Parliament, 1609, he similarly speaks:—"A king governing in a settled kingdom leaves to be a king and degenerates into a tyrant as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws. . . . Therefore all kings that are not tyrants or perjured will be glad to bind themselves within the limits of their laws; and they that persuade

[The number of ministers who came to Aberdeen on the 2d of July to hold the Assembly was nineteen. Upon their meeting, Mr. James Ross, one of the ministers of Aberdeen preached an opening sermon. The sermon being concluded, Laureston the king's commissioner, before the meeting was constituted, informed the ministers assembled that he had a letter from the privy council to the Assembly, requesting them in a friendly manner not to meet at that time. Mr. John Forbes, minister of Alford, replied that, since that meeting had been appointed by the king and his council, with the advice of the commissioners of the church, it would be improper for them to desert it; but in consideration of the fewness of their number, it would be expedient for them simply to meet and appoint another Assembly to be held at some future time. As the council's letter was addressed "To our Trusty Friends,

the Brethren of the Ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen," it was agreed, before reading it, to constitute the court and choose a moderator. One of the ministers, in absence of Mr. Patrick Galloway, moderator of the last Assembly, having constituted the meeting by prayer, Mr. Forbes was unanimously chosen moderator, and Mr. John Sharp, of Kilmany, clerk. The council's letter referred to was then read, discharging the Assembly and forbidding them to appoint another diet without previously acquainting his Majesty. These two things having been done, the only resolution come to was to transact no business and to prorogue the Assembly, with the advice of the commissioner, to a new day, and Laureston, on being requested to name a day and place for the next meeting, having refused, the moderator appointed the last Tuesday of September following. Upon

them the contrary are vipers and pests, both against them and the commonwealth." (*Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 224, London Ed., 1751.) But notwithstanding the assertion of these constitutional principles, the real sentiments of King James VI. were that the authority of kings was not to be controlled any more than that of God himself, and that passive obedience was due to them by divine and indefeasible right. When he had a favourite end to accomplish, he never scrupled as to the legality of the means

he might use for effecting it. He had purposed to assimilate the polity of the Church of Scotland to that of England; and as the General Assembly, at that time the great palladium of religious freedom, resisted the project, he strove, if he could not prevent its meeting without incurring too much odium, to destroy its freedom, to annihilate its power of opposition, and to convert it into a ready instrument to vote at his bidding. It is painful to think of his success in overawing and corrupting the general assemblies.

this the commissioner protested that he never acknowledged the lawfulness of that Assembly, as the moderator of the last Assembly and the clerk were absent; whilst the moderator, in the name of his brethren, made a counter protestation. Then a messenger-at-arms, by order of the commissioner, delivered to the moderator a subscribed charge of his Majesty, commanding the Assembly to dissolve under pain of horning. The charge having been read and considered, the moderator, with consent of the rest, after prayer dissolved the Assembly. This is a summary view of the whole proceedings. The Assembly simply met, constituted, chose a moderator and clerk, read the council's letter, resolved to transact no business, appointed a future meeting, and when charged by the king to dissolve the meeting, dissolved it.

After the dissolution other nine commissioners, having been misled by the letters of Laureston and the commissioners of the church, in which the day of meeting was on purpose differently dated, made their appearance, eight on the 4th of July and one on the 5th, and they united in expressing their approbation of what their brethren

had done.] Welsh arrived at Aberdeen on the 4th of July, two days after the Assembly; and though he had not been present upon that precise day, yet, because he came to the place and approved of what his brethren had done, he was accused as guilty of the treasonable act committed by them—so dangerous a point was the name of a general assembly in King James' jealous judgment.

Within a month after this meeting many of these godly men were incarcerated, some in one prison, some in another. Mr Welsh was sent 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 Welsh's life begins to alter; but before his sufferings he had this strange warning:—After the meeting at Aberdeen was over he retired immediately to Ayr. One night he rose from his wife and went into his garden, as his custom was, but stayed longer than ordinary, which troubled his wife, who, when he returned, expostulated with him very hard for his staying so long to wrong his health. He bade her be quiet, for it should be well with them; but he knew well that he should

never preach more in 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 of Scotland at Edinburgh, to answer for their rebellion and contempt in holding a General Assembly not authorized by the king.

[In October, 1605, summonses were given to fifteen of the other ministers who had been at the Aberdeen Assembly, to appear before the privy council at Perth. On their compearance eight of them made an acknowledgment that the Assembly was unlawful, upon which they were relaxed

* After the meeting of the Assembly at Aberdeen Welsh returned to Ayr before Sabbath, the 14th of July, when he preached to his people a solemn and impressive discourse on the day of judgment. He again preached to them a sermon on the same subject on the following Sabbath, the 21st of the month. On the night of Monday, the 22nd, he retired to his garden, as stated in the text. Before he awoke on the morning of Tuesday, the 23rd, a king's messenger had arrived to summon him to appear before the privy council at Edinburgh, if not actually to carry him away as a prisoner. On that day he took journey, accompanied by three attached members of his congregation, William M'Kerrel of Hillhouse, sheriff clerk of Ayr; James Blair, proprietor of Middle Auchindrane, in the parish of Maybole; and George Mason, town-clerk of Ayr. He arrived at Edinburgh on Thursday, 25th July, and on the following day he and Mr. John Forbes were committed by the king's guard to Blackness Castle, where they were shut up in

from the horn and dismissed to their homes. Seven of the number, refusing to make such an acknowledgment, were sent to different prisons—Charles Ferme, minister of Fraserburgh, and John Monro, minister of Tain, to Doune Castle; James Irving, minister of Tough, William Forbes, minister of Kinbattoch, and John Ross, minister of Little Dunkeld, to Stirling Castle; Nathaniel Inglis, minister of Cragie, and James Greig, minister of Loudoun, to Dumbarton Castle.†

On 24th October Welsh, with his five fellow prisoners in Blackness Castle, and the other seven now mentioned, were brought before the privy council at Edin-

separate cells. (*Mr. Young's Life of Welsh*, pp. 149-160).

A meditation of Forbes on his way to Blackness, preserved in the Commonplace Book of James Skene—who suffered martyrdom for the truth at the Cross of Edinburgh, 1st December, 1680, and who had received it from his grand-uncle, Mr. Andrew Skene, a son-in-law of Forbes—if not remarkable as a poetical composition, shows the excellent spirit of the man:—

“Lord, give me light and sight to see thee,
Love and sincere affection towards thee,
Humility and reverence before thee,
Trust and confidence in thee,
Joyfulness with all patience to suffer for thee.”

(*Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1874, p. 516.)

Other four of the ministers who had been at the Aberdeen Assembly, namely, Robert Durie, minister at Anstruther; Andrew Duncan, minister at Crail; Alexander Strachan, minister at Creich; and John Sharp, minister at Kilmany, were imprisoned in Blackness Castle.

† Forbes' Records, pp. 423, 424.

burgh,* to answer to the charge of having "most unlawfully, contemptuously, and seditiously disregarded the royal will and command signified to them," in holding the Aberdeen Assembly. On appearing before the council they handed to the clerk a supplication, in which they humbly besought their lordships to remit their cause to the General Assembly, "because it is of verity that, by the warrant of the word of God, discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, Acts of Parliament made in favour of the same, and practice since the reformation of religion, all spiritual matters anent doctrine and discipline have been, and ought to be, cognosced and judged by the kirk only, as competent judges thereof." The privy council rejected their petition, sustained themselves judges of their case, and called upon them to answer to the libel. Upon this the prisoners presented and read a declinature, dated 25th October, 1605, subscribed by fourteen, by which they declined the authority of the privy council in a matter which was purely spiritual, and ex-

* Robert Youngson, minister at Clatt, one of those who, at the meetings of the privy council held at Perth, acknowledged the unlawfulness of the Aberdeen General Assembly, presented himself among the prisoners before the privy council on this occasion, and craving audience of their lord-

pressed their willingness to subject themselves to be tried by the General Assembly, the only judges competent for the trial of a case which was wholly ecclesiastical. The privy council found and declared that the Aberdeen Assembly was unlawful, and commanded that the prisoners should be sent back to their respective prisons till his Majesty's farther pleasure should be made known.

On learning that the imprisoned ministers had declined the authority of the privy council in matters ecclesiastical King James was greatly incensed; and he determined that six of their number, who were prisoners in Blackness Castle, should be brought to trial before a jury for the crime of high treason—the charge to rest upon their having declined the authority of the privy council as judges in their cause. He immediately sent down orders to that effect to the privy council.

The trial of the prisoners took place at Linlithgow on 10th January, 1606. Many of their brethren in the ministry, not less than forty, had come from all

ships, which was granted him, retracted the concessions which he had formerly made, declaring that it was only by doing so that he could find rest to his troubled conscience. He signed the declinature now to be mentioned. It need hardly be added that he was made a prisoner.

parts of the country to sustain them by their presence, including Andrew Melville from St. Andrews, Patrick Simpson from Stirling, Archibald Simpson from Dalkeith, William Livingstone from Lanark, John Ker from Prestonpans, brother on the mother's side to the wife of Welsh, and John Carmichael from Kilconquhar; all men eminent for their piety, their talents, and learning.

The presiding judge was Sir William Hart, Knight, lord justice depute, and around him were seated the lords of the privy council, who were to assist him. The prosecutor was Sir Thomas Hamilton, the king's advocate. "I know not well," says Wodrow, "what name to give this court. It had the shadow of a criminal one, but it was a kind of mixture, made up of the justiciary and council by a special warrant from the king."* The counsel of the prisoners was Mr. Thomas Hope, a young man

* MS. Life of Welsh, p. 14.

† Thomas Hope, afterwards Sir Thomas and lord advocate in the reign of Charles I., by whom he was created a baronet, was the son of John Hope, a successful merchant in the Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, and the progenitor and founder of the family of the earls of Hopeton. He was the most eminent lawyer of his day, and after this trial, being consulted and employed on all occasions by the Presbyterians, whose confidence he had secured, he obtained

who had not before pleaded before a public court, but who on this his first appearance conducted the defence with such ability, that he at once rose to high reputation as an advocate.†

In the indictment the prisoners were charged with having treasonably declined the authority of the privy council, as being incompetent judges of their cause. In addressing the court for the prosecution, the king's advocate rested the charge against the prisoners on an Act of Parliament passed during the administration of the infamous earl of Arran in 1584, which declared it treason for any to decline to submit to the king and his council as competent judges in regard to all his Majesty's subjects, of whatever estate or degree, spiritual or temporal, in all matters whatsoever; a law, however, which in so far as applied to ecclesiastical matters, was set aside by a subsequent statute in 1592, to which

the largest practice at the bar of any advocate of his day. Three of his four sons were lords of session when he was lord advocate; and it being thought unbecoming that the father should plead with his head uncovered before his sons, this originated the privilege granted to the king's advocate of pleading with his hat on if he chose. He died in the year 1646, and left considerable estates to all his sons. His diary was printed from the original manuscript by the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1843.

the lord advocate made no reference whatever.

A vote of the court was then taken, whether the declinature of the prisoners was treason or not? When an interlocutor declaring that it was treasonable was about to be pronounced, the prisoners having asked and obtained permission to explain what was their meaning by their declinature, which they thought was misunderstood, Welsh, speaking in name of the rest, said:—"My lords, because some may be offended with our declinature, when we say that we decline the judgment of the lords of secret council *simpliciter* in our cause, as if we had declined their authority *in all causes*, we therefore wish to say to your lordships that *in all civil matters* we acknowledge his Majesty's authority; and the authority of his Majesty's secret council, as far as any other subject of the land, and with all reverence submit ourselves to his sovereignty, and to the judgment of his Majesty's secret council, in all such matters, as far as any subject did, or would, or could do. But as to the affairs of Christ's kingdom we ought to decline, and lawfully we do decline, the judgment of any civil judicature, seeing that

to Jesus Christ only, as the only King in his kirk and kingdom, appertaineth the judicature of all things belonging thereto." The interlocutor of the court was, notwithstanding, that the declinature of the prisoners was treason, but from this judgment three on the bench dissented.

The jury were next called, and having been solemnly sworn and admitted, the indictment was read to them, and they were told by the lord advocate that the judges, having already discerned that it was treason to decline the king's or the council's authority, they had nothing else to judge of than simply of the *fact* whether the prisoners had declined the authority of the privy council or not.

Hope, in his address to the jury, justly said that, as his clients themselves owned that they had declined the jurisdiction of the privy council, it was of no use to sit in judgment on a matter already determined, and about which there remained in truth nothing to decide. The defence of the counsel was followed by the speeches of Forbes and Welsh, which were bold and eloquent, exhibiting the most resolute firmness of purpose in adhering to the cause of truth, and yet the utmost respect and

loyalty to their sovereign. Welsh, in his address to the jury, particularly insisted that, according to the laws of the kingdom, the proceedings of the General Assembly at Aberdeen were lawful. Referring to the Act of 1584, on which the charge against him and his fellow-prisoners rested, "That Act," he said, "is expressly abrogated by a posterior Act in 1592, entitled 'Ratification of the Liberty of the True Kirk, of General and Synodal Assemblies, of Presbyteries, of Discipline, &c., in which it is 'declared that the 129th Act of the Parliament holden at Edinburgh the 22nd day of May, 1584, shall no ways be prejudicial to, nor derogate anything from, the privilege that God has given to the spiritual office-bearers in the kirk concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of ministers, or any such like essential censures, specially grounded on and having warrant from the word of God;' under which the proceedings of the judicature of general assemblies are comprehended, it being a main head of religion belonging to the kingdom of Jesus Christ, of whose royal prerogatives this is one, that he only should be

supreme judge in all matters belonging to his kingdom, the outward administration whereof he exerciseth in and by his kirk only."

But these defences, powerful and eloquent though they were, proved unavailing. It was the determination of the court that the prisoners should be found guilty, and to effect this the most discreditable arts were employed. From an apprehension of the difficulty of their condemnation, the earl of Dunbar, lord high-commissioner, was sent down to Scotland to bring them to a trial by jury, and to secure their conviction. The court, instead of being held in Edinburgh, where the citizens were friendly to the ministers, was held at Linlithgow; twenty of the privy councillors were appointed assessors to the judge; the jury was packed with the kinsmen and friends of the earl of Dunbar, and in his address to the judges he attempted to bribe them by promises and to overawe them by threatenings. After the jury had retired the crown officers, upon learning that it was their purpose to acquit the ministers, held with them the most illegal intercourse, endeavouring by all means to influence them to return a verdict of guilty. It was by such disgraceful methods as

these that a majority of nine to six found the prisoners guilty of treason. The doom to be pronounced was delayed for some time, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

On the day after the trial the prisoners were conducted to Blackness by a party of the king's guard.]

While he was in Blackness Welsh wrote his famous letter to Lilius Graham, countess of Wigton,* in which he utters in the strongest terms his consolation under persecution, his desire to be dissolved that he might be with the Lord, the true cause of the sufferings of himself and his fellow-confessors and the state of their testimony, and the judgments he foresaw coming upon Scotland. After a few congratulatory sentences, he thus proceeds:—

“My desire to remain here is not great, knowing that so long as I am in this house

* Lilius Graham, countess of Wigton, to whom this letter was written in the course of a few days after Welsh's re-entry into Blackness upon the conclusion of his trial, was a daughter of John, third earl of Montrose, and countess of John, first earl of Wigton. She was a woman well known in her day for the eminence of her piety, and as a frequent attender on sacramental occasions at those places which, being specially favoured by a spiritual and earnest ministry, attracted in those times of revival great numbers from all parts of the country. “I have often seen her,” says Livingstone in his “Memorable Characteristics,” “when I was a

of clay I am absent from God: and if it were dissolved, I look for a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. In this I groan, desiring to be clothed upon with my house which is in heaven: if so be, that being clothed, I shall not be found naked. For I that am within this tabernacle do oftentimes groan and sigh within myself, being oftentimes burdened; not that I would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. I long to eat of the fruit of that tree which is planted in the midst of the paradise of God; and to drink of the pure river, clear as crystal, that runs through the streets of the New Jerusalem. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and that though after my skin worms devour my body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and not another for me, and mine eyes shall behold him, though my reins be consumed within me. I long to be refreshed in company with the souls of them that are under the altar, who were slain for the word of God and the testimony which they held; and to have these long white robes given me, that I may walk in white with those glorious saints who have washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

“Why should I think it a strange thing to be removed from this place to that wherein is my Hope, my Joy, my Crown, my Elder

little child, at my father's house at Monyabrough, at preachings and communions. Her chambermaid that waited on her told that, as soon as she rose and put on her night-gown, before she went to her study for her devotion, she used to sit in a chair till that woman combed her head, having the Bible open before her, and reading and praying among hands; and every day at that time, said the woman, she shed more tears than ever I did all my lifetime.”

Pronounced by the verdict of a jury guilty of treason, Welsh might be condemned to die the death of a traitor. With this solemn prospect full in his view, the following letter was written.

Brother, my Head, my Father, my Comforter, and all the glorified saints, and where the song of Moses and of the Lamb is sung joyfully; where we shall no longer be compelled to sit by the rivers of Babylon and hang our harps upon the willows, but shall take them and sing the new hallelujah—"Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, to him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever!" What is there under this old vault of the heavens, and in this old worn-out earth (which is under the bondage of corruption, groaning and travailing in pain, and as it were still shooting out the head, looking, waiting, and longing for the redemption of the sons of God), what is there, I say, that should make me desire to remain here? I expect that new heaven and that new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, and wherein I shall dwell for evermore. I look to get entry into the New Jerusalem, at one of those twelve gates whereupon are written the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. I know that Christ Jesus hath prepared room for me; why may I not then, with boldness in his blood, step into that glory into which my Head and Lord hath gone before me? Jesus Christ is the Door and the Porter; who then shall hold me out? Will he let them perish for whom he died? Will he let that poor sheep be plucked out of his hand for whom he hath laid down his life? Who shall condemn the man whom God hath justified? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of the man for whom Christ hath died, or rather risen again? I know I have grievously transgressed, but where sin abounded grace hath superabounded. I know my sins are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the blood of Christ my Lord can make me as white as snow and as wool. Whom have I in heaven but him, or whom desire I on earth beside him? O thou, the fairest among the children of men, the light of the Gentiles, the glory of the Jews, the life of the dead, the joy of angels and saints, my soul panteth to be with thee! I will put my spirit into thy

hands, and thou wilt not put it out of thy presence. I will come unto thee, for thou castest none away that come unto thee, O thou only delight of mankind! Thou camest to seek and save that which was lost. Thou, seeking me, hast found me: and now being found by thee I hope, O Lord, thou wilt not let me perish. I desire to be with thee, and do long for the fruition of thy blessed presence and joy of thy countenance. Thou, the only good Shepherd, art full of grace and truth: therefore I trust thou wilt not thrust me out of the door of thy presence and grace. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Thee. Who shall separate me from thy love? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror through thy majesty who hath loved me. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, is able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may live with thee. I refuse not to suffer with thee, that I may rejoice with thee. Shall not all things be pleasant to me which may be my last step, by which or upon which I may come unto thee. When shall I be satiate with thy face? When shall I be drunk with thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus, and tarry not. The Spirit saith, Come. The Bride saith, Come. Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly, and tarry not.

"Why should the multitude of mine iniquities, or the greatness of them, affright me? Why should I faint in this mine adversity to be with thee? The greater sinner I have been the greater glory will be thy grace to me, unto all eternity. O unspeakable joy, endless, infinite, and bottomless compassion! O ocean of never-fading pleasures! O love of loves! O the height and the depth, and breadth and length, of

that love of thine that passeth knowledge ! O uncreated love ! Beginning without beginning, and ending without end ! Thou art my glory, my joy, my gain, and my crown. Thou hast set me under thy shadow with great delight, and thy fruit is sweet unto my taste. Thou hast brought me into thy banqueting-house, and placed me in thine orchard. Stay me with thy flagons, and comfort me with thine apples : for I am sick, and my soul is wounded with thy love. Behold, thou art fair, my love : behold, thou art fair, thou hast dove's eyes. Behold, thou art fair, my love, yea, pleasant also : our bed is green. The beams of our house are cedars, and our rafters are of fir. How fair and how pleasant art thou ! O love for delights ! my heart is ravished with thee. O when shall I see thy face ? How long wilt thou delay to be to me as a roe or a young hart, leaping upon the mountains and skipping upon the hills ? As a bundle of myrrh be thou unto me, and lie all night between my breasts. Because of the savour of thy good ointment thy name is as an ointment poured out ; therefore desire I to go out of the desert, and through to the place where thou sittest at thy repose, and where thou makest thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with thy love ? Certainly, if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things dross and dung to gain it. I would long for that scaffold, or that axe, or that cord, that might be to me the last step of this my wearisome journey, to go to thee, my Lord. Thou who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer to the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit within me. Thou who hast inflamed my heart to speak to thee in this silent yet love-language of ardent and fervent desire, speak again unto my heart, answer my desires which thou hast made me speak to thee. O death ! where is thy sting ? O grave ! where is thy victory ? The sting of death is sin ; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God that giveth me the victory,

through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. What can be troublesome to me, since my Lord looks upon me with so amiable a countenance ? And how greatly do I long for these embracements of my Lord ! O that he would kiss me with the kisses of his mouth : for his love is better than wine. O that my soul were the throne whereon he might sit eternally ! O that my heart were the temple wherein he might be magnified and dwell for ever !

“ 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 sixteen years already, and now last of all to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom. Now let it be so, that I have fought my fight and run my race, and now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righteousness which the Lord that righteous God will give ; and not to me only, but to all that love his appearance and choose to witness this, that Jesus Christ is the King of saints, and that his church is a most free kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, and conventions and assemblies, but also to judge of all her affairs in all her meetings and conventions amongst her members and subjects. These two points, first, that Christ is the Head of the church ; secondly, that she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's—these two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for the maintaining thereof. We have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our 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, and cannot be, to any other authority, but to his own altogether. So that I would be most glad to be offered up as a sacrifice for so glorious a

truth. But alas! I fear that my sins and the abuse of so glorious things as I have found deprive me of so fair a crown; yet my Lord doth know, if he should call me to it and strengthen me in it, it would be to me the most glorious day and the gladdest hour I ever saw in this life; but I am in his hand to do with me whatsoever shall please his majesty. It may suffice me I have had so long a time in the knowledge of the gospel, and that I have seen the things that I have seen, and heard the things that I have heard, and through the grace of God I have been so long a witness of these glorious and good news in my weak ministry, and that my witnessing hath not been altogether without fruit and blessing. So that I hope at that day I shall have him to be my crown, my glory, my joy and reward, and therefore boldly I say with Simeon, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; not in a peaceable dying in my bed, but by rendering up to him my spirit, and the sealing and stamping this truth with my blood. I desire not to have it remedied, but let my Lord's will be done. . . .

"The guilt of our blood shall lie not only upon our prince, but also upon our own brethren, bishops, counsellors, and commissioners; it is they, even they, that have stirred up our prince against us. We must therefore lay the blame and burden of our blood upon them especially, however the rest above written be partakers of their sins with them: and as to the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve or by crying Peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the wicked that they cannot return, and in the meantime make the hearts of the righteous sad, they shall all in like manner be guilty of high treason against the King of kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, his crown and kingdom.

"Next unto them, all our commissioners, chancellor, president, comptroller, advocate; and next unto them, all that first or last sat in council and did not bear plain testimony for Jesus Christ and his kingdom, for which

we do suffer. And next unto them, all those who should have at present, and who should at such times have come and made open testimony of Christ faithfully, although it had been contrary to plain law and with the hazard of their lives. When the poor Jews were in such danger that nothing was expected but utter destruction, Queen Esther, after three days' fasting, concluded thus with herself: 'I will, said she, 'go in to the king, though it be not according to law, and if I perish, I perish,' Esther iv. 16. With this resolution such as are born counsellors should have said, Christ's kingdom is now in my hand, and I am bound also 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. Finally, all those that counsel, command, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of God. But the mourners for these evils, and the faithful of the land, and those who are unfeignedly grieved in heart for all these abominations, those shall be marked as not guilty, Ezek. ix.

"I know not whether I shall have occasion to write again; and therefore, by this letter, as my latter will and testament, I give testimony, warning, and knowledge of these things to all men, according to the Lord's direction to the prophet, 'Son of man, I have made thee a watchman,' Ezek. xxxiii. 7, &c. Therefore I give warning to all men hereby, that no man's blood be required at my hand. Thus desiring the help of your prayers, with my humble commendations and service in Christ to my lord, your husband, and all the saints there, the messenger of peace be with you all for evermore. Amen. Yours, to my full power, for the time Christ's prisoner,

"JOHN WELSH."

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

“As for that instrument Spottiswoode, 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, 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 stamping under foot

so glorious a kingdom and beauty as was once in this land. He has helped to cut Samson’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 of it that it was told before, that when it shall come to pass, it may be seen there was warning given him; and therefore, sir, seeing I have not the access myself, if it would please God to move you, I wish you would deliver this hard message to him, not as from me, but as from the Lord.”

The man of whom he complains and threatens so sore was John Spottiswoode, at that time designated archbishop of Glasgow; and this prophecy was literally accomplished, though after the space of forty years. For first the archbishop himself died in a strange land and, as many say, in misery; next his son, Robert Spottiswoode, sometime president of Session, was beheaded by the Parliament of Scotland at the Market Cross of St. Andrews, in the winter after the battle of Philiphaugh.* As

* He was beheaded 17th January, 1646. (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 179.)

soon as ever he came upon the scaffold Mr. Blair, the minister of the town, told him that now Welsh's prophecy was fulfilled upon him; to which he replied in anger, that Welsh and he were both false prophets.

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

John Welsh was some time prisoner in Edinburgh Castle before he went into exile. One night sitting at supper with Lord Ochiltree, he entertained the company with godly and edify-

ing discourse, as his manner was, which was well received by them all except a debauched popish young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked and made wry faces. Thereupon Mr. Welsh brake out in a sad abrupt charge upon all the company to be silent, and observe the work of the Lord upon that mocker, which they should presently behold; upon which the profane wretch sunk down and died beneath the table, to the great astonishment of all the company.

Another wonderful story they tell of him at the same time: Lord Ochiltree, the governor of the castle, being both son to the good Lord Ochiltree and Mr. Welsh's uncle-in-law, was indeed very civil to him; but being for a long time, through the multitude of affairs, kept from visiting Welsh, as he was one day walking in the court, and espying him at his chamber-window, he asked him kindly how he did, and if in anything he could serve him? Welsh answered, that he would earnestly entreat his lordship, being at that time about to go to court, to petition King James in his name that he might have liberty to preach the gospel; which my lord promised to do. Mr. Welsh 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 for London. But though, at his first arrival, he really purposed to present the petition to the king, he found the king in such a rage against the godly ministers, that he durst not at that time present it; so he thought fit to delay, and thereafter entirely forgot it.

The first time that Welsh saw his face after his return from court, he asked him what he had done with his petition. His lordship said that 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 had got no answer. "Nay," said Welsh 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 it 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."

This accordingly came to pass, for both his estate and honours were in his own time translated to James Stuart, son of Captain James, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lineal heir of the family.

While Welsh was detained prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, his wife used for the most part to stay in his company, but upon a time fell into a longing to see her family in Ayr, to which with some difficulty he yielded. When she was to take her journey, he strictly charged her not to take the ordinary way when she came to Ayr, nor to pass by the bridge through the town, but to cross the river above the bridge, and so reach his own house without going into the town; "for," said he, "before you come thither you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr," which accordingly came to pass. The plague was at that time very terrible, and being necessarily separate from his people, it was to him the more grievous; but when the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themselves, his answer was that Hugh Kennedy, a godly gentleman in their town, should pray for them, and God would hear him. This counsel they accepted, and the gentleman, convening a number of the honest citizens,

prayed earnestly for the town. He was a mighty wrestler with God, and accordingly after that the plague decreased.

Now the time had come when John Welsh must leave Scotland, never to see it again.* Upon the 7th of November he with his neighbours took ship at Leith; and though it was but two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting with their afflicted families to bid them farewell. After prayer they sung the twenty-third Psalm, and so, to the great grief of the spectators, set sail for the south of France, and landed in the river of Bordeaux. Within fourteen weeks after his arrival—such was the Lord's blessing upon his diligence—Welsh was able to preach in French, and accordingly was speedily called to the ministry, first in a village called Nerac,

* The king having resolved to banish Welsh and the other five ministers out of all his dominions for life under pain of death, communicated this resolution to the council, after the lapse of more than eight months from the trial of the ministers, in a letter dated Hampton Court, 26th September, 1606. In terms of his letter sentence was formally pronounced upon them on the 23rd of October. The king at the same time wrote to the council informing them of his purpose respecting the other eight ministers who had not been brought to trial, but who were lying in prison. By this letter Mr. Charles Ferme was ordained to be confined in the Isle of Bute, Mr. John Monro in Kintyre, Mr. Robert Youngson in the Isle of Arran, Mr. James Irvine in Orkney, Mr. William Forbes in Shetland, Mr. John Gray in Caithness, Mr. Nathaniel Inglis in Sutherland,

thereafter in St. Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town, where he continued the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years.† As to the other five godly ministers who were banished with Mr. Welsh for the same cause, John Forbes went to Middleburg, to the English chapel there, and afterwards to Delft, and died about the year 1634; Robert Dury went to Holland, and in 1609 became minister to the Scots congregation in Leyden, where he died in September, 1616; John Sharp became minister and professor of divinity at Die in the Dauphinate, where he wrote "*Carfus Theologicus*," &c.; Andrew Duncan was appointed a professor in the college of Rochelle; but having made some acknowledgment to the king re-

and Mr. John Ross in Lewis. Messengers were directed to charge these ministers to enter the places of their exile, and "not to exceed the same without the king's license under pain of death." (*Spottiswoode's History*, p. 499.)

† Welsh remained unsettled for some time after he went to France. His first appointment in that country was to be minister of Jonsac, a small town near Bordeaux, in the province of Saintonge, the seat of a colloquy or presbytery. This was in the year 1608. Having left Jonsac towards the close of the year 1614, he was next settled at Nerac; and about the summer of 1617 he became minister at St. Jean d'Angely, where he remained till 1621, when, as is afterwards narrated in the text, he was compelled by the civil war on account of religion to leave that town, which Louis XIII. besieged and deprived of its privileges as a Protestant city.

specting the Aberdeen Assembly, he was allowed to return from banishment; and Alexander Strachan sickened and died at Middleburg soon after he landed on the Continent.

When Welsh 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. But there were godly young men who admonished him of this, which he took in very good part; so for preventing mistakes of that kind he desired them, when they perceived him beginning to decline, to give him a sign by standing up; and thereafter he was more exact in his expression through the whole sermon. So desirous was he not only to deliver good matter, but to recommend it by neat expression.

There were frequently persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in any Scottish village. This moved Mr. Boyd of Trochrig once to ask him, after he had preached before the university of Saumur with boldness and authority, as

if he had been before the meanest congregation, how he could be so confident among strangers and persons of such quality. To which he answered, he was so filled with the dread of God that he had no apprehensions for man at all. "This answer," said Mr. Boyd, "did not remove my admiration, but rather increased it."

There was in his house, amongst many others who boarded with him for good education, a young gentleman of great quality and suitable expectations, the heir of Lord Ochiltree, governor of the castle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr. Welsh's affections, fell ill of a grievous sickness, and after he had been long wasted by it, closed his eyes and expired, to the apprehension of all spectators; and was therefore taken out of his bed, and laid on a pallet on the floor, that his body might be more conveniently dressed. This was to Mr. Welsh a very great grief, and therefore he stayed with the body fully three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours the friends brought in a coffin, into which they desired the corpse to be put, as the custom was; but Mr. Welsh desired that for the satisfaction of his affections

they would forbear for a time ; which they granted, and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death. Then they desired with great importunity that the corpse might be coffined and speedily buried, the weather being extremely hot ; yet he persisted in his request, earnestly begging them to excuse him once more, so they left the corpse upon the pallet for full thirty-six hours. But even after all that, though he was urged not only with great earnestness, but displeasure, they were constrained to forbear for twelve hours more. After forty-eight hours were past Mr. Welsh still held out against them ; and then his friends, perceiving that he believed the young man was not really dead, but under some apoplectic fit, proposed to him for his satisfaction that trial should be made upon his body by doctors and chirurgeons, if possibly any spark of life might be found in him ; and with this he was content. So the physicians were set to work, who pinched him with pincers in the fleshy parts of his body, and twisted a bow-string about his head with great force ; but no sign of life appearing in him, the physicians pronounced him stark dead, and then there was no more delay to be made. Yet Mr. Welsh

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.

Then Mr. Welsh fell down before the pallet and cried to the Lord with all his might, and sometimes looked upon the dead body, continuing to wrestle with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes and cried out to Mr. Welsh, whom he distinctly knew, " O sir, I am all whole, but my head and legs ;" and these were the places they had sorely hurt with their pinching. When Mr. Welsh perceived this he called upon his friends, and showed them the dead young man restored to life again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though he lost the estate of Ochiltree, lived to acquire a great estate in Ireland, became Lord Castlestuart, and was a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the earl of Strafford to be a counsellor in Ireland. This he refused to be until the godly silenced Scottish ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the north of Ireland, were restored to the exercise of their ministry ; and then he engaged, and continued so all his 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. Welsh was minister in one of these French villages, 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 Mr. Welsh's house for one night. The servants acquainted their master, and he was content to receive the guest. The family had supped before he came, and so the servants conveyed 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. Welsh, and after the friar had slept his first sleep he was surprised with the hearing of a silent but constant whispering noise; at which he wondered very much, and was not a little troubled.

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 Huguenot 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 I am persuaded there was one with me this night, for I heard a continual whisper all the night over, which I believe was no other thing 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 night prayer. "O," said the friar, "does the minister pray?" "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 got home to Mr. Welsh's house, and pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging, which was granted him.

Before dinner Mr. Welsh came from his chamber and made his family exercise, according to his custom. And first he 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. Welsh forbearing all question and dispute with him for the time. When the evening came Mr.

Welsh 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 therein he was soon satisfied; for after Mr. Welsh's first sleep the noise began. The friar resolved to be certain what it was, and to that end he crept silently to Mr. Welsh's chamber door, and there he heard not only the sound, but the words distinctly, and communications betwixt God and man, such as he thought had not been in this world. The next morning, as soon as Mr. Welsh was ready, the friar came, and confessed that he had lived in ignorance the whole of his life, but now he was resolved to adventure his soul with him; and thereupon declared himself a Protestant. Mr. Welsh welcomed and encouraged him, and he continued a Protestant to his death.

When Louis XIII., king of France, made war upon his Protestant subjects 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. Welsh was minister of the city, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, assuring

them that God would deliver them. In the time of the siege a cannon-ball pierced the bed where he was lying; upon which he got up, but would not leave the room till he had by solemn prayer acknowledged his deliverance. During this siege the citizens made stout defence, till one of the king's gunners planted a great gun so conveniently upon a rising ground, that he could command the whole wall upon which they made their greatest defence. Upon this they were constrained to forsake the wall in great terror; and though they had several guns planted upon the wall, no man durst undertake to manage them. This being told to Mr. Welsh, he, notwithstanding, encouraged them still to hold out; and running to the wall found the cannonier, who was a Burgundian, near the wall. Him he entreated to mount the wall, promising to assist in person. The cannonier told Mr. Welsh that they behoved to dismount the gun upon the rising ground, else they were surely lost. Welsh desired him to aim well, and he would serve him and God would help them. The gunner fell to work and Welsh 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 posts of defence. This discouraged the king so much, that he sent to the citizens to offer them fair conditions, viz., that they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, their civil privileges, and that their walls should not be demolished; the king only desiring that he might enter the city in a friendly manner with his servants. This the citizens thought fit to grant, and the king and a few more entered the city for a short time.

While the king was in the city Welsh preached as usual. This offended the French court; and while he was at sermon the king sent the Duke d'Espéron to fetch him out of the pulpit into his presence. The duke went with his guard; and when he entered the church where he was preaching, Mr. Welsh 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 Welsh that he behoved to

go with him to the king, which he willingly did. When the duke returned the king asked him why he brought not the minister with him, and why he did not interrupt him. The duke answered, "Never man spake like this man," but that he had brought him along with him. Whereupon Mr. Welsh was called; and when he had entered the king's presence he kneeled, and silently prayed for wisdom and assistance. Thereafter the king challenged him how he durst preach in that place, since it was against the laws of France that any man should preach within the verge of his court. Mr. Welsh 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, as some say, called him father, which is an honour bestowed upon few of the greatest prelates of France. However, he

was favourably dismissed at that time, and the king also left the city in peace.

But within a short time thereafter the war was renewed, and then Welsh told the inhabitants of the city that now their cup was full, and they should no more escape. This accordingly came to pass, for the king took the town, but commanded Vitry, the captain of his guard, to enter and preserve his minister from all danger. Horses and waggons were provided for Mr. Welsh to transport him and his family to Rochelle, whither he went, and there sojourned for a time.*

After his flock in France was scattered Welsh obtained liberty to go to England, and his friends

entreated King James VI. that he might have permission to return to Scotland, because the physician declared there was no other method to preserve his life but by the freedom he might have in his native air. King James would never yield his consent, protesting that he would be unable to establish his beloved bishops in Scotland if Mr. Welsh were permitted to return thither;† so he languished at London a considerable time. His disease was considered by some to have a tendency to leprosy; physicians said he had been poisoned. He suffered from an excessive languor, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused by his continual kneeling

* From Rochelle he went to Holland, and landed at Campvere, in the province of Zealand and island of Walcheren, only a few miles from Middleburg, where Forbes was settled. He had thus the gratification of meeting once more with this beloved "brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ." Thence he went to London. His health was now much broken, and he was near the termination of his earthly course.

† "His own sovereign," says Dr. M'Crie, "was incapable of treating him with that generosity which he had experienced from the French monarch. Mrs. Welsh, 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 who was her father. She replied, 'John Knox.' 'Knox and Welsh!' exclaimed he, 'the devil never made such a match as that.' 'It's right like, Sir,' said she,

'for we never speired his advice.' He asked 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!' 'Give that to your hungry courtiers,' said she, offended at his profaneness. 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. Welsh, lifting up 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.'" (*M'Crie's Life of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 273.) This anecdote has been widely circulated. We have seen it repeated in works in several of the principal languages of Europe.

at prayer, by which it came to pass that, though he was able to move his knees and to walk, yet he was wholly insensible in them, and the flesh became hard like a sort of horn. But when in the time of his weakness he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive labours, his answer was he had his life of God, and therefore it should be spent for him.

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

* Welsh was interred on 4th April, 1622, in a burying ground in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, London, as appears from an entry still extant in the register of the burials belonging to that parish. "His funeral," says Mr. Young, "was conducted after the simple manner of his country, without the use of the English burial service. No monument or pillar was erected to mark the spot of his interment. In this respect his capital enemy, Spottiswoode, over whose grave a magnificent tomb was erected in Westminster Abbey, had the advantage over him. But these distinctions affect not the dead, nor will they affect the estimate which posterity, sooner or later, will correctly form of the true character of the oppressed and the oppressor." (*Life of Welsh*, p. 406.)

Having received intelligence of the death of Welsh, Boyd of Trochrig, who was then living in retirement at his house of Trochrig, wrote down in his obituary the following affectionate tribute to the memory of a friend who had been so long endeared to him:—"1622.—We had the news brought to us of the death of that holy servant of God, Mr. John Welsh, one of

he allowed him liberty to preach, not fearing his activity. As soon as ever Welsh heard he might preach, he greedily embraced this liberty; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently. This was his last performance; 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 Master's hands, and was buried near Mr. Deering, the famous English divine, after he had lived little more than fifty-two years.*

During his sickness he was so filled and overcome with the

the fathers and pillars of this church and the light of his age. He died at London, banished from his native country for his having opposed himself to the establishment of episcopal government, and firmly maintaining our presbyterian and synodal discipline, formerly received and established amongst us, and that after about sixteen years' exile. He was a man filled with the Holy Spirit, full of zeal, of love, and of an incredible labour and diligence in his station and calling. In these he spent his whole life, and that even to the end of it, under burdens of all sorts—afflictions in his body and his spirit, crosses in his ministry, in his outward estate, bearing always in his body the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose life was also manifested in him in a most excellent degree and measure, if it was so in any man of his time. Blessed for ever be the name of God, who gave him and raised him up to his poor church in a time of so much necessity! and may he himself give us grace constantly to follow the light of so holy an example, that we may be brought in the end to the same glory of his kingdom by his Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour! Amen." (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 262.)

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

John Welsh, in his preaching, was spiritual and searching, his utterance tender and moving; he did not much insist upon scholastic purposes, and made

no show of his learning. One of his hearers, who was afterwards minister at Muirkirk in Kyle, used to say that no man could hear him and forbear weeping, his conveyance was so affecting. There are a large number of his sermons now in Scotland, only a few of which have come to the press.* Nor did he ever himself appear in print, except in his dispute with Abbot Brown, wherein he makes it appear that his learning was not behind his other virtues; and in another treatise, entitled "L'Armageddon de la Babylon Apocalyptique," in French, printed in the year 1612 at Jonsac, by Jerome Maran—a work in which he gives his meditation upon the enemies of the church, and their destruction, but it is now rarely to be found.

* It was not till 1744 that a number of Welsh's sermons was first printed, and others were afterwards added. They were very favourably received, and have passed through not fewer than six editions.

ROBERT BOYD.

ROBERT BOYD of Trochrig was born at Glasgow in the year 1578. [He was the youngest son of Mr. James Boyd, arch-

bishop of Glasgow, proprietor of Trochrig and Barneil in Ayrshire, who was the son of Adam Boyd, laird of Penkill,

brother-german of Robert, Lord Boyd. His mother was Margaret Chalmers, daughter of Mr. James Chalmers of Gaitgirth, the chief of the ancient family of that name. When an infant only three years old he lost his father. Upon this bereavement his mother, who besides him had only another son, Thomas, retired to her house of Trochrig. Robert and Thomas were first taught at the grammar school of Ayr in the neighbourhood, and afterwards sent to the university of Edinburgh, where they were under Principal Rollock, and had for their regent Mr. Charles Ferme, a distinguished scholar, by whose instructions they greatly profited. They both took their degree of master of arts in August, 1595.* Soon after the eldest brother, Thomas, died, and Robert, as his heir, became proprietor of Trochrig and Barneil, the family inheritance.

It being at that time customary for Scottish youths who had the necessary means to accomplish themselves by travelling on the Continent, especially in France, Robert Boyd left Scotland for that kingdom on 1st May, 1597, and

* Register of Laureations.

arrived at Dieppe on the 7th of that month. During the first three years of his stay in France, from his frequent removals, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with many learned and excellent Frenchmen. The half of that time he spent at Tours, occupied in the tuition of certain noble youths in a school recently founded by Dr. Andrew Rivet, Reformed minister at Tours, at the expense of the duke of Tremouille. Here he pursued at the same time with great avidity his studies, particularly cultivating the Greek language, by reading the Greek classic authors both in prose and verse, which Rivet lent him. His health becoming impaired, he left Tours for Rochelle, whence he intended, if he did not recover, to return to Scotland. But his health being much improved by the journey, he went from Rochelle to Bordeaux, where he stayed eight or twelve months in the family of Monsr. Primet, a very worthy man. He then went to Poitiers, whence going to visit the town and academy of Montauban he made the acquaintance of Monsr. de Dismes, one of its professors of philosophy, and received an appointment to be professor of *belles-lettres*. After delivering

two inaugural discourses, which were prescribed to him as trials, he was admitted in November, 1599, being then about twenty years of age. Here he continued for five years, performing his duties as professor with universal approbation, and devoting his leisure hours to the study of theology. His reputation continued to increase, and his class was numerously attended. Whilst at Montauban he corresponded with many professors of the neighbouring French academies, especially with those of his own country, of whom there were many who occupied chairs of philosophy, divinity, and law, in the academies of Saumur, Sedan, and Lescar. The numerous letters which he received from students who had attended his classes at Montauban, expressing in the warmest terms the advantages which they had derived from him as a professor, testify to his popularity and success as an instructor of youth.

Towards the close of the year

* Philip de Mornay, seigneur du Plessis-Marly, was descended from one of the most ancient and noble families of France. He embraced the Reformed faith, and escaped almost miraculously the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. He was equally distinguished as a Christian, a soldier, a statesman, and an author. In the year 1576 he became one of the councillors of Henry, king

1604, when only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, having received a call to become minister of the French church of Vertuille and Ruffec in Angouleme, he accepted the call on condition that, should he receive an invitation to any university in which he might exercise the offices both of a pastor and professor, he should be at liberty to accept it. He was ordained minister of that congregation on 9th November that year, by the imposition of hands.

From his growing reputation both as a scholar and a preacher, he was not permitted to remain long in this situation. At that time a professor's place in the university of Saumur was vacant by the appointment of Mr. William Craig (son of Mr. John Craig, minister of King James VI.'s household), who had long been there a professor of philosophy, to the chair of divinity. Mornay Duplessis, who had founded the university,* having been informed by Monsr. Rivet of Tours

of Navarre. In the year 1577 he was Henry's ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, queen of England, and subsequently at the court of William, prince of Orange, Holland. Early in the year 1580 he was appointed by Henry governor of Saumur. When his master, on the assassination of Henry III., became nearest heir to the French throne, and assumed the title of Henry IV., king of France, Mornay

of the eminent abilities and learning of Boyd, was very desirous that Boyd should be translated from Vertuille to the vacant chair, and should at the same time become one of the ministers of the town. Boyd expressed his willingness to accept of the invitation, and the Synod of Naintonge, in whose bounds Vertuille was situated, decided to translate him to Saumur. The Synod, in their letter to the minister and elders of Saumur intimating their decision, dated 8th April, 1606, bear the highest testimony to the excellent endowments and Christian worth of Boyd, to whose translation they had agreed with much regret, and only for the greater good of the church:—"Messieurs and much honoured brethren, you have

took the field with him against the Leaguers, who opposed the claims of Henry, king of Navarre, because he was a Huguenot. He was with Henry at the battle of Coutras, fought 20th October, 1587, at which the Huguenots obtained a complete victory over the Leaguers. Before the battle commenced he suggested to his master, who led the Huguenots, that they should engage in public confession of sin and prayer, upon which Henry knelt and the whole army knelt with him. Seeing this the duke of Joyeuse, the enemy's general, exclaimed, "The king of Navarre is afraid!" "Think not so," answered his lieutenant, who knew the habits of the Huguenots and the intrepid valour both of their leader and themselves better, "these men are always the most terrible after prayers." The prayer was offered up by the minister, Louis d'Amours. Mornay died in his own house of

asked from us one of our brethren, Monsieur de Trochrig, and we have granted your desire unanimously and with universal consent. It is of verity, meanwhile, that the tearing from us and depriving us of a member so very dear and precious to the whole of our body, could not be without much grief and loss to us; but our ready affection and disposition to do every thing that is satisfying to you has very much lessened our sorrow, and the consideration of the public interest which is thereby advanced is to us a compensation. We agree with you as to the importance of your church; and must acknowledge the usefulness of your academy in promoting the general interests of all France, and the advantage of this province in particular.

Poytou in the month of November, 1623, after he had been governor of Saumur thirty-two years, aged seventy-four years. "Under his government," says Boyd of Trochrig, in recording his death, "and in his most agreeable company, as well as most sweet, I lived in perfect and most intimate and holy amity and friendship for the space of nine years, as pastor and professor of theology in the church and academy of Saumur. May the Lord raise up to France and his whole church such a light of such wisdom and learning and exemplary life, wholly without reproach, and endowed with eloquence almost inimitable, which virtues shined in this illustrious person above all men in this age, and give us grace by a holy life to arrive at length with him to the haven of eternal glory for the sake of his son, Jesus Christ!" (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 267.)

We persuade ourselves, then, that we have not so much deprived a particular church of a pastor, and him of his church, as we have transported a minister, whom we judge exceedingly capable of cultivating and making up the want of many churches. And with pleasure we hope this transplanting of him will be a providing trees and fruit to the neighbouring provinces." The letter written by the consistory or elders of the church of Vertuille, 14th April, 1606, in answer to the letter which they had received from the church of Saumur, is creditable not less to themselves than to Boyd:—"We have with the deepest regret, and the sorrow of this whole church, consented to his coming to you, and hereby we have spoiled ourselves to accommodate you, preferring to our own interests the public good of the whole church of God in your academy, which we pray the Eternal may make a true seminary of faithful labourers in his harvest and his house, to spread the doctrine which is according to godliness more and more amongst men, and fast preserve it in its simple native purity in all the churches of this realm."

In April, 1606, Boyd was ad-

mitted one of the ordinary pastors of the Reformed church of Saumur, and professor of philosophy in the university, in which he lectured publicly for some time on *belles-lettres*, till a Synod of the churches of Anjou, Cenoman, and Tours, which met in September, 1608, by the appointment of the National Synod, to provide suitable professors of divinity for the university of Saumur, when he was chosen to occupy a theological chair; though it would appear from letters addressed to him, that from the time of his coming to Saumur he was joined with Mr. Bouche-reau, minister of the place, and Mr. William Craig, in the care of the students of divinity. The theological chair he occupied for six years with great applause. His exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, afterwards published, formed part of the public lectures which he delivered in the theological chair at Saumur—a work, says Dr. M'Crie, which "contains some good critical remarks, as well as many eloquent passages;" though "it is to be regretted that he should have rendered it heavy and repulsive by indulging, according to a practice then common among the continental commentators, in long digres-

sions for the sake of illustrating general doctrines and determining the controversies of the time.”*

So conspicuous were the learning, gifts, and piety of Boyd, that he was no sooner settled at Saumur than the town of Montauban, where he had taught philosophy, were intent upon obtaining him for their minister. In their name Mr. Wemyss, principal of the college there, wrote to him a letter, 26th August, 1606, urging their claims and the superior advantages of the pastorate in that place. “The consistory of this town being assembled with the magistrates, have agreed to send you this present bearer, to let you understand their extreme desire to have you in this town to be their pastor; where I am assured that you will be better than in any other town in France, upon the supposition that you are to remain in France. . . . You know that in this town there is no diversity of religion, which is a benefit of God given to it more than to all the towns in France. It is true that there are some priests here who every day say mass to themselves only, of the which there are four or five who have embraced the Reformed

religion during a few past months. I cannot believe that you are resolved to remain the rest of your life in Saumur, since, humanly speaking, the standing of Saumur for them of the religion depends on the life of Monsr. Duplessis.” He adds, “Monsr. Berault would have us here to understand that you have in your academy four or five hundred scholars, which I cannot well believe.” Boyd did not see his way to encourage these proposals for his removal to be minister of the Reformed church at Montauban.

In August, 1607, with permission of the university of Saumur, he started on a short tour through the Protestant churches, visiting the principal parts of Germany, Holland, and England, and landing in Scotland. He returned to Saumur on 28th June, 1608. During the time that he was absent the university allowed him his full salary. In his journal he recorded the names of the numerous printers and booksellers whose shops in his journey he had visited, to ascertain the literary treasures which they possessed or were preparing for publication, and to come into personal communication with learned and good men in different parts of the world.

* McCrie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 312.

In the end of June, 1610, he was again in Scotland, probably, as Wodrow conjectures, on the errand of making certain arrangements with his friends in connection with his intended marriage. The state of affairs in the Church of Scotland he found to be extremely discouraging. In a letter which he wrote from Trochrig, 12th July, 1610, to Mornay Duplessis, he thus writes:—"Our king is resolved at all ventures more and more to establish, through all his countries and kingdoms, the Episcopal hierarchy, and, in consequence, to overturn the discipline of our church. This is what all the good people in this country deplore and lament, and very justly, as a desolating stroke, and the true way to introduce and force in among us with Popery, atheism, ignorance, and impiety, and to open

* By this Assembly, which met at Glasgow in June, 1610, and of which Spottiswoode, archbishop of Glasgow, was moderator, many Acts were passed which almost wholly subverted Presbyterian government. It was concluded that the alleged Assembly held at Aberdeen in July, 1605, was null, since it had not the king's allowance, and was discharged by his commissioner. The ordinary indiction of the General Assembly was abrogated, and made to depend upon the king's pleasure, as if an inherent prerogative of the crown; which was a betrayal of one of the chief liberties which Christ has granted to his church, and which had been ratified by the laws of the kingdom. Bishops were to be constant moderators in their diocesan

a door to a total dissolution, since this was the only discipline, duly and well observed in Scotland, authorized by the laws and statutes of the realm; and which not only preserved this church in purity and concord, without error and schism, I may add, in health and vigour, yea, in splendour and spiritual beauty, but also as a strong bridle restrained the audacious, and stopped the unbridled insolence of such as neither feared God, the king, the law, nor any civil magistrate in the kingdom." Boyd left Scotland and returned to France in September, 1610.

When in Scotland he had been importuned by his friends to make arrangements for permanently returning to and settling in his native land. But the proceedings of the General Assembly at Glasgow,* and the resolute purpose of King James

synods, to be held twice in the year, which was the conversion of provincial synods into diocesan; and any minister who, without lawful excuse, absented himself from the diocesan synod was to be suspended from his office and benefice, and if he amended not, was to be deprived. No sentence of excommunication or absolution was to be pronounced against or in favour of any person without the knowledge and approbation of the bishop of the diocese, who was to be answerable to the king for all formal and impartial procedure. All presentations were henceforth to be directed to the bishop, who was empowered to judge the conversation, abilities, and qualifications of the presentee; and with the assistance of some

VI., by the combined agencies of policy and persecution, to impose on the people of Scotland an ecclesiastical government to which they were wholly opposed, did not encourage Boyd to follow the advice of his friends. In a letter to Mr. Robert Bruce, 2nd September that year, he thus writes:—Hearing of the daily decaying estate of that once flourishing kirk of our land, what could I do but follow the Lord's gracious calling in that kingdom [France] wherein he had made me to find so many testimonies of his gracious providence towards myself, and his blessing on my weak and unwor-

of the ministers of his own selection of the bounds where the presentee was to serve, he was to complete the ordination. Exercise of doctrine (the presbytery was meant, but that name was now dropped as being offensive) was to be continued weekly among the ministers, as usual; and of such meetings the bishop was to be moderator, or, if he was absent, any other whom he should appoint at the time of the synod, and the bishop had a negative vote on the proceedings.

These conclusions were ordained to be observed in all time coming; and all ministers were forbidden to speak against or to impugn any of them, either in private or public, under the pain of deprivation. Only five members of the Assembly dissented, and only seven voted *non liquet*.

To secure these sad results the most unrighteous and illegal means were resorted to by the king, who boasted of his dexterity in managing general assemblies, and by the bishops, who were not less addicted to Machiavellian arts. There were in the Assembly, besides thirteen bishops, thirteen noblemen, forty

thy labours. I confess, for my own part, and according to my natural inclination, I could wish that I could have been profitable to my own country and the kirk of God within the same." But he hardly ventures to hope that such a change of circumstances would take place as would induce him to return to and settle in Scotland, when "it would yet please God in his merciful goodness to make the light of his countenance to shine on his kirk in Scotland, in that former freedom and force of his Spirit, bringing home the captivity of his dear servants, loosing their bands, setting them again in

barons and other gentlemen, who had no commission from presbyteries. Money was profusely distributed among those who had done the king and the bishops service, under pretence of paying their expenses. The constant moderators got each the hundred pounds promised to them at the Assembly held at Linlithgow in 1606, where they had been constituted perpetual moderators of presbyteries. To some was promised the augmentation of their stipends. Members who voted *non liquet* got nothing, because they had done no service.

A proclamation was made under his Majesty's signet, 19th of June, ratifying the conclusions of the Assembly, and forbidding all his Majesty's subjects whomsoever, especially ministers, within the kingdom, to impugn or to condemn them in their sermons publicly, or in their private conferences; and commanding all sheriffs, provosts, and bailies of burghs, and other magistrates, to commit transgressors to prison till they should be advertised by the privy council what farther was to be done. (*Calderwood's History*, vol. vii. pp. 95-108, 116.)

their own stations, and yet opening their mouths to the praise of his own glorious grace.”

Having married Anna Malivern, only daughter of Sir Peter Malivern, of Vineola, by his wife Petrina Druetia, at Saumur, in May, 1611, a lady little more than nineteen years of age,* Boyd was now more indifferent than ever as to his returning to Scotland. Every letter which he received from Scotland increased this indifference. “The case of the kirk of this land is very lamentable,” writes an esteemed minister in a letter to him, 20th May that year. “The Lord look down thereon with the eye of his mercy. We that should be her watchmen to cry in her streets for her wakening, and on her watch-towers to the Lord by night and day, to have compassion and heal her wounds—we are fast asleep.” The same correspondent, in still more melancholy terms, portrays the sad condition of religion and the church in Scotland at that time in a letter to Boyd, 16th March, 1613:—“The estate of all things here grows worse and worse. There is a fearful growth of security and gross atheism; purity and sincerity of religion

* She was baptized 11th December, 1591. (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 113.)

are mocked, hated, and persecuted, whereby the devil reigns, and all impiety lifts up her head. The best sort, who even in their own eyes are fallen from their first love and relaxed from zeal, through the common judgment of security and slumbering, faint within themselves for lack of the comfortable communion of saints, which [was] wont to be their comfort and strength. . . . The liberties of the Lord's kirk are greatly abridged by the pride of bishops, and their power greatly increases over her. You will have heard that the acts of that corrupt Assembly, holden at Glasgow when you were in this country, are ratified in Parliament, held at Edinburgh November last; so that now their power over their brethren in censures and ordination being established by the sanction of the civil law, they cause the secret council punish by warding and confining all that bow not to Baal. . . . The Lord of Hosts arise, . . . and honour his own name in bringing his kirk out of bondage. . . . Jericho is building again, which the Lord had sacked by the trumpet of his blessed evangill.”

Circumstances, however, soon occurred which brought Boyd to

Scotland contrary to his expectation, though perhaps—for the love of country is strong—not altogether contrary to his inclination. A vacancy having taken place in the principalship of the college of Glasgow, by the resignation of Patrick Sharp on 11th August, 1614, Boyd's friends were active in their endeavours for his appointment to fill this post, and they succeeded in obtaining the approval of King James VI. So importunate was King James in his letters to Mornay Duplessis and the university of Saumur for the return of Boyd to Scotland, that they reluctantly consented to part with him. Boyd was now comfortably married, and his spouse was averse to leave the land of her birth. He occupied a useful and honourable position in France, where he was extensively known and respected as a man of eminent abilities, learning, and high Christian character. He disapproved of the policy by which King James was attempting to force Episcopacy upon Scotland, and he might, if he returned, be brought within the sweep of the king's and the bishops' resentment against nonconformists.

* Samuel Bouchereau, whom Bondin, the historian of Saumur, describes as one of the

But notwithstanding these considerations, which might incline him to remain in France, Boyd, constrained by the earnest persuasion of his friends, by deference to the command of his sovereign, by the hope that his somewhat impaired health might be improved by his return, and by a sense of the obligations which he owed to his native country, came to the resolution to accept of the new sphere of labour offered to him.

On the day before his departure from Saumur he was presented by the elders of the Reformed church in that place in name of the church, as an expression of their affection and esteem, with one hundred pounds, which he had laid out in repairing and ornamenting the house in which he had resided, and with twenty-five crowns as salary for the quarter commencing in October. He was also presented with a silver basin from the church and the academy, valued at fifty crowns, with his crest, name, and arms engraven upon it. He received testimonials from the university, the provincial synod, and from Bouchereau* and the elders of the church of Saumur, bearing ample

most famous orators of the time, was ordained minister at Saumur after the year 1601. He

testimony to his abilities and learning, to the abundance and usefulness of his labours, to the Christian graces which adorned his character, and to their extreme regret that they could not longer retain his services.

On 2nd October, 1614, Boyd and his family left Saumur, and were accompanied out of the town part of the way by the minister and elders of the church, the masters of the college, and a large company of other friends, including all the Scotsmen in the neighbourhood. They went by Tours and Amboise to Paris, thence to Orleans, next to Rouen, and thence to Dieppe. On the 24th of October they departed from Dieppe for England. On the 10th of December they arrived at Edinburgh, and on the 31st at Glasgow.

On 30th January, Boyd having delivered a public lecture to a numerous auditory, the king's presentation in his favour was produced by Archbishop Law, chancellor of the university, to the Chapter, to each of the members of which the right of election, by the foundation of the college, belonged. He was then unanimously admitted to his

acted a prominent part in the affairs of the Protestant church of France, whose interests he

office as principal of the college of Glasgow. He accepted the office upon the understanding that he would take a trial of it for one year; that only such duties of the office as his infirm health would allow him to perform should be expected from him; and that he should be exempted from personally inflicting corporeal punishment on delinquent students, and from eating at the college table.

Besides being] principal of the college of Glasgow, Boyd was minister of Govan. At this place he ordinarily wrote his sermons in full; and yet when he came to the pulpit he appeared with great life and power of affection. While he was in France the popish controversy employed his thoughts; but after his return home the Church of Scotland engrossed almost his whole attention; and he became a zealous friend and supporter of the more faithful part of the ministry against the usurpation of the bishops and their ceremonies.

The prelatists, knowing that the eminence of his place, his piety, and learning, would influence many to take part with

was greatly instrumental in promoting. He died 25th December, 1630. (*La France Protestante.*)

that way, laboured with great assiduity, by entreaties, threatenings, and the persuasions of some of his friends, to gain him over to their side, [but without success.

Boyd's troubles for nonconformity did not commence till after the passing of the Five Articles of Perth, at a General Assembly held at Perth in August, 1518, when it was resolved by the king and the bishops rigidly to enforce their observance. Many submitted; but a considerable number of ministers eminent for piety and learning refused, and stood up for the liberty and purity of the church. Boyd, though tolerant of those who held sentiments different from his own, could not conscientiously comply with the articles, and he especially disapproved of the forcible imposition of them upon others. The next three years of his life was a struggle against the imposition of these articles, though he took no part in the public discussions against them; and this ultimately led to his demission of the office of principal of the university of Glasgow.

The bishops, who had hoped

* Gomarus, who had succeeded him at Saumur, had gone to Leyden, and Mr. William Craig had died at Edinburgh in November,

that he would conform, on learning that he favoured the nonconformists, and that he frequently visited his old acquaintance Mr. Robert Bruce, who sometimes resided in a house of his own near Glasgow, not only circulated reports to his prejudice, but incensed the king against him by depreciatory letters, stigmatizing him as ungrateful to his Majesty by having gone over to the side of the Puritans, as the opponents of nonconformity were termed.

On hearing that his situation in Scotland had become uncomfortable, Boyd's friends in France earnestly invited him, in July, 1618, to return to Saumur to occupy a theological chair.* He did not, however, accept of this invitation, and it was well that he did not; for by the civil war which broke out in France the academies were for some time scattered, so that Cameron was obliged to come to Scotland. Nor was Boyd's wife, who had now acquired the English language, inclined to return to France, as her father was dead, and as her brother had embraced the popish faith.

Such was the determination

1616. It was intended to associate Boyd with Mr. John Cameron, minister of Bordeaux, who had been chosen to succeed Gomarus.

of King James VI. to press conformity that Boyd's friend, Sir George Elphinstoun, in a letter to him, 2nd March, probably 1621, writes:—"I am heartily sorrow that ever you were persuaded to have taken any charge there, unless your resolution had been to conform." And in a letter to him, 1st October same year, he says, "You have your choice, either to embrace conformity, and so any place in the kingdom with his Majesty's favour, or to live in the country a private man, or to depart the country at your pleasure."

Having come to the resolution to resign the principalship of the university of Glasgow, Boyd, in March, 1621, communicated his design to the archbishop, who had the chief superintendence of the university; and in a lengthened document he stated the grounds upon which he had come to such a resolution. In regard to conformity he says:—"If I use the freedom and liberty which I trust my place and calling afford me, towards my hearers in the schools, it would not stand with your contentment, nor agree with the canons of your pretended Assembly, I being resolved more and more not to change or alter myself any jot of custom, or ceremony, or dis-

cipline wherein I was bred and brought up under those worthy men of God, of whom some rest with him, and some are yet fighting his battles here on earth, until the whole kirk of this kingdom, freely, willingly, uncompelledly, resolvedly, and peaceably, receive and embrace them with full contentment and approbation; but also to tell and teach my hearers what is my judgment therein, with greater freedom and plainness than ever I did; which I know ye would not patiently brook or endure, and therefore I know it is far better, and more expedient for you, at the least, and that by your own judgment and confession, I hope, to leave you my place fairly and in peace, than to enter in debate and dissension with you."

Boyd's purpose to resign was greatly confirmed by circumstances which immediately after occurred. In the month of April, 1621, when the sacrament was dispensed in Glasgow, Law, archbishop of Glasgow, coming to celebrate the ordinance, urged all the people to fall down and kneel. Mr. John Livingstone, and two or three more students attending the college, who were hostile to Episcopacy and the ceremonies, sat still. The bishop,

coming to them, commanded them to kneel or to depart. Livingstone said, in effect, that there was no warrant for kneeling, and that for want of it they ought not to be excluded from the table of the Lord. The archbishop caused some of the people about them to rise that they might remove, which they did. On the following day, Boyd having called Livingstone to him, told him that he was about to celebrate the communion at Govan, and desired him to bring with him on that occasion any well-affected young men in the college of Glasgow whom he knew. Boyd, accompanied with the masters of the college, also went to the archbishop on the following day, and with much freedom reproved him for driving from the Lord's table godly young men, whom doubtless

Christ made welcome—telling him that the table was not his, but Christ's, and that he dealt in the matter as if he had been removing his house-boy from the by-board. Incensed at this free admonition, the archbishop uttered high and imperious words, upon which Boyd, to cut short the controversy, retorted, "I will not sit in Rome and strive with the pope." Finding that, from this time forward, he could enjoy no peace in this place, he demitted both his charges.*

Soon after Mr. Boyd was chosen by the town council of Edinburgh, with the advice of the ministers, principal of the college, and one of the ministers of that city, 18th October, 1622,† and admitted to both these offices, being succeeded in Glasgow by Dr. John Cameron.‡ Some of the

* He left Glasgow at the close of the year 1621 or early in 1622. In the Act of Visitation of the university, dated 20th December, 1621, his name as principal appears in the sederunt.

† In an address to the magistrates of Edinburgh upon his admission, Boyd pronounced a high encomium on Principal Rollock, under whom he "began to learn Christ more than thirty years ago," and "was first grounded in the solid principles of true piety." "O happy day," he adds, "that ever I heard or knew that man of God, the mouth of Jesus Christ towards his people, whose words the spirit of Jesus deigned (condescended) to accompany to the hearts of his own chosen, both young and old, both in kirk and school, with the sweetest weight

and power of softening and sanctifying grace to draw them into the love of Jesus Christ that ever I felt in this world; and therefore good reason it were that, being so called of God, I laboured to do some good where I got most good. Yea, happy and thrice happy, that if so it would please the goodness of my God to make me an instrument of his grace to any of that kirk and school, where I both found and felt once the work of his glorious grace towards myself and others, to his eternal glory and our endless comfort and consolation." (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 182.)

‡ But Boyd was permitted to occupy this situation little more than three months.

† Dr. John Cameron was born in Glasgow, in the Saltmarket, about the year 1580. Having

other ministers of Edinburgh, particularly Andrew 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 nonconformist.* The king sent a letter, 23rd November, to the magistrates of the city, rebuking them for admitting him, and command-

acquired the French language, he went to France in 1600, and became professor of theology at Sedan, and subsequently minister of the Reformed church of Bordeaux, in conjunction with his countryman, Gilbert Primrose. Though called to be professor of divinity at Saumur in 1618, he did not after that remain long in France, the French king having refused to allow him to hold any public office either as the pastor of a church or as professor in a university. (*Quick's Synodicon*, p. 101.) In 1621 he came to London, and his great reputation for ability and learning being combined with a predilection for prelacy and the ceremonies, as well as being a bold assertor of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, he was appointed by King James VI. principal of the college of Glasgow in the room of Boyd. Robert Baillie says, "I had drunken in without examination, from my master Cameron, in my youth, that slavish tenet that all resistance to the supreme magistrate, in any case, was simply unlawful." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 188.) Not altogether satisfied with his position in Glasgow, Cameron, before two years had elapsed, returned to France, though the civil war was then raging. He died in 1625, at the age of forty-six. Cameron contributed to the introduction of a refined Arminianism into the French church. His disciples Amyrald and Testard, carrying his sentiments concerning universal grace farther than their master, maintained that Christ died for all men.

* Ramsay preached in the same church with

ing him to be removed. The magistrates were not obedient to the command, and by a courtier entreated he might be continued, pleading his learning and peaceable disposition; but the king would not grant their request. Accordingly, on the 30th of January, 1623, he renewed the order to remove him; and Boyd was in a little time after turned out of his place and office.†

Boyd now returned to his pri-

Boyd, as well as taught in the same college. When Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, at a conference with the ministers of Edinburgh about this time, was congratulating them on the harmony that existed among them, Ramsay said, "There is one string out of tune," meaning Boyd. It did not escape the notice of Ramsay that several noblemen, lawyers, and others, on coming to Edinburgh, resorted to hear Boyd's prelections in the college, as well as his sermons in the church, in preference to Ramsay's.

† In his letter the king censured the magistrates for not obeying the orders given in his previous letter, and commanded them, should Boyd refuse to conform, to deprive him of his offices, and to expel him, his wife and family, from the town; threatening them should they fail to execute his commands. On the following day the magistrates called Boyd before them, some of the ministers of Edinburgh being present, and showed him the king's letter. There was now no alternative, they regretted to say, but that he should conform or resign his offices. He told them that the light of his conscience would not permit him to conform; but that he was willing to quit his offices if they could be retained only on such a condition. Some of the ministers present would have reasoned with him on the question of conformity, but they had been unfriendly to his appointment, as well as active in inciting the court against him; and he declined to enter into argument with them on a question which he had fully considered, and on which he had

vate house at Trochrig. In June, 1624, endeavours were made by some of his friends, the masters of the college of Glasgow, and the town council, for his being reinstated as principal of that college, which had been vacant nearly two years by the return of Mr. John Cameron to France. As King James would never consent to his being replaced unless he conformed to the Perth Articles, he was prevailed upon to subscribe and send the following paper to Law, archbishop of Glasgow:—“ I, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, undersubscribing, having learned and considered the reasons and motives laid before me by a reverend father in God, James, archbishop of Glasgow, and some other my loving and Christian friends, and weighed more deeply than of before the necessity of employing the Lord’s talent in the exercise of my calling, to his glory and the good of the kirk, whereunto my abstinence from conformity to the Five Articles of the late Perth Assembly has been hitherto the chiefest let and hinderance, do here in end faithfully promise to give obedience thereunto in due time and place, craving humbly his Ma-

reached a settled conclusion. He immediately gave in his resignation, which the magistrates

esty to remit all offence conceived against me for my former delay and off-putting, and of his royal clemency to vouchsafe me his wonted favour and acceptance, as to one resolved to live and die by the grace of Almighty God, his Majesty’s most loyal, humble, and obedient servant. Written and subscribed with my hand at Glasgow, the 25th of October, 1624.

“ ROBERT BOYD of Trochrig.”

He, however, got no rest the next night after, being so troubled for what he had done, and he went back and sought his paper again with tears; but the archbishop pretended that he had already sent it up to the king, so that he could not obtain it. In a copy of the paper which Boyd made, he wrote at the end of it that he did it in his simplicity and weakness.

Some short time after this Archbishop Law was prevailed on to admit Mr. Boyd to be minister of Paisley; for although no man was more opposed to the Perth Articles than he, notwithstanding the above paper, the writing of which caused the bitterest regret, yet his learning and prudence recommended him

accepted with reluctance, and with expressions of deep and, we doubt not, sincere regret.

the archbishop's esteem. Here he remained in security and peace, until the earl of Abercorn's brother, a zealous papist, dispossessed him on a Sabbath afternoon, while he was preaching, and threw all his books out of the house where he had his residence. Upon complaining to the privy council the offender was imprisoned, and the court and bailies of Paisley having undertaken to repossess him, and the gentleman professing his sorrow for what he had done, Mr. Boyd interceded with them for him, and the council passed the matter over.

But no sooner did he go to

* Boyd died on 5th January, 1627, at Edinburgh, whither he had gone to consult physicians on his various distempers, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His sickness was of short duration; but his sufferings were severe, and he bore them with much Christian patience. Through life his constitution had been weak, and he had suffered much in various ways. "He had learned," says Wodrow, "to bear the cross with joy, and great was his enlargement during his three weeks trouble in Edinburgh. He was under the foretaste of the glory to be revealed, and under much heavenly ravishment and holy raptures. His life had been a life of love, faith, and usefulness. Great was his peace and glorious were his victories over all the shakings and temptations with which at some times he was haunted. They all tended to his own comfort and establishment, and the confirmation of his friends about him. . . . His death, and especially when in the prime of his age, was lamented by all. The bishops and those who had opposed him owned his vast learning, great wisdom, and remarkable piety. Those who stood up against the present innovations and corruptions were almost incon-

take possession, than 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 the good man, not only by opprobrious speeches, but also by throwing stones at him, as if he had been a malefactor, that he was forced to fly to Glasgow. Afterwards, seeing no prospect of a peaceable settlement at Paisley, he returned to his own house at Trochrig in Carrick, where he probably continued to his death, which was some years later.*

solable, as having lost one who, by his singular abilities and wisdom, as well as his powerful wrestlings and intercessions, was truly one of the greatest pillars of the land, and might have been singularly useful in this dark and difficult time, when they could ill want a man of his abilities." (*Life of Boyd*, pp. 240, 241.)

By his wife, Anna Malivern, Boyd left two sons, Robert, who succeeded him, and John, and two daughters, Margaret and Janet. In his last will and testament, which was made at Edinburgh 25th December, 1626, all these children are named except Robert, the eldest. His widow, who survived him many years, was "a person of exemplary piety and excellent sense; an affectionate wife and a tender mother." She afterwards married secondly George Sibbald, doctor of medicine, who had been the intimate friend of Boyd. She died before 19th December, 1654, at which date Mr. John Boyd of Trochrig was served heir of Anna de Malivern, relict of Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, his mother. (*Inq. Gen. Abbrev.*, No. 3973). The same son was served heir to his father, Robert Boyd, in 1640. He wrote a dedication of his father's commen-

He was a man of great learning for that time, as his Commentary on the Ephesians testifies. He would sometimes say, 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, and yet very tender-hearted. He had but a mean opinion of himself, but a high

tary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. Writing in 1671, apparently to Dr. Sibbald, he says, "I could possibly show unto you somewhat of my father's manuscripts both in verse and prose." (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, pp. 243, 244.)

* This is the testimony of John Livingstone, who personally knew him. John Row, who was contemporary, describes him as "a very learned and holy man," who displayed "great gifts both in the teaching of his lessons in the college and in preaching in the kirk;" and adds that he "was one of the most humble, modest, and meek men that was in the ministry in all this kingdom." (*History*, p. 438).

In his preparations for the pulpit he was very conscientious and laborious. He preached without notes, but his sermons were written in full; and he marked on the margin of the manuscript "all the artifices of logic and

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, he heartily blessed the Lord for the grace that was given unto them.

rhetoric," which may account for the oratorical action and effect with which his sermons were delivered. He also not only premeditated, but wrote out, the prayers which he offered up in public. In several manuscript volumes of sermons in French, which he had preached at Verteuil, Saumur, and other places in France before his return to Scotland, found among his papers, each sermon is generally preceded by a prayer carefully written out in French. Such was his eloquence and learning that it was said of him that "he was more eloquent in the French than in his mother's tongue, more eloquent in Latin than in French, and more eloquent in Greek than in Latin." So familiar was he with the Greek language, that in making quotations from the Greek fathers often long, which he frequently did, he almost invariably repeated the passage from memory.

ROBERT BRUCE.

ROBERT BRUCE was born about the year 1554. He was second son to Sir Alexander Bruce, the laird of Airth* (of whom he had

* Bruce's father was descended from a younger son of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, and grandfather of King Robert the Bruce—a branch which retained the estate of Kinnaird in the

the estate of Kinnaird), who being at that time a baron of the best quality in the kingdom, educated him with the intention

shire of Stirling for three centuries, and married during that long period into several of the most distinguished families in the kingdom. On 9th December, 1359, Sir Robert Bruce, a descendant of the younger son of Robert Bruce, lord of

of becoming one of the Lords of the Session, and for his better accomplishment sent him to France to study the civil law. After his return home, his father enjoined him to wait upon some affairs of his that were then before the Court of Session, as he had got a patent insured for his being one of these lords. But God's thoughts being not as men's thoughts, and having other designs for him, he began then to work mightily upon his conscience, so that he could get no rest till he was suffered to attend Andrew Melville at St. Andrews, to study divinity under him. To this his mother was averse, for she would not consent until he first gave up some lands* and

Annandale referred to, obtained from King David II., son of King Robert the Bruce, a charter of the lands of Clackmannan; and from a cadet of this Bruce of Clackmannan, who in the reign of King James I. of Scotland married the eldest daughter and heiress of William of Airth, in the shire of Stirling, and thus acquired the lands of that name, the father of this memoir was lineally descended. Bruce's mother was Janet, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingstone, and Agnes, daughter of the second earl of Morton. His father, who was a baron of high position, had renounced Popery, it is said; but whether, in doing this, the power of truth or other influences predominated in his mind, it may be difficult now to determine. The bloody feuds in which he was occasionally involved with some of his own class, bespeak the rudeness of the period in which he lived. In the contemporary annals of those times we find the following record of a sanguinary conflict in which he was engaged on the High

casualties wherein he was in-fected. This he most willingly did, and shaking off all impediments, he fully resolved upon an employment more fitted to the serious turn of his mind.

He went to St. Andrews some time before Andrew Melville left the country, and continued there until his return. Here he wanted not some sharp conflicts on this head; insomuch that upon a certain time, walking in the fields with that holy and religious man, James Melville, he said to him: "Before I throw myself 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

Street of Edinburgh:—"The 24th of November, 1567, at two in the afternoon, the laird of Airthe and the laird of Weeims mett upon the Heigh Gate of Edinburghe; and they and ther followers faught a veray bloudey skirmish, quher ther wes maney hurte one baith sydes vith shore of pistol." (*Birrel's Dairy*, p. 13.) Robert Bruce was born, according to Calderwood, about the year 1554; but Livingstone gives 1555 or 1556 as the year; and Wodrow a date somewhat later—about 1559.

* These were the lands of Kiinnaird, the appanage designed for him out of the estate of Airth. His right to them he formally renounced in writing. This he did with the firmness of purpose which marked every future action of his life. At the same time he threw off the embroidered scarlet dress at that period worn at court, which he calls "my vain and glorious apparel," sent his horse to the fair to be sold, and repaired to St. Andrews, where he immediately began the study of theology.

it were half a mile in length." After he was accomplished for the ministry, Andrew Melville, 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 there, in the place of James Lawson, the successor of John Knox.

He could not, however, be prevailed upon to take the charge *simpliciter* (although he was willing to bestow his labour thereon for a time), until, by the joint advice of the ministry of the city and this stratagem, he was, as it were, trapped into it. Thus, on a time when the sacrament was to be dispensed at Edinburgh, one of the ministers desired Robert Bruce, who was to preach in the afternoon, to sit by him; and after having served two or three tables, he went out of the church, as if he had been to return in a little; but instead of this he sent notice to Bruce, that unless he served the rest of the tables the work behoved to stop. Bruce, not knowing but

the minister had been seized on a sudden with some kind of sickness, and the eyes of all the people being fixed on him, many entreating him to supply the minister's place, proceeded to the administration of the remainder, and that with such assistance to himself and emotion amongst the people, that the like had never before been seen in that place. When he was afterwards urged by the rest of his brethren to receive, in the ordinary way, the imposition of hands, he refused; because he already had the material part of ordination, viz., the call of the people and the approbation of the ministry; and besides, he had already celebrated the sacrament of the supper, which was not by a new ordination to be made void. So, having made trial of the work, and finding the blessing of God upon his labours, he accepted the charge, and was from that time forth principal actor in the affairs of the church, and a constant and strenuous maintainer of the established doctrine and discipline thereof.*

* Even before he had accepted the office of one of the ministers of Edinburgh, Bruce was chosen moderator of a *pro re nata* meeting of the General Assembly of the church, held at Edinburgh on 6th February, 1588, for the special purpose of taking into consideration the dangers which surrounded the church and the kingdom

from the popish party. The Spanish Armada was about to put to sea for the invasion of England, with intent to overthrow the religion and the liberties equally of England and Scotland, and the popish Scottish lords were sanguine in their expectations. In the ninth session the chancellor accused a minister named James

While he was a minister at Edinburgh he shone as a great light through all these parts of the land; the power and efficacious energy of the Spirit accompanied the word preached by him in a most sensible manner, so that he was a terror to evil doers, the authority of God appearing with him; insomuch that he forced fear and respect even from the greatest in the land.

Gibson of having used words in a sermon to the effect, that the king had been the true cause of all the evils brought upon the church by the earl of Arran; and that if he persisted in persecuting measures he would be, like Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the last of his race. The chancellor insisted that this minister should be censured by the Assembly, who obsequiously appointed Gibson to stand trial in the eleventh session. Failing to appear, he was pronounced contumacious, and sentence of suspension was passed upon him, to continue during the pleasure of the Assembly. These proceedings, done at the bidding of the court, caused Bruce, who presided, the greatest pain. On the night preceding the day on which sentence of suspension was passed on Gibson, he thought in a dream that he heard these words addressed to him: "Ne intersis condemnationi servi Dei"—"Be not present at the condemnation of a servant of God." (*Calderwood's History*, vol. iv. pp. 672-75.)

The Spanish Armada perished in July and August that year, by the winds and waves alone, on the coasts of Britain. In commemoration of this great deliverance, which caused universal joy and gratitude to Protestants, a thanksgiving, joined with the celebration of the Lord's supper, was observed through the whole kingdom, which began on Saturday, 19th October, and continued three successive Sabbaths. (*Calderwood's History*, vol. iv. p. 696.) Bruce preached in Edinburgh two sermons on the occasion, from Ps. lxxvi. 1-8. They were published in 1591, and are not less remark-

able for exegetical acumen than for strength of argument, sublimity of thought, and animation of style, exhibiting, like all Bruce's other sermons, the power of his understanding. To his sermons as delivered by him has been applied the converse of what was said concerning his prayers, that every sentence seemed like a bolt shot from heaven.* And, indeed, in

Even King James VI. himself, and his court, had such high thoughts of him, that when he went to Denmark to bring home his queen in 1590, he expressly desired Robert Bruce 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, indeed, in

able for exegetical acumen than for strength of argument, sublimity of thought, and animation of style, exhibiting, like all Bruce's other sermons, the power of his understanding. To his sermons as delivered by him has been applied the converse of what was said concerning his prayers, that every sentence seemed like a bolt shot from heaven.

* In 1590, shortly after the return of King James from Denmark, Bruce was married to Margaret, daughter of James Douglas of Parkhead, who a few years after avenged the death of his uncle, the Regent Morton, by killing the unprincipled James Stewart, earl of Arran, who had been the main instrument in bringing Morton to the scaffold. The marriage contract is dated 9th June, 1590. By it Sir Alexander Bruce and Robert his son became bound to make a suitable provision for Margaret Douglas during her lifetime out of the lands of Kinnaird—a part of the estate of Airth—which were anew bestowed on Robert. The contract, which is still preserved in the family of Bruce of Kinnaird, is signed by Robert Bruce, minister of Christ's Evangell, and Margaret Douglas; James Douglas of Parkhead, and Marion Douglas his spouse; Alexander Bruce of Airth, and Janet Livingston his spouse; James Douglas of Shott; and James Richardson of Smeaton.

At this time Bruce was in high favour with his sovereign, and he and the other Presbyterian ministers were anticipating that King James, proving himself devoted and loyal to the Presbyterian church, would sanction its rights and

this his hopes were not disappointed, for the country was more quiet during his absence than either before or afterwards; in gratitude for which Bruce received a congratulatory letter, dated February 19, 1589-90, wherein the king acknowledged that 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, it is well known that the king had such esteem for Mr. Bruce, that upon a certain time, before many witnesses, he gave him this testimony, 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.

Robert Bruce being a man of public spirit and heroic mind, was always on that account

privileges, and make ample provision for its ministers; hopes which were soon to be grievously disappointed.

* This letter is printed at length in *Calderwood's History* (vol. v. p. 81). During his absence the king wrote two other letters to Bruce to the same effect. (*Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 70, 91).

† They were refused admittance, as she was engaged at a dance. (*Calderwood's History*, vol. v. p. 460.)

‡ Bruce, when admitted into the presence of the king, told him that he and the others who accompanied him—for the deputation consisted,

pitched upon to deal in matters of high moment. Among other things, upon the 19th of November, 1596, he, Andrew Melville, and John Davidson, were directed by the council of the brethren to deal with the queen concerning her religion, and, for want of religious exercises and virtuous occupations 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. †

On 17th December following Bruce was sent by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which then met in the Little Kirk, to the king, then sitting in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session, to present some articles for redress of the wrongs then done to the church; but in the meantime a bustle falling out at Edinburgh by the mob, the king removed to Linlithgow. ‡ Upon

besides him, of Lords Lindsay and Forbes, the lairds of Barganie and Blairquhan—were sent by the noblemen, barons, and citizens, convened in the Little Kirk, to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. “What danger see you?” demanded the king. “Those best affected towards religion,” Bruce replied, “are discharged the town; Lady Huntly, a professed papist, is entertained at court, and it is suspected that Huntly himself is privately there.” “What have you to do with that?” retorted his Majesty, “and how dare you convene against my authority.” “We dare more than that,” said Lord Lindsay; “we will not suffer religion to be overthrown.”

the Sabbath following Mr. Bruce, preaching upon the fifty-first Psalm, said, "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." The day following this was in part accomplished; for the king sent a charge from Linlithgow to Robert Bruce, and the rest of the ministers of Edinburgh, to enter in ward at the castle there within six hours after the proclamation, under pain of horning. The rest of the ministers, know-

Bruce and his fellow-commissioners returned, and reported that their petition had been unfavourably received. Bruce recommended that in the meantime they should simply pledge themselves to be constant in the profession and defence of religion, to which all agreed, in testimony whereof they held up their right hands. The multitude assembled in the church, were loud in their applause; but Bruce having besought them to be silent, and to behave themselves quietly from regard to the good cause, perfect order and decorum were maintained.

While the meeting was thus engaged a person unknown came to the church door, and cried out, "Save yourselves; a tumult is in the gate." Another cry ran in the street, "Arm, arm;" and one exclaimed, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon against the courtiers, enemies of the truth." (*Calderwood's History*, vol. v. p. 561; *Balfour's Annals*, vol. i. p. 400.) This was a false alarm, and it was given by the emissaries of the Cubiculars, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber, with the design of spreading the belief that their rivals, the Octavians, as the eight persons who ruled at court were called, "the half of whom were suspected papists, and the rest little better," had conspired to kill the ministers and others; and

ing the king's anger was kindled against them, thought proper to withdraw. Bruce, knowing his own innocence, purposed to remain in the city; but his friends, convinced of his danger, advised him to withdraw, which he did,* and he gave in an Apology for himself and the rest of his faithful brethren. On the 13th April, 1597, the king returned to Edinburgh, and was entertained by the town in the house of Mr. Bruce, although he himself had not yet returned.

Upon Thursday, the 21st of

in the confusion some believed that the life of the king was in danger. The tumult, however, by the influence of the ministers and magistrates, was allayed in less than an hour, and no harm was done to any person. But small as was this affair King James magnified it into a great rebellion, and made it the pretext for badly using both the ministers and the inhabitants of Edinburgh. On the morning of Saturday following he left Holyrood palace for the palace of Linlithgow, full of resentment and pretended alarm; leaving a proclamation, commanding all who were not inhabitants of Edinburgh to remove from the city within six hours under pain of treason, forbidding sheriff and other courts to be held in Edinburgh under pain of death, and ordering the members of the Court of Session to leave Edinburgh, to be ready to hold the court where his Majesty should appoint. (*Calderwood's History*, vol. v. p. 510.)

* A slight change is here made upon the narrative of Howie, who incorrectly represents Bruce as having stayed in Edinburgh. He and Mr. Walter Balcanquhal fled to Yorkshire. His Apology is printed in *Calderwood's History*, and is dated from the place of our sojourning, 4th January, 1596-97 (vol. v. pp. 521, 560-75).

that month, the four ministers of Edinburgh obtained access to the king. He approved of their flight, because, as he said, he might in his fury have done that of which he would afterwards have repented. On the following day they were relaxed from the horn; but they were not allowed to resume their places as ministers of Edinburgh till the 24th of July.

But all this was nothing more than the drops before the shower, or as the gathering of waters

* On Tuesday, 5th August, 1600, John, third earl of Gowrie, a youth in the twenty-second year of his age, who had returned from the Continent only a few months before, and his brother the Honourable Alexander Ruthven, were hastily killed in the earl's house at Perth, when the king and his lords were there hospitably entertained, for an alleged treasonable attempt at that time to murder the king; whom, it was said, they decoyed from his guards into a dark chamber, where they intended to execute their design, which by a fortunate discovery was frustrated. That these two brothers, who had acquired the respect and esteem of all who knew them for their personal accomplishments, their generous dispositions, and their high moral and religious character, had conspired to murder their sovereign, is what many of their countrymen refused to believe; and the attempts of King James and his court to fasten on them the crime not only failed, but the improbabilities and suspicious character of many of the circumstances contained in the court narrative, which was freely criticised at the time, leave a very unfavourable impression in regard to King James and his court. The Presbyterian ministers in particular entertained doubts of the guilt of the two brothers. This was the occasion of much harassment to Robert Bruce and the other ministers of Edinburgh.

On Tuesday, 12th August, on their making

before an inundation breaks forth; for the king—having for some time laboured to get pre-lacy established in Scotland, and because Bruce would not comply with his measures, and refused to give praise to God in public for the king's deliverance from the pretended Gowrie conspiracy in 1600, until he was better assured of the fact—not only discharged him from preaching in Edinburgh, but also obliged him to leave the kingdom.* When he embarked at the

their appearance before the council, to which they had been summoned, the king asked Bruce why they had disobeyed him and his council by refusing to thank God for his deliverance. Bruce answered that they had not disobeyed, but had been ready to do it in general terms, which they had all done on the Sabbath after; but that they could not condescend on particulars, inasmuch as they had not certainty. "Had you not my letter," said the king. "Your Majesty's letter," replied Bruce, "bore no particulars, but made mention only of dangers in general, and that we were content to follow." "You have heard me," said the king, "my ministers, the council, and the earl of Mar. Are you now persuaded fully or not that it is treason?" "Surely, sir," replied Bruce, "I would have further light before I preached it to be treason to the people;" and the other ministers similarly answered. They were removed, and in a short time being called in, it was intimated to them by the chancellor that they were discharged from preaching in the king's dominions under pain of death, and commanded to remove out of Edinburgh within forty-eight hours, and not to come within ten miles of it under the same penalty.

In a joint supplication given in by them to the council on the following day, they offered to give a faithful account to the people of the whole history of the treason as the king had delivered it. It was answered them, that they should

Queensferry, on the 3rd of November the same year, there appeared such a great light* as served him and the company to sail, although it was near midnight. He arrived at Dieppe in France on the 8th of November.

Although, by the king's permission, he returned home the year following, yet because he would not (1.) Acknowledge Gowrie's conspiracy; (2.) Purge the king in such places as he should appoint; and (3.) Crave pardon of the king for his long distrust and disobedience; he could not be admitted to his place and office again, but was commanded by the king to keep ward in his own house of Kinnaird. After the king's departure to England he had some respite for about a year or more; but in the year 1605 he was

confess a fault and most humbly crave his Majesty's pardon; that they should account the history of the treason as given by the court undoubted truth, and publish it as such to their congregations—conditions which they considered too hard to be complied with. On Thursday, 14th August, they left the town.

On 5th September they were charged again to compear before the king and council at Stirling. Bruce being asked if he was resolved upon the treason, answered, "I am in the way of resolution, but not fully resolved." The king said, "All your brethren are fully resolved, what can hinder you?" "They must live in their faith," rejoined Bruce, "and I in mine. So far as I know I shall preach, and no farther." "I see," said the king, "you would make me a murderer." "Sincerely," replied Bruce, "I would not."

summoned to compear at Edinburgh, on the 29th of February, 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 his place vacant, but now they intimated the sentence, and Laureston had a commission from the king to see it put in execution. He appealed to the General Assembly; they prohibited him to preach; but he obeyed not. In July thereafter he was advertised by Chancellor Seaton of the king's express order, discharging him from preaching any more, who said, he would not use his authority in this, but only request him to desist for nine or ten days; to which he consented, thinking it but of small moment for so

When Bruce was removed the macer came to him, and charged him to enter ward in the house of Airth till the 8th of October, and then to depart the kingdom. The ministers of Edinburgh were obnoxious to the court for the freedom with which they reprov'd impiety and vice. Bruce was especially obnoxious for his incorruptible integrity and his resolute opposition to Episcopacy, and he was never allowed to return, though the others were. The time of his departure was prorogued till the 11th of November (*Calderwood's History*, vol. vi. p. 95). "A great impediment to the cause of Episcopacy," says Calderwood, "was thus removed out of the way. From that time the banner of truth was never so bravely displayed in the pulpits of Edinburgh as before."

* Probably the aurora borealis.

short a time. But he quickly knew how deep the smallest deviation from his Master's cause and interest might go; for that night, as he himself afterwards declared, his body was cast into a fever, with such terror of conscience, that he promised and fully resolved to obey such commands no more.

Upon the 18th of August following he was charged to enter ward at Inverness, within the space of ten days, under pain of horning; which order he obeyed upon the 27th of that month; and in this place he remained for the space of four years, teaching every Wednesday and Sabbath forenoon, and was exercised in reading public prayers every other night. These labours were blessed; for this dark country was wonder-

* He continued mostly at Inverness till the year 1613, when in August he returned to reside at Kinnaird, upon a license obtained for him by his son, who was at court; and he continued to preach at Kinnaird for about three years. He afterwards supplied for some time the town of Stirling, during the vacancy caused by the death of its minister; and occasionally preached at communions, and for brethren of his acquaintance, for which he was traduced by the ministers of Edinburgh, for acting as if he had been a general bishop. In March, 1619, the council, upon a letter from the king—procured, it is probable, by the ministers of Edinburgh, who alleged that he pointed at them in a sermon preached at Cramond, when speaking of false apostles—charged him to leave Stirling, and to confine himself to his own house at Kinnaird and a mile around

fully illuminated, and many brought to Christ by means of his ministry, and seed was sown in these remote places, which remained for many years afterwards.

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

it. Shortly after he obtained a warrant from the council to remove to his house at Monkland.

† The archbishop was alarmed at the resort of people to his sermons, and the fasts kept under his direction.

‡ Andrew Melville, in his exile in France, was much gratified on hearing of the constancy of Bruce, notwithstanding all that he suffered. In a letter to his nephew, James, he thus writes:—"I cannot but hope all that is good from Bruce. The court rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with respect to heroes like him, adorned with every virtue." Writing to Robert Durie at Leyden, from Sedan, 24th May, 1616, he says, "I thank you also 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

In this manner he continued until he was by the king's order summoned before the council, on September 19, 1621, to answer for transgressing the law of his confinement. When he appeared, he pleaded the favour granted him by his Majesty when in Denmark, and withal purged himself of the accusation laid against him; "and yet, notwithstanding of all these," said he, "the king hath exhausted both my estate and person, and has left me nothing but my life, and that apparently he is seeking. I am prepared to suffer any punishment, only I am careful not to suffer as a malefactor or evildoer." A warrant was, however, delivered to him to enter ward in the castle of Edinburgh—the bishops absenting themselves from the council that day, although they were his delators. Upon the 12th of December Bruce was again brought from the castle before the council, where the king's will was intimated to him, that he should return to his own house until the 12th of April, and then transport himself again to Inverness, and remain within four miles thereof during the king's pleasure.

him and his without comfort and heart lift up to God." (*M'Crie's Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 437, 532.)

* Henderson's conversion, by a sermon which

He remained at Inverness, for the most part, until September, 1624, when he obtained license to return from his confinement, in order to settle some of his domestic affairs. The condition of his license was so strait, that he purposed to return to Inverness; but in the meantime the king dying, he was not urged to go back; and although King Charles I. did again renew 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 minister nor stipend, Mr. Bruce repaired the church, and discharged all the parts of the ministry there with great success, many besides the parishioners attending upon his ministrations; and it would appear that about this time Alexander Henderson, then minister at Leuchars, was converted by his ministry.*

At Larbert it was his custom, after the first sermon, to retire by himself some time for private prayer; and on a time, some noblemen who had far to ride, sent the beadle to learn if there

he heard Bruce preach, took place several years previously, as we shall see under the memoir of his life.

was any appearance of his coming in. The man returned, saying, "I think he shall not come out this day, for I overheard him say to some one, 'I protest I will not go unless thou goest with me.'" However, in a little time he came, accompanied by no man, but in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ; for his very 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."

Robert Bruce was also a man who had somewhat of the spirit of discerning future events, and did prophetically speak of several things that afterwards came to pass; yea, and divers persons distracted, says Fleming in his "Fulfilling of the Scripture," and those who were past all recovery with epileptic disease, or falling sickness, were brought to him, and were, after prayer by him in their behalf, fully restored from that malady. This may seem strange, but it is true; for he was such a wrestler with God, and had more than ordinary familiarity with him.

Some time before his death, being at Edinburgh, where, through weakness, he often kept his chamber, a meeting of godly ministers having been held anent some matter of church concernment, they, hearing he was in town, came and gave him an account of the prelates' actings. Mr. Bruce prayed, and in his prayer he repeated over again to the Lord the substance of their discourse, which was a very sad representation of the case of the church; when there came an extraordinary motion on all present, and such sensible down-pouring of the Spirit, that they could hardly contain themselves. Mr. Wemyss of Lathocker, who was present, said at departing, "O how strange a man is this, for he knocked down the Spirit of God upon us all!" This he said, because Mr. Bruce, in the time of that prayer, divers times knocked with his fingers upon the table.

About this time Robert Bruce related a strange dream, how he had seen 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. Upon this he heard an audible voice speak to him, saying, *Hæc est ira Dei contra*

pastores ecclesie Scoticanæ (this is the anger of God against the pastors of the Scottish church); upon which he fell a weeping, and prayed that he might be kept faithful; and not be one of those who were thus struck down by a torch of his wrath, through deserting the truth. He said, when he awakened, he found his pillow all wet and drenched with tears. The accomplishment of this dream I need not describe. All acquainted with our church history know that, soon after that, prelacy was introduced into Scotland, bishops set up, and popish and Arminian tenets ushered in, with all manner of corruptions and profanity, which continued in Scotland a number of years.

“One time,” says Mr. Livingstone, “I went to Edinburgh to see Robert Bruce, in the company of the tutor of Bonnington. When we called on him at eight o’clock in the morning, he told us he was not for any company; and when we urged him to tell us the cause, he answered, that when he went to bed he had a good measure of the Lord’s presence, and that he had wrestled with him 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 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 also say, ‘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 Holyrood House.’ On another occasion, in reference to his death, he said, ‘I wonder how I am kept so long here: I have lived two years already in violence;’ meaning, that he was that much beyond seventy years of age.”

Alexander Leighton, to whose sufferings Bruce referred, was doctor of medicine, having qualified himself as a physician, besides studying for the Christian ministry, and during the reign of King James VI. and the commencement of that of Charles I. he practised as a physician as well as exercised the Christian ministry in London, Whether he had any fixed congregation we are not informed.

For writing "Zion's Plea against Prelacy" he was apprehended at London by two ruffians, and brought before Archbishop Laud, who sentenced him to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, to be tied to a stake, and to receive thirty-six stripes with a triple cord, then to stand two hours in the pillory (which he did in a cold winter night), and next to have one of his ears cut off, his face branded with a red-hot iron, and one side of his nose slit; and on that day se'nnight to have his other ear cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and his other cheek burned. All this was done 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 six thousand pounds (which, it is said, was never paid), and was made warden of that prison wherein he had been so long confined; but through infirmity and bad treatment he did not long survive, being then seventy-two years of age. *See* this more at length in Stevenson's History.

When the time of Bruce's death drew near, which was in the month of August, 1631, he was through age and infirmity mostly confined to his chamber,

where he was frequently visited by his friends and acquaintances. Being asked by one of them how matters stood betwixt God and his soul? he answered: "When I was young I was diligent, and lived by faith on the Son of God; but now I am old, and am not able to do so much, yet he condescends to feed me with lumps of sense." On the morning before he was removed, his sickness being mostly a weakness through age, he came to breakfast; and having, as usual, eaten an egg, he said to his daughters, "I think I am yet hungry, ye may bring me another egg." But instantly thereafter falling into deep meditation, and after having mused a little, he said, "Hold, daughter; my Master calls me." With these words his sight failed him, and calling for his family Bible, but finding 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, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our 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 such manner did this occidental star set in our horizon. There were none in his time who preached with such evidence of the power of the Spirit, and no man had more seals of his ministry; yea, many of his hearers thought that no man, since the days of the Apostles, ever spoke with such power. And although he was no Boanerges, being of a slow but great delivery, yet he spoke with such authority and weight as became the oracles of the living God; so that some of

* Bruce was interred in an aisle of the church of Larbert, in which he had often preached in the latter period of his life. Many assembled from all quarters, Wodrow says four or five thousand persons of every rank, to follow his remains to their last resting-place. As if in compliance with his expressed wishes when in life, no funeral sermon was preached on the occasion. A stone was placed over his grave, and remained long undisturbed. Some years before 1843 it was raised from the place where it had long lain, and it was in good preservation. The coffin was also found when the grave was opened.

By his wife, Margaret Douglas, who died in 1620, eleven years before himself, Bruce had a son, Robert, who succeeded him in the lands of Kinnaird, and two daughters. James Bruce, the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, who was

the most stout-hearted of his hearers were ordinarily made to tremble, and by having the door, which had formerly been shut against Jesus Christ, as by an irresistible power broken open, and the secrets of their hearts made manifest, they oftentimes went away under deep conviction. He had a very majestic countenance; in prayer he was short, especially when in public, but every word or sentence he spoke was like a bolt shot up 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; and was a man who had much inward exercise of conscience anent his own personal case. He was oftentimes assaulted even anent that grand fundamental

born at Kinnaird House 14th December, 1730, was his descendant in the sixth generation. The traveller was the son of David Bruce of Kinnaird and of Marion Graham of Airth, daughter of a neighbouring proprietor, who was dean of the Faculty of Advocates and judge of the High Court of Admiralty of Scotland. James Bruce, who "carried the spirit and enterprise of his name into the distant and unexplored country of Abyssinia, and gave to British science the first certain account of the origin of the most celebrated river in ancient history," succeeded his father 4th May, 1758, and died 27th April, 1794, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He rebuilt the family mansion, and is buried in the family vault at Larbert.

† John Livingstone, in his "Memorable Characteristics."

truth—the being of a God; inso-much that it was almost customary for him to say, when he first spoke in the pulpit, “I think it a great matter to believe there is a God;” and by this he was the more fitted to deal with others under the like temptations.*

Robert Bruce was also an elegant and substantial writer, as the fore-mentioned Apology, and

* To quote from the author of a sketch of Bruce's life in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. lxiv. pp. 951, 952):—“His bold and comprehensive mind, his stern independence and unpol-luted integrity, are qualities which, under every disadvantage, procure the respect of mankind, and indicate superiority of character. . . . His capacity for civil affairs was perceived and acknowledged by his sovereign; and to this may be imputed his misfortunes and disgrace. To frustrate his exertions was the principal but unworthy labour of a long reign, urged in direct opposition to the civil and religious liberties of the people of Scotland, who still consider the minister as a saint and the king as a tyrant. The fortitude of Robert Bruce under banishment and disgrace was equal to his dignified character in prosperity. He joined to the spirit of a baron, descended of the noblest warriors of his country, the authority of a minister of Jesus Christ. Accustomed to continual prayer and intense meditation on religious subjects, his ardent imagination at times appears to have lost itself in visions of the divine favour. . . . If his religious firmness sometimes degenerated into bigotry, if his boldness infringed the freedom of the throne” [this may be doubted], “let it not be forgotten that a relaxation of morals was the first step by which prelacy ascended into the royal favour, and in the space of a few years conducted both primate and monarch to the scaffold. . . . The person of Robert Bruce was tall and dignified. His countenance was majestic; and his appearance in the pulpit grave and expressive of much authority. His manner of delivery was slow

his excellent Letters to M. Espignol, the duke of Parma, Colonel Semple, and others,† copiously evidence. He was also deeply affected with the public cause and interest of Jesus Christ, and much depressed in spirit when he beheld the naughtiness and profanity of many ministers then in the church, and the carriage and deportment of others unsuitable

and engaging. In public prayer, which with him was always extemporary, he was short and sententious; but so emphatic was his language, so ardent were his expressions, that he appeared to his audience inspired of heaven. His knowledge of the Scriptures was extensive and accurate beyond the attainment of his age. His skill in the languages and in the science of those times, not to mention his acquaintance with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, a branch of knowledge possessed by few of his brethren, was equal, if not superior, to that of any of the Scottish reformers.”

The biographical sketch in the *Scots Magazine* is accompanied with a portrait of Bruce from an original miniature in the possession of Bruce of Kinnaird.

† Howie has here committed a strange mistake. The letters referred to in the text were those of a trafficking popish priest of the name of Robert Bruce, to the duke of Parma and to Colonel Sempill, and other letters by some of the popish Scottish lords to the king of Spain and to the duke of Parma, in name of the popish nobility of Scotland, encouraging Spain to invade England for the overthrow of the Reformed faith. These letters, which were written in French ciphers, were intercepted, deciphered, and their object defeated. They are printed in Calderwood's History (vol. v. pp. 7, 12, 16, 19–34.) It is evident that Howie had never seen them, and knew nothing of their import.

Bruce's Sermons, reprinted from the original Scottish edition, with his life by Wodrow the historian, form one of the volumes printed for the Wodrow Society.

to so great a calling; which made him express himself with much fear that the ministry in Scot-

land would prove the greatest persecutors it had, and which, indeed, came to pass.

JOSIAS WELSH.

JOSIAS WELSH was a younger son of the famous Mr. John Welsh, sometime minister of the gospel at Ayr, and Elizabeth Knox, daughter of Mr. John Knox, our great Reformer. From them he received a most liberal and religious education, but what enhanced his reputation more was, that he was heir to his father's graces and virtues. Although he had received all the branches of useful learning, in order to the ministry, yet prelacy being then prevalent in Scotland, he was detained for some time from that function, seeing he was not clear in his own mind to enter into office by the door of Episcopacy. But some time after, it so fell out that Robert Blair, who was then minister at Bangor in Ireland, meeting with him, discovered how zealous a spirit Josias Welsh was of, and exhorted and solicited him much to hasten over there, where he would find work enough, and he hoped success likewise. This accordingly came to pass; for

upon his going to Ireland Josias Welsh was highly honoured and provided of the Lord, to bring the covenant of grace to the people at the Six-Mile Water, on whom Mr. Glendinning, formerly minister there, had wrought some conviction; and having preached some time at Oldstone, he was 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; whereupon the bishop of Down, in May, 1632, cited Josias Welsh, Blair, Livingstone, and Dunbar before him, and urged them to conform, and give their subscription to that effect: but they answered with great boldness, that there was no law nor canon in that kingdom requiring this; yet, notwithstanding, they were all four deposed by him from the office of the holy ministry.

After this Josias Welsh continued 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, so that he might be heard without as well as within, by means of which, being of a weakly constitution, he contracted such a cold as ultimately occasioned his death. He continued in this way until May, 1634, when by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart with King Charles I. in their behalf, the foresaid ministers received a grant from the bishop of six months' liberty; which freedom none more willingly embraced than Josias Welsh; but he had preached only a few weeks in his own pulpit before he sickened; and the Sabbath afternoon before his death, which was on the Monday following, "I heard of his sickness," says John Living-

stone, "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 enters 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!' Then he desired me to go on, and in a little expired, on June 23, 1634."

Thus died the pious and faithful Josias Welsh in the flower of his youth, leaving only one son behind him, John Welsh, who was afterwards minister of Irongray in Galloway.

JOHN GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

JOHN GORDON of Lochinvar (afterwards Viscount Kenmuir)

* John Gordon, first viscount of Kenmuir, was the son and successor of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar in Galloway, by his wife, Lady Isabel Ruthven, daughter of William, first earl of Gowrie, who for alleged treasonable practices

was born about the year 1599.* He received a reasonable mea-

was condemned and executed on 28th May, 1584. Having completed his education, he travelled for some time on the Continent. During the years 1620 and 1621 he was at St. Jean d'Angely in France, and resided in the

sure of education; and yet, through the circumstance of his birth, the corruption of the age, but above all, the depravity of nature and want of restraining grace in his younger years, he became somewhat irreligious and profane, which, when he arrived at manhood, broke out into more gross acts of wickedness. Yet all the while the Lord never left him altogether without a check or witness in his conscience; yea, sometimes when at ordinances, particularly sacramental occasions, he would be filled with a sense of sin, which being borne powerfully in upon his soul, he was scarcely able to hold out against. But for a long time he was a stranger to true and saving conversion, and 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.

house of John Welsh, who was then minister of the Reformed church of that town. Religious advantages would certainly then be brought to bear upon his mind; yet from some sentences which dropped from his lips on his death-bed, there is reason to think that his religious upbringing had not been sufficiently cared for, and that he had not generally enjoyed the advantages of an evangelical ministry. To a gentleman, one

About the year 1628 he married that virtuous and religious lady, Jean Campbell, sister to the worthy marquis of Argyle, by whom he had some children (two at least), one of whom, it appears, died about the beginning of the year 1635, for we find Samuel Rutherford, in one of his letters about that time, comforting this noble lady upon such a mournful occasion.

In 1633 Charles I., to honour 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 and honour, among whom was Sir John Gordon, who upon the 8th of May was created Viscount Kenmuir and Lord Gordon of Lochinvar, by letters patent to him and his heirs male whomsoever. Accordingly the viscount came to the Parliament which sat down at Edinburgh, June 16, 1633, and was present the first day, but stayed only a few days thereafter; for being afraid to displease the king, from whom

of his kinsmen, he said, "My grief is that I had not the occasion of good means, as you have." To a gentleman, his neighbour, he said, "There are small means of instruction to be had, seeing the most part of the ministry are profane and ignorant." "The ministers of Galloway murdered my father's soul, and if this man [Samuel Rutherford] had not come, they had murdered mine also."

he had received some and expected more honours,* and not having courage to glorify God by his presence when his cause was at stake, he deserted the Parliament under pretence of indisposition of body, and returned home to his house at Kenmuir in Galloway, and there slept securely for about a year, without check of conscience, till August, 1634, when his affairs occasioned his return to Edinburgh. Here he remained some days, not knowing that with the ending of his affairs he was to end his life, returning home with some alteration of bodily health; and from that day his sickness increased until September 12th ensuing, which was the day of his death.

* Kenmuir had hopes of obtaining the earldom of Gowrie, attainted for treason after the Gowrie conspiracy of 1600, to which he laid claim in right of his mother. It is said that in furtherance of this object he sold the barony of Stichel, which had been long possessed by his ancestors, that he might be supplied with the means of bribing the duke of Buckingham to support his claims, and that he presented the purchase price of this estate to the duke on the night preceding his assassination by Felton. Thus Gordon not only lost the money, but was disappointed in the object for which it was given.

† From this place onward, with the exception of the two last paragraphs, Howie simply gives an abbreviation of a tract entitled "The Last and Heavenly Speeches and Glorious Departure of John, Viscount Kenmuir," published anonymously, but invariably attributed to Samuel Rutherford, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1649 "by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." It is preceded by a

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

Upon the Sabbath, † August 31st, being much weakened, his lordship was visited by a religious and learned minister, who then lived in Galloway, not far from the house of Kenmuir. ‡ He much rejoiced at the coming of dedication "For the whole nobility of Scotland, and others having voice in Parliament and Committees." "It is not the antiquity of your families," says the author in this dedication, "nor the long descent of an ancient pedigree through many noble and princely branches, that can make you noble. True nobility consists in that adoption by which you are made the sons of God, children of the King of kings, and brethren of the Eternal Son of God. The titles of this nobility are not written in old, rotten, or moulded parchments, but are more ancient than the heavens. . . . Fools may be lifted up and think what they please of civil nobility, but the most royal blood is the most religious heart." The tract was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1827, with an introductory memoir of Lord Kenmuir by Mr. Thomas Murray, author of the "Literary History of Galloway." Rutherford also composed a long Latin elegy on the death of Kenmuir, which still exists in manuscript.

‡ This was Samuel Rutherford.

the minister, observing God's over-ruling providence in sending him (for he had been abroad from Galloway some time) sooner home than he expected. After supper, he drew on a conference with the minister, showing that he was much taken up with the fear of death and extremity of pain. "I never dreamed," 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 such as becomes a dying man."

The minister for some time discoursed to him anent this weakness of nature, which was in all men, believers not excepted, and made them afraid of death; but he hoped Christ would be his second in the combat, willing him to rely upon his strength; and withal said, "My lord, I fear more the ground of your fear of death, which is, as you say, the consciousness of your sins, for there can be no plea betwixt you and your Lord, if your sins be not taken away in Christ; therefore make that sure, and fear not." My lord answered: "I have been too late in coming

to God; and have deferred the time of making my account so long, that I fear I have but the foolish virgins' part of it, who came and knocked at the door of the bridgroom so late, and never got in."

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

My lord replied, "When I begin to look upon my life I think 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 lady answered, "You must have Jesus Christ to be your second;" to which he heartily answered, "Amen; but," continued he, "how shall I know that I am in the state of grace? for until I be resolved my fears will still overburden me." The minister said, "My lord, scarcely or never doth a castaway anxiously and carefully ask the question, whether he be a child of God or not." But my lord excepted against that, saying, "I do not think there is any reprobate in hell but 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 tokens 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 to your demand, I thought you ever had a love for the saints, even to the poorest, who carried Christ's image, although they could never serve nor profit you

in any way. 'We know we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren'' (1 John iii. 14). And at last, with this mark, after some objections, he seemed convinced. The minister asked him, "My lord, dare you now quit your part in Christ, and subscribe an absolute resignation of him?" My lord said, "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;" and 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 John x. 4, "My sheep know my voice."

At the second conference the minister urged deep humiliation. His lordship 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 between them without a sense of sin" (Isa. lxi. 2, 3). Whereupon my lord said, with a deep sigh accompanied with tears, "God send me that!" and thereafter reckoned out a certain number of his sins, which were

as serpents or crocodiles before his eyes. The minister told him that death and he were yet strangers, and hoped that he would tell another tale ere all the play was ended, and he should think death a sweet messenger to carry him to his 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 straight. 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 account and the life to come." The minister told him that 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 thirty-five years to repent; but, alas! I have misspent 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" (Cant. i. 4). The minister,

hearing this, desired him to pray, but he answered nothing; yet within an hour he prayed before him and his own lady very devoutly, and bemoaned his own weakness, both inward and outward, saying, "I dare not knock at thy door; I lie at it scrambling as I may, till thou come out and take me in; I dare not speak; I look up to thee and look for one kiss of Christ's fair face. Oh, 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. 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 loosing the root of the deep-grown tree of my soul, so firmly fastened to this life." The minister told him, if it were so, he behoved to covenant with God, in dedicating himself and all he had to God and his service, to which he heartily consented; and after the minister had recited several

scriptures for that purpose, such as Ps. lxxviii. 36, &c., he took the Bible, and said, "Mark other scriptures for me." The minister having marked 2 Cor. v., Rev. xxi. and xxii., Ps. xxxviii., John xv., his lordship turned over these places, and cried often for one love-blink—"O Son of God, for one sight of thy face."

When the minister told him his prayers were heard, he took hold of his hand and drew him to him, and said with a sigh, "Good news, indeed;" and desired him and others to tell him what access they had got to God

* This was Marion M'Naught, born in the year 1585, and wife of William Fullerton, provost of Kirkeudbright. She was the daughter of John M'Naught, eldest son of John M'Naught of Kilquhannatie, in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durham and stewartry of Kirkeudbright, who died on the 22nd of November, 1596. From the last will and testament of her paternal grandfather, now named, executed on the 15th of February, 1595-96, we learn that Marion's father was then dead, and that she had a brother John and three sisters. Having constituted his son Roger, burgess of Edinburgh, and another person (who, however, died previous to the 11th of July, 1596), his executors, he left, after the payment of his debts and legacies, the one half of his goods, gear, and debts to Roger M'Naught his son, and the other half to "Agnes, Marioum, Jenie, and Elezabethis M'Knaytis, my sone's oysis, lawful dochteris of umquhile Johnne M'Knayt of Kilquhenadie, my eldest sone, equalie to be dividit amangis thame foure." (*Edinburgh Register of Testaments*, April 10, 1598.)

Marion's brother John, who is mentioned in the will now quoted, was killed at Carlinwark by John Maxwell of Milnetown in April, 1612, and left behind him by his first wife, Agnes Grier, a daughter, Nicolas, who was married to

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 hills."

When friends or others whom he knew feared God came to visit him, he would cause them to go and pray for him, and sent some of them expressly to the wood of Kenmuir on that errand. After some freedom from fever (as was thought), he said to a gentlewoman, a good Christian, who at his own desire attended him continually, "Marion,* I

Robert Lennox of Disdove (a correspondent of Rutherford), and by his second wife, Margaret Gordon, sister to Alexander Gordon, Earlston, a son Roger, who died without issue. Maxwell, after living many years in Ireland, returned to Scotland, and upon application to the privy council obtained a pardon, June 26, 1634, on his Majesty's coronation, on engaging to pay a thousand pounds to Kilquhannatie's relict and heirs. (*Decrees of Privy Council*, June 17 and 26, 1634, and Feb. 2, 1643.)

Marion M'Naught, who was thus descended from the M'Naughts of Kilquhannatie, an ancient family, but now extinct, was connected at a remote date, by the marriage of some of her ancestors, with the house of Kenmuir. In her day she was well known and highly esteemed for her Christian intelligence, her eminent piety, and her public spirit. She was the friend and correspondent of Samuel Rutherford, and to her many of his letters are addressed. "Blessed be the Lord," says Rutherford, "that in his mercy I found in this country such a woman, to whom Christ is dearer than her own heart, when there be so many that cast him over their shoulders." In his letters to her Rutherford often affect-

desire one word of the pastor," who being called came, to whom he said, smiling, "Rejoice now, for he is come. Oh! 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 more careless, remiss, and dead for some days, and seldom called for the minister, though he would not suffer him to go home to his flock. His lady and others perceiving this, went to the physician, and asked his judgment anent him. He plainly told them there was nothing but death for him, if the flux returned, as it did. This made the minister go to him and give him faithful warning of his approaching danger, telling him his glass was shorter than he was aware of, and that Satan would be glad to steal his soul out of the world sleeping. This being seconded by the physician, he took the minister by the hand, thanked him for 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

tionately remembers her daughter Grizel and her sons Samuel and William. She died in April, 1643, aged fifty-eight. The inscription

toward heaven; then ordering them all to leave the chamber except the minister, and causing him to shut the door, he 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, &c. Thereupon his lordship reckoned out a number of great sins, and amongst the rest freely confessed his sin in 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 appearance of sound marks 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 the eighth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Revelation, and told him he had not one word of mercy from the Lord to him, and

tion on her gravestone in the common burial-place of Kirkcudbright is given by Monteith in his "Theatre of Mortality," p. 241.

so turned his back. At this his lordship cried out with tears, that they heard him at some distance, saying, "God armed is coming against me to beat out my brains! 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 said that the minister would kill him; others, that he would make him despair; but he bore with them, and went to a secret place, where he sought words from God to speak to this patient.

After this another minister came to visit him, to whom he said, "He hath slain me;" and 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;" and withal told him of the process the Lord had against the house of Kenmuir. The other minister read the history of Manasseh and of his wicked life, and how the Lord was entreated of by him. But the former minister—supposed to have been Samuel Rutherford—went still upon wrath, telling him 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. My lord answered, "Woe is me, if I should suffer my thoughts to dwell upon it at any time, 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 still in the same situation, only the sentence was not given out, and therefore desired him to mourn for offending God; and further said, "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; howbeit he should slay me, I will 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 (Isa. xlix. 15), '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. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me.' My lord, be persuaded; you are graven upon the palms of God's 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 on that 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 reconciled, and also for a minister

who had before offended him, that they might be friends again, which was done quickly. To the preacher he said, "I have ground of offence against you as a natural man, and 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 cousin he said, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the footsteps of your father-in-law" (for he had married the bishop of Galloway's daughter); "learn to know that you have a soul, for I say unto you, the thousandth part of the world know not that they have a soul. The world liveth without any sense of God."

He desired the minister to sleep in a bed made upon the floor in the chamber by him, and urged him to take a 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 minis-

ter, who said, "Receive it, my lord, in hope that you shall drink of the pure river of the water of life, proceeding from the throne of God and from 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." My lord answered, with a smile, "Oh! that is a lucky tale. 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, and altogether lovely" (Cant. v.).

The minister said, "My lord, if you had the man Christ in your arms, would your heart, your breast, and sides be pained

with a stitch?" He answered, "God knoweth I would forget my pain, and thrust him to my heart; yea, if I had my heart in the palm of my hand I would give it to him, and think it a gift too unworthy of him." He complained of Jesus Christ in coming and going. "I find," said he, "my soul drowned in heaviness; when the Lord cometh he stayeth not long." The 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 the sense of his presence." He said often, "Son of God, when wilt thou come? God is not a man that he should change, or as the son of man that he should repent. Them that come to Christ he casteth not away, but raiseth them up at the last day." He was heard to say in his sleep, "My beloved is mine, and I am his." Being asked if he had been sleeping, he said he had; but he remembered he had been giving a 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 own soul?" and before the minister answered any thing, he himself

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 in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, and 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 very cold in defending the true religion, or ready to welcome Popery, whereas they should resist; and woe be to a dead, time-serving, and profane ministry."

TESTIMONY OF VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

He called his lady, and a gentleman who had come from the east country to visit him, and caused shut the door; then from his bed he 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

* This was John, seventh Lord Herries, who when master of Herries married in 1626 Elizabeth Gordon, eldest daughter of Sir John Gordon of Lochnivar, Knight. By the marriage contract, which is dated 19th August that year, Sir John Gordon became bound to pay 20,000 marks Scots as tocher with his daughter. In May, 1631, John, master of Herries, succeeded to the family estates and titles. In 1667 he became third earl of Nithsdale, on the death of his cousin, Robert, second earl of Nithsdale. He professed the popish religion, which has been the religion of the family; and in the civil war was a zealous supporter of Charles I., on whose

from me that I have found the weight of the wrath of God for not giving testimony for the Lord my God when I had occasion, once in my life, at the last Parliament, for which fault how fierce have I found the wrath of the Lord. My soul hath raged and roared; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. Tell them that they will be as I am now; encourage my friends that stood for the Lord; tell them that failed, if they would wish to have mercy when they are as I am now, they must repent, and crave mercy of the Lord. For all the earth I would not do as I have done."

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

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

behalf he suffered great losses. In 1644 he was excommunicated by the church, and the sentence, by the order of the General Assembly, was intimated in all the churches of Edinburgh, as well as ordained to be intimated in all the churches of Scotland. Having joined the standard of Montrose in April, he was that year, by the Committee of Estates, declared to have forfeited his life and estates. (*Spalding's Memorial*, &c., vol. ii. p. 430.) He died between the months of February and June, 1677. By his countess, Lady Elizabeth Gordon, he had three sons, Robert, who succeeded him as fourth earl of Nithsdale, John, and William.

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

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

To a gentleman, his cousin, he said : "You are a young man, and know not well what you are doing. Seek God's direction for wisdom in your affairs, and you shall prosper ; and learn to know that you have 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, he said : "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 they who are nick-named Puritans would admit you to their society ; for I must tell you, when I am at this point in which you see me, I get no comfort to my soul from any other second means under heaven, but from those that are branded as Puritans ; they are the men that can give a word of com-

fort to a wearied soul in due season, and that I have found by experience."

One of his natural sisters he thus addressed : "My dove, thou art young, and, alas, ignorant of God. I know thy breeding and upbringing well enough. Seek the spirit of regeneration. Oh ! if thou knew it, and felt the power of the Spirit as I do now ! Think not all is gone because your brother is dead. Trust in God, and beware of the follies of youth. Give yourself to reading and praying, and be careful in hearing God's word, and 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, and take heed to your ministry."

To Mr. George Gillespie, then his chaplain, he said : "You have carried yourself discreetly to 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 the earth for my cause, to die for my sins ; the sense of this love borne in upon my heart hath a reflex, making me love my Saviour, and grip to him again."

To another kinsman he said : "Learn to use your time well. Oh, alas ! the ministry in this country is 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 necessary, even the salvation of your souls."

To a cousin, bailie of Ayr,* he said: "Robert, I know you have light and understanding; and though you need not to 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, but it may be some of you have not far to go; and though your journey be short, howsoever it is 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

* This was Robert Gordon, merchant in Ayr. He was frequently a member of the town council of that burgh. In the records he appears in 1631 as dean of guild, and in 1632 as bailie. In 1638 and 1647 he held the office of provost. He was a man of piety and a zealous supporter of the Presbyterian cause. To his interviews with Kenmuir, on the occasion of his last illness, Rutherford refers in a letter to him from Aberdeen, 13th March, 1637:—"Worthy sir, remember your chief's speeches on his death-bed. I pray you, sir, sell all and buy the pearl. Time will cut you from this world's glory. Look what will do you good when your glass shall be run out; and let Christ's love bear most court in your soul, and that court will bear down the love of other things." (*Rutherford's Letters*, Whyte and Kennedy's edition, p. 243.)

† Mr. Andrew Lamb was first minister at Leith, and afterwards bishop of Brechin. He was consecrated along with John Spottiswoode, archbishop of Glasgow, and Gavin Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, on 21st October, 1610, in the chapel at London House, by the

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 to do anything against their consciences, as he would wish to have mercy from God. The bishop answered, "My lord, our ceremonies are of their own nature but things indifferent, and we impose them for decency and order in God's kirk. They need not stand so scrupulously on them as matter of conscience in God's worship." My lord replied, "I will not dispute with you, but one thing I know, and can tell you from dear experience, that these things indeed are matters of conscience and not indifferent; and so I have found them. For since I lay on this bed, the sin that lay heaviest on my soul was withdrawing myself from the Parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth, against these things which they call indifferent; and in so doing I have denied the Lord my God."‡ When the bishop began to commend him

bishops of London, Ely, and Bath (*Row's History*, p. 283). He was translated from the see of Brechin to that of Galloway in 1619, on the death of Bishop Cowper. He was a man of a forbearing and tolerant spirit, very different from his successor, Thomas Sydserf, who was a violent presser of conformity. He is said to have become blind some time before his death, and he survived Kenmuir less than three months.

‡ To understand what Kenmuir here refers to as causing him such poignant remorse on the bed of death, it is necessary to observe that he was a member of the first Parliament of King Charles I., held at Edinburgh 28th June, 1633, and that two Acts especially were passed in that Parliament, namely, the third and the fourth, greatly detrimental to the church, in regard to which he had acted a pusillanimous and faithless part. The third ratified the Act of Parliament made in 1606, which extended the royal prerogative over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever within the kingdom; and also gave to Charles I. and his successors the same power which the Parliament in June, 1609, had granted

for his well-led life, putting him in hopes of health, and praising him for his civil carriage and behaviour, saying, he was no oppressor, and without any known vice, he answered: "No matter, a man may be a good civil neighbour, and yet go to hell." The bishop answered: "My lord, I confess we have all our faults;" and thereafter he insisted so long that my lord thought him impertinent. This made him interrupt the bishop, saying: "What should I more? I have got a grip of Jesus Christ, and Christ of me." 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 to, but oppose, the election of a corrupt minister or magistrate. To his coachman he said, "You will 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." Then he made him hold up his hand, and

to his father, of prescribing and enforcing the apparel to be worn, not only by judges and magistrates, but by kirkmen. Charles I., who at this time was wholly under the influence of Archbishop Laud in regard to ecclesiastical matters, intended, as was believed, to change the habits of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, which his father had never attempted to do, much as he had interfered with the church, and it was feared that the surplice, rochet, quarter-cap, and other vestures worn by the priests in saying mass, would be imposed upon the ministers. To overawe the members of Parliament the king, when the votes were about to be taken, took pen and paper in his hand to mark the voters against the Act, declaring that he should now know who were good subjects and who were bad. (*Kirkton's History*, p. 30.) But in defiance of this base attempt to subvert the independence of Parliament, fifteen earls and lords, forty-four commissioners from burghs, and some barons, voted against the Act. (*Rutherford's Letters*, Whyte and Kennedy's edition, pp. 490, 491.) It is even said that the majority of votes were against it. But the clerk of Parliament, whose office it was to announce the decision, affirmed that the Act was approved by a majority; and when Rothes denied this, the king supported the allega-

promise before God so to do. 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 for a fashion only; 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 counsel.

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, Gen. xlix. 18, who, in the midst of a prophetic testament, rested

tion of the clerk, and reminded the members that it was a capital crime not only to corrupt but to accuse another of corrupting the records of Parliament, if the accuser failed to establish the imputation. (*Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 29; *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 112.) The meaning of this threat being obvious, Rothes desisted from the charge, and the Act was ratified.

The fourth Act ratified whatever Acts had been made before anent the liberty of the true kirk of God and the religion presently professed within this realm. The artifice of this Act lay in the words *presently professed within this realm*, which made the Act to ratify all the innovations introduced into the church—the Acts relating to the five articles of Perth, and to the settlement of the estate of bishops.

Kenmuir was opposed in judgment to these Acts; but to avoid offending the king, by whom he had already been elevated to the peerage, and from whom he expected other marks of the royal favour, he absented himself from the Parliament, pretending indisposition, and retired to his country seat in Galloway. This dereliction of duty now pressed heavily on his conscience, and embittered his last moments.

a little and said, "I have waited for thy salvation."

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

He spoke to all the boys of the house, the butler, cook, &c., omitting 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 are holy enough. But I can tell you the kingdom of heaven is not got so easily. Use the means yourselves, 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." 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 him to say, "My lord, I forgive you;" although the boy was hardly brought to utter these words, and 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

* This was probably Robert Gordon of Knoekbrex in the parish of Borgue, whom Livingstone in "Memorable Characteristics" classes among "the professors of the Church of Scotland of his acquaintance who were eminent for grace and gifts," and describes as "a single-hearted and painful Christian, much employed at parliaments and public meetings after the year 1638." To

burden upon the Lord your God." To a religious gentleman of his own name coming to visit him four days before his death 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 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 we who die in this religion both see and know whither we go, and that we are by death fully loosed from the love of this world, for the hope of our own 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 case of the poor to his friends. Upon coming out of a fainting-fit into which his weakness had thrown him he said, with a smiling countenance to all about him, "I would not exchange my life

assist the Covenanters in carrying on the war against Charles I. he delivered to the commissioners appointed by the war committee of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright "six silver spoons, Scots work, weighing six ounces twelve drops." (*Minute Book, &c.*, p. 34.) He was the friend and correspondent of Samuel Rutherford, several of whose letters are addressed to him.

with you all; I feel the smell 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 2 Cor. v. and Rev. xxii., and made some observations on such places as concerned his state. 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? neither can my soul get itself 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 to 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 demanded if he now feared death, he answered, "I have tasted death; it is not a whit bitter; welcome! 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 dear 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 word God saith, '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, 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 that he is faithful, and will come quickly." To this he answered, "I think it is time; Lord Jesus, come!"

Then the minister said, "My lord, our nature is anxious for our own deliverance; whereas God seeketh first to be glorified in our faith, patience, and hope." He answered, "Good reason to 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 of God; and finding himself now weak—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 this he answered nothing, nor was it expected he would speak any more. Yet in a little the

minister asked him, "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." Therefore 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 12, 1634, aged thirty-five years. It was observed that he died at the same instant that the minister concluded his prayer.*

Samuel Rutherford, in one of his letters to the viscountess of Kenmuir, a little after the death of her husband, to comfort her, 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

* Kenmuir was succeeded by his only surviving son, John, second viscount of Kenmuir. But this son died a minor in August, 1639, when he was succeeded by his cousin John, son of James Gordon of Barnerosh and Buitie, fourth son of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar. The estates and titles of the house of Kenmuir were forfeited in consequence of the part which the representative of the family took in the rebellion of 1715; but they were restored in 1824 to John, Lord Viscount Kenmuir.

† Lady Kenmuir, of whose Christian excellence repeated mention has been made in the preceding pages, survived her husband many years. She was now left a widow with an only surviving son, who, as we have seen, lived only five years after the death of his father. She married secondly on 21st September, 1640, the honourable Sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen, second son of Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton, described by Rutherford as "an active and faithful friend of Christ's kirk;"

made us and your ladyship see Christ take possession and infeftment upon earth of him who is reigning and triumphing 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 anywhere else, until 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 for 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 of the will for the deed; and why should we not enrol his name among these Worthies on earth, seeing he hath written his name among the living in Jerusalem.

but by him she had no issue. She was soon left a widow a second time. The testament of Sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen is dated Edinburgh, December 23, 1642. By it he appoints his "dear heart" his sole executrix of all his moveables whatsoever. (*Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton*, by William Fraser, Esq., vol. ii. p. 294.) The last letter written to Lady Kenmuir by Rutherford, whose numerous letters to her reflect equal honour on them both, is dated St. Andrews, 24th July, 1660, and is intended to comfort her in reference to the fate of her brother the marquis of Argyll, who having arrived in London on the 8th of that month to wait on King Charles II., was by the king's orders immediately carried to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement until he was sent down to Scotland. She was alive in 1672. "My Lady Kenmuir," said John Livingstone on his death-bed at Rotterdam that year, "is the oldest Christian acquaintance now alive that I have in Scotland."

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, having received a good education, first be-

came chaplain to the duke of Buccleuch's regiment in Holland.

He was soon afterwards settled minister at Holywood in Ireland,* some time before Mr. Blair was settled at Bangor; and with him Mr. Blair, after his settlement at that place, contracted such an acquaintance as was comfortable to them both.

He applied himself closely unto the work of the ministry, which no doubt to him was the most desirable of all employments, being in his own element in the pulpit, like a fish in the water or a bird in the air; always judging that therein a Christian might enjoy much fellowship with Christ, and have an opportunity of doing him the best of services, considering what Christ said to Peter: "Lovest thou me more than these?—feed my lambs—feed my sheep" (John xxi. 15, &c.).

He continued to exercise his office as a faithful pastor over the flock to which he was appointed overseer, until the time that several of his faithful brethren were deposed and ejected by the bishops. The bishop of Down threatened Mr. Blair with a prosecution against himself, Mr. Cunningham, and some others, to whom Mr. Blair said, "Ye may do with me and some others as ye please, but if ever ye meddle

with Mr. Cunningham your cup will be full." And, indeed, he was longer spared than any of the rest, which was a great benefit to their flocks; for after they were deposed he preached every week in one or other of their kirks. So with great pains at home and abroad he wore out his body, which before was not very strong.

When Blair and Livingstone were summoned before Bishop Echlin to be deposed, they went the night before their appearance to take their leave of Mr. Cunningham. Next day, as they were going to the church of Parphilips, he came up to them; whereat, being surprised, they asked him why he came thither! To this he answered: "All night long 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 were thrust out and deposed. He continued mostly after this with the rest of the suffering brethren, until, after the defeat of their enterprise to New England, they were obliged

* He was admitted to the ministry at Holywood by Bishop Echlin, on 9th November. 1615.

to leave Ireland and come over to Scotland, and not long after he took his last sickness in Irvine, 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, whom he exhorted to be faithful to Christ and his cause, and to oppose the Service Book, 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 did by prayer recommend the whole church of Ireland, the parish of Holywood, his suffering brethren in the ministry, and his children, to God; and withal added, "Lord, I recommend this gentlewoman to thee, who is no more my wife," and with that he softly loosed his hand from hers

and thrust it a little from him, at which she and several of the company fell a weeping. He endeavoured to comfort them with several gracious expressions; and with the Lord's servant of old, mentioned in Acts xiii. 36, "Having served his own generation, by the will of God he fell on sleep," March 29, 1637.*

Mr. Cunningham was a man much under deep exercise of mind, and although in public preaching he was, to his own sense, sometimes not so assisted as at other times, yet even then the matter he treated of was edifying and refreshful, being carried through with a full gale, and using more piercing expressions than many others. For meekness he was like Moses, and for patience another Job. "To my discerning," says John Livingstone, "he was the man who most resembled the meekness of Jesus Christ in all his carriage that I ever saw; and was so far revered of all, even by the wicked, that he was often troubled with that scripture, 'Woe to you when all men speak well of you.'"

* Besides his widow, Isabel Montgomerie, he left eight children. (*Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 148, 149.)

JAMES MITCHELL.

JAMES MITCHELL was the son of Mr. 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; for being sent to the university of St. Andrews when very young, he profited to such a degree that by the time he was eighteen years of age he was made Master of Arts.

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

Thereafter he was called by the Lady Houston to attend her eldest son at the college, in which employment he continued over two years and a half; in the which time the Lord blessed his studies exceedingly; and the great pains taken with him by Mr. David Dickson (then professor of 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, to their great contentment. After he was licensed he came west 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.

Before Martinmas, 1643, he went back to Glasgow, where he attended his studies and his pupil. He preached some few times in Glasgow, and all those who loved Christ and his cause and gospel were exceedingly well pleased. At this time Mr. Dickson, Mr. Baillie, and Mr. Robert Ramsay, having great hopes of his gifts in preaching, told his father that he had good reason to bless God for the gifts and graces bestowed upon his son, above all their expectations; for besides these the Lord had taken him truly by the heart, and wrought graciously with his soul. He had given himself much up to fasting and prayer; and the study of the word of God, and reading thereof, was now become his delight.

But the Lord having other thoughts concerning him, in a

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

After his arrival at home he put on his clothes every day for fifteen days, but 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. His body by degrees daily languished, till he became like a skeleton; and yet his face remained ever pleasant, beautiful, and well coloured, even to the last.

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 of him, but were rather refreshed with every day's continuance, by the many wise, sweet, and gracious discourses which proceeded out of his mouth.

In the time of his sickness the Lord was graciously pleased to guard his mind and heart from the malice of Satan, so that his peace and confidence in God were not much disturbed; or if the Lord was pleased to suffer any little assault it soon vanished. His feeling and sense were not frequent nor great, but his faith or confidence in God, through Jesus Christ, was ever strong, which he told his father divers times was more sure and solid than the other. He said that the Lord, before his sickness, had made fast work with him about the matters of his soul; that he had been under sore exercise of

mind, by the sense of his own guiltiness, for a long time before ever he had solid peace and clear confidence, and often said, "Unworthy I, and naughty I, am freely beloved of the Lord; and the Lord knows my soul dearly loves him back again."

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

Among other of his gracious discourses he declaimed much against imprudent speaking, wishing it might be amended, especially in young scholars and young ministers, and as being but the froth and vanity of the foolish mind. Among other things he lamented the pride of many young preachers and students, in usurping priority of place, which became them not; and exclaimed frequently against himself for his own practice; yet said that he was, in the strength

of God, brought to mortify the same. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themselves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God and delight in his word; and often said that he dearly loved the book of God, and sought them to be earnest in prayer, showing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven; therefore the spirit of supplication must be wrestled for, or else all prayer would be but lifeless and natural. He said, that being once with the 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 they went to dinner, that all present were much affected, and shed tears in abundance, and yet at night he found himself so emptied and dead that he durst not venture to pray at all these two nights, but went to bed, and was much vexed and cast down, not 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.

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

At another time, the laird being present, looking out of his bed to the sun shining brightly on the opposite side of the house, he said, "Oh! what a splendour and glory will all the elect and redeemed saints have one day; and oh! how much more will the glory of the Creator be, who shall communicate that glory to all his own; but the shallow thoughts of silly men are not able to conceive the excellency thereof."

Again, Mr. Macqueen being present, his father asked wherein

our communion with God stood? He said, in reconciliation and peace with him, which is the first effect of our justification; then there were access and love to God, patience and submission to his will; then the Lord's manifestation of himself to us, as Christ says, John xiv. 21. See the twentieth verse, which he instanced.

He said one morning to Mr. Hugh Macgavin and his father, "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." Then he said, "Who are these that 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 to save them that are lost!' And who are these? 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 morn-

* The invitations of Christ in the gospel are addressed to sinners *as such*, not limited to those who are sensible of sin and wrath.

ing, he said twice over, " My soul longeth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." And at another time, perceiving his father weeping, he said, " I cannot blame you for mourning, for I know that 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. In the meantime encourage yourself in the Lord, and let not your mourning be like that of those who have no hope; the Lord by degrees will assuage your grief, for so he has appointed; else we would be swallowed up and come tonought. 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; for none know what affronts, grief, and calamities I might fall into did I live much longer in this life. And for crosses and troubles, 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, what a fighting life with a stubborn people might be my lot, I know not; 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, and only point out one, whose gifts and graces are well known to you, namely, Mr. David Dickson, whom I am sure God has made the instrument of the conversion of many souls, and of much good to the country, and yet this gracious person has been tossed to and fro. You know that the Lord made him a gracious instrument in this 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;



FRANCIS BACON

I was much grieved when I perceived a little reverting, and that I was likely to live longer."

To Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and the manner of the dissolution, he said, "Oh! how sweet a thing it were for a man to sleep till death in the arms of Christ." He had many other lively and comfortable speeches, which were not remembered; the day never 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; whereupon he said, "I see it is true that we must enter into heaven through trouble, but the Lord will help us through it." Then he said, "I have great pain, but mixed with great mercy and strong confidence." He called to mind that saying of John Knox on his death-bed, "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." A little after, his father asked what he was doing? Whereupon he lifted up his hands, and caused all his fingers shiver and twinkle, and in presence of many honest neighbours he yielded up his spirit, and went to his rest, a little after sun-rising, upon the 11th of June, 1643, being twenty-three years of age.

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

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

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

WHEN Alexander Henderson had passed his degrees at the univer-

sity with great applause, he was by the archbishop of St.

Andrews, about the year 1620, preferred to be minister of Leuchars, in the shire of Fife.* But he was brought in against the consent of the parish, to such a degree, that on the day of his ordination the church doors were shut so fast by the people, that it was necessary to break in by a window. †

He was very prelatical in his judgment at this time; but a little after, upon the report of a communion service in the neighbourhood where Robert Bruce

* Alexander Henderson was born in the parish of Creich in Fife, in the year 1583, as appears from the inscription on his monument, of parents who according to tradition were descended from the ancient family of Henderson of Fordel in Fife; and the tradition is confirmed from the fact that he was interred in the burial ground of that family in the Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh. He studied at the college of St. Salvador, St. Andrews, in which he was matriculated on the 19th of December, 1590; and he took his degree of master of arts in 1603. Shortly after his graduation he was appointed regent or professor of philosophy in that university, where he taught about eight years. (*Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 29. *Aiton's Life of Henderson*, pp. 86-89).

Henderson being at first a supporter of the principles and measures of the prelatie party in the church, courted the favour of Gladstones, archbishop of St. Andrews, and chose him as his patron at the graduation of his class. Soon after he was presented by Gladstones to the church of Leuchars, in the Presbytery of St. Andrews. Into this parish he was inducted in 1612. (*Records of the Synod of Fife*.)

† To the painful circumstances connected with his induction into the parish of Leuchars, and to the great change subsequently produced on his sentiments and character, as well as to the

was to be a helper, he went thither secretly, and placed himself in a dark corner of the church, where he might not be readily seen or known. When Bruce was come to the pulpit, he kept silence for some time as his usual manner was, which did astonish Mr. Henderson; but it astonished him much more when he heard him begin with these words, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other

somewhat similar cases of others, Henderson refers more than twenty years after, in his address to his brethren at the famous General Assembly of Glasgow in 1638. "There are divers among us," he said, "that have had no such warrant for our entry to the ministry as were to be wished. Alas! how many of us have rather sought the kirk, than the kirk sought us! How many have rather gotten the kirk given to them, than they have been given to the kirk for the good thereof! And yet there must be a great difference put between those that have lived many years in an unlawful office without warrant of God, and therefore must be abominable in the sight of God, and those who in some respects have entered unlawfully, and with an ill conscience, and afterwards have come to see the evil of this, and to do what in them lies to repair the injury. The one is like a marriage altogether unlawful, and null in itself; the other is like a marriage in some respects unlawful and inexpedient, but that may be mended by the diligence and fidelity of the parties in doing their duty afterwards; so should it be with us who entered lately into the calling of the ministry. If there were any faults or wrong steps in our entry (as who of us are free?) acknowledge the Lord's calling of us, if we have since got a seal from heaven of our ministry, and let us labour with diligence and faithfulness in our office."

way, the same is A THIEF AND A ROBBER." This, by the blessing of God and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, took such hold on him at that very instant, and made such impression on his heart afterwards, as proved the first means of his conversion unto Christ.*

After this he became not only a most faithful and diligent minister of the gospel, but also a

* Henderson's conversion must have taken place prior to the meeting of the General Assembly at Perth in August, 1618, in which he strenuously opposed what are called the five articles of Perth. There is reason to believe that it happened before July, 1616, as at that time Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, whilst creating a batch of Doctors of Divinity, which included many of Henderson's fellow-ministers, passed him over; a slight which, considering Henderson's eminent abilities, was probably owing to his having deserted the prelatie party. It would then be between 1613, when Robert Bruce returned to the south from Inverness, and July, 1616, that Henderson would hear him deliver the sermon which, by the blessing of God, was the means of producing so great a change on his sentiments, character, and future career.

† In the year 1631 it was proposed to Henderson by Marie, countess of Mar, that he should accept a presentation to another parish, not named in the correspondence, of which Lord Mar was patron. He, however, declined the offer. Two letters from him to that lady are preserved. In one of them, dated Leuchars, 26th January that year, after expressing how willing and desirous he would have been to comply with her wishes, if only one objection could have been answered which he had referred to the judgment of some of his friends, he adds, that "when they had long thought upon it, finding no way how to answer it, they did resolve that whatsoever was my particular desire and inclination, yet it was nearest the will of God and most

staunch Presbyterian, † and had a very active hand in carrying on the covenanted work of reformation, from the year 1638 to the day of his death. He was among the very first who got a charge of horning preferred against him by the archbishop of St. Andrews, for refusing to buy and use the Service Book and the Book of Canons, ‡ then imposed by King Charles I.

for the weal of the kirk that I should not remove; wherein I behoved to rest, and must entreat your ladyship to do the like." (*Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1874, p. 527.)

‡ The imposition of the Book of Canons and the Service Book was intended to complete the establishment of Prelacy in Scotland, and besides to pave the way for the re-establishment of Popery. The Book of Canons, by which the whole form of worship and discipline in the church was changed, was confirmed under the Great Seal by letters patent dated 23rd May, 1635. A font for baptism was commanded to be placed near the entrance to the church, as if a step to the introduction of the sprinkling of holy water. The communion was not to be observed before the pulpit, where the people might conveniently hear and see, but at the upper end of the chancel, where, in popish chapels, the priest, far removed from the people, mumbles the mass. Whoever impugned the lawfulness of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, or the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, was to be excommunicated. Divine service was to be performed according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer; and no meeting of the General Assembly was to be held unless called by the king. All were required to subscribe and obey these canons. The Book of Canons, both on account of the matter and the manner of imposing it, which was solely by royal authority, without the consent either of the Parliament or of the General Assembly, produced intense and wide-spread dissatisfaction.

upon the church. This prompted him and some others to give in

These feelings were intensified by the imposition of the Service Book or Liturgy soon after. On 21st December, 1636, a proclamation enjoining it, in compliance with the king's missive letter, was made at the cross of Edinburgh by the privy council. The attempt to impose a particular form of divine service which no one had seen—for copies of the Liturgy were not ready for distribution till the end of May, 1637—was a piece of high-handed tyranny sufficiently calculated to irritate. But the wrong done to the people of Scotland appeared still more outrageous when, on the publication of the Liturgy, it was found that wherever it differed from the English Book of Common Prayer it came a great deal nearer to the Roman missal. It seemed to the great body of the ministers and people as if a conspiracy had been formed, not only to establish Prelacy in the kingdom, but to bring it again under the yoke of Antichrist, from which it had been with almost incredible efforts and by a marvellous concurrence of circumstances so mercifully delivered.

Both these books, in obedience to the king's orders, were drawn up by the Scottish bishops, and submitted for revision to Archbishop Laud and some of the English prelates. At their Diocesan Synods in April the bishops ordered the ministers under them to buy the Service Book, and allowed them to the term of Michaelmas (29th September) to use it or to leave their flocks. At the end of May they reported to the council that while the majority of their ministers had given due obedience, others had refused to receive the Service Book, and were creating disturbances by their opposition. On the 13th of June the council empowered the bishops to raise letters of horning against all such ministers, commanding them to provide two copies of the Service Book for the use of their parishes within fifteen days after they were charged, with certification that unless they did so they would be declared and treated as rebels. (*Aiton's Life of Henderson*, p. 171.)

The first reading of the Liturgy in Edinburgh took place on 23rd July, 1637. The attempt to read it caused in one of the churches a tumult, which, like an electric shock, was felt through

several petitions and complaints to the council, both craving

the whole country. From every part of it petitions were poured in to the privy council against the obnoxious impositions, and multitudes of all classes hurried to the capital—nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses—to support their petitions; loyal, but resolute on maintaining their liberties, civil and religious. In proof of their earnestness, each of these four classes appointed a committee of their number to deliberate apart on what was best to be done in the circumstances; and from their sitting around four separate tables the committees were called the four tables—sometimes the green tables, from the tables being covered with green cloth. The result of their deliberations was their entering into a solemn covenant with God, a deed which consisted of three parts—first, the old National Covenant against Popery; secondly the Acts of Parliament in favour of that Covenant; and thirdly, a bond suited to the then existing circumstances. The second part was framed by Archibald Johnston, and the third by Alexander Henderson.* At a crowded meeting in the Greyfriars church, Edinburgh, some say on the last day of February, others on the 1st of March, 1638, this covenant, after an impressive prayer and speech by Henderson, was read by Archibald Johnston and signed by those in the church, the venerable earl of Sutherland being the first whose signature was appended. It was then taken out to be signed by the vast number assembled in the churchyard, where it was spread before them on a flat gravestone. "Many, in addition to their name, wrote, *till death*, and some even opened a vein and subscribed with their blood. The immense sheet in a short time became so much crowded with names on both sides, throughout its whole space, that there was not room left for a single additional signature. . . . At the conclusion everybody seemed to feel that a great measure of the divine presence had accompanied the solemnities of the day." (*Aiton's Life of Henderson*, p. 255.) "This was the day of the Lord's power," said Henderson afterwards, in his reply to the Aberdeen doctors, "wherein we saw his people most willingly offer themselves in

* The entire document is bound up with the subordinate standards of the church of Scotland.

... of our hearts to witness, to be our first
... in the great day, and under the pains of God
... in this world, Most humbly beseeching the LORD to
... desires and proceedings with a happy success that the honor
... the honor of our KING and peace and comfort of us all. In
... (MURCH) we have subscribed our names at the premises

... subscription referred to the determination of the
... at GLASGOW in December 1698 and thereby
... the Kirk by Bishops being declared to be
... power of Kirkmen declared unlawful Wee
... full and free General Assembly holden at GLASGOW

Wm. Ross *John Wemyss*

James Buchanan

James Tynes

James Dinning

James Gray

James Buchanan

James Buchanan

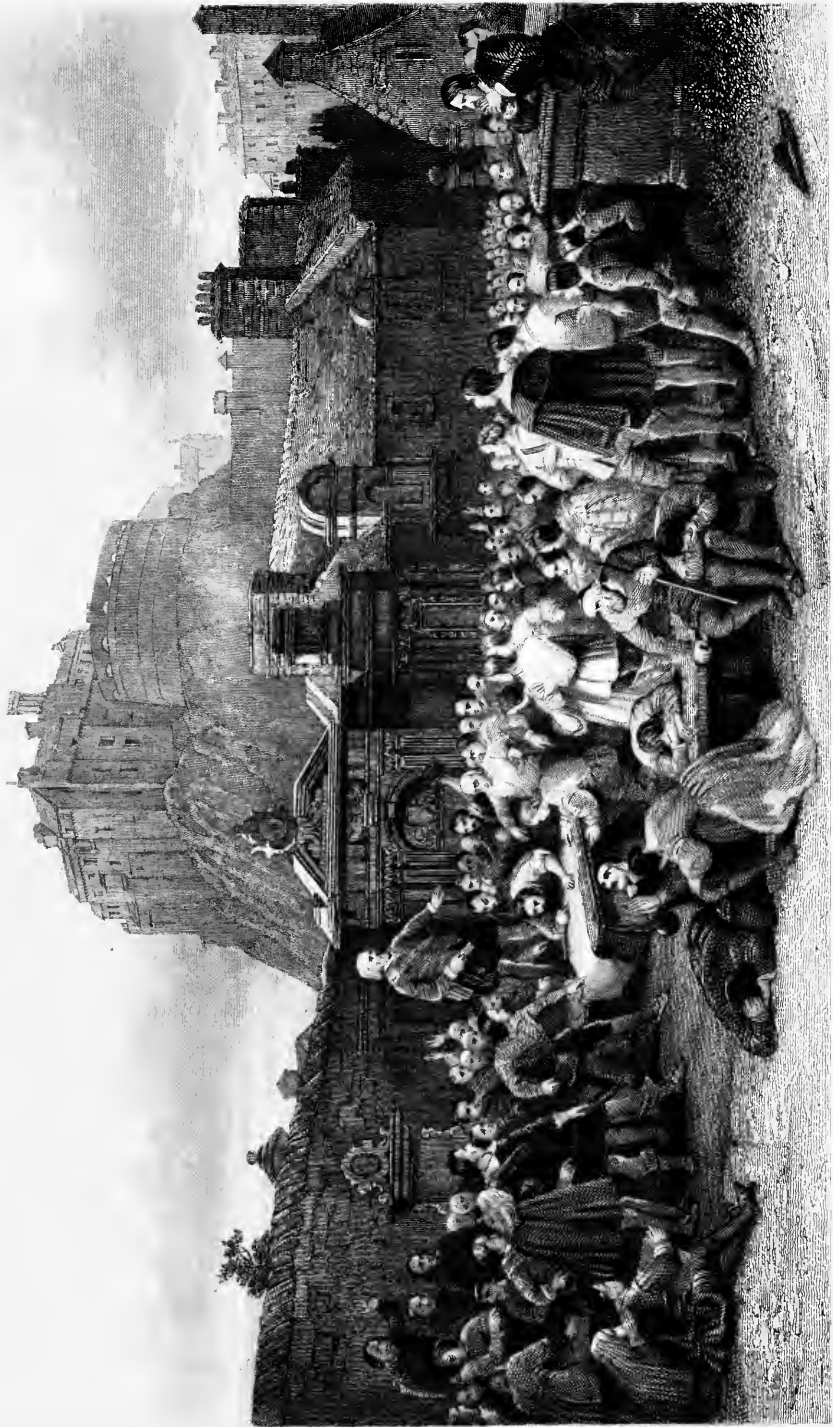
James Buchanan

James Buchanan

James Buchanan







THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD,
A SCENE IN A CEMETERY.

some mitigation therein, and showing the sinfulness thereof; for which, and some other considerations and overtures for relief (mostly compiled by Henderson), they were, by order of proclamation, charged within twenty-four hours to leave the city of Edinburgh, under pain of rebellion.

When the national confession or Covenant was agreed upon, and sworn unto by almost all ranks in the land, the marquis of Hamilton was sent by the king to suppress the Covenanters, whom, after they had held several conferences with him to little or no purpose, he at last told that the Book of Canons and Liturgy would be discharged, on condition that they should yield up their Covenant. This proposition did not only displease them, but also made them more vigilant to support and vindicate that solemn deed; whereupon Mr. Henderson was again set to work, and in a short time favoured the public with sufficient grounds and reasons why they could not recede from any part of it.

Some time after this the Tables erected at Edinburgh for carry-

multitudes, like the dewdrops of the morning; this was indeed the great day of Israel, wherein the arm of the Lord was revealed—the day of the Redeemer's strength, on which the princes of

ing on the Reformation, being sorry that the town and shire of Aberdeen (excited by the persuasion of their doctors) stood out and opposed the Covenant and work of Reformation, sent some earls, with Messrs. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, to deal with them once more, and try to reclaim that town and county. Upon their arrival there they could have no access to preach in any church, whereupon the three ministers resolved to preach in the Earl Marischal's close and hall, as the weather favoured them. Accordingly they preached by turns; Mr. Dickson preached in the morning to a very numerous multitude; at noon Mr. Cant preached; and Mr. Henderson preached at night to no less an auditory than was in the morning; and all of them pressed and produced arguments for subscribing the Covenant, which had such an effect upon the people that, after public worship was over, about five hundred persons subscribed the Covenant at one table, of whom several were people of the best quality in that place.*

the people assembled to swear their allegiance to the King of kings."

* See *Stevenson's History of Church and State*, vol. ii. p. 334.

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

In the same year, at that famous General Assembly convened at Glasgow,* where many of the nobility were present, Mr. Henderson, without one contrary vote, was chosen moderator;† when he did, by solemn prayer, constitute the Assembly in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, for “among that man's other qualifi-

cations,” said Mr. Baillie, “he had a faculty of grave, good, and fervent prayer, which he exercised without fainting unto the end of the Assembly.”

It was in the twentieth session of this Assembly that Mr. Henderson, the moderator, after a most pious and learned sermon, to a very great auditory, from Psalm cx. 1, “The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand,” did in a most grave and solemn manner excommunicate and depose the bishops, according to the form published among the printed acts of that Assembly. In the twenty-first session a supplication was given in for liberty to transport him from Leuchars to Edinburgh, but this he was unwilling to accede to, having been nearly eighteen years minister there. He pled that he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil; but after much contest betwixt the two parties for some days, Edinburgh carried it by seventy-five votes, very much

* The Assembly met on 21st November, 1638.

† Writing of the preparations for the meeting of the Assembly, Baillie says: “Our [the ministers'] privy consultation was about the clerk and the moderator. We were somewhat in suspense about Mr. Alexander Henderson; he was incomparably the ablest man of us all, for all things: we doubted if the moderator might be a disputer; we expected then much dispute with the bishops and Aberdeen doctors: we thought our loss great and hazardous to tyne our chief champion,

by making him a judge of the party; yet at last, finding no other man who had parts requisite to the present moderation (for in Messrs. Ramsay, Dick[son] Adamson, Rollock, Cant, Livingston, Boner, Cunningham, there was something evidently wanting), we resolved Mr. Henderson of necessity behoved to be taken. Mr. Johnstone, to us all, was a nonsuch for a clerk.” (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 122). The king's commissioner at this Assembly was James, marquis of Hamilton.

against his own 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 this Assembly he said, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho" (meaning Prelacy), "let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."*

In 1639 he was one of those commissioned by the church to treat upon the articles of pacification with the king and his commissioners, at Birks, near Berwick, † where he behaved with great prudence and candour.

When the General Assembly, the same year, sat down at Edinburgh, August 12, Mr. Henderson having been the former moderator, preached to them from Acts v. 33, "When they heard that, they were cut to the heart." 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. Some are exalted like Haman, some like Mordecai. . . . When the Israelites came up 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 chosen 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 shall have the honour of being instrumental in the accomplishment of a blessed Reformation, it shall be useful and comfortable to yourselves and your posterity. But let your zeal be always tempered with moderation; for zeal is a good servant, but a bad master; like a ship that hath a full sail, but

* This memorable Assembly closed its proceedings and dissolved itself on the 20th of December.

† The pacification there concluded was signed by the king and by the commissioners on both sides on the 19th of June. By this treaty the

General Assembly was to be indicted on the 6th of August for the settlement of matters ecclesiastical, and the Parliament was to meet on the 20th of the same month for the settlement of civil matters.

no rudder. We have 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 desired that Mr. Henderson might be continued moderator. Whether this was to corroborate his master's design, or from a regard to Henderson's abilities, as he himself professed, is not certain; but the Assembly opposed this, as savouring too much of the constant moderator, the first step taken of late to introduce Prelacy; and no man opposed Traquair's motion more than Henderson himself, by which means it was overruled.

[The king having refused to ratify the conclusions of the

* Previous to his appointment to be one of the chaplains of the Scots army, Henderson was chosen rector of the university of Edinburgh, an office which he bore with much lustre for six years; and chiefly through his influence and persuasion the revenues of the college and its fabric received many additions in his time. The gown which he wore as rector, a more costly robe than that of the principal and professors, is still preserved in the college chest. (*Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 112, 117.)

General Assembly and Parliament, suddenly prorogued the latter, denounced the Scots as rebels, and prepared to make war upon them.]

Alexander Henderson was one of those ministers who went with the Scots army to England in the year 1640, every regiment having one of the most able ministers in the bounds where they were raised as chaplain.* [The king's army having been defeated at Newburn, near Newcastle, by the Scots, who had entered England in August, his Majesty was again compelled to listen to pacific proposals, and negotiations began at Ripon on the 1st of October.] When the treaty set on foot at Rippon was transferred to London, to be prosecuted there in time of Parliament, Henderson was nominated as one of the commissioners to act for the church on that occasion; and the duties of this office he discharged with great prudence and advantage.†

† This treaty being concluded, Charles I. now, for the third time, granted a free General Assembly and Parliament to Scotland, for settling all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil. The Parliament was opened at Edinburgh, 15th July, 1641. The General Assembly convened at St. Andrews on the 20th of the same month; but it was transferred to Edinburgh, where it met on the 27th, when Henderson, having newly returned from England, was chosen moderator. The king came to Holyrood House on the 14th of August. While in Scotland he appointed

In the spring of the year 1643 he was, by the commission of the General Assembly, authorized to go with Lord Loudon, Warriston, and Barclay, to the king, to importune him to call his English Parliament, as the only and best expedient to obtain an honourable and lasting peace; but his embassy had not the desired effect. [He gave an account of the proceedings of the commissioners to the commission, which met on the 10th of March.]

He was chosen moderator to the General Assembly which convened in the beginning of August, 1643; and when the English commissioners, viz., John, earl of Rutland, Sir William Armin, Sir Harry Vane

Henderson dean of the chapel royal, a situation valued at four thousand merks per annum; "esteemed formerly," says Bishop Guthrie, "a morsel sufficient for a bishop" (*Memoirs*, p. 106); and having granted his Scottish subjects every thing they could wish, he left for England on the 18th of November. (*Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 120.)

* The commissioners which the General Assembly appointed to meet with and to assist the Assembly of Divines at Westminster were Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Robert Baillie, and Mr. George Gillespie, ministers; with John, earl of Cassillis, John, Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston, ruling elders.

† Milton, in a tract published in 1841 at London, speaking of the "poor drifts of perverse and cruel men to make a national war of a surplice brabble, a tippet-scuffle, and engage the unattainted honour of English knighthood to unfurl the streaming red cross for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their fellow subjects

the younger, Mr. Thomas Hatcher, and Mr. Henry Darley, from the Parliament, and two ministers, Mr. Stephen Marshall, a Presbyterian, and Philip Nye, an Independent, from the Westminster Assembly of Divines, arrived at Edinburgh, where the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was then sitting, craving their aid and counsel upon such an emergent occasion, he was among the first of those nominated as commissioners to go up to the Parliament and Assembly of England.* And so in a little after, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Gillespie, with Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Nye, set out for London, to get the Solemn League ratified there,† the rest

that which themselves are weary of, the skeleton of a Mass-book," recommended the union of the two nations to resist the tyranny. After commending the wisdom, the moderation, the Christian piety, the constancy of the nobility and commons of England, and of Scotland as well, he addresses both nations in these eloquent and patriotic words:—"Go on both, hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men, but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state. . . . Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtilty, which are but her two renegades: join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations." (*Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*, p. 69.)

of the commissioners staying behind until it should be returned.

Upon their arrival at London, and having received a warrant from the Parliament to sit in the Westminster Assembly (which warrant was presented by Mr. Henderson), the Assembly sent out three of their number to introduce them. At their entry Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, welcomed them into the Assembly, and complimented them for the hazard they had undergone on their account, both by sea and land, in such a rigorous season, it being then November; after which they were led to a place the most convenient in the house, upon the prolocutor's right hand. At that time the Assembly sat in King Henry VIIth's chapel, and when the weather grew colder in Jerusalem chamber, a spacious room in

What Milton here recommended was accomplished by the Solemn League and Covenant, the object of which was the defence of civil and religious freedom, and the promotion of uniformity in the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The English commissioners were at first for a civil league, and the Scottish representatives for a religious one. But a draft embracing both objects was drawn up by Henderson and submitted to the committee of the Convention of Estates, that of the General Assembly, and the English commissioners, by all which it was approved. It was formally adopted by the Convention of Estates, as well as by the General Assembly, on the 17th of August, and ordered to be transmitted to the Parliament of England for their

Westminster Abbey. The prolocutor, Dr. Twisse, had a chair set at the upper end, of a foot higher than the earth; before it stood two chairs for Dr. Burgess and Mr. White, assessors; before these stood a table, where Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough, the two scribes, sat; upon the prolocutor's right hand sat the Scots commissioners, on the left hand the English divines, to the number of about one hundred and eighteen, 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.*

Again, in the year 1646, Henderson was sent down from London to attend the king, who was then with the Scots army at Newcastle, at which time the General Assembly of Scotland

approval. So favourably was it received in England "that Friday, the 1st of September, being sent to the Assembly of Divines, it was there allowed by all, only Dr. Burgess did doubt for one night. On Saturday it passed the House of Commons, on Monday the House of Peers." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 99.) It was sworn and subscribed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines and the House of Commons. "The little House of Lords did delay for sake of honour, as they said, till they found our nation willing to swear it as it was formed." (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 102.)

* Baillie, in his *Letters* (vol. ii. p. 108), minutely and graphically describes the mode of procedure in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

appointed also Messrs. Robert Blair, James Guthrie, Robert Douglas, and Andrew Cant, to wait on his Majesty. Here Henderson officiated for some time as his chaplain; and although he and Mr. Blair, of all the Presbyterians, were the best beloved of the king, yet they could by no means prevail upon him to grant the first demand of his subjects; yea, he obstinately refused, though they besought him on their knees.

In the interval of these affairs a series of letters was continued betwixt the king (who was assisted by Sir Robert Murray)

* Early in August Henderson left Newcastle by sea, and came to Leith, whence he proceeded to Edinburgh. "I am well informed," says Wodrow, "of a very remarkable passage a few days before he died. Upon his return to Edinburgh he was invited to dine with his good friend Mr., afterwards Sir, James Stewart, after lord provost of Edinburgh, and was extremely cheerful and hearty at dinner. After dinner was over, in conversation, he asked Sir James if he had not observed him more than ordinarily cheerful. He answered, he was extremely pleased to find him so well as he was. Well, said the other, I am near the end of my race, hasting home, and there was never a school-boy more desirous to have the play than I am to have leave of this world; and in a few days (naming the time) I will sicken and at such a time die. In my sickness I will be much out of case to speak any thing; but I desire you may be with me as much as you can, and you shall see all will end well. All fell out as he had foretold; I think it was a fever he fell into. . . . This I had from a person of honour who heard Sir James more than once relate it." (*Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 33.) "I was several times with him on his death-bed, at Edinburgh,"

on the one hand, and Henderson on the other—the one in defence of Episcopacy, and the other of Presbytery. These were exchanged from the 19th of May to the midst of July, as each person was in readiness. During this controversy, Mr. Henderson's constitution being much worn out with fatigue and travel, he was obliged to break off an answer to the king's last paper, and return to Edinburgh, where, in a little time after his arrival, he laid down his earthly tabernacle in exchange for a heavenly crown, about the middle of August, 1646.*

says John Livingstone, "in the year 1646, when I heard him express great peace of mind." (*Memorable Characteristics*.)

Henderson possessed considerable property at the time of his death. His last will and testament was made 17th August, 1646, at his dwelling house near the High School. The inventory of his goods and gear, with the debts owing to him, amounted to £28,230 18s. He appointed George Henderson, the eldest son of his eldest brother John, who had faithfully attended him some years past, his only executor, to whom he bequeathed all his property that remained, after paying the various legacies specified in his will; and he ordained that, if his friends should not be contented with the portions which he left to them, they should get nothing at all. He left legacies to his eldest brother, John in Holmane, and Bessie Leslie his spouse, and to their children; to Barbara Henderson, and the other children of his brother Andrew; to the children of his deceased sister Margaret; to his sister Marion, wife of Alexander Buntherne in Pitblado, and their children; to Alexander Swinton, spouse to his sister Elspeth, and their children. He left two thousand merks for the maintenance of a school in the town of Lithrie,

Some of the abettors of Prelacy, such as the author of the Appendix to Spottiswoode's history, and others, sensible of his great abilities, were very desirous to have it believed that he was on their side at his death; and for that purpose palmed upon the world most groundless stories of his changing his principles at his last hours. Yea, the anonymous author of the "Civil Wars of Great Britain" goes further, when he says: "Mr. Henderson had the honour to be converted by his Majesty's discourse at Newcastle, and died reconciled to the Church of England." But from these false calumnies he hath been sufficiently vindicated a long time ago, by a declaration in the 9th Act of the General Assembly in 1648. See also Mr. Logan's letter in vindication of Mr. Henderson from these aspersions cast on him by Messrs. Sage and Ruddiman.

Some time after his death a monument was erected by his nephew, Mr. George Henderson, over his grave in the Greyfriars' Churchyard of Edinburgh, in form of a quadrangular urn, inscribed on three sides; and because there was some mention thereon of the Solemn League

in the parish of Creich. (*Register of Confirmed Testaments, Edinburgh, 9th November, 1646.*)

and Covenant, or rather because Mr. Henderson had done much for and in behalf of the Covenant, Commissioner Middleton, some time in June or July, 1662, stooped so low as to procure an order of Parliament to raze and demolish it. This was all the length their malice could go against a man who had been nearly sixteen years in his grave. Hard enough (if he had died in the prelatical persuasion), from those who pretended to be the chief promoters of the same! This monument was afterwards repaired, and now stands entire, a little westward of the church.

Mr. Henderson was a man who spared no pains in carrying on the work of Reformation in the land; for whether he was called forth to church judicatories, to the pulpit, or any other business, no trouble or danger could make him decline the work. One of his colleagues and intimate acquaintances, Mr. Baillie, in his speech to the General Assembly, 1647, 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 till the coming of our Lord. You know he spent his strength, wore out his days, and did breathe out his life in the service of God and of this church. This binds it on us and posterity to account him the fairest ornament, after John Knox of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy.”

Besides being author of the forenamed papers, with another

entitled *The Remonstrance of the Nobility, a Tract on Church Government, and an Instruction for Defensive Arms*, the General Assembly appointed him, along with Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Dickson, to prepare a Directory for the worship of God; which not only had the desired effect, but at length brought about uniformity in all our churches. There are also some few of his sermons in print, some of which were preached before the Parliament.

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 the most part of his fellow-students, he was licensed to preach some time before the year 1638, but could have no entry into any parish, because the bishops had then

the ascendant in the affairs of the church. This obliged him to remain for some time chaplain in the family of the earl of Cassillis.† 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*,” which book was, on the 18th of October, 1637,

* Mr. John Gillespie was second minister of the collegiate charge of the parish church of Kirkcaldy from the year 1614 to the year 1626. George was born 21st January, 1613. He was sent to college as the Presbytery’s bursar, and was supported by contributions from the kirk sessions, as appears from the following extract from the Kirkcaldy Session Records:—“November,

1629. The session are content that Mr. George Gillespie shall have as much money of our session, for his entertainment, as Dysart gives, viz., 20 merks, being our Presbytery’s bursar.” (*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kirkcaldy.*)

† He had been previously chaplain to Lord Kenmuir. (*Vide supra*, p. 201.)

discharged by an act of privy council from being used, as being of too corrosive a quality to be digested by the bishops' weak stomachs.

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

At the General Assembly held at Edinburgh, 1641, Gillespie had a call tabled from the town of

* He was ordained to be minister of Wemyss on the supplication of the kirk and parish, and in opposition to the wish and order of Spottiswoode, the archbishop of St. Andrews.

Aberdeen, but the lord commissioner and himself pled his cause so well, that he was for some time continued at Wemyss. † Yet he got not staying there long; for the General Assembly, in the following year, ordered him to be translated to the city of Edinburgh, where it appears he continued until the day of his death, about six years after.

George Gillespie was one of those four ministers who were sent as commissioners from the Church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in 1643, where he showed himself to be one of great parts and learning, debating with such perspicuity, strength of argument, and calmness of spirit, that few could equal, yea, none excel him, in that Assembly. As for instance, one time, when both the Parliament and the Assembly were met together, and a long studied discourse being made in favour of Erastianism, ‡ to which none seemed ready to make an answer, Gillespie, being urged thereunto by his brethren the Scots commissioners, repeated the subject-

† A large pension was settled upon Gillespie by the king in 1641. (*Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 106.)

‡ This speech was made by the celebrated John Selden.

matter of the whole discourse, and refuted it, to the admiration of all present.* And that which surprised them most was, that though it was usual for the members to take down notes of what was spoken in the Assembly for the help of their memory, and though Gillespie seemed to be so employed during the delivery of the speech which he refuted; yet those who sat next him declared, that having looked into his note-book, they found nothing of that speech written, but here and there, "Lord, send light—Lord, give assistance—Lord, defend thine own cause."

The practice of our church gave all the Scots commissioners great advantages above the English divines, so that they had the first forming of all those documents which were afterwards compiled and approved of by that Assembly, such as our catechism, directory for worship, form of church government; and when the confession of faith was about to be compiled, there were 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.

* At the conclusion of Gillespie's speech Selden is reported to have said, "This young man, by

Reeves, who prepared materials for that purpose. No one was more useful in supporting them therein than George Gillespie, though the youngest of them. "None," says one of his colleagues, Robert Baillie, "in all the Assembly did reason more pertinently than Mr. Gillespie: he is an excellent youth; my heart blesses God in his behalf." Again, he states that when Acts xiv. 23 was brought for the proof of the power of ordination, and keen disputing arose upon it, "the very learned and accurate Gillespie, a singular ornament to our church, than whom not one in the Assembly spoke to better purpose, nor with better acceptance of all the hearers, showed that the Greek word by the Episcopalians purposely translated *ordination*, was truly *choosing*, importing the people's suffrage in selecting their own office-bearers." And elsewhere he says, "We get good help in our Assembly debates of Lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than that noble youth Mr. Gillespie: I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as

his single speech, has swept away the learning and labours of my life." (*Wodrow's Analeceta.*)

equal in these to the first in the Assembly." *

After his return from the Westminster Assembly, he was employed mostly in the public affairs of the church, until the year 1648, when he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly of Scotland; in which Assembly several famous acts were made in favour of the covenanted work of Reformation, particularly that against the un-

* Gillespie entered with the deepest interest into the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and London, from the many religious advantages which it then afforded, had for him strong attractions. He had left in Scotland his wife, Margaret Murray, daughter of Mr. Robert Murray, minister at Methven, when he went to England as commissioner from the Church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly. In a letter to her father as to her coming up to him, dated London, May 21, 1645, he says, "If I had known what I know now I had brought her with me; but I did not imagine to be kept here the fourth part of that time, which now I see my stay here will draw unto." He adds, "If I myself were a free man, I would rather choose London than any place I know for my own edification, and for abundance of precious occasions." (*M. Ward's MSS. among Wodrow's*, vol. xxvii. fol. No. 30.) His wife had arrived at London before 5th August, as appears from a letter of that date which he wrote to his father-in-law. (*Ibid.* vol. xxvii. No. 31.)

† The Engagement was an enterprise projected in 1647 by the royalists of England and Scotland, headed by the duke of Hamilton, to deliver Charles I. from the English army and Parliament, whose prisoner he then was, and to restore him to safety, freedom, and honour, without even asking from him any security for the preservation of religion and liberty, for which the Covenanters had so hardly struggled. This project received the sanction of the majority of the Three Estates of the kingdom; but it

lawful Engagement then made against England by the duke of Hamilton and those of the malignant faction.† In this Assembly he was one of those nominated to prosecute the treaty of uniformity in religion with England; but in a short time after this the sickness seized him whereof he died, about the 17th of December following.

In his lifetime Gillespie was always firmly attached to the

was opposed by some of the nobility, headed by the marquis of Argyll, and by almost the whole church, who were against interfering for the liberation of the king from the English, unless he should engage to secure religion and liberty as laid down in the Solemn League and Covenant, which he had all along refused to do. They were apprehensive lest, if the Scottish army were successful in his liberation, Charles should turn this advantage to the furtherance of his own arbitrary designs.

By the orders of the Committee of Estates an army was levied for the relief of the king. This army, which was officered by notorious malignants—that is, the party who favoured the designs of the court to impose Prelacy, or rather Romanism, upon the kingdom, and to invest the crown with absolute power—consisted of many who had subscribed the Covenants. The duke of Hamilton crossed the Borders with 15,000 men; but he was completely routed by Cromwell at Preston on the 17th or 18th of August. The duke and other officers who escaped fled to North Wales. He was, however, taken prisoner and carried to London, where he was executed. This ill concerted and unskillfully executed enterprise only contributed to hurry on the fate of the unhappy monarch, who a few months after was brought to the scaffold.

Gillespie, from the controversial power with which he argued against the Engagement and met the defences of Lauderdale, Glencairn, and others, was called "Malleus Malignantium."

work of Reformation, and continued so to the end of his life. About two months before his decease he sent a paper to the commission of the General Assembly, wherein he gave faithful warning against every sin and backsliding that he then perceived to be growing both in church and state.*

Samuel Rutherford writes to him, when on his death-bed, from St. Andrews, 27th September, 1648, "Be not heavy; the life of faith is now called for; doing was never reckoned in your accounts, though Christ in and by you hath done more than by twenty, yea, an hundred grey-haired and godly pastors. Look to that word, Gal. ii. 20: 'Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'" †

Last of all, Gillespie emitted the following faithful testimony against association and compliance with the enemies of truth and true godliness, in these words:—

* The paper or letter to the commission here referred to is dated Kirkcaldy, 8th September, 1648. In it Gillespie expresses himself strongly against the Engagement, which he pronounces to have been a war contrary to the Covenant, and destructive to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; and he condemns in equally strong terms compliance with any who had been active in the Engagement, as a most sinful retrogression to the side of the malignant party,

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE GILLESPIE.

"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 Presbyterian 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 begun, and will carry on that great work of mercy, and will purge out the rebels. I know there will be always a mixture of hypocrites, but that cannot excuse the conniving at gross and scandalous sinners. . . . I recommend to them that fear God seriously to consider, that the Holy Scriptures do plainly hold forth: 1. That the helping of the enemies of God, joining or mingling with wicked men, is a sin highly displeasing to him; 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 (Ezra ix. 13, 14).

"Upon these and the like grounds, for my own exoneration, that so necessary a truth want not the testimony of a dying witness

which had been thorns and scourges to the kingdom.

† Rutherford concludes this letter with these words: "If ye leave any testimony to the Lord's work and covenant against both malignants and sectaries (which I suppose may be needful), let it be under your hand, and subscribed before faithful witnesses." Gillespie acted upon this suggestion of his respected correspondent and coadjutor in the reformation of the church.

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 conjunction or compliance with malignant or profane enemies of the truth, under whatsoever prudential

* At the meeting at Edinburgh in July preceding of the General Assembly, of which he was moderator, and for half a year before, Gillespie complained of more than ordinary bodily weakness. During the earlier sittings of the Assembly he was less sensible of his infirm health, probably from excitement; but towards the close he grew worse, the cough and debilitating perspiration which had previously troubled him becoming more aggravated; and after the Assembly he went over with Mrs. Gillespie to Kirkealdy, where he intended to remain some time for the benefit of his health. His illness—which was consumption—daily increasing, at length compelled him to keep his chamber, and for eleven days before his death he was confined to his bed. During this stage of his disease he was visited by Rutherford, to whom a letter had been sent apprising him of the apparently approaching dissolution of his friend, and the interview between them was solemn and affecting. “The day,” said Rutherford, “I hope, is dawning and breaking in your soul that shall never have an end.” “It is not broken yet,” said Gillespie; “but though I walk in darkness and see no light, yet I will trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon my God!” “Would not Christ be a welcome guest to you?” asked Rutherford. “Welcome?” answered Gillespie; “the welcomest guest that ever I saw!” “Doth not your soul love Christ above all things?” again asked Rutherford. “I love him heartily,” replied Gillespie; “who ever knew anything of him but would love him?” In all his discourses he expressed his longing for the time of relief, and rejoiced that it was so near. His respiration being much affected, he said, “Where the hallelujahs are sung to the Lamb there is no shortness of breath.” Mr. James Wilson, one of the ministers of Dysart, when about to pray with him, asked “what petitions he would have him to put up on his behalf?” He answered, “For more of Himself,” meaning the enjoyment of God, “and strength to carry me through the dark valley.” On one occasion a minister asked him whether he was enjoying the comforts of God’s presence, or whether they were not for a time suspended. He said, “Indeed they are

considerations it may be varnished over; which if men will do, and trust God in his own way, they shall not only 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 the premises I have subscribed the same with my hand, at Kirkealdy, December 15, 1648, before these witnesses—Mr. F. Carmichael, minister at Markinch, and Mr. Alexander Moncrief, minister at Sconie.”

In about two days after he gave up the ghost, death shutting his eyes, that he might then see God, and be for ever with him.*

suspended.” Mrs. Gillespie, a woman of enlightened piety, observed, “What though they should be so? the comfort of believing is not suspended.” “No,” he said; and deriving encouragement from her words, he added, “Although I should never see any more light of comfort than I do see, yet I shall adhere, and do believe, that he is mine, and that I am his!” Perceiving the signs of his approaching death she said to him, “The time of your relief is now near at hand.” “I long for that time,” he answered; “O, happy they that are there!” which were the last audible words he uttered. (*Wodrow’s Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 154–59.)

Gillespie was interred in the churchyard of Kirkealdy, and a monument was erected to his memory; but by the first Parliament of Charles II. it was ordered to be taken to the cross of Kirkealdy and ignominiously broken to pieces by the public executioner. This fact is recorded as follows in a newspaper of the day:—“The late Committee of Estates [Middleton’s Parliament, which met at Edinburgh in 1661], ordered that the tombstone of Mr. George Gillespie, wherein was engraven a scandalous inscription, should be fetched from the burial-place, and upon a market-day, at the cross of Kirkealdy, where he had formerly been minister, and there solemnly broken by the hands of the hangman, which was accordingly done—a just indignity upon the memory of so dangerous a person.” (*Mercurius Caledonius*, in small quarto, Wednesday, January 16—Friday 25, 1661, p. i., preserved in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh.) A plain tablet, which is still to be seen in the south-east porch of the parish church of Kirkealdy, was erected to Gillespie’s memory in 1745 by his grandson, Mr. George Gillespie, minister at Stratlumiglo. The inscription on this tablet informs us that the former tombstone was thrown down through the “malign influence of Archbishop Sharp.” (*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kirkealdy*.)

Gillespie left at least two children—1. Robert, who “was persecuted from the day he was licensed until the day of his death, and that merely for preaching the gospel; for he was neither at Pentland nor Bothwell

Thus died George Gillespie, very little past the prime of life ; a pregnant divine, a man of much boldness and great freedom of expression. He signalized himself on every occasion on which he was called to exercise any part of his ministerial function. No man's death, at that time, was more lamented than his ; and such was the 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 diligencè 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

Bridge." He had a son George, who was minister of Strathmiglo from 1699 to 1754. 2. Archibald, who died in childhood, about eight months after the death of his father, as we learn from a consolatory letter of Rutherford to Mrs. Gillespie on that occasion, dated 14th August, 1649. (*Rutherford's Letters*, p. 661.)

Mrs. Gillespie survived her husband many years. Mr. Robert M'Ward, in a letter to her from London, August 16, 1670, when she was suffering much from infirm health, after regretting that he had been unable when in Scotland to visit her, writes:—"I was refreshed to hear from so many hands that under all the languishings, decays, and infirmities of your outward man, yet your inward man is renewed day by day, and that you are flourishing and fruitful within sight of eternity. . . . I need say nothing to you of your possessing your soul in patience under so many afflictions, which seem to press you out of measure and beyond strength,

he truly spent himself and closed his days, ordain that the sum of one thousand pounds sterling be given to his widow and children." But though the Parliament did by their Act, dated June 8, 1650, unanimously ratify the above Act, and recommended to their Committee to make the same effectual ; yet the usurper Cromwell presently overrunning the country, this good design was frustrated, as his grandson, the Rev. George Gillespie, minister at Strathmiglo, did afterwards declare.

Besides the "English Popish Ceremonies," already mentioned, Gillespie wrote "Aaron's Rod Blossoming," and his "Miscellaneous Questions," first printed in 1649 ; all which, with the fore-cited testimony and some other papers, show that he was a man of most profound parts, learning, and abilities.

because I hear that your patience under his hand is risen to the height of complacency in his way with you. . . . If your disease should grow greater, and he should take away the power of that side also which he hath left, you may remember the word which your excellent and great friend Mr. Binning said in a like case, 'When he hath taken this side, too, he will take myself next.' . . . I am still refreshed to hear ye are alive, as knowing Zion hath a faithful friend while ye are with us." (*M'Ward's MSS. among Woodrow's*, vol. lviii. No. 41.) She was living in the beginning of the year 1674, as appears from an Act of the privy council dated 8th January that year, granting permission to her son Robert, who was then a prisoner on the Bass, to repair to Edinburgh, "to the house of Margaret Murray, his mother, residing there," for the recovery of his health, which had become impaired by his imprisonment. (*Martyrs of the Bass*, p. 18.)

JOHN M'CLELLAND.

JOHN M'CLELLAND having gone through several branches of useful learning, kept a school for some time at Newton in Ireland, where he became instrumental in training up several hopeful

young men for the university. Afterwards he was tried and approved of by the honest ministers in the county of Down, and being licensed, he preached in their churches until, among

others, for faithfulness he was deposed and excommunicated by the bishops.

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

It would appear that he was married to one of Mr. Livingstone's wife's sisters,* and the strictest friendship subsisted betwixt these two worthy men, both while in Ireland and after their return to Scotland. While he was at Kirkcudbright he discovered more than ordinary diligence, not only in testifying against the corruptions of the time, but also in his own singular walk and conversation, being one who was set for the advancement of all the practical parts of reli-

* M'Clelland's wife was Marion Fleming, daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in

gion, as well in public as in private duties. For instance, when Mr. Henry Guthrie, then minister at Stirling (but afterwards bishop of Dunkeld), thought to have brought in a complaint to the General Assembly, 1639, against private society meetings, which were then become numerous through the land, some of the leading members, knowing that Guthrie did it partly out of resentment against the laird of Leckie, who was a great practiser and defender of these meetings, thought proper, rather than that it should come to the Assembly, to agree that Guthrie should preach up the duty of religious exercise in families, and that Messrs. M'Clelland, Blair, and Livingstone should preach against night meetings and other abuses. These brethren endeavoured, by conference, to gain such as had offended by excess in this matter, but by no means could be prevailed on to preach against them; which so offended Guthrie that he gave in a charge or complaint to the General Assembly, 1640, wherein he alleged that these three ministers were the only encouragers of the meetings. M'Clelland roundly took him up,

Edinburgh. (*Life of John Livingstone, in Select Biographies*, vol. i. p. 151.)

and craved that a committee might be appointed to try these disorders, and to censure the offenders, whether those complained of or the complainers; which so nettled Guthrie, the earl of Seaforth, and others of their fraternity, that nothing was heard in the Assembly for some time for confusion and noise stirred up by them.

John 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 that letter which he wrote to John, lord of Kirkcudbright, dated February 20, 1649, a little before his death, an abstract of which is as follows :

“MY NOBLE LORD,—I 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-constituted Parliament will be loath to lay such a yoke upon the churches, of so little advantage to any man, and so prejudicial to the work of God, as hath been many times represented. Certainly the removing of it were the stopping the way of simony, except we will apprehend that whole presbyteries will be bribed for patronage. I can say no more but what Christ said to the Pharisees, ‘It was not so from the beginning;’ the primitive church knew nothing of it.

“But as for their pernicious disposition to a rupture among sectaries, I can say nothing to them; only this, I conclude their judgment sleeps not. ‘Shall they escape that do such things? shall they break the covenant, and be delivered?’ (Ezek. xvii. 15); which I dare apply to England, I hope, without wresting of Scripture. ‘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 upon his own head’ (verse 19). This covenant was made with Nebuchadnezzar; the matter was civil, but the tie was religious; wherefore the Lord owns it as his covenant, because God’s name was invoked and interposed 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. . . . 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.

“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 had written this letter, in one of his sermons he expressed himself much to the same purpose, thus: “The judgments of England shall be so great, that a man shall ride fifty miles through the best plenshed 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 an acre, and think he had come to a good market. And although this may not have had its full accomplishment as yet, yet 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.

John 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 doeth 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’d 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 lived to die, but now I die to live;
I do enjoy more than I did believe.
The promise me into possession sends;
Faith in fruition, hope in having, ends.*

* M’Clelland was the author of a Historical Account of Galloway in the reign of Charles I., which was published in Blaeus Atlas Scotiae, pp. 59, 60 (*Chalmers’s Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 388.)

DAVID CALDERWOOD.

DAVID CALDERWOOD,* having spent some time at the grammar-school, went to the university to study theology, in preparation for the ministry. After a short space, being found fit for that office, he was, about the year 1604, made minister of Crailing, near Jedburgh, where for some considerable time he preached the word of God with great wisdom, zeal, and diligence, and as a faithful wise husbandman brought in many sheaves into God's granary. But it being then a time when Prelacy was upon the advance in the church, and faithful ministers were everywhere thrust out and suppressed, he, among the rest, gave in his declinature in the year 1608, and thereupon took instruments in the hands of James Johnston, notary-public, in presence of some of the magistrates and council of the town. Whereupon, information being sent to King James VI. by the bishops, a direction was sent down 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 itself only into confinement within their own parishes.

Here he continued until June, 1617, when he was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at St. Andrews, upon the 8th of July following. Being called upon (the king being present), and his libel read and answered, the king among other things said, "What moved you to protest?" "An article concluded among the Lords of the Articles," Mr. Calderwood answered. "But what fault was there in it?" said the king. "It cutteth off our General Assemblies," he answered. The king, having the protestation in his hand, challenged him for some words of the last clause thereof. He answered, that whatsoever was the phrase of speech, it 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

* Calderwood was descended from an ancient family, which at one period possessed the estate of Calderwood. He was born in Dalkeith in

1575, and educated at the university of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1593.

article. "Active and passive obedience?" said the king. "That is, we will rather suffer than practise," said Calderwood. "I will tell thee," said the king, "what is obedience, man; what the centurion said to his servant, To this man, Go, and he goeth, and to that man, Come, and he cometh; that is obedience." He answered, "To suffer, sire, is also obedience, howbeit not of the same kind; and that obedience was not absolute, but limited, with the exception of a countermand from a superior power." "I am informed," said the king to him, "ye are a refractor; the archbishop of Glasgow, your ordinary, the 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 nonconformity in that point could not well be 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 him whether, if he was released, he would obey or not? He answered, "I am wronged in that I am forced to answer such ques-

tions, 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, conform during that time, and promise obedience in all time coming, the archbishop of Glasgow was to deprive him. Then Calderwood 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; and his Majesty cannot communicate that power to you which he claims not to himself." At this 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 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 this some, reviling, called 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 was ordained to be committed to close ward in the tolbooth of St. Andrews, till farther orders were taken for his banishment; after which he was upbraided by the archbishop, who said that he deserved to be used as Ogilvy the Jesuit, who was hanged. When he would have answered, the bishops would not allow him, and the king in a rage cried, "Away with him;" and Lord Scoone, taking him by the arm, led him out, where they stayed some time waiting for the bailiffs of the town. In the meantime Calderwood said to Scoone, "My lord, this is not the first like turn that hath fallen into your hands." "I must serve the king," said Scoone. To some ministers then standing by Calderwood said, "Brethren, ye have Christ's cause in hand at this meeting; be not terrified with this spectacle, prove faithful servants to your Master." Scoone took him to his house till the keys of the tolbooth were

had. By the way one demanded, "Whither with the man, my lord?" "First to the tolbooth, and then to the gallows," said Scoone.

Calderwood was committed close prisoner, and the same afternoon a charge was given to transport him to the jail of Edinburgh. After the charge 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 for that end, for the king had a 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, Lord Cranston being bail that he should depart out of the country.

After this Calderwood went with Lord Cranston to Carlisle, to the king, to whom the said lord presented a petition, that Mr. David might only be confined to his parish; but the king inveighed against him so much, that at last he repulsed Cranston with his elbow. Cranston insisted again for a prorogation of time for Calderwood's 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, that however he begged it were no matter; he would know himself better the next time; and for the season of the year, if he was 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 Calderwood wrote a book called "Perth Assembly," which was condemned by the council in December that same 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 Patrick Scot, a landed gentleman near Falkland, having wasted his patrimony, had no other means to recover his estate but by some unlawful shift at court; and for that end in the year 1624 he set forth a recantation, under the name of David Calderwood, who because of his long sickness before was supposed by many to have been dead. The king (as Scot alleged to some of his friends) furnished him with the matter, and he set it down in

form. This project failing, Scot went over to Holland in November, and sought Calderwood in several towns, particularly in Amsterdam, in order to despatch him, as afterwards appeared. After he had stayed twenty days in Amsterdam, making all the search he could, he was informed that Calderwood had returned home privately to his native country, which frustrated his intention. After the death of King James, Scot published a pamphlet full of this, entitled *Vox vera*; and yet, notwithstanding of all his wicked and unlawful pursuits, he died soon after, so poor that he left not wherewith to defray the charges of his funeral.

Calderwood being now returned home, after the death of King James VI., 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 the year 1638, when he was admitted minister of Pencaitland in East Lothian.

He contributed very much to the covenanted work carried on in that period. For first he had an active hand in drawing up several excellent papers, wherein were contained the records of church policy betwixt the years

1576 and 1596, which were presented and read by Mr. Johnston, the clerk, at the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638. He was also, by recommendation of the General Assembly, 1646, required to consider the order of the visitation of kirks and trials of presbyteries, and to make report thereof unto the next General Assembly; and likewise, at the General Assembly, 1648, a further recommendation was given to him to make a draft of the form of visitation of particular congregations, against the next Assembly. He was appointed with Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. David Dickson, by the General Assembly, 1643, to draw up the form of the Directory for the public worship of God.

After he had both spent and been spent, with the apostle, for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, when the English army lay at Lothian he went to Jedburgh, where he sickened, and died in a good old age, on the 29th of October, 1650. 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 the history of our church as far down as the year 1625, of which the printed copy that we have is only a short abstract of that large written history,* which both as to the style and manner wherein it is executed is far preferable to the printed copy. Whoever compares the two, or the last, with his *Altare Damascenum*, both of which are yet in the hands of some, will readily grant the truth of this assertion; 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 and better copy than has yet been printed.

* The large history has been printed by the Wodrow Society; in eight volumes, from the original manuscript preserved in the British

Museum. A list of Calderwood's numerous works is given by Dr. Irving, in his life of this eminent divine and ecclesiastical historian.

HUGH BINNING.

HUGH BINNING was son of John Binning of Dalvennan and Elizabeth M'Kell or M'Kail, daughter of Matthew M'Kell, minister of Bothwell, and sister of Hugh M'Kell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and uncle of the martyr Hugh M'Kail, who was executed at Edinburgh 22nd December, 1666. His father's worldly circumstances were so good (being possessed of no inconsiderable estate in the shire of Ayr) that he was enabled to give his son Hugh a very liberal education, the good effects of which appeared very early upon him, for the greatness of his spirit and capacity of judgment gave his parents good grounds to conceive the pleasing hope of his being a promising child.

While he was at the grammar school he made so great proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin tongue and the Roman authors, that he outstripped his fellow-scholars, even such as were some years older than himself. When they went to their diversions he declined their society, and chose to employ himself either in secret duty with God or conference with religious people, thinking time

was too precious to be lavished away in these things. He began to have sweet familiarity with God, and to live in near communion with him, before others of his years began seriously to lay to heart their lost and undone state and condition by nature; so that before he arrived at the thirteenth or fourteenth year of his age he had even 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, he provoked them to diligence in the duties of religion, being abundantly sensible that they were much outrun by such a youth.

Before he was fourteen years of age he entered upon the study of philosophy in the university of Glasgow, wherein he made very considerable progress, by which means he came to be taken notice of in the college by the professors and students, and at the same time 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 any pain or trouble; so that, by his ready apprehension of things, he was able to do more in one hour than some others could do in many days by hard study and close application; and yet he was ever humble, and never exalted with self-conceit, the common foible of young men.

As soon as his course of philosophy was finished he obtained the degree of Master of Arts with great applause,* and 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 chair of philosophy at the college of Glasgow, by the resignation of Mr. James Dalrymple of Stair—afterwards Lord Stair—who had for some time been his master;† and though Binning was but lately his scholar, yet he determined, after much entreaty, to stand as a candidate for that post. According to the usual laudable custom, the masters of the college emitted a programme, and sent it to all the universities of the kingdom, inviting such as had a mind for

a professorship of philosophy to sist themselves before them, and offer to compete for the preferment; giving assurance that, without partiality, the place would be conferred upon him who should be found most worthy and most learned.

The ministers of the city 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 solid judgment, requested him to sist himself among the other competitors. They had difficulty to overcome his modesty, but at last prevailed upon him to declare his willingness to undertake the dispute before the masters. Among others there were two candidates, one of whom had the advantage of having great interest with Dr. Strang, principal of the college at that time, and the other a scholar of great ability; yet Mr. Binning so managed the dispute, and so acquitted himself in all

* He obtained this degree on 27th July, 1646.

† Howie has here the following foot note:—This gentleman entered an 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, with a book entitled "A Vindication of the Divine Attributes," in which there is discovered great force of argument and sound knowledge.

parts of his trial, that to the conviction of the judges he distanced his rivals, and threw them completely into the shade. But the doctor, and some of the faculty who joined him, though they could not pretend that the person they inclined to prefer had an equality, much less a superiority, in the dispute, yet argued that this person they intended was a citizen's son, of a competency of learning, and a person of more years; and by that means had greater experience than what Mr. Binning, who was in a manner but of yesterday, could be supposed to have. To this it was replied that Mr. Binning was such a pregnant scholar, so wise and sedate, as to be above all the follies and vanities of youth, and what was wanting in years was made up sufficiently by his more than ordinary and singular endowments. Whereupon a member of the faculty, perceiving the struggle to be great (as indeed there were plausible reasons on both sides), proposed a dispute betwixt the two candidates *extempore*, upon any subject they should be pleased to prescribe. This being considered, soon put a period to the division amongst them, and those who had opposed Mr. Binning 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 became regent and professor of philosophy; and though he had not time to prepare a system of any part of his profession, as he had instantly to begin his class, yet such was the quickness and fertility of his invention, the tenacity of his memory, and the solidity of his judgment, that his dictates to his scholars had depth of learning and perspicuity of expression. He was among the first in Scotland who began to reform philosophy from the barbarous terms and unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen.

Binning continued in this profession three years, and discharged his trust so as to gain the general applause of the university for academical exercises; and this was the more remarkable, for having turned his thoughts towards the ministry, he carried on his theological studies at the same time, and made great improvements therein, his memory being so retentive that he scarcely forgot anything he had read or heard. It was easy and ordinary for him to transcribe any sermon, after he returned to his chamber, at such

a length that the intelligent and judicious reader, who had heard it preached, would not find one sentence wanting.

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

After he had been a professor of philosophy three years, the parish of Govan, which lies adjacent to the city of Glasgow, happened to be vacant. Before this time, 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 a view to supply that vacancy

with Mr. Binning, took him upon trials in order to his being licensed as a preacher. Having preached there to the great satisfaction of the people, he was some time after called to be minister of Govan, which call the Presbytery approved of, and entered him upon trials for ordination about the twenty-second year of his age. These he went through with 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 a view at the same time to bring him back to the university, whenever the professorship of divinity should be vacant.

He was, considering his age, a prodigy of learning, for before he had arrived at the twenty-sixth year of his life he had such a large stock of useful knowledge as to be *philologus, philosophus, et theologus eximius* (philologist, philosopher, and excellent theologian), and might well have been an ornament to the most famous and flourishing university in Europe. This was the more surprising, considering his weakness and infirmity of body, as not being able to read much at a time, nor to undergo the fatigue of continual study; insomuch

that his knowledge seemed rather to have been born with him, than to have been acquired by hard and laborious study.

Though he was bookish and much intent upon the fulfilling of his ministry, yet he turned his thoughts to marriage, and did espouse a virtuous and excellent person, Barbara Simpson, daughter of Mr. James Simpson, a minister in Ulster, Ireland. Upon the day he was to be married he went, accompanied with his friend and some others (among whom were several worthy ministers), unto an adjacent country congregation, upon the day of the weekly sermon. The minister of the parish delayed sermon till they would come, hoping to put the work upon one of them; but all

* After the defeat of the duke of Hamilton at Preston, as noticed before (see page 230), the government of the kingdom fell into the hands of the Anti-engagers. On 23rd January, 1649, an Act was passed by the Committee of Estates, the Anti-engagers being the majority, called "The Act of Classes," which debarred all who were favourable to or had been concerned in the Engagement from places of power and trust in judicatories or in the army, dividing them into four classes, according to the degree in which they had been implicated. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 209.) A committee was also appointed for purging the army of all who had been upon the Engagement, and both officers and soldiers were purged out. (*Ibid.* p. 238.) But the Scots having been defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar, on 3rd September, 1650, this disaster produced a conviction in the minds of many that the enemy could not be successfully

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. Stepping aside a little to premeditate and implore his Master's presence and assistance (for he was ever afraid to be alone in this work), he entered the pulpit immediately, and preached upon 1 Pet. i. 15: "But as he who hath called you is holy," &c. At this time he was so remarkably helped, that all acknowledged that God was with him of a truth.

When the unhappy differences occurred betwixt the Resolutioners and Protesters, Binning espoused the cause of the latter party.*

opposed unless all the fencible men in the kingdom were called out, those being permitted to fight who were debarred by the Act of Classes. The Parliament which met about the beginning of December at Perth took this view. The king wrote from Perth to the moderator of the commission of the General Assembly, desiring him to call a commission *pro re nata* to consider this question. The commission gave their judgment in favour of the repeal of the Act of Classes, upon certain conditions, provisos, or securities, to be given by the noblemen and others debarred, on their admission into places of power and trust. The deliverance of the commission was put into the form of resolutions. An influential minority were opposed to these resolutions, affirming that they would not trust in any assurances that might be given by malignants, who would never keep one word of the most solemn promises and oaths. The resolutions were



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Binning saw some of the fatal consequences of these divisions in his own time, and being of a catholic and healing spirit, he wrote, with a view to the cementing of differences, an excellent treatise on Christian love, which contains very strong and pathetic passages most apposite to the subject. He was no fomenter of factions, but was studious of the public tranquillity. He was a man of moderate principles and temperate passions, never imposing upon or overbearing others, but willingly hearkened to advice, and always yielded to reason.

The prevailing of the English sectaries 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 the church, were the greatest difficulties which the ministers had then to struggle with. Upon this he hath many excellent reflections in his sermons, particularly in that from Deut. xxxii. 4, 5.

formally approved by the General Assembly held in July, 1651, at St. Andrews, and adjourned to Dundee. At the last sederunt of the Assembly at St. Andrews, Samuel Rutherford, who strenuously opposed the resolutions, gave in a protest against the lawfulness of the Assembly. It was subscribed by twenty-one names besides

It is said that the Presbyterians and Independents, disputing 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 Cromwell ask the name of that learned and bold young man; and being told that his name was Hugh Binning, he said, "He hath bound well indeed," but clapping his hand on his sword, said, "This will loose all again."

After he had 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 come to the prime and vigour of his life, being only in the twenty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him a sweet savour, and an epistle of commendation, upon the hearts of those who were his hearers.*

He was a person of singular piety, of a humble, meek, and peaceable temper, a judicious

his own. Hence those opposed to the public resolutions were called Protesters, and those in favour of them Resolutioners. (*Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 628.) Much was written at the time on both sides, and the controversy was conducted with great acrimony.

* Binning was buried in the churchyard of

and lively preacher; nay, so extraordinary a person, that he was justly accounted a prodigy of human learning and knowledge of divinity. From his childhood he knew the Scriptures, and from a boy had been much under deep and spiritual exercise, until the time, or a little before, that he entered upon the office of the ministry, when he came to a great calm and tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all those doubtings which for a long time he had been exercised with. 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.

Govan, and a monument was erected to his memory with a Latin inscription, by Mr. Patrick Gillespie, who was then principal of the university of Glasgow. "It is a simple marble tablet, surmounted with a heart and the emblems of mortality. It was placed in a niche in the front wall of the old parish church; but in 1826, when the present church was erected, it was removed to the vestibule." The inscription may be translated into English as follows:—"Here is deposited Mr. Hugh Binning, a man distinguished for piety, eloquence, and learning; an eminent philologist, philosopher, and theologian; in fine, a faithful and acceptable preacher of the gospel, who was removed from this world in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and in the year of our Lord 1653. He changed his country, not his company, because when on earth he walked with God. If

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 diction and language were easy and fluent, void of all affectation and bombast, and had a kind of undesignated negligent elegance, which arrested the hearers' attention. Considering the time he lived in, it might be said that he carried the orator's prize from his contemporaries in Scotland, and was not inferior to the best pulpit orator in England at that time. While he lived he was highly esteemed, having been a successful instrument of saving himself and them that heard him, of turning sinners unto righteousness, and of perfect-

thou inquirest any thing beyond this, I am silent as to the rest, since neither thou nor this marble can receive it."

Binning's widow was afterwards married to Mr. James Gordon, Presbyterian minister at Comber, in the county of Down, Ireland. His only son, John, on the death of his grandfather, John Binning, inherited the estate of Dalvennan; but he lost it by forfeiture for his concern in the insurrection of Bothwell in 1679. In 1690 the forfeitures and fines inflicted on the Covenanters were rescinded by Act of Parliament. But Roderick Mackenzie, depute-advocate in the reign of King James VII., on the pretext of having advanced money to Binning far beyond the value of the estate, contrived to obtain possession of it. Binning was now much reduced in circumstances, and taught for some time a school.

ing 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," and a paper written upon occasion of the already mentioned dispute between the Resolutioners and Protesters, some other little pieces of his have been pub-

* Binning's "Miscellaneous Writings" were published in one volume in 1732. A selection from them, under the title of "Evangelical Beauties of Hugh Binning," with a memoir of the author by the Rev. John Brown, of Whitburn, was published in 1829. Binning's "Common Principles of the Christian Religion" was printed at Glasgow in 1659, 12mo, and the fifth impression was printed at the same place in 1666. An edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1672, 12mo. This work was translated into Dutch by the Rev. James Koelman, minister at Sluys, in Flanders, and published at Amsterdam in 1678, with a memoir of the author. All the other works of Binning which were

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 association 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.*

printed in Mr. Koelman's lifetime were also translated by him into the Dutch language. These translations, published at Amsterdam, have passed through four editions. Binning's "Works," collected and edited by the Rev. M. Leishman, D.D., minister of the parish of Govan, have in our own time been published in imperial octavo by Fullarton & Co. "We are not conscious of overrating Binning's power," says a reviewer in the *Christian Instructor*, 1829, "when we say that neither in the richness of his illustrations, nor in the vein of seraphic piety which pervades his writings, is he at all inferior to Leighton, whom perhaps, on the whole, he most resembles."

ANDREW GRAY.

ANDREW GRAY, by the calculation of his age and the date of his entry into the ministry, 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 ripe for the university; where, by the vivacity of his parts and ready genius, he made such proficiency, both in scholastic learning and divinity, that

before he was twenty years of age he was found accomplished for entering into the holy office of the ministry.

From his very infancy he had studied to be acquainted with the Scriptures, and like another young Samson, the Spirit of God began very early to move him; there being such a delightful gravity in his conversation, that what Gregory Nazianzen once said of the great Basil might be applied to him: "He held forth learning

* Andrew Gray studied at the university of St. Andrews, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. Soon after his laureation, having preached once or twice at Glasgow, he was appointed successor to Patrick Gillespie as minister of the Outer High Church, Glasgow, in 1653. In the controversy between the Resolutioners and Protesters, which was then maintained with great bitterness, Gray took the side of the Protesters. Patrick Gillespie, who was a keen Protester, and others of that party, were much in favour of Gray's becoming one of the ministers of Glasgow; and the session of the city, the majority of which were Protesters, having given him a call, he was admitted by the Presbytery of Glasgow, the majority of which were also Protesters. Robert Baillie, a Resolutioner of strong party feelings and prejudices, gives the following account of Gray's admission: "Mr. Patrick Gillespie and his friends will have him admitted to his place. I refused to consent, the youth being so young, and utterly a stranger to us; his trials of expectant being hastily passed in the Presbytery of Hamilton; and none of the ministers either of Edinburgh or St. Andrews, the places of his residence, being acquainted with him, as he professed; also his voice being so weak that the most in our kirks heard him not. The magistrates and town council being utterly against his admission, dealt with him earnestly not to trouble them. At first his modesty was so great

beyond his age, and fixedness of manners beyond his learning." The earthly vessel being thus filled with heavenly treasure, he was quickly licensed to preach, and got a call to be minister of the outer kirk of the High Church of Glasgow, though he was scarcely twenty years of age, and therefore below the age appointed by the constitution of the church, unless in extraordinary cases.*

No sooner was this young ser-

that a small impediment seemed enough to scare him from accepting of any charge; but as soon as our session (which is but the echo of what our brethren [the Protesters] speak) had given him a call, without hoast [hesitation] he went on to his trials, and over the belly of the town's protestation was admitted by their part of the Presbytery minister of Glasgow. His voice is not yet so good as to be heard by divers. He has the new guise of preaching which Mr. Hugh Binning and Mr. Robert Leighton began, contemning the ordinary way of expounding and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses; but runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high romancing, unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memory and understanding" (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 258.) No criticism could be more unjust than that which Baillie pronounces upon Gray's sermons. Many, if not most of the sermons which Gray preached, have been printed, and these, which have been highly appreciated by the people of Scotland, so far from being of "a high romancing, unscriptural style," while remarkable for a beautiful and elegant simplicity of illustration—the fruit of sanctified genius, display a soundness of judgment much beyond the author's years, are affluent in scriptural thought, and are eminently fitted to awaken the conscience and to stimulate the Christian life.

vant of Christ entered into his Master's vineyard, than the people from all quarters flocked to attend his sermons, it being their constant emulation who should be most under the refreshing drops of his ministry. As he and his learned colleague Mr. Durham were one time walking together, Durham, observing the multitude thronging into that church where Andrew Gray was to preach, and only a very few going into the church in which 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." 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 anything, or nothing, that Christ may be all in all."

And indeed Andrew Gray had a notable and singular gift in preaching, being one experienced in the most mysterious points of Christian practice and profession. In handling of all his subjects he was free of youthful vanity or affectation of human

literature, though he had a most scholastic genius and more than ordinary abilities, so that he did outstrip many that entered into 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 consciences of his hearers, that his contemporary, the fore-said Mr. Durham, observed, "that many times he caused the very hairs of their heads to stand up."

Among his other excellencies in preaching, which were many, this was none of the least, that he could so order his subject as to make it be relished by 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. He had such a clear notion of high mysteries, as to make them stoop to the meanest capacity. He had so learned Christ; and being a man of a most zealous temper, the great bent of his spirit and that which he did spend himself anent, 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 singularities seem to have been his peculiar mercy from the Lord, to make him a burning and a shining light, though for about the space of two years only; the Spirit of the Lord as it were stirring up a lamp unto a sudden blaze, that was not to continue long in his church. On which a late pre-facer of some of his sermons has very pertinently observed, "Yea, how awakening, convincing, and reproofing 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."

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 centre 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 expect, yet this may be easily accounted for if we consider the great alteration and embellishment in the style of the English language since his time. There can be no ground, also, 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. Yet all this is sufficiently made up otherwise, for what is wanting in symmetry of parts or equality of style is made up in the pleasure of variety, like the grateful odours of various flowers, or the pleasant harmony of different sounds, for so is truth in its own native dress.

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

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

There is one thing that may be desiderated by the inquisitive, namely, what Andrew Gray's sentiments were concerning the public resolutions, seeing he entered the ministry about the third year after they were passed. 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, when on his death-bed, asked him, What he thought of these things? He answered, that he was of the same mind as formerly, and did much regret that he had been so sparing in public against these woeful resolutions, speaking so pathetically of their sinfulness and the calamities they would procure, that Mr. Durham, contrary to his former practice, durst never after speak in defence of them.

But the time now approached

* He died at Glasgow in February, 1656, "of a purple fever, of a few days' roving," says Robert Baillie, in a letter to Mr. Spang at Middelburg (*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 314.) In his

that the Lord was about to accomplish the desire of his servant. He fell sick, and was in a high fever for several days, being much tossed with sore trouble, without any intermission; but all the time continuing in a most sedate frame of mind.

It is a loss that his last dying words were neither written 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. In this he shows that he not only had a most clear discovery of the toleration then granted by Cromwell, and the evils that would come upon the land for all these things, but also was most sensible of his own case and condition.

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 his blessed Saviour, whom he had served faithfully in his day and generation, though only about twenty-two years old.* He shone too conspicuous to con-

testament dative and inventory of his goods and gear, there remained of free gear, the debts being deduced, £6139 13s. 4d. (*Register of Confirmed Testaments, Glasgow*, 3rd June, 1656.)

time long, and burned so intensely that he behoved soon to be extinguished; but he now shines in the kingdom of his Father, in a more conspicuous 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 and done much for God in a little time. He was one, both in public and private life, who possessed in a high degree every domestic and social virtue that could adorn the character of a most powerful and pathetic preacher, a loving husband,* an affable friend; ever cheerful and agreeable in conversation; always ready to exert himself for the relief of all who asked or stood in need of his assistance. These 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 that heard or knew anything of him, who considered and highly esteemed him as one of the most able advocates for the propa-

* Gray had been a short time married. His widow afterwards became the wife of Mr. George Hutcheson, minister at Irvine.

gation and advancement of Christ's kingdom.

His well-known sermons are printed in several small portions. Those called his Works are bound in one volume 8vo. In addition to the eleven sermons printed some time ago, a large collection, to the number of fifty-one, are lately published, entitled his "Select Sermons," whereof only three, for connection's sake, and his letter to Lord Warriston, are inserted, which were before published in his works. So that by this time most if not all of the sermons are now in print that ever were preached by him.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW GRAY.

Shortly before his death he addressed the following letter, dated 7th February, 1656, to Lord Warriston:—

"My Lord,—It may seem strange that, after so long interruption of intercourse with your lordship by letters, I should at this juncture of time write to you, wherein there seems to be a toleration of tongues, and lusts, and religion, wherein many by their practice say, 'Our tongues are our own.' I am afraid that sad word shall be spoken to Scotland yet seven times more, 'That whereas he hath chastised with whips, he will do it with scorpions, and his little finger shall be heavier than his loins in former times.' If our judgments, that seem to approach, were known, and those terrible things in righteousness, by which he whose furnace is in Jerusalem is like to speak to us, were seen and printed on a board, it

might make us cry out, 'Who shall live when God doth these things, and who can dwell with everlasting burnings?'

"He hath broken his staff of bands, and is threatening to break his staff of beauty, that his covenant which he hath made with all the people might not be broken. Is it not to be feared 'that the sword of the justice of God is bathed in heaven, and will come down to make a sacrifice, not in the land of Idumea or Bozrah, but on those that were once his people, who have broken his everlasting covenant and changed his ordinances?' What shall Scotland be called? Lo-runamah and Lo-ammi, which was termed Beulah and Hephzibah, 'A people delighted in, and married to the Lord.' I think that curse in Zeph. i. 17 is much accomplished in our days, 'They shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord.' Does not our carriage under all these speaking and afflicting dispensations, fighting against God in the furnace, and our dross not departing from us, speak this with our hearts, 'That for three transgressions, and for four, he will not turn away the punishment of these covenanted lands?' And this shall be our blot in all generations—'This is that Scotland that in its afflictions sins more and more.' It is no wonder then that we be put to our 'How long, how long wilt thou hide thy face? How long wilt thou forget, O Lord? O Lord, how shall thy jealousy burn like a fire, and we hear the confused noise of war and of rumours of war?'

"Since God has put it, 'How long wilt thou go about, O thou backsliding daughter?' Jer. xxxi. 22. Are ye not gadding about to change, turning his glory into shame, and loving lying vanities? And there are four *How longs* that God is put to lament over Scotland, and which are most in Luke ix. 41, 'How long shall I be with you and suffer you?' Is not Christ necessitate to depart, and to make us a land sown with salt and grass in our most frequented congregations? Ay, believe it, ere it be long these two

words shall be our lot. There is that in Jer. ii. 31, 'O generation, see the word of the Lord;' when those that would not hear him in his word shall see him in his dispensations, when all our threatenings shall be preached to our ears; and that word in Hos. vii. 12, 'I will chastise them as their congregation hath heard.' O, shall poor Scotland serve themselves heirs to the sins of the Gadarenes, to desire Christ to flit out of their coasts, and to subscribe the bill of divorce (in a manner) before Christ subscribe it? It is like these three sad evidences of affliction that are in Isaiah xlvi. 11 'shall come upon us in their perfection.' I shall add no more on a sad subject.

"My lord, not being able to write to you with my own hand, I have thought fit to present these few thoughts unto you by the hand of a friend.

"I know not (I will not limit him) but I may stand within that judgment-hall where that glorious and spotless High Priest doth sit, with that train that does fill the temple: and O, to be among the last of those that are bidden come in, and partake of that everlasting peace! O what a poor report will the messengers of the Covenant and gospel make, whose image they crucify in their hearts, to whom I may apply these words by allusion, 'The morning of conversion is to them as the terrors of death, and as the terrors of the breaking in of the day to the destroying of them.' What a poor account will some of us make, both as to the answer of our conscience and as to the answer of his pains taken upon us, and as to the answer of his promises, and as to the answer of his threatenings, and as to the answer of his commands, and as to the answer of our light? Now, not to trouble your lordship, whom I also highly reverence, and my soul was knit unto in the Lord, but that you would bespeak my case to the great Master of requests, and my broken case before him who has pleaded the desperate case of many, according to the sweet

word in Lamentations iii. 56—this is all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who for much of seven nights has but slept little at all, but has been kept in a right sad and grievous

torment from his hand, with many other sad particulars and circumstances.

“I shall say now no more, but I am yours in some single respects, I hope, I may say, dying in Christ, “ANDREW GRAY.”

JAMES DURHAM.

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

Having gone through all the parts of useful learning with success and applause,* he left the university before he was graduated, and for some time lived as a private gentleman at his own dwelling-house in the country, without any thought then of farther prosecuting his studies, especially for the ministry. And though he was always blameless 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 prejudice of education did not stand well affected to the Presbyterian government. He was first married to a daughter of the laird of Duntarvie, near Queensferry. His wife and her mother were both very pious women.

His conversion to the Lord was very remarkable; for going with his lady to visit her mother [Anna Durham] in the parish of Abercorn, some miles west from Edinburgh, it happened that at this time the sacrament was to be administered in the parish. Upon Saturday his mother-in-law earnestly pressed him to go with them to church and hear sermon. At first he showed much unwillingness; but partly by their persuasion and partly from his complaisant disposition he went along with them. The minister † who preached that day was extremely affectionate and serious in his delivery; and

* He was educated at the university of St. Andrews.

† The minister was Ephraim Melvin or Melville, who was first minister of Queensferry, and

though the sermon was a plain familiar discourse, yet his seriousness fixed Mr. Durham's attention very closely, and he was much affected therewith. But the change was reserved till the morrow. When he came home he said to his mother-in-law, "The minister hath preached very seriously this day. I shall not need to be pressed to go to church to-morrow." Accordingly, on Sabbath morning, rising early, he went to church, where Mr. Melville preached from 1 Pet. ii. 7, "Unto you therefore which believe he is precious," when he so sweetly and seriously opened up the preciousness of Christ, and the Spirit of God wrought so effectually on Mr. Durham's spirit, that in hearing of this sermon he first closed with Christ, and then went to the Lord's table and took the seal of God's covenant. After this he ordinarily called Mr. Melville "father" when he spoke of him.

Afterwards he made serious religion his business in secret, in his family, and in all places and

was afterwards translated to Lulithgow, where he died. When Rutherford heard of his death, which happened in April, 1653, he exclaimed, "And is Ephraim dead? He was an interpreter among a thousand" (*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 25). Alexander Brodie of Brodie, in recording the event in his diary, writes—"Observe the death of good Mr. Ephraim Mel-

companies where he came, and did cordially embrace the interest of Christ and his church, as then established, and gave himself much up to reading; for which reason, that he might be free of all disturbance, he caused build a study for himself. In this little chamber he gave himself to prayer, reading, and meditation, and was so close a student that he often forgot to eat his bread, being sometimes so intent upon his studies that servants who were sent to call him down often returned without an answer; yea, his lady frequently called on him with tears before he would come. Such sweet communion he had sometimes with the Lord in that place.

James Durham made great proficiency in his studies, and not only became an experimental Christian but also a very learned man; one evidence of which he gave in a short dispute with one of the ministers of Dundee, while he was in that town. He met there with the parson of the parish (for so the ministers were

vill; a loss much to be lamented and not slighted. The taking away of a man so precious, at such a time and in such a way, Lord help me to understand!" (p. 29). Under Melville's ministry many were brought to the saving knowledge of the truth, among whom were others besides Durham who afterwards became eminent ministers of the gospel in their day.

then called), who knew him not. After some discourse he fell upon the popish controversy with him, and so put him to silence that he could not answer a word, but went sneakingly out of the room to the provost, craving his assistance to apprehend Durham as a Jesuit, assuring the provost, 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 saluted him as laird of Easter Powrie, craving his pardon for their mistake; and turning to the parson, asked where the person was whom 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."

His call and coming forth to the ministry were somewhat remarkable, for at the time when the civil wars broke out, several gentlemen being in arms for the cause of religion, he was chosen and called to be a captain, in

which station he behaved himself like another Cornelius, being a devout man and one that feared God with all his house, and prayed to God always with his company. 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 to pray, Mr. David Dickson, then professor of divinity at Glasgow, on his way past, seeing the soldiers addressing themselves to prayer, and hearing the voice of one praying, drew near, alighted from his horse, and joined with them. He was so much taken with the prayer that he called for Mr. Durham, and having conversed with him a little, he solemnly charged him, that as soon as this piece of service was over he should devote himself to serve God in the holy ministry, for to that he judged the Lord called him.

But though, as yet, Durham had no clearness to hearken to Mr. Dickson's advice, yet two remarkable providences fell out just upon the back of this solemn charge, which served very much to clear the way to comply with his desire. 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 (as was then in fashion with gentlemen), he asked him if he was a priest? Durham replied, "I am one of God's priests," and he spared his life. Durham, upon reflecting how wonderfully the Lord had thus preserved his life, and that his saying he was a priest had been the means thereof, resolved, as a testimony of his grateful sense of the Lord's goodness to him, henceforth to devote himself to the service of God in the holy ministry, if the Lord should see meet to qualify him for the same.

Accordingly, in pursuance of this resolution he quickly went to Glasgow, and studied divinity under Mr. David Dickson, then professor there, and made such proficiency that in a short time he humbly offered himself to 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 appointed Mr. Ramsay, one of their ministers, to entreat Mr. Durham to come and preach in Glasgow. Accordingly he came,

and preached two Sabbath days and one week day. The session, being fully satisfied with his doctrine, and the gifts bestowed on him by the Lord for serving him in the holy ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars church, then vacant; and he was ordained minister there in November, 1647.

James Durham 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 should entangle himself with the affairs of this life, he obtained leave of his people to return to his own country for a little time to settle his worldly affairs. Yet even there he was not idle, but preached every Sabbath. First, he preached at Dundee before a great multitude from Rom. i. 16, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ;" from which he showed that it was no disparagement for the greatest to be a gospel minister. The second time he preached at Tealing, in his own country, from 2 Cor. v. 18, "And hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation;" and the third time at Monifeith, at the desire of the minister there, from 2 Cor. v. 20, "Now then we are

ambassadors for Christ." In all 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 to Glasgow in haste, his wife being dangerously sick, he came away, leaving his affairs to the care of his friends, and returned to Glasgow, where in a few days his wife, who had been the desire of his eyes, died. His Christian submission under this afflicting dispensation was most remarkable; for 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. Zachariah Boyd, minister of the Barony church of Glasgow.*

In 1650 Mr. David Dickson, professor of divinity in the college of Glasgow, being called to be professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, the

* Margaret Muir was the third daughter of William Muir of Glanderston in the shire of Renfrew. She was the second wife and relict of Zachary Boyd, who died about the end of the year 1653, or in the beginning of 1654. Boyd, who possessed considerable property, at his death divided it by his will between his

commissioners of the General Assembly, authorized for visiting the university of Glasgow, un-animously designed and called Mr. Durham to succeed Mr. Dickson as professor there. But before he was admitted to that charge the General Assembly, being persuaded of his eminent piety and 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 which station, though the times were most difficult, as abounding with snares and temptations, he did so wisely and faithfully acquit himself that there was a conviction left upon the consciences of all who observed him. Yea, during his stay at court, and whenever he went about the duty of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightness and profanity, none allowing themselves to do anything offensive before

widow and the college of Glasgow. A tradition exists that when he was making his will his wife desired him to leave something to Mr. Durham. "No, no, Margaret," he replied, "I'll lea' him naething but thy bonnie sel'." Another more sarcastic version of his reply is, "I'll lea' him what I cannot keep frae him."

him; so that while he served the Lord in the holy ministry, and particularly in that post and character of the king's chaplain, his ambition was to have God's favour rather than the favour of great men, and he studied more to profit and edify their souls than to tickle their fancies, as some court parasites in their sermons do. One instance whereof was, that being called to preach before the Parliament, where many rulers were present, he preached from John iii. 10: "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" On this occasion he mostly insisted that it was a most unaccountable thing for rulers and nobles in Israel to be ignorant of the great and necessary things of regeneration, and being born again of the Spirit; and did most seriously press all, from the king to the beggar, to seek and know experimentally these things—a good pattern for all ministers who are called to preach on the like occasion. He continued with King Charles II. till he went to England, and then returned.

Towards the end of January, 1651, the common session of Glasgow appointed Patrick Gillespie to write him, concerning Robert Ramsay's being pro-

fessor of Divinity in his place in the university of Glasgow. In consequence of this Durham came to Glasgow; for he is mentioned as present in the session in the beginning of April after. At the same time Cromwell and his army were in Glasgow; and on the Lord's day Cromwell heard a sermon preached by Durham, who testified against his invasion to his face. Next day he sent for Durham, and told him that he always thought that he had been a wiser man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons. To this he answered that 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 public. At the same time sundry ministers, both in town and country, met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in strong terms the injustice of his invasion.

It would appear that James Durham, some time after this, had withdrawn from Glasgow. A letter was therefore in August next ordered to be sent to him, to come and preach; and in

September after, there being a vacancy in the Inner High Church by the death of Mr. Ramsay, the common session gave him an unanimous call, with which the town council agreed. Some time after this he was received as minister, Mr. John Carstairs, his brother-in-law,* being his colleague in that church.

In the whole of his ministry he was a burning and a shining light,† and particularly he shone in humility and self-denial. He was also a person of the utmost gravity, and scarcely smiled at anything. Once when Mr. William Guthrie, being exceedingly merry, made Mr. Durham smile with his pleasant, facetious, and harmless conversation, the latter was at first a little disgusted; but it being the laudable custom of that family to pray after dinner, which Mr. Guthrie did, upon being desired, with the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment of all present, Mr.

* Mr. Carstairs was the father of the celebrated William Carstairs, principal of the university of Edinburgh. His wife was Janet Muir, daughter of William Muir of Glanderston, and sister of Margaret Muir, Durham's second wife. (*Wodrow's History*, vol. ii. p. 335.)

† Robert Baillie, principal of the university of Glasgow, "counted Durham one of the most gracious, wise, and able preachers now in this isle." "He is the minister of my family," adds

Durham embraced him when they arose from prayer, 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."

James Durham was devout in all parts of his ministerial work, but more eminently so at communion occasions. Then he endeavoured, through grace, to rouse and work himself up to such a divineness of frame, as very much suited the spiritual nature and majesty of that ordinance. Yea, at some of these solemn and sweet occasions he spoke some way as a man that had been in heaven, commending Jesus Christ, making a glorious display of grace, and bringing the offers thereof so low, that his hearers were made to think that the rope or cord of the salvation offered was let down to sinners, so that those of the lowest stature might catch hold of it. He gave himself much up to

the same writer, "and almost the only minister in this place of whom my soul gets good, and whom I respect in some things above all men I know. He has a very satisfactory treatise on the Revelation, which I encourage him to print. If the gravel and melancholy cut not his days, he may be for good service." (*Letter of Baillie to Mr. Spang at Middleburg*, 1st September, 1656, in his *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 312.)

meditation, and usually said little to persons that came to propose their cases to him, but heard them patiently, and was sure to handle their cases in his sermons.

His healing disposition, and great moderation of spirit, remarkably appeared when this church was grievously divided betwixt the Resolutioners and Protesters;* he would never give his judgment on either side, and used to say that "division was worse by far than either." He was equally respected by both parties; for at a meeting of the Synod in Glasgow, when those of the two 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; 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 wakening, or lengthening these debates, by preaching or spreading papers on either side; that they should forbear practis-

* Robert Baillie, who was a violent Resolutioner, was extremely desirous that a man of Durham's reputation and influence should take the side of the Resolutioners, which, doubtless, would have strengthened them; and he frequently expresses himself dissatisfied and uneasy at the middle position assumed by Durham, who did not, however, attempt to form a middle

ing, executing, or pressing of Acts made in the last Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, and also pressing or spreading appeals, declinatures, or protestations against the same; that no minister, elder, or expectant should be censured, or their ordination to office excepted against on the ground of these things, they being found otherwise qualified; [that some should be named as correspondents to carry these overtures, to be conferred with and recommended to brethren of other Synods, who should be written to, to send some of their number to meet at a convenient time and place for that end; and that it was their purpose, if God should give a free General Assembly, to endeavour a full and judicial settling, an oblivion of the fore-said differences and all consequences that have followed on them; and in the meantime to proceed in all affairs according to the uncontroverted rules and Acts of our church. †

So earnest was Mr. Durham for peace and agreement betwixt

party, but rather to harmonize the two parties already formed and hotly contending. (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 145, 147, 189.)

† Had Durham's overtures been acted upon, this would have gone far to allay the acrimony of feeling which had been excited between the two parties from their discussions on their differences, and from the mutual recrimination

ministers on both sides at this time, that he went to St.

and injuries of which the controversy was prolific. But they suggest no plan of reconciliation, leaving it to the Synods and to the General Assembly to encounter the formidable task of dealing with the points of difference, especially with the great fundamental practical difference arising from the distrust of the Protesters in the good faith of the parties in whose favour the resolutions were passed. The resolutions were two; first, the answer made to the first query of the Parliament by the commission of the General Assembly, 14th December, 1650, agreeing to the admission of malignants into places of power and trust in the army, under certain restrictions. (*Balfour's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 137, and *Acts of the Parl. of Scot.*, vol. vi. p. 542.) The second resolution was the answer of the commission, given 22nd March and 24th May, to a second query of the Parliament, relating to the admission of malignants into Parliament and to the repeal of the Act of Classes. The conditions upon which the noblemen debarred by the Act of Classes were to be admitted into Parliament, were that they should engage that on their admission they would promote the ratification of such Acts as had formerly been made, especially since 1648, for the good of religion, and the Acts made against the Engagement and for censuring the Engagers; that they should neither directly nor indirectly, neither personally nor by others, seek to revenge themselves upon any that had a hand in censuring them or debarring them from places of power and trust; that all who were then in places of power and trust should continue, subject of course to their conducting themselves according to the Acts of Parliament, and being accountable to Parliament; and that they should revive a laudable Act formerly made for keeping judicatories free from corruption and corrupt persons. (*Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, vol. vi. pp. 589, 609. *Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 272.) Had the restrictions or conditions of these resolutions been observed by the Parliament and the malignants admitted to places of power and trust, all would have been well. But the Protesters did not believe that they would be observed, and insisted that before malignants were admitted to such places, in which they

Andrews with Messrs. Samuel Rutherford, Robert Trail, John

might have the opportunity of overturning all that had recently been done for religion and liberty, they should, notwithstanding their willingness to give all the bonds and oaths that could be required, first afford some trustworthy evidence that they had changed their principles, and were therefore likely to fulfil their engagements; the more especially as many of them had fought against their own countrymen for the unconditional recognition of Charles II. under Montrose, who had a secret commission to that effect from Charles, at the very time that commissioners from Scotland were negotiating with him at Breda. This constituted the great practical difference between the Resolutioners and the Protesters, which the overtures of Durham did not even touch; and it is not easy to see how the two parties, who held tenaciously their respective opinions, could be harmonized. The event certainly showed that the Protesters were the best judges of human nature and human character; that if they distrusted it was where distrust was extremely reasonable; and that what they demanded was a prudent precaution perfectly justifiable under the circumstances. The policy of the Resolutioners triumphed, and the entire control of the administration of the affairs of the kingdom was soon transferred to malignants, whom Charles II. chiefly or solely admitted to the highest offices of the state; and this resulted in a fearful violation of bonds and oaths, and in the overthrow of the whole Reformation from 1638 and downwards. For these disastrous effects of their policy the Resolutioners cannot be pronounced blameless. They were not indeed answerable for the conduct of men of high professions of religion, such as Sharpe and Lauderdale, who afterwards apostatized and became cruel persecutors. But to admit to important posts avowed malignants, without any evidence that they had become the friends of civil and religious freedom, whatever engagements they might come under, was like intrusting in a time of danger the principal strongholds of a kingdom to the enemy or to men of doubtful loyalty.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the Protesters, in conducting the controversy, were far from displaying a forbearing and con-

Livingstone, and Patrick Gillespie, who had a conference there with Messrs. Robert Blair, David Forret, and James Wood, about their different judgments at that time; and was present with them at their reasonings three days, where the substance of the foresaid overtures was insisted upon.]*

So weighty was the ministerial charge upon his spirit, that Durham said that 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 thoughtfulness cast him into that decline whereof he died.

[Robert Baillie, in a letter to Mr. Spang, minister at Middleburg, without date, but written apparently in June, 1658, writes: “Our friends in town are all well. Only good Mr. Durham has kept his chamber above

ciliatory spirit towards their opponents, and stumbled them by rigorously insisting on as high moral and religious qualifications for the admission of persons into the army as are required by the word of God for admission to the membership of the church, as well as excited their resentment by acting of an overbearing character. But the Resolutions, whatever their pretensions to candour and moderation, equalled if they did not surpass the Protesters in the mordacity with which they maintained the contest, and in the exercise of a high-handed tyranny. Of this the deposition of Messrs. James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, Patrick Gillespie, minister at Glasgow, and James Simpson, minister at Airth, for their opposition to the Resolutions, by the General

these four months, and his bed more than this month, of a lent fever and defluxion, that puts his life in great hazard; in the absence of Mr. Patrick Gillespie more than a year, and Mr. Robert M'Ward seeking his health at London, a great burden of continual preaching lay on him, and the perfecting of his work on the Revelation for the press was very heavy. It were a great pity of the man; albeit I have my own differences with him, and sharp reckonings sometimes, yet I love him dearly, and count him one of the best and ablest men in Britain.”]‡

In the time of his sickness, the better part being afraid that the magistrates, and some of the ministry who were for the public resolutions, would put in one of that stamp after his death, moved Mr. Carstairs, his colleague, to desire him to name his

Assembly held at St. Andrews and adjourned to Dundee, in July, 1651, which was packed with Resolutions, is only one melancholy instance.

* Life of Durham prefixed to his Commentary upon the Revelation, Glasgow, 1739, p. xiii.

† On 21st December, 1657, Durham and Mr. William Rait, minister at Brechin, were unanimously called, by the kirk session of Aberdeen, to be ministers of that city. (*Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen*, printed by the Spalding Club, p. 145.) But Durham's illness and death, which took place soon after, sisted further procedure in the prosecution of the call addressed to him.

‡ *Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 368.

successor. After some demur, enjoining secrecy till it was nearer his death, he at last named Mr. David Veitch, then minister of Govan; but afterwards, when dying, to the magistrates, ministers, and some of the people, he named other three,* to take any of them they pleased. This alteration made Mr. Carstairs inquire the reason after the rest were gone; to whom Durham replied, "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." And so it proved, for Durham died the Friday after; and next Sabbath Veitch preached; though knowing nothing of this, he told the people in the afternoon that it would be his last sermon to them; and the same night tak-

* The three whom Durham named were Mr. Francis Aird, Mr. Ralph Rodger, and Mr. George Campbell, who were all Protesters. Robert Baillie refers to Durham's recommendation somewhat sarcastically, representing Mr. Carstairs, his brother-in-law, as taking it "well near for an oracle of God." Baillie, whose strong prejudices as a Resoluter always appear when he speaks of the Protesters, affirms that "two of the three were very unfit, and the third but of very ordinary sufficiency. Mr. George Campbell, a boy of twenty years, laureat two years ago with my Harie, who was in the circle with him, and in all things his match but in his extreme flattering of Mr. Gillespie—this boy, when named, had never so much as spoken in any public exercise. Mr. Francis Aird, of ordinary parts, but so exceeding sickly, that half a year's service of our town was

ing bed, he died next Friday morning about three o'clock, the time that Durham died, as Dr. Rattray, who was witness to both, did declare.

[Samuel Rutherford, hearing of the serious illness of his friend Durham, wrote to him a letter of encouragement and comfort, dated St. Andrews, 15th June, 1658, only ten days before his death. "I would ere now have written to you," to quote a sentence or two, "had I not known that your health, weaker and weaker, could scarce permit you to hear or read. I need not speak much; the way ye know, and have preached to others the skill of the Guide, and the glory of the home beyond death. . . . What accession is made to the higher house of his kingdom should not be our loss, though

like to have buried him; but he was good enough, since a prime Remonstrant." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 383.) Mr. Aird died of a fever of five or six days' continuance at the close of the year 1660, or in the beginning of the year 1661. Mr. Ralph Rodger succeeded Durham, and suffered during the persecution. Mr. George Campbell afterwards became minister of Dumfries, but was ejected for nonconformity by an Act of the council at Glasgow, 1662. He survived the Revolution of 1688, and was restored to his old parish of Dumfries. On 26th September, 1690, he was appointed by the town council of Edinburgh professor of divinity in the university, and shortly after one of the ministers of the city. He died in the autumn of the year 1701. He was a learned man, and was the founder of the College Theological Library, Edinburgh.

it be real loss to the church of God; but we count one way and the Lord counteth another way].”*

When on his death-bed, 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 cast out?’” Mr. Carstairs answered, “You may depend upon it though you had a thousand salvations at hazard.” When Durham was drawing towards his departure, though in great conflict and agony, yet he sensibly, through the strength of God’s grace, 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.†

Thus died the eminently pious,

learned, and judicious James Durham, whose labours did always aim at the advancement of practical religion, and whose praise in the Gospel 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 him it may be said (without derogating from the merit of any) that he attained unto the first three, and had a name among the mighty. He was also one of great integrity and authority in the country where he lived; insomuch that, when any difference fell out, he was always chosen by both parties as their great referee or judge, unto whose sentence all parties submitted. Such was the quality of his calm and healing spirit.

Mr. John Carstairs, in the funeral sermon which he preached upon the death of his colleague, Mr. Durham, from Isa. lvii. 1, 2, “The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart,” gives him this character: “Know ye not that there is a prince among pastors fallen to-day! a faithful and wise steward, who knew well how to give God’s children

goods and gear at the time of his death, including the debts owing to him and deducting his debts, amounted to £2135. (*Registers of Confirmed Testaments, Glasgow*, 8th January, 1659.)

* *Rutherford’s Letters*, p. 793.

† He thus died in the flower and vigour of his gifts, graces, and age. By his last will he made his relict, Margaret Muir, his executrix. His

their food in due season, a gentle and kind nurse, a faithful admonisher and reprovcr, 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 among a thousand; to him men gave ear, and after his words no man spake again."

His learned and pious works, wherein all the excellences of the primitive and ancient fathers seem to concentrate, are a Commentary on the Revelation;* seventy-two sermons on the fifty-third chapter of the Prophecies of Isaiah; an Exposition of the Ten Commandments; an Exposition of the Song of Solomon; his sermons on Death and on the Unsearchable Riches of Christ; his Communion sermons; sermons on Godliness and Self-Denial; Heaven upon Earth in the Serene Tranquillity of a

* Durham's Commentary on the Book of Revelation was published at London, 1658, folio, after his death, with a commendatory notice

Good Conscience, in several sermons. 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 Giving 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 upon Eph. v. 15; 1 Cor. xi. 24; Luke i. 6; Gal. v. 16; Psalm cxix. 67; 1 Thess. v. 19; 1 Pet. iii. 14; Matt. 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 author, must be left to the impartial and unbiassed reader.

prefixed by his friend and colleague, Mr. John Carstairs, dated 23rd September that year; and another by Robert Baillie.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a gentleman by extraction, having spent some time at the grammar

school, went to the university of Edinburgh, where he was so much admired for his pregnancy

of parts, and deservedly looked upon as one from whom some great things might be expected, that in a short time, though then but very young, he was made professor of philosophy in that university.

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

So early as June, 1630,

* "The truth seems to be that Andrew Lamb, then bishop of Galloway, and the friend of Kenmuir, was induced by that gentleman and by Lord Kirkeudbright, a zealous Presbyterian, and possessed of great estates in the parish of Anwoth, to relax in this instance the authority with which the law invested him, and to connive at the Presbyterian ordination and non-conformity of Rutherford." (*Dr. Murray's Life of Rutherford*, p. 37.)

† Rutherford had been summoned to appear before the Court of High Commission at the instance of "a profligate person," who had been convicted of revolting immorality. What the charge against him was we are not informed, but it no doubt consisted in his nonconformity, his preaching against the five articles of Perth, or other invasions on the liberties of the church, and his keeping private meetings for humiliation

Rutherford was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at Edinburgh; but the weather being so tempestuous as to obstruct the passage of Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, hither, and Mr. Alexander Colvil of Blair, justice-depute, one of the judges, having befriended him, † the diet was deserted. About the same time his first wife died, ‡ after a sore sickness of thirteen months; and he himself was so ill of a tertian fever for thirteen weeks, that he could not preach on the Sabbath-day without great difficulty.

Again, in April, 1634, he was threatened with another prosecution at the instance of the bishop of Galloway, before the High Commission Court. [This he inferred from the fact that the

and prayer. Andrew Lamb, who was then bishop of Galloway, a tolerant prelate, does not seem to have encouraged the prosecution, otherwise Rutherford might have been deprived of his ministry at Anwoth sooner than he was. Rutherford, in a letter to Lady Kenmuir, 26th June that year, expresses himself in terms of the warmest gratitude for the friendly offices of Mr. Colvil. "In the business Mr. Alexander Colvil (for respect to your ladyship) was my great friend, and wrote a most kind letter to me. 'The Lord give him mercy in that day.' . . . I entreat your ladyship to thank Mr. Alexander Colvil with two lines of a letter." (*Rutherford's Letters*, p. 21.)

‡ Rutherford's first wife, whose name was Eupham Hamilton, died in June, 1630, after a union of less than five years. The children of this marriage predeceased their mother.

bishop had sent in his name along with the names of others to the High Commission, as he states in a letter to Marion M'Naught dated the 25th of that month.*] Nor were these threatenings all the reasons which Rutherford had to lay his account with suffering; for as the Lord would not hide from his faithful servant Abraham the things he was about to do, neither would he conceal from this son of Abraham what his purposes were concerning him. In a letter to the wife of the provost of Kirkeudbright, 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.

[After Thomas Sydserff † became bishop of Galloway in 1635, Rutherford became still more convinced, from the violence of that prelate against nonconformists, that he would soon be involved in suffering. In a letter to Lady Kenmuir, dated 18th January, 1636, he writes:

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 63.

† Thomas Sydserff, formerly minister of the College church, Edinburgh, was consecrated bishop of Brechin, 29th July, 1634, and made bishop of Galloway in June, 1635. (*Row's History*, pp. 375, 388.) Sydserff had early imbibed Arminian sentiments, and was a ready instrument in coercing the ministers and people of Scotland into all the arbitrary measures of Archbishop

“I expect our new prelate shall try my sitting. I hang by a thread, but it is (if I may speak so) of Christ's spinning. There is no quarrel more honest or honourable than to suffer for truth.” ‡ In reference to Sydserff's attempts to compel the ministers within his diocese to conform to the Perth articles, he says to Lady Kenmuir, 8th June, 1636: “Our prelate will have us either to swallow our light over and digest it contrary to our stomachs, howbeit we should vomit our conscience and all in this troublesome conformity, or then he will try if deprivation can convert us to the ceremonial faith. . . . We must either see all the evil of ceremonies to be but as indifferent straws, or suffer no less than to be casten out of the Lord's inheritance.” § To bring Rutherford to conform to the Perth articles Sydserff had conferences with him at sundry times in private; but not succeeding in his efforts by promises or threatenings, he adopted the more stringent

Laud and Charles I. He was deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly of Glasgow, 1638. On the restoration of Charles II. he was the only surviving bishop of Scotland, and was elevated to the see of Orkney. “He lived,” says Burnet, “little more than a year after his translation.”

‡ Rutherford's Letters, p. 97.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

measures of persecution against him and other refractory ministers. *] Accordingly, the thing which Rutherford looked for came upon him; for he was again, in July following, summoned before the High Commission Court at Edinburgh for nonconformity, for preaching against the five articles of Perth, and for a book of his against Arminianism, recently published at Amsterdam that year, entitled *Exercitationes Apologetice pro Divina Gratia*, which book the prelates alleged did reflect upon the church of Scotland. But “the truth was,” says a late historian, “the argument of that book did cut the sinews of Arminianism, and galled the Episcopal clergy to the very quick; and so Bishop Sydserff could endure Rutherford no longer.” † When he came before the Commission Court, he altogether declined it as a lawful

* Row's History, p. 396.

† Stevenson's History, vol. i. p. 149.

‡ In a letter to Marion M'Naught written at the time from Edinburgh, Rutherford thus speaks of his trial before the High Commission: “I am yet under trial, and have appeared before Christ's forbidden lords, for a testimony against them. The chancellor [Archbishop Spottiswoode] and the rest tempted me with questions, nothing belonging to my summons, which I wholly declined, notwithstanding of his threats. My newly printed book against the Arminians was one challenge; not lording his prelates another. The most part of the bishops, when I came in, looked more astonished than I, and heard me with silence. Some spoke for me.

judicatory, and would not give the chancellor (being a clergyman) and the bishops their titles, by lording of them. Some had the courage to befriend him, particularly Lord Lorne, afterwards the famous marquis of Argyll, who did as much for him as he could; but the bishop of Galloway, threatening that if he got not his will of him he would write to the king, it was carried against him; and upon the 27th of July, 1636, he was discharged from exercising any part of his ministry within the kingdom of Scotland, under pain of rebellion; and ordered from the 20th of August following to confine himself within the city of Aberdeen during the king's pleasure; which sentence he obeyed, and forthwith went towards the place of his confinement.‡

From Aberdeen he wrote

. . . What they intend against the next day I know not. . . Our bishop of Galloway said, if the Commission should not give him his will of me, with an oath (he said) he would write to the king. The chancellor summoned me in judgment to appear that day eight days.” (*Rutherford's Letters*, p. 104.) In a letter to Lady Kenmuir dated Edinburgh, 28th July, 1636, he writes: “That that I have prayed for these sixteen years, with submission to my Lord's will, my kind Lord hath now bestowed upon me, even to suffer for my royal and princely king Jesus, and for his kingly crown, and the freedom of his kingdom that his Father hath given him. The forbidden lords have sentenced me with deprivation and confinement within the town of

many of his famous letters, from which it is evident that the consolation of the Holy Spirit did greatly abound with 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;

Aberdeen. I am charged in the king's name to enter against the 20th day of August next, and there to remain during the king's pleasure, as they have given it out. Howbeit Christ's green cross, newly laid upon me, be somewhat heavy, yet that sweet smelled and perfumed cross is accompanied with sweet refreshments, with the joy of the Holy Ghost." (*Ibid.*, p. 105.) Rutherford appeared before the High Commission three days. Great endeavours were made, but without success, by noblemen and others, especially by the parishioners of Anwoth, that he should be confined within his own parish. (*Row's History*, p. 396.)

Before proceeding to the place of his banishment he paid a visit to his friend, Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine. On 4th August he writes in a letter to Mr. Robert Cunningham, minister at Holywood, Ireland, "from Irvine, being on my journey to Christ's palace in Aberdeen." It would appear that he was allowed to remain a few weeks longer in the south to prepare for his journey. He was in Edinburgh on the 5th of September. The first of his letters from Aberdeen, written to Robert Gordon of Knockbreck, after he had arrived there and "settled in an honest man's house," is dated the 20th of that month. (*Rutherford's Letters*, pp. 113-16.)

* Rutherford exchanged papers with some of the Aberdeen doctors on some Arminian points; and if Row is to be credited, "put the chiefest of them to silence." His testimony as to the corrupt doctrine which he heard from the Aberdeen pulpits was afterwards taken advantage of

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

for the deposition of some of these doctors by the General Assembly held in July, 1640. (*Row's History*, p. 397.) "I am here troubled," says he in a letter to Mr. George Gillespie from Aberdeen, 13th March, 1637, "with the disputes of the great doctors, (especially with D. B. [Dr. Robert Barron] in ceremonial and Arminian controversies, for all are corrupt here); but I thank God with no detriment to the truth, or discredit to my profession." (*Letters*, p. 267.)

Whilst he was a prisoner within Aberdeen deprived of his ministry, and having only slender hopes of being restored to its exercise, he sometimes entertained the idea, should he obtain his liberty, of removing to another country such as New England, in which multitudes of non-conformists then found an asylum from persecution. Some of his friends were very desirous that he might be honourably and usefully employed in some of the Reformed churches abroad. Robert Baillie, in a letter to Mr. William Spang, minister at Campvere, 29th January, 1637, says: "Always I take the man [Rutherford] to be among the most learned and best ingynes of our nation. I think he were very able for some profession in your colleges of Utrecht, Groningen, or Rotterdam; for our king's dominions there is no appearance he will ever get living into them. If you could quietly procure him a calling, I think it were a good service to God to relieve one of his troubled ministers; and good to the place he came to, for he is both godly and learned; yea, I think by time he might be an ornament to our nation." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 9.)

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 that the whole country side might be accounted as his particular flock; and (it being then in the dawning of the Reformation) men found no small benefit by the Gospel; that part of the ancient prophecy being farther accomplished, "For in the wilderness shall the waters break out, and streams in the desert" (Isa. xxxv. 6.)

He was before that venerable Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, and gave an account of all these his former proceedings, with respect to his confinement and the causes thereof. By them he was appointed to be professor of divinity at St. Andrews, and colleague in the ministry with the worthy Mr. Blair, who was translated thither about the same time. And here God did again so second this his eminent and faithful servant, that by his indefatigable pains both in teaching in the schools and preaching in the congregation, St. Andrews, the seat of the archbishop and 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, almost throughout the whole land. Many of those who received the spiritual life by his ministry he guided to heaven before himself, and many others did walk in that light after him.

As Samuel Rutherford was mighty in the public parts of religion, so he was a great practiser and encourager of the private duties thereof. Thus, in the year 1640, when a charge was foisted 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 yielded 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," "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another" (Mal. iii. 16). "Con-

fess your faults one to another, and pray one for another" (James v. 16). And although the earl of Seaforth there present, and those of Guthrie's faction, upbraided the good man for this, yet it had influence upon the majority of the members; so all that the opposite party got done was an Act anent the ordering of family worship.

* Rutherford felt that by this appointment, as by his translation previously from Anwoth to a divinity chair at St. Andrews, he was highly honoured. Yet in reference to both, especially to the former, he modestly writes that his heart bore him witness, and the Lord who is greater knew, that his "faith was never prouder than to be a common rough country barrowman in Anwoth; and that he could not look at the honour of being a mason to lay the foundations for many generations, and to build the master places of Zion in another kingdom, or to have a hand or finger in that carved work in the cedar and almond trees in that new temple." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 481.) That Rutherford rendered important service in the discussions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, especially on the question of the Presbyterian form of church government, is repeatedly testified in the highest terms by Robert Baillie, one of his fellow commissioners. Writing on this subject to Robert Blair, 26th March, 1644, he says:—"Mr. Samuel, for the great parts God has given him, and special acquaintance with the question in hand, is very necessary to be here, especially because of his book, which he is daily enlarging, and it will not come off the press yet for some short time." (*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 159.) In a letter to Mr. R. Ramsay, 9th May same year, he writes:—"Had not God sent Mr. Henderson, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Gillespie among them, I see not that ever they could [have] agreed to any settled government." (*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 177.)

† "*Lex Rex*, the Law and the Prince: a Dispute for the just Prerogative of King and People," &c. London: 1644, 4to. It was

Samuel Rutherford was also one of the Scots commissioners appointed in 1643 to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and was very much beloved there for unparalleled faithfulness and zeal in going about his Master's business.* It was during this time that he published *Lex Rex*, † and several other learned pieces against the Erastians, Anabap-

written in answer to a work by John Maxwell, late bishop of Ross, the friend of Archbishop Laud, entitled "Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas; or the Sacred and Royal Prerogative of Christian Kings." Oxford: 1644; in which the absolute power of the monarch is asserted to be an inherent right, derived from God and independent of the people, whose sacred duty is passive obedience; and in which it is attempted to prove that Presbytery is incompatible with monarchy. Rutherford's *Lex Rex*, which afterwards would probably have brought him to the scaffold had his life been prolonged, was not of an anti-monarchical and seditious character, as represented by the Prelatic party of the period, and by some even in our time. It defends monarchy as the most beneficial form of civil government; but maintains that the authority of law is superior to that of the king—a doctrine upon which the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Parliament were at that time acting—and that in extreme cases of tyranny and misrule the sovereign may be deprived by the people of the regal power. The principles of the *Lex Rex*, which are similar to those of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*, are simply those of the Revolution of 1688 and of the British constitution of the present day. On its publication it excited much interest, and was eagerly read. At the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh, 22nd January, 1645, "every one," says Bishop Guthrie, "had in his hand that book lately published by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, entitled *Lex Rex*, which was stuffed with positions that in the time of peace and order would have been judged damnable treasons; yet were so idolized, that whereas in the

tists, Independents, and other sectaries, that began to prevail and increase at the time; 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 burned at the cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the hangman.

When the principal business of the Westminster Assembly was pretty well settled, Samuel Rutherford, in October 24, 1647, moved that it might be recorded in the scribe's book that the Assembly had enjoyed the assistance of the commissioners of

beginning of the work Buchanan's treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* was looked upon as an oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted as not anti-monarchical enough, and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* only thought authentic." (*Memoirs*, p. 177).

* Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics.

† The fame of Rutherford as a scholar, a theologian, and an author, had now extended to the Protestant churches in other lands, particularly to that of Holland, whose polity, like that of the Scottish church, was Presbyterian. Accordingly, on the establishment of a university in the town of Harderwick, in 1648, he was invited to occupy a theological chair in that seminary. Mr. William Spang, in a letter to Robert Baillie, dated 19th March, 1649, writes:—"Mr. Samuel Rutherford is called to be professor of divinity and the Hebrew tongue in the new university of Harderwick. I have pre-

the Church of Scotland all the time they had been debating and perfecting these four things mentioned in the solemn league, viz., their composing a Directory for Worship, a uniform Confession of Faith, a Form of Church Government and Discipline, and the Public Catechism; which was done in about a week after he and the rest returned home. †

Upon the death of the learned Dematius, in 1651, the magistrates of Utrecht in Holland, being abundantly satisfied as to the learning, piety, and true zeal of the great Mr. Rutherford, invited him to the divinity chair there; but he could not be persuaded. His reasons (elsewhere, when dissuading another gentleman from going abroad) seem to be expressed in these words:

sently received a letter from Dr. Valkenier, professor of divinity there, with one inclosed to Mr. Samuel; he writes to me that the states of Guelderland, to whom that university doth belong, have sent him his letters of call some months since, and desired me to write also to him to hasten his coming. This is by Dr. Voetius and Stewart's stirring. Ye must be well advised at home what to do, if our kirk can want such a man in the great scarceness of such. It is not his English writings that commend him so much as his Latin treatise against the Jesuits and Arminians. (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 82.) Rutherford, however, declined to accept of this appointment. From the next paragraph in the text we learn that he was subsequently invited to fill a similar situation in the university of Utrecht, which he also declined, judging that his labours were likely to be more useful in his own country than in a foreign land.

“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 own native country, than to leave his charge and flock in time of danger. He continued with them till the day of his death, in the free and faithful discharge of his duty.

When the unhappy difference fell out between those called the Resolutioners and the Protesters, in 1650 and 1651, he espoused the Protesters' quarrel, and gave faithful warning against the public resolutions; and likewise during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, he contended against all the prevailing sectaries that were then ushered in 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. About the middle of September, 1660, the book *Lex Rex*, of which Rutherford acknowledged that he was the author, although his name is not inserted in the title page, as he used to do in his other works, was taken under the consideration of the Committee of Estates, and it was pronounced to contain many things treasonable and seditious. On the 19th of that month a proclamation was issued against it; and about the middle of October it was, by the appointment of the Committee of Estates, burnt by the hand of the hangman at the cross of Edinburgh, and at the gates of the New College of St. Andrews, where he was professor of divinity.* The Parliament, in 1661, were to have an indictment laid before them against him; and such was their humanity, when everybody knew

* Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 366.

that he was a-dying, that [some days before his book was burned] they summoned 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 his Judge was his friend. He was dead before the time came, being taken away from the evil to come.

It is commonly said that, when the summons came, he spoke out of his bed and said, "Tell them I have got a summons already before a superior Judge and judicatory, and I behove to answer my first summons, and ere your day come I will be where few kings and great folks come." When they returned and told he was a-dying, the Parliament was put to a vote whether or not to let him die in the college. It was carried, "put him out," only a few dis-

* The Committee of Estates also received information of his illness by three certificates sent to them, one signed by the ministers and magistrates of the town of St. Andrews, a second by some masters of the university, and the third by Dr. Burnet, the physician who attended him. The exact import of the decret of the Committee of Estates was that Rutherford should be confined to his chamber, his stipend sequestrated, and his place in the New College declared vacant. Rutherford, besides being professor of divinity, was also principal of St. Mary's or the New College of St. Andrews—a situation to which he was appointed about the close of the year 1647. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 366.)

senting.* My Lord Burleigh said, "Ye have voted that honest man out of the college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven." Some said he would never win 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."

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

It may here be noticed that Mr. Andrew Cant, professor of theology in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and one of the ministers of that city, was so indignant at this hard treatment of a great and good man that he publicly condemned it in a sermon which he preached at the time. For this he was accused of treason before the magistrates, and found it necessary to demit his office, upon which he came and lived with his son, who was minister at Libberton, near Edinburgh. In 1663 he was formally deposed by the bishop and Synod of Aberdeen, and died not long after, aged seventy-nine. He was the author of a treatise on the "Titles of our Blessed Saviour." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 446. *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 165.)

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 of me, and I did eat them."

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 wit-

nesseth to my heart, he hath accepted my sufferings. He said to me, Fear not, the outgate shall not be simply matter of prayer, but matter of praise. I said to the Lord, if he should slay me five thousand times five thousand, I would trust in him; and I spoke it with much trembling, fearing I should not make my part good; but as really as ever he spoke to me by his Spirit, he witnessed to my heart, that his grace should be sufficient." The Thursday night before his death, being much grieved with the state of the land, he had this expression, "Horror had taken hold on me." And afterwards, falling on his own condition, he said, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myself to Christ for sanctification as well as justification;" repeating these words (1 Cor. i. 30), "He is made of God to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;" adding, "I close with it, let him be so: he is my all in all."

March 17. Three gentlewomen came to see him; and after exhorting them to read the Word, and be much in prayer and much in communion with God, he said, "My honourable Master and lovely Lord, my great royal

King, hath not a match in heaven or in earth. I have my own guilt, even like other sinful men; but he hath pardoned, loved, washed, and given me joy unspeakable and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his cause. Those whom ye call Protesters are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those who have burnt the 'Causes of God's Wrath.'* They have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice, but I believe the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob. Oh! to obtain mercy to wrestle with God for their salvation. As for this Presbytery, it hath stood in opposition to me these years past. I have my record in heaven. 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 James M'Gill,

* See this piece noticed under the Life of James Guthrie.

John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburne, 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 Presbytery;" and Mr. M'Gill replying, that 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 protestation 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 fainting, in which they who looked on expected his dissolution, he said, "I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna." Mr. Blair, whose praise is in the churches, being present, when he took 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 single man, but I stand at the best pass that ever a man did; Christ is mine, and I am his;" and spoke much of the white stone and the 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 my Redeemer for ever! Glory shines in Immanuel's land." In the afternoon of that day he said, "Oh! that all my brethren in the land 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 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 professor of divinity in the New College,* he told him that he heartily forgave 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; the case is desperate; let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Dr. 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,'

* Dr. Alexander Colvil, who had been professor of divinity in the Protestant university of Sedan, was inducted professor of divinity in the New College of St. Andrews in 1642. He conformed to Prelacy in 1662, became principal of that college upon Rutherford's death, and died in 1666.

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 the man that he is still for the government of the Church of Scotland."

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

Thus, by five o'clock in the

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

Thus died the famous Samuel 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 unblamably. Two things rarely to be found in one man were eminent in him, namely, 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 for his familiar condescension in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in 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 in this horizon.

In all his writings he breathes the true spirit of religion; but in his every way admirable Letters he seems to have outdone himself, as well as everybody else. These, although jested on by the profane wits of this age, because of some homely and familiar expressions in them, it must be owned by all who have any relish for true piety, contain sublime flights of devotion, and must ravish and edify every sober, serious, and understanding reader.

Among the posthumous works of the laborious Mr. Rutherford, are his Letters, the Trial and Triumph of Faith, Christ's Dying and Drawing of Sinners, a discourse on Prayer, 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, a Peaceable Plea for Presbytery, as also his Summary of Church Discipline, and a treatise on the Divine Influence of the Spirit. There are also many 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 so seldom republished. There is also a volume of Sermons, Sacramental Discourses, &c.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

“Though the Lord needeth not a testimony from such a wretched man as I, and if all the world should be silent, the very stones would cry, it is more than debt that I should confess Christ before men and angels. It would satisfy me not a little, that the throne of the Lord Jesus were exalted above the clouds, the heaven of heavens, and on both sides of the sun; and that all possible praise and glory were ascribed to him; that by his grace I might put my seal, such as it is, unto that song, even the new song of those who with a loud voice sing, Rev. v. 9, ‘Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign upon the earth.’ And blessed were I, could I lay to my ear of faith and say, Amen, to the psalm ‘of the many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and elders, whose number is ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing;’ and if I heard ‘every creature, which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them (as John heard them), saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.’ I mean not any such visible reign

as the Millenarians fancy. I believe (Lord help my unbelief) the doctrine of the holy prophets and the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained in the books of the Old and New Testament, to be the undoubted truth of God, and a perfect rule of faith, and the only way of salvation. And I do acknowledge the sum of the Christian religion exhibited in the confessions and catechisms of the Reformed Protestant churches; and in the National Covenant, divers times sworn by the king’s Majesty, the state and church of Scotland, and sealed by the testimony and subscriptions of the nobles, barons, gentlemen, citizens, ministers, and professors of all ranks; as also in the Solemn League and Covenant, in the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. And I do judge, and in conscience believe, that no power on earth can absolve and liberate the people of God from the bonds and sacred ties of the oath of God. I am persuaded that Asa acted warrantably in making a law that the people should stand to the covenant, and in receiving into the covenant such as were not of his kingdom, 2 Chron. xv. 6, 10. And so did also Hezekiah, in sending a proclamation through all the tribes, from Dan to Beersheba, that they should come and keep the passover unto the Lord at Jerusalem, 2 Chron. xxx. 6, 7, though their own princes did not come along with them; yea, and it is nature’s law, warranted by the word, that nations should encourage and stir up one another to seek the true God. It is also prophesied that divers nations should excite one another this way, Isa. iii. 8, ‘Many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways.’ Zech. viii. 2, ‘And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts; I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem,

and to pray before the Lord.' There is also a clear prophecy to be accomplished under the New Testament, 'That Israel and Judah shall go together and seek the Lord; they shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant, that shall not be forgotten,' Jer. l. 4, 5. It is also foretold that different nations shall confederate with the Lord, and with one another, Isa. xix. 23, 24, 25, 'In that day there shall be an highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come to Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance.'

"The Church of Scotland had once as much of the presence of Christ, as to the power and purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as many we read of since the Lord took his ancient people to be his covenanted church. The Lord stirred up our nobles to attempt a reformation in the last age, through many difficulties, and against much opposition from those in supreme authority; he made bare his holy arm, and carried on the work gloriously, like himself; his right hand getting him the victory, until the idolatry of Rome and her cursed mass were dashed. A hopeful reformation was in some measure settled, and a sound confession of faith was agreed upon by the Lords of the Congregation. The people of God, according to the laudable custom of other ancient churches, the Protestants in France and Holland, and the renowned princes of Germany, did carry on the work in an innocent self-defensive war, which the Lord did abundantly bless. When our land and church were thus contending for that begun reformation, those in authority did still oppose the work. And there were not wanting men from among

ourselves, men of prelatical spirits, who, with some other time-serving courtiers, did not a little undermine the building. And we, doating too much upon sound parliaments and lawfully constitute general assemblies, fell from our first love to self-seeking, secret banding, and little fearing the oath of God.

"Afterwards, our work in public was too much in sequestration of estates, fining, and imprisoning, more than in a compassionate mournfulness of spirit toward those whom we saw to oppose the work. In our assemblies we were more bent to set up a state opposite to a state; more upon forms, citations, leading of witnesses, suspensions from benefices, than spiritually to persuade and work upon the conscience with the meekness and gentleness of Christ. The glory and royalty of our princely Redeemer and king was trampled on, as any one might have seen in our assemblies. What way the army, and the sword, and the countenance of nobles and officers seemed to sway, that way were the censures carried. It had been better had there been more days of humiliation in assemblies, synods, presbyteries, congregations, families, and far less adjourned commissions, new peremptory summonses, and new drawn up processes. And if the meekness and gentleness of our Master had got so much place in our hearts, that we might have waited on gainsayers and parties contrary minded, we might have driven gently, as our Master Christ, who loves not to overdrive, but carries the lambs in his bosom.

"If the word of truth in the Old and New Testament be a sufficient rule, holding forth what is a Christian army, whether offensive or defensive, whether clean or sinfully mixed, then must we leave the question betwixt our public brethren and us to be determined by that rule; but if there be no such rule in the word, then the confederacies and associations of the people of God with the idolatrous, apostate Israelites, with the Egyptians and Assyrians, as that

of Jehoshaphat with Ahab, and those of Israel and Judah with Egypt and Assyria, should not be condemned; but they are often reproved and condemned in Scripture. To deny the Scripture to be a sufficient rule in this case, were to accuse it of being imperfect and defective—a high and unjust reflection on the holy word of God! Beyond all question the written word doth teach what is a right constituted court, and what not, Psal. x. ; what is a right constituted house, and what not, Josh. xxiv. 15 ; what is a true church, and what is a synagogue of Satan, Rev. ii. ; what is a clean camp, and what is unclean. We are not for an army of saints, and free of all mixture of ill-affected men ; but it seems an high prevarication for churchmen to counsel and teach, that the weight and trust of the affairs of Christ and his kingdom should be laid upon the whole party of such as have been enemies to our cause : contrary to the word of God, and the declarations, remonstrances, solemn warnings, and serious exhortations of his church, whose public protestations the Lord did admirably bless, to the encouragement of the godly and the terror of all the opposers of the work.

“Since we are very shortly to appear before our dreadful Master and Sovereign, we cannot pass from our protestation, trusting we are therein accepted of him, though we should lie under the imputation of dividing spirits and unpeaceable men. We acknowledge all due obedience in the Lord to the king’s Majesty ; but we disown that ecclesiastic supremacy, in and over the church, which some ascribe to him ; that power of commanding external worship not appointed in the word, and laying bonds upon the consciences of men where Christ has made them free. We disown anti-christian Prelacy, bowing at the name of Jesus, saints’ days, canonizing of the dead, and other such corrupt inventions of men, and look on them as the highway to Popery. Alas ! now there is no need of a spirit of

prophecy to declare what shall be the woful condition of a land that hath broken covenant, first practically, and then legally, with the Lord our God ; and what shall be the day of the silent and dumb watchmen of Scotland ? Where will we leave our glory ? and what if Christ depart out of our land ? We verily judge they are most loyal to the king’s Majesty, who desire the dross may be separated from the silver, and the throne established in righteousness and judgment. We are not (our witness is in heaven) against his Majesty’s title by birth to the kingdom, and the right of the royal family ; but that the controversy of wrath against the royal family may be removed ; that the huge guilt of the throne may be mourned for before the Lord ; and that his Majesty may stand constantly all the days of his life to the covenant of God by oath, seal, and subscription, known to the world ; that so peace and the blessings of heaven may follow his government ; that the Lord may be his rock and shield ; that the just may flourish in his time ; that men fearing God, hating covetousness, and of known integrity and godliness, may be judges and rulers under his Majesty ; and they are not really loyal and faithful to the supreme magistrate, who wish not such qualifications in him. We are not in this particular contending that a prince who is not a convert or a sound believer falls from his royal dominion ; the Scriptures of God warrant us to pray for and obey in the Lord princes and supreme magistrates that are otherwise wicked, and to render all due obedience to them, Rom. xiii. 2, 5 ; 2 Tim. ii. 12 ; 1 Pet. ii. 18. Our souls should be afflicted before the Lord for the burning of the ‘Causes of God’s Wrath.’ A sad practice, too like the burning of the roll by Jehudi, Jer. xxxvi. 22. In these controversies we should take special heed to this, that Christ is a free, independent Sovereign, King, and Lawgiver. The Father hath appointed him his own King in mount Zion ; and he cannot endure that the powers

of the world should encroach upon his royal prerogatives, and prescribe laws to him; this presumption is not far from that of citizens that hated him, Luke xix. 14, 'He shall not rule over us;' and from the intolerable pride of those who are for breaking asunder the bands of the Lord and his anointed, and for casting away their cords from them, Ps. ii. 3, especially seeing the man Christ would not take the office of a judge upon him, Luke xii. 14, and discharged his disciples to exercise a civil lordship over their brethren. True it is the godly magistrate may command the ministers of the gospel to do their duty, but not under the pain of ecclesiastic censure, as if it were proper for him to call and uncall, depose and suspend from the holy ministry. The lordly spiritual government in and over the church is given unto Christ, and none else; he is the sole ecclesiastic lawgiver. It is proper to him to smite with the rod of his mouth; nor is there any other shoulder in heaven or on earth that is able to bear the government. As this hath been the great controversy betwixt our Lord Jesus and the powers of the world from the beginning, so it has ruined all that coped with him. Christ has proved a rock of offence to them; they have been dashed to pieces by the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands, Dan. ii. 34, 45. And the other powers that enter the lists with him shall have the same dismal exit. Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, and on whomsoever it shall fall it shall grind them to powder, Matt. xxi. 44. As the blessed prophets and apostles of our Lord contended not a little with the rulers of the earth that Christ should be head corner stone; that Christ is the only head of the church is as sure as that he died, was buried, and rose again. It is a most victorious and prevailing truth, not only preached and attested by the ambas-

sadors of the Lord of hosts, but confirmed by blood, martyrdom, and suffering. Many precious saints have thought it their honour and dignity to suffer shame and reproach for the name of Jesus; and it is beyond doubt that passive suffering for the precious name of Christ comes nearest to that noble sampler wherein Christ, though a Son, learned obedience by the things which he suffered, Heb. v. 8. Now blessed is the soul who loves not his life to death, Rev. xii. 11. For on such rests the Spirit of glory and of God, 1 Pet. iv. 14. We cannot but say it is a sad time to our land at present; it is a day of darkness, and rebuke, and blasphemy. The Lord hath covered himself with a cloud in his anger; we looked for peace, but behold evil: our souls rejoiced when his Majesty did swear the covenant of God, and put thereto his seal and subscription, and therefore confirmed it by his royal promise. So that the subjects' hearts blessed the Lord, and rested upon the healing word of a prince. But now, alas! the contrary is enacted by law, the carved work is broken down, ordinances are defaced, and we are brought into the former bondage and chaos of prelatical confusions. The royal prerogative of Christ is pulled from his head, and after all the days of sorrow we have seen, we have just cause to fear we shall be made to read and eat that book, wherein is written mourning, and lamentation, and woe. Yet we are to believe Christ will not so depart from the land, but a remnant shall be saved; and he shall reign a victorious conquering king to the ends of the earth. O that there were nations, kindreds, tongues, and all the people of Christ's habitable world, encompassing his throne with cries and tears for the spirit of supplication to be poured down upon the inhabitants of Judah for that effect.

“SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.”



WILLIAM OF ORANGE

THE MOST NOBLE ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL* having, after a good classical education, applied himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, became well acquainted with the most interesting points of religion, which he retained and cultivated amidst his most laborious and exalted employments, both in church and state, ever after.

From his early years he stood well affected to the Presbyterian interest; and being still a favourer of the Puritans (as the Presbyterians were then called) when Samuel Rutherford was for his nonconformity brought before the High Commission Court in the year 1638, he interposed to the utmost in his behalf, concerning which Rutherford in his Letters says: "My Lord has brought me a friend from the Highlands of Argyll, my lord of Lorne, who hath done as much as was within the compass of his power. God gave me favour in his eyes." And elsewhere to the Lady Kenmuir, "Write thanks to your brother, my lord of Lorne,

* Archibald Campbell was the eldest son of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyll. His designation during his father's lifetime was Lord

for what he has done for me, a poor unknown stranger to his lordship. 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 Lord Lorne so laboured and prevailed with the bishop of Galloway, that Gordon of 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 next year the earl of Argyll (his father having died about that time), though a privy councillor, diligently attending all the sessions of that famous General Assembly held at Glasgow, to hear their debates and determinations concerning diocesan episcopacy and the five articles of Perth, and declaring his full satisfaction with their decisions.

Lorne. In 1638, on his father's death, he succeeded to the Argyll estates and honours, as the eighth earl of Argyll.

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 he got the crown of martyrdom at last.

At this Assembly, among many other things, his lordship proposed an explanation of the Confession and Covenant; in which he wished them to proceed with great deliberation, lest (said he) 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 its eighth session. Alexander Henderson, the moderator, at the conclusion of this Assembly, judging that, after all, the countenance given to their meetings by Argyll deserved a particular acknowledgment, expressed the wish that his lordship had joined with them sooner; but he hoped 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* before the Assembly; in which, amongst other things, he said, "And whereas you wished I had joined you sooner, truly it was not for want of affection for the

good of religion and my own country which detained me, but a desire and hope that, by staying with the court, I might have been able to bring about 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 churchmen. 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, there is a case much spoken of in the church, viz., the power of ruling elders; some ministers apprehending it to be a curbing of their power. Truly it may be some elders are not so wise as there is need for. But as unity ought to be the endeavour of us all, let neighbouring parishes and presbyteries meet together for settling the same. And thirdly, for inferiors, I hope ministers will discharge their



FRANCIS BACON
1561-1626

duty to their flocks, and that people will have a due regard to those that are set over them to watch for their souls, and not to think that because they want bishops they may live as they will."

After this, when the Covenanters were obliged to take arms in their own defence, in 1639, and marched towards the borders of England under the command of General Alexander Leslie, this noble lord being set to guard the western coast, contributed very much, by his diligence and prudence, to preserve peace; not only in convening the gentlemen in these quarters, and taking security of them for that purpose, but also by raising four hundred men in the shire of Argyll, whom he took in hand to maintain at his own charge. This number he afterwards increased to nine hundred able men, one-half whereof he set on Kintyre in Argyllshire, to wait on the marquis of Antrim's design, and the rest at the head of Lorne, to observe 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 the marquis of Hamilton; which surrendered without resistance.

He was again, in the absence of the Covenanters' army during the year 1640, appointed to the same business, which he managed with no less success; for he apprehended no less than eight or nine of the ringleaders of the malignant faction, and made them give bonds for their better behaviour in time coming; which industrious and faithful conduct so stirred up the malice of his adversaries and those of the truth, that they afterwards sought on all occasions to vent their mischief against him; for at the very 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 his lordship.

Among other offensive speeches uttered by Montrose, one was, that when the earl of Athole and the other eight gentlemen arrested by him last year, for carrying arms against their country, were in his lordship's tent at the ford of Lyon, he (Argyll) had said publicly, "That they (meaning the Parliament) had consulted both lawyers and divers others, anent the deposing of the king, and had got resolution that it might be done in three cases, viz.—1. Desertion; 2. Invasion; and 3. Vendition;

and that they once thought to have done it at the last sitting of Parliament, but would do it at the next sitting thereof." Montrose condescended on Mr. James Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the foresaid eight taken by Argyll, as his informer; and some of his lordship's friends having brought the said commissary to Edinburgh, he was so foolhardy as to subscribe the acknowledgment of the above report to Montrose. The earl of Argyll denied the truth of this in the strongest terms, and resolved to prosecute Stuart before the Court of Justiciary, where his lordship insisted for an impartial trial, which was granted; and according to his desire four lords of the Session were added *hac vice* to the Court of Justiciary. Stuart was accused upon the laws of leasing, particularly of a principal statesman; to escape the imminent danger of which he wrote to Argyll, wherein he cleared him of the charge as laid against him, and acknowledged that he himself forged them, out of malice against his lordship. But though Argyll's innocence was thus cleared, it was thought necessary to let the trial go on; and the fact being proven, he was condemned to die. Argyll would willingly have

seen the royal clemency extended to the unfortunate wretch; but others thought the crime tended to mar the design of the late treaty, and judged it needful, as a terror to others, to make an example. At his execution he discovered a great deal of remorse for what he had done; and although Argyll was vindicated in this, yet we find that after the Restoration it was made one of the principal handles against this noble martyr.

During these transactions King Charles I., disagreeing with his English Parliament, made another tour to Scotland, and attended the Scots Parliament there; in which Parliament, that he might more effectually gain the Scots over to his interest, he not only granted a ratification of all their former proceedings, both in their own defence and with respect to religion, but also dignified several of the Scots nobility. Being sensible of the many great and good services done by this noble earl, the king placed him at the head of the treasury; and the day before the rising of the Parliament, all the commissions granted to and services and employments performed by Archibald, earl of Argyll, in the service of his country, were approved of; and an Act of Parliament made



thereon was read and voted, the king giving him this testimony in public, that he dealt ever honestly with him, though he was still stiff as to the point in controversy. On the same day, November 15, 1641, the king delivered a patent to the Lyon king at arms, and he to the clerk-register, who read it publicly, whereby his Majesty created Archibald, earl of Argyll, Marquis of Argyll, Earl of Kintyre, Lord Lorne, &c.; which being read and given back to the king, his Majesty delivered the same with his own hand to the marquis, who rose and made a very handsome speech in gratitude to his Majesty, showing that he neither expected nor deserved such honour or preferment.

During the sitting of the foresaid Parliament another incident occurred, wherein a plot was laid to destroy this nobleman in the following manner:—Some of the nobility, envying the power, preferment, and influence that he and the marquis of Hamilton had with the king, laid a close design for their lives. The earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochran, and Lieutenant Alexander Stuart, were to have been the actors, and it was insinuated that his Majesty, Lord Almond, and others, were privy to the design,

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

After this the marquis of Argyll had a most active hand in carrying on the work of reformation and uniformity in religion in 1643. While he was busied among the Covenanters in 1644, Montrose and some others associated themselves to raise forces for the king, intending to draw the Scots army from England. To effect this the earl of Antrim undertook to send over ten thousand Irish to the north of Scot-

land, under the command of one Alaster M'Donald, a Scotsman; and a considerable body was accordingly sent, who committed many outrages in Argyll's country. To suppress this insurrection the Committee of Estates, April 10, gave orders to the marquis to raise three regiments, which he accordingly did, and with them marched northward, took several of their principal chieftains, and dispersed the rest for some time. But Montrose being still in the field, gained several victories during this and the following year, and in the meantime plundered and laid waste the greater part of Argyllshire and other places belonging to the Covenanters, without mercy. Although he was at last defeated and totally routed by General David Leslie at Philiphaugh, yet such was the cruelty of those cut-throats, that the foresaid M'Donald and his Irish band returned to Argyllshire in the beginning of the year 1646, and burned and plundered the dwellings of the well-affected in such a terrible manner, that about twelve hundred of them assembled in a body under Acknalase, who brought them down to Monteith, to live upon the disaffected in that country. But the Athole 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 were better provided for. In the meantime he himself went over to Ireland and brought over the remains of the Scots forces, and with them landed in Argyllshire, upon which M'Donald soon betook himself to the Isles, and from thence returned to Ireland, whereby peace was restored in those parts.

Again, in the year 1648, when the state fell into two factions, that of the malignants was headed by the duke of Hamilton, and the Covenanters by the marquis of Argyll; from which it is easy to conclude that from the year 1643, when the marquis had such an active hand in calling the Convention of Estates, and entering into the Solemn League and Covenant, to 1648, he was the principal agent amongst the Covenanters, and never failed on all occasions to appear in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his native country.



FIG. 46. MAURICE. LONDON. FINEBERG & SONS.

It is well known what appearances he made in the year 1649, and what interest he had in the Parliament, and that to the utmost of his power he did employ the same for bringing home Charles II., and putting him in possession of his crown and the exercise of his royal authority. In this he succeeded to good purpose, as long as the king followed his counsel and advice; but by the king's afterwards taking the malignant faction into places of power and trust all went to shipwreck together, which was no small matter of grief to this worthy and religious nobleman.

As the king was well received by the marquis of Argyll, so he pretended a great deal of regard and kindness for him, as appears from a letter or declaration given under his own hand at Perth, September 24, 1650, in which he says: "Having taken into my consideration the faithful endeavours of the marquis of Argyll 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 Argyll, 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 forty thousand 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, his faithful admonition, however well it appeared to be taken at the time, was never forgotten, until it was repaid with the highest resentment. Such was the way to hearken to his counsel! for if debauchery and dissimulation had ever been accounted among the liberal sciences, then this prince was altogether a master in that faculty.

In the meantime, January 1, 1651, the king was crowned at Scoone, where, after an excellent sermon by Mr. Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings xi. 12, 17, the king took the coronation oath, then sitting down in the chair of state. After some other ceremonies were performed, the marquis of Argyll, taking the crown in his hands (Mr. Douglas

having prayed), set it on the king's head; and so ascending the stage, attended by the officers of the crown, Charles was installed into the royal throne by the marquis, who said, "Stand fast 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." Then the solemnity was concluded by a pertinent exhortation both to king and people, wherein they were certified that, if they conspired against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, both supporters and supported should fall together.

But the king's forces having been before that defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar, and being no longer able to make head against the English, Charles went to England, and by his particular allowance the marquis of Argyll, after kissing his hand, was left at Stirling. But the king's army being totally routed on the 3rd of September at Worcester, and he himself being driven from his dominions, the Parliamentary army overran the whole country, so that the representatives of the nation were either obliged to take the tender or else suffer great hardships;

which tender the marquis having refused at Dumbarton, the Parliamentary army resolved to invade the Highlands and the shire of Argyll, which were now inclosed on all hands with regiments of foot and horse. Major Dean coming to the marquis's house at Inverary, where he was lying sick, presented a paper, which he behoved to subscribe against to-morrow or else be carried off prisoner. This (though sore against his will), for his own and his vassals' and tenants' safety, he was obliged to subscribe with some alterations, which capitulation was made a mighty handle against him afterwards. And although he had some influence with Cromwell, and was present at several meetings wherein he procured an equal hearing to the Protesters at London, while he was there in the year 1657, yet he was rather a prisoner on demand than a free agent, and so continued until the Restoration.

Soon after the king's return the marquis was very much solicited to repair to court, and no doubt he himself inclined to wait on a prince on whose head he had set the crown. Though some of his best friends used powerful arguments to divert him from his purpose till matters were

better settled, yet, from the testimony of a good conscience, knowing that he was able to vindicate himself from all aspersions if he were but once admitted to the king's presence, he set out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall to salute his Majesty. Whenever the king heard he was come thither (notwithstanding his former fair promises) he ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend him and carry him to the Tower, where he continued till toward the beginning of December, when he was sent down in a man-of-war to abide his trial before the Parliament in Scotland. On the 20th they landed at Leith, and next day he was marched along the streets of Edinburgh, betwixt two of the town bailies, to the Castle, where he continued until his trial came on.

On 13th February, 1661, his lordship was brought down from the Castle in a coach, with three of the magistrates of Edinburgh, attended by the town-guard, and presented before the bar of the House of Parliament, 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 that was done, but the House refused his reasonable desire, and ordered it to be read; and though he entreated them to hear a petition he had to present, yet this was too great a favour to be granted. The indictment, which was more months in forming than he had days allowed at first 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 perversion of matters of fact, gathered up against this good and great man, all which he abundantly clears off in his information and answers.

After his indictment was read he had leave to speak, and discoursed for some time to good purpose. Among other things he said that the things laid against him could not be proven; but he confessed that, in the way allowed by solemn oath and covenant, he served his God, his king, and his country; and though he owned he wanted not failings common to all persons in public business in such a time, yet he blessed God that he was

able to make the falsehood of every article of his charge appear; that he had done nothing with a wicked mind, but with many others had the misfortune to do many things, the unforeseen events of which had proved bad.

The Parliament fixed the 26th day of February for bringing in his defence, which was too short a time for replying to so many articles. However, at his request it was put off till the 5th of March, when he appeared before the Lords of the Articles, who ordered him immediately to produce his defence; whereupon he delivered a very moving speech, and gave in a most affecting petition, remitting himself to the king's mercy, and beseeching the Parliament to intercede for him, which are too long here to be inserted. On March the 6th, being brought before the Parliament, it was reported from the Lords that he had offered a submission to his Majesty; but his submission was voted not satisfactory, and he was commanded on the morrow to give in his defence to the Lords of the Articles. When he came before them and told his defence was not ready, he was appointed to give them in on Monday, April 9, otherwise they would take the whole business before them,

without any regard to what he should afterwards say; but it seems on the day appointed his defence was given in, which contained fifteen sheets of small print, wherein the marquis's management was fully vindicated from all the falsehoods and calumnies in the indictment.

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

burgh in Scotland had made the same submission to their conquerors. *

In the beginning of May witnesses were examined and depositions taken against him, after which he was, upon the 25th, brought before the bar of the House to receive sentence from his judges, who were *socii criminis* (or accomplices), as he told the king's advocate. The House was very thin, all withdrawing except those who were resolved to follow the 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 after thirty days were passed, and added, "I crave but ten, that the king may be acquainted with it;" but this was refused. Then the sentence

* "The most of the Parliament's work was on delinquents' processes. The great one was Argyll; many hearings had he on his long libel; his defences were very pregnant; the advocate was sometimes unusually tart to him; the commissioner also sharp enough; Sir John Gilmore in many things reasoned for him; there was no inlack of full hearing and debates to the uttermost. His Act of Indemnity kept him from all that was libelled before the year 1651; so all the odious clamours of his cruelty against the Lamonds, M'Donalds, and others, were cut off; albeit in all these he gave fair answers. Much of that guilt lay on his deputy, George Campbell, and on his friends Ardkinglass, Maconochie, and others: these appeared not when cited, and therefore were forfault; George appeared, and was made close prisoner, yet a pardon came from the king to him, procured, as was thought, by

was pronounced: "That he was found guilty of high treason, and adjudged to be executed to the death as a traitor, his head to be severed from his body at the cross of Edinburgh upon Monday, the 27th instant, and affixed on the same place where the marquis of Montrose's head formerly was, and his arms torn before the Parliament at the Cross." † Upon this he offered to speak, but the trumpets sounding he stopped 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

his purse; for many are poor, and he was very rich. His master's chief indictment was, compliance with the English, his sitting in the Parliament at London, his assisting Monck against Glencairn and Middleton on the hills." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 465.)

† "The sentence of death was given to him by the earl of Crawford (who in the chancellor's [Glencairn's] absence was president of the Parliament), with tears witnessing his dissent and dislike thereof. The sentence against Argyll was much cried out against, especially because he was condemned for compliance with the usurpers—whereas some that sat on the bench and condemned him were more guilty of that than he—publicly disowning and renouncing the king and his family, both at London and in Edinburgh." (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 385.)

‡ The commissioner was Middleton.

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 his sentence he was ordered to the common prison, where his excellent lady* was waiting for him. Upon seeing her he said, "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

* The marchioness of Argyll was Margaret Douglas, daughter of William, second earl of Morton, a lady of distinguished piety. By her the marquis had two sons, Archibald, afterwards ninth earl of Argyll, and Lord Neil Campbell of Armadie, and three daughters—Anne, who died unmarried; Jean, who married Robert, marquis of Lothian; and Mary, who married first, George, earl of Caithness, and secondly, John, earl of Breadalbane.

† "When his libelled crimes, which were chiefly his compliance with the English, his sitting in the Parliament at London, his assisting Monk against Glencairn and Middleton on the hills, appeared not unpardonable, and his son Lord Neil went up to see his brother Lorn at London, and spoke somewhat liberally [freely] of his father's satisfactory answers, Monk was moved to send down four or five of his letters to himself and others, proving his full compliance

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." He added that he remembered a Scripture cited by an honest minister to him while in the Castle, which he intended to put in practice: "When Ziklag was taken and burnt, the people spake of stoning David, but he encouraged himself in the Lord his God." †

He spent all his short time till Monday with the greatest serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercise of a dying Christian. To some ministers who

with the English; that the king should not reprove him. The chancellor [the earl of Glencairn] and Rothes went to court* to show the hazard of his escape. The man was very wise, and questionless the greatest subject the king had; sometime much known and beloved in all the three dominions: it was not thought safe he should live." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 465.)

The perfidity of Monk in exhibiting these private letters, it is impossible to execrate in terms sufficiently strong, the more especially as at the time they were written he was acting for Cromwell; to whom, so long as Cromwell was in power, he ever bent the knee, and was his ready instrument in any service, always prepared to take the side which close calculation promised to be most conducive to his own interests.

* James Sharp set out from Edinburgh for London along with the earls of Glencairn and Rothes, on the 29th of April.

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 to any excess. In prison he said that in his temper he was naturally inclined to fear, but desired those about him, as they could not but do, 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 (says Wodrow), was his bedfellow the last night he was on earth.

The marquis had a sweet time in the tolbooth as to his soul's case, and it still increased nearer

* Robert Baillie says that he "parted with his gracious lady that Saturday at night, christianly." (*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 465.)

his end. As he had slept calmly and pleasantly his last night, so in the intervals of his necessary business he had much spiritual conversation. On Monday morning, though he was much engaged in settling his affairs in the midst of company, yet he was so overpowered with a sensible effusion of the Holy Spirit, that he broke out in 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 is 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, and after dining precisely at twelve o'clock along with his friends with great cheerfulness, he retired for 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 there; from that he came to the

fire, and made as if he would stir it a little to conceal his concern, but all 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 let 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 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, when going towards the door he said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die like a

* Howie has here the following foot note:—The historian Burnet, in the introduction to his History, p. 30, &c., is pleased to say, "This Argyll was a pretender to high degrees of piety. Warriston went to very high notions of lengthened devotions, and whatsoever struck his fancy during these effusions, he looked on it as an answer to prayer." But perhaps the bishop was much a stranger both to high degrees of piety and lengthened devotions, and also to such

Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first goes cleanliest." When going down stairs he called Mr. James Guthrie to him, and embracing him in a most endearing way, took his farewell of him. 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 the marquis, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen, dressed in black, with his cloak and hat on, went down the street, mounted the scaffold [at the Cross] with great serenity and gravity, like one going to his father's house, and saluted all on it. Then Mr. Hutcheson prayed, after which his lordship delivered his speech. †

When he had delivered his

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.

† He "spoke well," says Baillie, "at the corners of the scaffold; prayed twice; Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Hutcheson waited on him. He blessed

seasonable and pathetic speech, Mr. Hamilton prayed, after which he prayed most sweetly himself, and then took his leave of all his friends on the scaffold. He first gave to the executioner a napkin with some money in it; to his sons-in-law, Caithness and Ker, his watch and some other things out of his pocket; he gave to Loudon his silver pen-case, 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, gave the signal (which was the lifting up

the king and his family; attested God of his freedom from all designs against the king or his father." (*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 466.) "He came to the scaffold," says Burnet, "in a very solemn but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the nobility and some ministers. He spoke for half an hour with a great appearance of serenity. Cunningham, his physician, told me, he touched his pulse, and it did then beat at the usual rate, calm and strong." (*History of His own Times*, Edin. Edit. vol. i. p. 179.)

* "His head was set up on the west end of the tolbooth, where Montrose's head had stood. In the beginning of the Parliament, Montrose's head and body, buried in the Borrow Muir,

of his hand), and the instrument called the maiden struck off his head, 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 Dunoon, and buried [with his ancestors] in Kilmun church.*

Thus died the noble marquis of Argyll, the proto-martyr to religion since the Reformation from Popery, the true portrait of whose character 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 singular usefulness. He was the head of the Covenanters in Scot-

was appointed to be carried honourably to the Abbey church; whence on the king's charges he was carried to St. Giles, to be entombed there with a greater solemnity than any of our kings ever had at their burial in Scotland." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 466.) In 1664 Archibald, the eldest son of the marquis, having become a great courtier, was restored to his grandfather's honours and estates as ninth earl of Argyll; and a letter came down from the king to the council commanding them to take down the marquis of Argyll's head that it might be buried with his body, which was done quietly on the morning of 8th June, that year. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 469.)

land, and had been singularly active in the work of Reformation there, and of almost any that had engaged in the work he stuck closest by it, when most of the nation quitted it very much; so that this attack upon him was a stroke at the root of all that had been done in Scotland from 1638 to the usurpation. But the tree of Prelacy and arbitrary measures, when planting, behoved to be soaked 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 to a great degree buried with him in Scotland for many years. In a word, he had piety for a Christian, sense for a counsellor, courage for a martyr, and soul for a

* Robert Baillie, in lamenting the fate of Argyll, while bearing testimony to his pre-eminent excellence, cannot allow the opportunity to pass, though the calamitous effects of the triumph of the policy of the Resolutioners were now manifest, without a fling at him as a Protester or Remonstrator. "Argyll long to me was the best and most excellent man our state of a long time had enjoyed; but his compliance with the English and Remonstrators took my heart off him these eight years; yet I mourned for his death, and still pray to God for his family. . . . The ruin of the family may prove hurtful to king and kingdom. Without the king's favour debt will undo it; when Huntly's lands are rendered, and Montrose paid near a hundred thousand pounds, his old debts of four or five hundred thousand

king. If ever any was, he might be said to be a true Scotsman.*

TESTIMONY OF THE MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

"Many will expect that I speak many things, and according to their several opinions and dispositions, so will their expectations be from me and constructions of me; but I resolve to disappoint many, for I come not hither to justify myself, but the Lord, 'who is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, holy and blessed is his name;' neither come I to condemn others. I know many will expect that I speak against the hardness of the sentence pronounced against me; but I will say nothing to it. I bless the Lord, I pardon all men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord myself: let the will of the Lord be done: that is all that I desire.

"I hope that ye will have more charity to me now than ye would have at another time, seeing I speak before the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly. I know very well that my words have had but very little weight with many; and that

merks will not be gotten paid. Many wonder of his debt, and think he must have money, for he got much, and was always sober and sparing. My good son, Mr. R[obert] Watson, was with his lady in Roseneath, the night the king landed in England: he told me, all the dogs that day did take a strange howling, and glowing up to my lord's chamber windows for some hours together." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 466.) Macaulay describes the marquis as "one of the bravest and most true hearted of Scottish patriots." (*History*, vol. iv. p. 196.)

A life of the great Marquis of Argyll is still a desideratum in Scottish historical biography. Many of his letters are, no doubt, to be found in the charter repositories of the principal families of Scotland.

many have mistaken my words and actings both: many have thought me to be a great enemy to these great works that have of late been brought to pass. But do not mistake me, good people: I speak it in the presence of the Lord, I entered not upon the work of reformation with any design of advantage to myself or prejudice to the king and his government; as my latter will, which was written 1655, and thereafter delivered to a friend (in whose hands it still remaineth), can show. As for these calumnies that have gone abroad of me, I bless God I know them to be no more: and as I go to make a reckoning to my God, I am free as to any of these concerning the king's person or government. I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the king home, and in my endeavours for him when he was at home, and I had no correspondence with the adversaries' army, nor any of them, in the time when his Majesty was in Scotland; nor had I any accession to his late Majesty's horrid and execrable murder, by counsel or knowledge of it, or any other manner of way. This is a truth, as I shall answer to my Judge. And all the time his Majesty was in Scotland, I was still endeavouring his advantage, my conscience beareth me witness in it. So much to that particular. And [turning about, he said] I hope, gentlemen, you all will remember these.

"I confess many look on my condition as a suffering condition: but I bless the Lord that he that hath gone before me hath trod the wine-press of the Father's wrath; by whose sufferings I hope that my sufferings shall not be eternal. I bless him that hath taken away the sting of my sufferings: I may say that my charter was sealed to-day; for the Lord hath said to me, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are freely forgiven thee;' and so I hope my sufferings shall be very easy. And ye know that the Scripture saith, 'the Captain of our salvation was made perfect by sufferings.'

"I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, 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.

"There was an expression in these papers presented by me to the Parliament, of the 'contagion of these times,' which may by some be misconstrued, as if I intended to lay an imputation upon the work of reformation; but I declare that I intended no such thing; but it only related to the corruptions and failings of men, occasioned by the prevailing of the usurping powers." [At this he turned and took them all witnesses.]

"Now, gentlemen, concerning the nation, I think there are three sorts of people that take up much of the world and of this nation. There is:—

"1st, The openly profane: and truly I may say, though I have been a prisoner, I have not had mine ears shut; I hear assuredly that drinking, swearing, whoring, were never more common, never more countenanced than now they are. Truly, if magistrates were here, I would say to them, if they would lay forth their power for glorifying of God by restraining this, they should fare the better; if they continue in not restraining, they shall fare the worse. I say no more, but either let people shun profanity, and magistrates restrain it, or assuredly the wrath of God shall follow on it.

"2nd, Others are not openly profane (every one will not allow that), but yet they are Gallios in the matter: if matters go well as to their private interest, they care not whether the church of God sink or swim. But whatever they think, God hath laid engagements upon Scotland; we are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; those that were then unborn are yet engaged; and in our baptism we are engaged to it. And it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve them from the oath of God; they deceive themselves, and it may be would deceive others that think otherwise. But I would caveat this; people will be ready to think this a kind of instiga-

tion to rebellion in me; but they are very far wrong that think religion and loyalty are not well consistent. Whoever they be that separate them, religion is not to be blamed, but they. It is true it is the duty of every Christian to be loyal; yet I think the order of things are to be observed, as well as their natures; the order of religion, as well as the nature of it. Religion must not be the cockboat, it must be the ship. God must have what is his as well as Cæsar what is his: and those are the best subjects that are the best Christians. And that I am looked upon as a friend to reformation is my glory.

3rd, There is another sort that are truly godly: and to speak to them I must say what I fear, and every one hath reason to fear (it is good to fear evil). It is true the Lord may prevent it; but if he do not (and truly I cannot foresee any probability of it), times are like either to be very sinning or very suffering times: and let Christians make their choice; there is a sad dilemma in the business, 'sin or suffer;' and surely he that would choose the better part will choose to suffer. Others that will choose to sin shall not escape suffering; they shall suffer, but it may be not as I do [turning about, and 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.

"Yet I cannot say of my own condition but that the Lord in his providence hath mind of mercy to me, even in this world: for if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with temptations, as many others are, and many more I fear will be; and so should have gone out of the world with a more polluted conscience, than through the mercy of God now I have. And hence my condition is such now, as when I am gone will be seen not to have been such as many imagined. It is fit that

God take me away before I fall into these temptations that I see others are falling into, and many others I fear will fall: I wish the Lord may prevent it. Yet blessed be his name that I am kept both from present evils and evils to come." [Here he turned about a little, and spoke some words to Mr. Hutcheson; when, turning again to the people, he spoke as followeth.]

"Some may expect I will regret my own condition: but truly I neither grudge nor repine, nor desire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my last going up to London, for I had always rather have suffered any thing than lie under reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any man; nor do I judge any but myself: I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so he may pardon them for this and other things; and that 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."

[His last words, immediately before he laid his head on the block, after his doublet was off, were these:] "I desire you, gentlemen, all that hear me this day, to take notice, and I wish that all who see me might hear me, that now when I am entering into eternity, and am to appear before my Judge; and as I desire salvation, and do expect eternal salvation and happiness from him—from my birth to my scaffold I am free from any accession by my knowledge, concerning counsel, or any other way, to his late Majesty's death; and I pray the Lord to preserve his Majesty, and to pour his best blessings on his person and government; and the Lord give him good and faithful counsellors." [Turning about to his friends, he said,] "Many Christians may stumble at this, and my friends may be discontented; but when things are rightly considered my friends have no discredit of me, nor Christians no stumbling-block, but rather an encouragement."

JAMES GUTHRIE.

JAMES GUTHRIE, son of the laird of Guthrie (a very ancient and honourable family in Angus-shire), having gone through his course of classical learning at the grammar school and college, taught philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, where for several years he gave abundant proof that he was an able scholar. His temper was very steady and composed; he could reason upon the most subtle points with great solidity, and when every one else was warm his temper was never ruffled. At any time when indecent heats or wranglings happened to occur when reasoning, it was his ordinary custom to say, "Enough of this; let us go to some other subject; we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage." Perhaps he had the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness in his temper of any man in his time.

Being educated in opposition to Presbyterian principles, he was highly prelatical in his judgment when he came first to St. Andrews; but by conversing with Samuel Rutherford and others, and especially through his joining the weekly society's

meetings there for prayer and conference, he was effectually brought off from that way. And perhaps it was this that made the writer of the Diurnal (who was no friend of his) say, "That if James Guthrie had continued fixed to his first principles he had been a star of the first magnitude in Scotland." When he came to judge for himself he happily departed from his first principles, and upon examination of that way wherein he was educated he left it, and thereby became a star of the first magnitude indeed. It is said that while he was regent in the college of St. Andrews, James Sharp (afterwards Archbishop Sharp) being then a promising young man there, he several times wrote this verse upon him—

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

Having passed his trials in the year 1638, he was settled minister at Lauder in 1642,* where he remained for several years. [When, after the defeat of the Scottish army under the command of David Leslie at Dunbar, by Cromwell, on 3rd

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 221.

September, 1650, sundry shires in the west obtained liberty, upon their application to the Committee of Estates, to form an association for levying forces for the suppression of the enemy, Guthrie became closely connected with the army thus raised. This army was strengthened by the accession of Colonel Gilbert Ker and Colonel Archibald Strachan, with their regiments, and other officers and many soldiers who, blaming David Leslie as having, by sundry neglects and unskilfulness as a general, caused the late defeat, deserted him and joined the western army, though forbidden to do so by the Committee of Estates. The west country army thus became strong, and was specially favoured by an influential party, political and ecclesiastical. Its chief officers were wholly opposed to the admission of malignants into its ranks for the defence of the kingdom, and declined to join the main army at Stirling, which was inferior to it in strength.

* The Western Remonstrance condemned the Scottish commissioners who had been despatched to Charles II. at Breda, for their unstraight dealings in negotiating and concluding a treaty with him, and for their inviting him to return to Scotland, in order to his assuming the government, and urged that he should not be admitted to the exercise of kingly power and authority until he gave convincing evidence of his repentance.

This created much division, not only in the army, but also in the church and state. James Guthrie was suspected of having had much to do in inciting the west country army to take this course; and it is certain that he was constantly preaching in its favour and against the army at Stirling, which greatly discouraged the army there, and moved some of the officers to lay down their commission, and others of them to join the western army. In this year a remonstrance, commonly called the Western Remonstrance,* was sent to the Committee of Estates from the gentlemen, officers, and ministers attending the western forces, explaining the position they had taken up; and in November they pressed the Committee of Estates for an answer. Guthrie denied that he was the author of this paper, but he gave it the sanction of his approval, and this afterwards became one of the chief grounds of his condemnation. Shortly after the westland army was defeated

What caused most offence in this paper was that it concluded with a solemn engagement, should God bless the western army, to see all these things performed. This Remonstrance created much dissension both in church and state, and after the restoration of Charles II. those who had been concerned in it, or who adhered to it, were the special objects of the vengeance of the government. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 246, 247.)



on Sabbath at the town of Hamilton by the English; and the army at Stirling being extremely weak, the necessity of recruiting it was strongly felt. This speedily gave rise to the Public Resolutions.]

In the year 1646 Guthrie was appointed one of those ministers* who were to attend the king while at Newcastle, and likewise he was one of those nominated in the commission for the public affairs of the church during the intervals betwixt the General Assemblies. In about three years after this—namely, in 1649, the year in which Charles I. was beheaded—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

* The other ministers were Messrs. Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, and Andrew Cant.

† Howie has here the following foot note:—It surely was a piece of ill advised conduct, as many of themselves afterwards acknowledged, that ever they elected or admitted any of that family of Ahab, after the Almighty had so remarkably driven them forth of these kingdoms, unto the regal dignity, upon any terms whatsoever; particularly Charles II., after he had given such recent proofs of his dissimulation

not only evidenced a singular care over his people, but also was a great assistant in the affairs of the church, being a most zealous enemy to all error and profanity. And when that unhappy difference fell out with the public Resolutioners he was a staunch Protester, opposing these resolutions to the utmost of his power; insomuch that after the Presbytery of Stirling had written 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, December 14, 1650, James Guthrie and his colleague, Mr. Bennett, went somewhat further, and openly preached against them, as a thing involving the land in conjunction with the malignant party. For this they were ordered to repair to Perth on February 19, 1651, to answer before King Charles II.† and the Committee of Estates; but upon the indisposition of one of them

and disaffection unto the cause and people of God in these nations. After which they never had a day to prosper; for by contending against 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 a dissuetude 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 counsel-

they excused themselves by a letter for their non-appearance that day, and promised to attend about the end of the week. Accordingly, on the 22nd they appeared at Perth, where they gave in a protestation; signifying that although they owned his Majesty's civil authority, yet was Mr. Guthrie challenged by the king and his council for a doctrinal thesis which he had maintained and spoken to in a sermon; and they being incompetent judges in matters purely ecclesiastical, such as is the examination and censuring of doctrines, they did decline them on that account.

The matter being deferred for some days till the king returned from Aberdeen, the two ministers were in the meantime confined to Perth and Dundee, whereupon they (February 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

lors. 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

to dismiss them, and to proceed no farther in the affair at present; and yet James Guthrie's declining the king's authority in matters ecclesiastical here was made the principal article in his indictment some ten years after, to gratify a personal pique which the earl of Middleton had against this good man, the occasion of which was as follows:—

By improving an affront the king met with in 1650, some malignants so prevailed to heighten his fears of the evil designs of those about him that, by a correspondence with the Papists, malignants, and such as were disaffected to the Covenants in the north, matters came in a little to such a pass that a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were to rise and form themselves into an army under Middleton's command, and the king was to cast himself into their arms. Accordingly the king, with a few in his retinue, as if he were going a-hunting, left his best friends, crossed the Tay, and came to

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 Protesters, &c. (*Dr. Owen's Sermon before the Protector in Scotland; The History of the Stuarts; and Bennet's Memorial of Britain's Deliverances, &c.*)

Angus, where he was to have met with those people; but soon finding himself disappointed, he came back to the Committee of Estates, where indeed his greatest strength lay. Meanwhile several 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; but while the Estates were thus dealing with them, the Commission of the Assembly were not wanting to show their zeal against such as ventured to disturb the public peace. It is said that James Guthrie here proposed summary excommunication, as a censure which Middleton deserved, and as what he thought to be a suitable testimony from the church at this juncture. This highest sentence was carried in the Commission by a plurality of votes, and Guthrie was appointed to pronounce the sentence next Sabbath in his own church at Stirling. In the meantime the Committee of Estates, not with-

out some debate, had agreed upon an indemnity to Middleton. There was an express sent to Stirling with an account of how things stood, and a letter desiring Mr. Guthrie to forbear the intimation of the Commission of Assembly'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 missive to himself. However, the sentence was inflicted; and although the Commission, January 3, 1651 (being their next meeting), did relax Middleton from that censure and laid it on a better man, Colonel Strachan, yet it is believed that Middleton never forgave or forgot what Mr. Guthrie did upon that day, as will afterwards be made more fully to appear.

James Guthrie, about this time, wrote several of the papers upon the Protesters' side; for which, and his faithfulness, he was one of three who were deposed by the pretended Assembly of St. Andrews, 1651.* Yea, such was the

* In connection with the controversy excited by the Resolutions, Guthrie published, in 1653, a pamphlet entitled "The Causes of God's Wrath against Scotland in his Late Dispensations." This, which may be regarded as the manifesto of the Protesters, was almost a reissue of the

Western Remonstrance, with additions suggested by recent events, intended for the people instead of being addressed to the Committee of Estates in particular. The tract is written with unsparing fidelity, and the truth of its statements it will be difficult successfully to contro-

malice of these woful Resolutioners, that upon his refusal of one of that party, and accession to the call of Mr. Rule to be his colleague at Stirling, upon the death of Mr. Bennett in the year 1656, they proceeded to stone this seer in Israel with stones, his testimony while alive so tormenting the men who dwelt upon the earth.

As James 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 Argyll

vert. But was it wise to publish it at that particular juncture? Its unmitigated condemnation of the Public Resolutions, and its severe language against the malignants, excited the deep resentment of the Resolutioners and the royalists. The position occupied by the Protesters, now read in the light of subsequent history, is found to have been dictated by a clear-sighted sagacity. But strong as was their position, would it not have been worthy of effort on their part, when so much was at stake, even the whole fabric of the civil and ecclesiastical freedom which it had cost them so much to erect, to have made an effort to come to a better understanding with their brethren the Resolutioners, and to have assumed in this publication, as well as in others, a less stern and more pacific tone? Had they not succeeded, on them at least would have descended the blessing promised to the peacemaker.

* They assembled in a private house in Edinburgh on the 23rd of August, 1660, the same day on which, according to the appointment of King Charles II., the Committee of Estates met. There were present, besides Guthrie,

procured an equal hearing betwixt the Protesters 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 asserted the king's title in the face of the English officers, as was surprising to all gain-sayers. Yet for this, and other hardships that he endured at this time, he was poorly rewarded, as by and by will come to be observed.

Very soon after the Restoration, while James Guthrie and some others of his faithful brethren who assembled at Edinburgh,* were drawing up a paper by way

eleven ministers, Robert Trail, of Edinburgh; John Stirling, of Edinburgh; Alexander Moncrieff, of Scoone; George Nairn, of Burntisland; Gilbert Hall, of Kirkliston; John Murray, of Methven; John Scott, of Oxnam; John Semple, of Carsfairn; Gilbert * Ramsay, of Mordington; Robert Row, of Abercorn; William Wishart, of Kinnoul, ministers; and two ruling elders, James Kirkeo, of Sundiwell, in the parish of Dunscore, in Nithsdale; and Mr. Andrew Hay, of Craignethan, near Lanark. They drew up a petition which they purposed to send to the king, congratulating him on his accession, reminding him of the oath of the Covenant which he had sworn, and praying that what was done contrary thereto in his chapel and family at London should be remedied, &c. They were all Protesters; the Resolutioners, though invited, having refused to join with them in an address to the king; and from the fewness of their number, they resolved to write letters to all ministers and elders who were of their judgment, for a more numerous meeting. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 357).

* Wodrow says "Thomas." (*History*, vol. i. p. 66.)

of supplication to his Majesty, they were all apprehended (except one who happily escaped), and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. * From thence 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 his 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 that 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

† Mr. Row, of Abercorn, and Mr. Wishart, of Kinnoul, having, on subscribing the petition, presently left town for their homes, were not apprehended with the rest; and Mr. Hay, of Craignethan, made his escape. (*Row’s Life of Blair*, p. 358; *Wodrow’s History*, vol. i. pp. 67, 71.) Rutherford, in a letter from St. Andrews to the ministers who were imprisoned on this occasion in the castle of Edinburgh, thus writes: —“I am, as to the point of light, at the utmost

“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, 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, wherein he both defended himself, and that noble cause for which he suffered, but it being too nervous to abridge, and too long to insert in this place, the reader will find it in *Wodrow’s History*.

After he had delivered this speech, and being 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 affirmed upon

of persuasion in that kind, that it is the cause of Christ which ye now suffer for, and not men’s interest. . . . If Christ doth own me, let me be in the grave in a bloody winding-sheet, and go from the scaffold in four quarters, to grave or no grave. . . . I see snares and temptations in capitulating, composing, ceding, minching, with distinctions of circumstances, formalities, compliments, and extenuations, in the cause of Christ” (*Letters*, pp. 697, 698.)

very good authority, that when he met with his lawyers to form his defence, he very much surprised them by his exactness in our Scots law, and suggested several things to be added that had escaped his advocate, which made Sir John Nisbet express himself to this purpose: "If it had been in the reasoning part, or in consequences 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." And likewise, the day before his first appearance in Parliament, it is said that he sent a copy of the fore-mentioned speech to Sir John and the rest of his lawyers, of the reasoning and law part, and they could mend nothing therein.

The advocates considering his defence, and the giving of it in, took up some weeks, until April the 11th, when the process against him was read in the House, upon which he made a speech which was both affecting and close to the purpose, in 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, and 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, 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 anything 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."

Though this speech had not that influence that might have been expected, yet it made such impression upon some of the members that they withdrew, declaring to one another that they would have nothing to do with the blood of this righteous man. But his judges were determined to proceed, and accordingly his indictment was found relevant. Bishop Burnet (in the "History of his Own Times") says:

“The earl of Tweeddale was the only man that moved against putting him to death. He said that banishment had hitherto been the severest censure laid upon preachers for their opinions—yet he was condemned to die.” The day of his execution was not named till the 28th of May, when the Parliament ordered him and William Govan to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 1st of June, 1661; James Guthrie’s head to be fixed on the Netherbow, his estate to be confiscated, and his arms torn; and the head of the other to be fixed upon the West Port of Edinburgh.

Thus a sentence of death was passed upon James Guthrie for his accession to the “Causes of God’s Wrath,” his writing the petition last year, and the protestation above mentioned; matters in 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 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 sacri-

fice to private and personal pique, as the marquis of Argyll was said to have fallen to a more exalted revenge. It is said that the Council 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, and join with the present measures; and he was even offered a bishopric. The other side were in no hazard in making the experiment, for they might be assured of his firmness in his principles. A bishopric was a very small temptation to him; and the commissioner improved his inflexibility to have his life taken away, that it might be a terror to others, and that they might have the less opposition in establishing Prelacy.

Betwixt James Guthrie’s sentence and his execution he was in perfect composure and serenity of spirit, and wrote a great many excellent letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval he uttered some 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. On June 1, the day on which he was executed, upon some reports that he was to buy his life at the expense of retracting some of

the things he had formerly said and done, he wrote and 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 Remonstrance. 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 so or to report so. This I attest, under my hand, at Edinburgh, about eleven o’clock forenoon, before these witnesses.

“Mr. ARTHUR FORBES,
“Mr. JOHN GUTHRIE,
“Mr. HUGH WALKER,
“Mr. JAMES COWIE.”

That same day he dined with his friends with great cheerfulness. After dinner he called for a little cheese, which he had been dissuaded from taking for some time, as not good for the gravel which he was troubled with, and said, “I am now beyond the hazard of the gravel.” After he had been in secret for some time, he came forth with the utmost fortitude and composure, and was carried down under a guard from

* “He gave no advantage,” says Burnet, “to those who wished to have saved him by the least step towards any submission, but much to the contrary. I saw him suffer. He was so far from showing any fear that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder with the composedness of one that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words. He justified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly.” (*History of*

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 spake an hour upon the ladder with the composure of one delivering a sermon. (See his testimony.) He gave a copy of 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 of 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, and his head placed upon the Netherbow Port, Middleton’s coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell from the head upon the coach, which all their art and diligence could not wipe off; and when physicians were called and desired to inquire if any natural cause could

his Own Times, vol. i. pp. 180, 181). He is described, by M’Kenzie as a man “of great parts and courage,” and as “both the secretary and champion of his party.” (*History of Scotland*, pp. 50, 51). “When the sentence was executed, June 1,” says Mr. William Row, “he died very resolutely and Christianly. He was a godly, learned man, and had a conscience of a commanding tenderness, so that he durst not seem to countenance any thing which in his conscience he condemned.” (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 386).

be given for this, they could give none. This odd incident being noised abroad, and all means tried, at length the leather was 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 this poor nation. Mr. Alexander Hamilton, when a student at the college of Edinburgh,* at the hazard of his life, took down Mr. Guthrie's head from the Netherbow Port of that city, 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 at Stirling, where he was minister for twelve years.

Thus fell the faithful Mr. James Guthrie, who was properly the first who suffered unto death in that period for asserting the kingly prerogative of Jesus Christ, in opposition to Erastian

* Mr. Alexander Hamilton, after the Revolution, was minister first at Ecclesmachan, in the county of Linlithgow, a small parish in which he laboured for six years; he was then translated to Airth on the south banks of the Forth, where he remained for twenty-six years; and in February, 1726, he was translated to Stirling, where, after a lengthened and faithful ministry, he died 29th January, 1738, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Ebenezer Erskine, who became one of the ministers of Stirling in September, 1731, commemorates him as a zealous defender of the doctrine of free grace

supremacy. He was a man honoured of God to be zealous and singularly faithful in carrying on the work of Reformation, and had carried himself straight under all changes and revolutions; and because he had been such he must live no longer. He did much for the interest of the king in Scotland, of which the king no doubt was sensible. When the king got notice of his death, he said with some warmth, "And what have you done with Mr. Patrick Gillespie?" He was answered, that having so many friends in the House his life could not be taken. "Well," said the king, "if I had known you would have spared Mr. Gillespie, I would have spared Mr. Guthrie." And indeed he was not far out with it; for Mr. Guthrie was capable to have done him as much service, being one accomplished with almost every qualification, natural or acquired, necessary to complete both a man and a Christian.

in opposition to the current of legalism which then prevailed, and of the right of Christian congregations to elect their own pastors, which was then so tyrannically invaded. Mr. Ralph Erskine, besides making honourable allusions in more than one of his sermons to the memory of Hamilton, composed on the occasion of his death a long elegiac poem, partly in English and partly in Latin, in which he celebrates his piety, orthodoxy, meekness, fortitude, and other virtues, and notices the principal events of his life. (*Fraser's Life of Ebenezer Erskine*, pp. 337, 338).

It is a loss that we are favoured with so few of the writings of this worthy. For besides those papers already mentioned, he wrote several others on the Protesters' side, among which was also a paper written 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. 22-25, was published in 1738, entitled, "A Cry from the Dead;" 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 about 1656, for his accession to the call of Mr. Robert Rule to be his colleague after the death of Mr. Bennett. 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 treatise of a Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES GUTHRIE.

HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

"Men and brethren, I fear many of you be come hither to gaze, rather than to be edified by the carriage and last words of a

dying man; but if any have an ear to hear, as I hope some of this great confluence have, I desire your audience to a few words. I am come hither to lay down this earthly tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bless God, through his grace, I do it willingly and not by constraint. I say, I suffer willingly; if I had been so minded, I might have made a diversion, and not been a prisoner; but being conscious to myself of nothing worthy of death or of bonds, I would not stain my innocency with the suspicion of guiltiness by my withdrawing; neither have I wanted opportunities and advantages to escape since I was prisoner, not by the fault of my keepers, God knoweth, but otherwise; but neither for this had I light or liberty; lest I should reflect upon the Lord's name, and offend the generation of the righteous: and if some men have not been mistaken, or dealt deceitfully in telling me so, I might have avoided not only the severity of the sentence, but also had much favour and countenance, by complying with the courses of the time: but I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my integrity; God knoweth I durst not; and that since I was prisoner he hath so holden me by the hand, that he never suffered me to bring it into debate in my inward thoughts, much less to postpone or hearken to any overture of that kind. I did judge it better to suffer than to sin; and therefore I am come hither to lay down my life this day. And I bless God I die not as a fool; nor that I have any thing wherein to glory in myself: I acknowledge that I am a sinner, yea, one of the greatest and vilest that has owned a profession of religion, and one of the most unworthy that has preached the gospel; my corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things, yea, even in following my duty: and therefore righteousness have I none of mine own, all is vile; but, 'I do believe, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am chief.' Through faith in his righteousness and blood have I obtained

mercy; and through him and him alone have I the hope of a blessed conquest and victory over sin, and Satan, and hell, and death; and that 'I shall attain unto the resurrection of the just;' and be made partaker of eternal life. 'I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.' I have preached salvation through his name, and as I have preached, so do I believe, and do commend the riches of his free grace, and faith in his name unto you all, as the only way whereby ye can be saved.

"And as I bless the Lord that I die not as a fool; so also, that I die not for evil doing. Not a few of you may haply judge, that 'I suffer as a thief, or as a murderer, or as an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters.' It was the lot of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and hath been of many of his precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil doers; and as my soul seareth not at it, but desireth to rejoice in being brought into conformity with my blessed Head and so blessed a company in this thing, so I do desire and pray, that I may be to none of you to-day, upon this account, 'a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence.' Blessed is he that shall not be offended at Jesus Christ, and his poor servants and members, because of their being condemned as evil doers by the world. God is my record, that in these things for which sentence of death hath passed against me, I have a good conscience! I bless God, they are not matters of compliance with sectaries, or designs and practices against his Majesty's person or government, or the person or government of his royal father. My heart, I bless God, is conscious unto no disloyalty; nay, loyal I have been, and I commend it unto you to be loyal and obedient in the Lord. True piety is the foundation of true loyalty: a wicked man may be a flatterer and a time-server, but he will never be a loyal subject. But to return to my purpose, the matters for which I am condemned are

matters belonging to my calling and function as a minister of the gospel, such as the discovery and reproof of sin; the pressing and the holding fast of the oath of God in the covenant, and preserving and carrying on the work of religion and reformation according thereto; and denying to acknowledge the civil magistrate as the 'proper competent judge in causes ecclesiastical;' that in all these things which (God so ordering by his gracious providence) are the grounds of my indictment and death, I have a good conscience, as having walked therein according to the light and rule of God's word, and as did become a minister of the gospel.

"I do also bless the Lord that I do not die as 'one not desired.' I know that, by not a few, I neither have been nor am desired. It hath been my lot to have been a man of contention and sorrow; but it is my comfort, that for my own things I have not contended, but for the things of Jesus Christ, for what relateth to his interest and work, and the well-being of his people. In order to the preserving and promoting of these, I did protest against and stood in opposition unto these late assemblies at St. Andrews, Dundee, and Edinburgh; and the public resolutions for bringing the malignant party into the judicatories and armies of this kingdom, conceiving the same contrary to the word of God and to our solemn covenants and engagements; and to be an inlet to defection, and to the ruin and destruction of the work of God. And it is now manifest to many consciences, that I have not been therein mistaken, and was not fighting against a man of straw. I was also desirous, and did use some poor endeavours to have the church of God purged of insufficient, scandalous, and corrupt ministers and elders; for these things I have been mistaken by some and hated by others; but I bless the Lord, as I had the testimony of my own conscience, so I was and am therein approved in the consciences of many of the Lord's precious servants and people;

and how little soever I may die desired by some, yet by those I know I do die desired, and their approbation, and prayers, and affection is of more value with me, than the contradiction, or reproach, or hatred of many others; the love of the one I cannot recompense, and the mistake, or hatred, or reproach of the other, I do with all my heart forgive; and wherein I have offended any of them, do beg their mercy and forgiveness. I do from my soul wish that my death may be profitable unto both, that the one may be confirmed and established in the straight ways of the Lord, and that the other (if the Lord so will) may be convinced, and cease from those things that are not good, and do not edify, but destroy.

“One thing I would warn you all of is, that God is wroth, yea, very wroth with Scotland, and threateneth to depart and remove his candlestick; the causes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cause, that causes of God’s wrath are despised and rejected of men. 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 and increase of wrath—

“1st. By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land, and hath reins loosed unto it every where, in so far that many have lost, not only all use and exercise of religion, but even of morality, and that common civility that is to be found amongst the heathen.

“2nd. By that horrible treachery and perjury that is in the matter of the Covenant, and cause of God, and work of reformation; ‘Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord; for my people have committed two evils, they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water. Shall he break the covenant and prosper? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a law?’ I fear the Lord is about to bring

a sword on these lands, which shall avenge the quarrel of his Covenant.

“3rd. Horrible ingratitude: the Lord, after ten years’ oppression and bondage, hath broken the yoke of strangers from off our necks; but what do we render unto him for his goodness? Most of the fruit of our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen ourselves to do evil.

“4th. A most dreadful idolatry and 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 all their salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a blessing unto us (being kept in a due line of subordination under God) into an idol of jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-serving ministers: I know and bear testimony, that in the Church of Scotland there is a true and faithful ministry: blessed be God, we have yet many who study their duty, and desire to be found faithful to their Lord and Master; and I pray you to honour, and reverence, and esteem much of these for their work’s sake: and I pray them to be encouraged in their Lord and Master, who is with them to make them as iron pillars, and brazen walls, and as a strong defended city in the faithful following of their duty: but oh! that there were not too many who mind earthly things, and are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the minds of evil doers, who make themselves transgressors, by studying to build again what they did formerly warrantably destroy, I mean Prelacy, and the ceremonies, and the Service-book, a mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great whore, Babylon, the mother of fornications: or whosoever else he be that buildeth this Jericho again, let him take heed to the curse of Hiel the Bethelite, and of that flying roll threatened, Zech. v. And let all ministers take heed that they watch, and be

steadfast in the faith, and quit themselves like men, and be strong; and give faithful and seasonable warning concerning sin and duty. Many of the Lord's people do sadly complain of the fainting and silence of many watchmen; and it concerneth them to consider what God calleth for at their hands in such a day: silence now in a watchman, when he is so much called to speak, and give his testimony upon the peril of his life, is doubtless a great sin. The Lord open the mouths of his servants to speak his word with all boldness, that covenant breaking may be discovered and reprov'd, and that the kingdom of Jesus Christ may not be supplanted, nor the souls of his people destroyed without a witness.

"I have but a few words more to add: all that are profane amongst you, I exhort them to repentance, for the day of the Lord's vengeance hasteneth, and is near: but there is yet a door of mercy open for you, if you will not despise the day of salvation. All that are maligners, and reproachers, and persecutors of godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed what ye do, it will be hard for you to kick against the pricks; you make yourselves the butt of the Lord's fury and his flaming indignation, if you do not cease from and repent of all your ungodly deeds. All that are neutral, and indifferent, and lukewarm professors, be zealous and repent, lest the Lord spew you out of his mouth. You that lament after the Lord, and mourn for all the abominations that are done in this city and in the land, and take pleasure in the stones and dust of Zion, cast not away your confidence, but be comforted and encouraged in the Lord. He will yet appear to your joy; God hath not cast away his people nor work in Britain and Ireland: I hope it shall once more revive by the power of his Spirit, and take root downward, and bear fruit upward. There is yet a holy seed and precious remnant, whom God will preserve and bring forth: but how long or dark our night may be, I do not know; the Lord

shorten it for the sake of his chosen. In the meanwhile, 'be ye patient and steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, and in love one to another:' beware of snares which are strewed thick; cleave to the Covenant and work of reformation; do not decline the cross of Jesus Christ; 'choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;' and account the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the treasure of the world. Let my death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantageous both for me, and for you, and for the church of God, and for Christ's interest and honour, than my life could have been. I forgive all men the guilt of it, and I desire you to do so also: 'Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you, bless, I say, and curse not.' I die in the faith of the apostles and primitive Christians, and Protestant reformed churches, particularly of the Church of Scotland, whereof I am a member and minister. I bear my witness and testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, by kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. Popery and Prelacy, and all the trumpery of service and ceremonies that wait upon them, I do abhor. I do bear witness unto the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland: these sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed nor dispensed with by no person, or party, or power upon earth; but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter; and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls since our entering thereinto. I bear my witness to the protestation against the controverted assemblies, and the public resolutions; to the testimonies given against the sectaries; against the course of backsliding and defection that is now on foot in the land, and all the branches and parts

thereof, under whatsoever name or notion, or acted by whatsoever party or person. And in the last place, I bear my witness to the cross of Jesus Christ; and that I never had cause, nor have cause this day, to repent because of any thing I have suffered or can now suffer for his name: 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 such a wretch, and hath 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. God forgive the poor empty man that did there intrude upon my labours, and hath made a prey of many poor souls, and exposed others to reproach, and oppression, and a famine of the word of the Lord. God forgive the misleaders of that part of the poor people, who tempted them to reject their own pastor and to admit of intruders, and the Father of mercies pity that poor

misled people: and the Lord visit the congregation and presbytery of Stirling once more with faithful pastors, and grant that the work and people of God may be revived through all Britain, and over all the world. Jesus Christ is my light, and my life, my righteousness, my strength, and my salvation: 'He is all my salvation, and all my desire.' Him, oh, him, I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you. 'Blessed are they that are not offended in him:' blessed are they that trust in him. 'Bless him, O my soul, from henceforth, even for ever.' Rejoice, rejoice all ye that love him; be patient and rejoice in tribulation: blessed are you, and blessed shall you be for ever and ever. Everlasting righteousness and eternal salvation is yours: 'All are yours, and ye are Christ's and Christ is God's.' 'Remember me, O Lord, with the favour thou bearest to thy people; O visit me with thy salvation, that I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy nation; that I may glory with thine inheritance.'—'Now let thy servant depart in peace, since mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

“JAMES GUTHRIE.”

JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDON.

JOHN CAMPBELL, earl of Loudon, was the eldest son and heir of Sir James Campbell of Lawers [who was descended from the family of Glenurchy, a branch of the illustrious house of Argyll, by his spouse Jean, daughter of James, first Lord Colville of Culross. He was born in the year 1598. Having received an edu-

cation suitable to his birth, he was, on his return from his travels abroad, honoured by King James VI. with the dignity of knighthood; and in 1620 he married Margaret Campbell, eldest daughter of George, master of Loudon and heir-apparent to the estates and title of Hugh, Lord Loudon, her grandfather.

In 1622 he came to enjoy, in right of his wife, the title of Lord Loudon, on the death of her grandfather.]

His next state preferment was in 1633, when King Charles I. came to Scotland in order to have his coronation performed; at which time he dignified several of the Scots nobility with higher titles of honour; and among others this nobleman, who was created Earl of Loudon by letters patent dated Theobalds, 8th May that year.

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

* Lord Loudon was among the first of the nobility who espoused the cause of the liberties of the church, in opposition to the arbitrary impositions of the court of Charles I. Several of Rutherford's letters, addressed to him at this time, bear testimony to his zeal, and to the importance attached by the church to the support of a nobleman of such high character and distinguished talents. In a letter to him from Aberdeen, 10th September, 1637, he writes:—"I rejoice exceedingly to hear that your lordship hath a good mind to Christ, and his now borne-down truth. My very dear lord, go on in the strength of the Lord to carry your honours and worldly glory to the New Jerusalem; for this cause your lordship received these of the Lord. This is the sure way for the establishment of your house, if ye be of those who are willing, in your place, to build Zion's old waste places in Scotland." (*Rutherford's Letters*, p. 514.) In another letter to him from Aberdeen,

thereof, not only in joining those petitioners, afterwards called the Covenanters, but also, when the General Assembly sat down at Glasgow in November, 1638, he thought it his honour to attend at almost every session, and was of great service, both by his advice in difficult cases and by several excellent speeches which he delivered therein. For instance, upon the very entry, when the difference arose between the marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner, and some of the rest, anent choosing a clerk to the Assembly, the marquis, refusing to be assisted by Traquair and Sir Lewis Stewart, urged several reasons for compliance with his Majesty's pleasure, and at last renewed his

4th January, 1638, after beseeching his lordship, by the mercies of God, by the everlasting peace of his soul, and by the tears and prayers of their mother church, to go on as he had worthily begun in purging the Lord's house in this land, Rutherford adds—"This poor church, your mother and Christ's spouse, is holding up her hands and heart to God for you, and doth beseech you with tears to plead for her husband, his kingly sceptre, and for the liberties that her Lord and King hath given to her as to a free kingdom, that oweth spiritual tribute to none on earth, as being the free-born princess and daughter to the King of Kings. This is a cause that, before God, his angels, the world, before sun and moon needed not to blush." (*Ibid.*, p. 554.)

Rutherford dedicated his "Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication," printed at London in 1646, to the earl of Loudon, who was then chancellor of the university of St. Andrews.

protest; whereupon Lord Loudon, in name of the Commissioners to the Assembly, gave in reasons of a pretty high strain why the lord commissioner and his assessors ought to have but one vote in the Assembly. Of these reasons Traquair craved a duplicate, and promised to answer them; but it appears never found leisure for the employment.

About this time Loudon told the king's commissioner roundly, "They knew no other bounds betwixt a king and his subjects but religion and laws; and if these were broken men's lives were not dear to them. They would not be so; such fears were past with them."

The king and the bishops being galled to the heart to see that by this Assembly Presbytery was almost restored and Prelacy wellnigh abolished, immediately raised an army, in order to reduce the Covenanters. They, hearing of the preparation, provided as well as they could. Both armies marched towards the Borders; but upon the approach of the Scots the English were moved with great timidity, whereupon ensued a pacification; and commissioners being appointed to treat on both sides, the Scots were permitted to make known their desires. 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 peace would soon be made. 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," &c. The articles of the pacification were subscribed June 19 by the commissioners of both sides, in view of both armies, at Birks, near Berwick, in the year 1639.

But this treaty was short-lived and ill observed; for the king, urged on by the bishops, soon after burned the pacification by the hands of the hangman, charging the Scots with a breach of the articles of the treaty, although the earl of Loudon gave him sufficient proofs to the contrary. This freedom used by his lordship no way pleased the king; but he was suffered to return home, and the king kept

his resentment until another opportunity.

In the meantime the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, August 12. Mr. Dickson was chosen moderator, and at this Assembly, after several matters were discussed, Messrs. Henderson and Ramsay entered upon a demonstration that Episcopacy hath its beginning from men, and is of human institution. But they had not proceeded far when they were interrupted by Traquair, the king's commissioner, who declared that he did not desire them to fall upon any scholastic dispute, but how far those in the Reformation had found Episcopacy contrary to the constitution of the church. Thereupon the truly noble Lord Loudon, being present, did most solidly explain the Act of the General Assembly 1580, which condemned the office of bishops in the most express terms prior to the subscription to the National Covenant; and because of a difficulty raised from words in that Act, as it was then used, his lordship observed that, in the Assemblies 1560, 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578, Episcopacy came still under consideration, though not directly as to the office, yet as to the corruption of it; and having enlarged upon the office

of bishops as without a warrant from the Word of God, he concluded thus: "The connexion between the Assemblies of 1574 and 1581 is quite clear—Episcopacy is put out as wanting warrant from the Word of God, and Presbytery put in as having that divine warrant."

The same day on which the Assembly arose the Parliament sat down; but falling upon matters that did not correspond with the king's design, Traquair did all he could to stop them, that they might have nothing done; whereupon they agreed to send up the earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to implore his Majesty to allow the Parliament to proceed, and to determine what was before them. But ere these two lords had reached the court orders were sent them, discharging them, in the king's name, from coming within a mile of him, on supposition that they had no express warrant from the lord commissioner, and they returned home.

In the meantime the Parliament, by the king's orders, was prorogued to the 2nd of June, 1640, and matters continued so till January, 1641, when the Committee of Parliament, having obtained leave to send up commissioners 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 that 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 3rd of March, when Lord Loudon, after having addressed his Majesty, showed that his ancient and native kingdom was independent of any other judicatory whatever. He craved his Majesty's protection in defence of religion, liberty, and the cause of the church and kingdom; and then speaking concerning those who had misrepresented or traduced these 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 are sworn to defend our religion, our recourse must be only to the God of Jacob for our re-

fuge, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, 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, since 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 spake of the laws of God and the power of the church, saying, "Next, we must distinguish betwixt the church and 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 ecclesiastic assemblies thereof be formally different and distinct from the Parliament and civil judicatories, yet there is so strict and necessary a conjunction betwixt ecclesiastic and civil jurisdiction, betwixt religion and justice, as the one cannot firmly subsist and be preserved without the other, therefore they must stand and fall, live and die together." He enlarged further

upon the privileges of both church and state, and then concluded with mentioning the sum of their desires, which was: "That your Majesty may be graciously pleased to command, that the Parliament may proceed freely to determine all these articles given in to them, and whatsoever exceptions, objections, or informations, are made against any of the particular overtures, 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 March 11 the commissioners appeared, and brought their instructions, whereupon ensued some reasonings betwixt them and the king, at which time Archbishop Laud, who sat on the king's right hand, was observed to mock the Scots commissioners, causing the king to put such questions as he pleased. At last Traquair gave in several queries and objections to them, unto which they gave most solid and sufficient answers in every particular.

But this farce being over (for it seems nothing else was here intended by the court than to entrap the commissioners, and particularly this noble earl who had so strenuously asserted the

laws and liberties of his native country), all the deputies, by the king's order, were taken into custody, and the earl of Loudon sent to the Tower for a letter alleged to be written by him, and sent by the Scots to the French king as to their sovereign, imploring his aid against their natural king, of the following tenor:—

"SIRE,—Your Majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colville, to represent unto your Majesty the candour and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings as of our intentions, 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 to any other whatsoever, to be eternally, Sire, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants."

This letter, says a historian,* was advised and composed by Montrose, when the king was coming against Scotland with a potent army, transcribed by Lord Loudon, and subscribed by them and by Lords Rothes, Mar, Montgomery, and Forrester, and General Leslie. The translation being found faulty by Lord Mait-

* History of the Stuarts, vol. i.

land, it was dropped altogether, and this copy wanted both the date, which the worst of its enemies never pretended it had, and a direction, which the Scots confidently affirmed it never had; but falling into the king's hand (by means of Traquair), he intended to make a handle of it to make Lord Loudon the first sacrifice. This noble lord being examined before the council, did very honestly acknowledge the handwriting 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 being thought on shortly before the arrival of the English on the Border it was judged too late, and therefore was never either addressed by them or sent to the French king.

Notwithstanding this, evil was intended against this noble peer, and being remanded back to prison, he was very near being despatched, and that not only without the benefit of his peers,

but without any legal trial or conviction. Burnet fairly acknowledges* that the king was advised to proceed capitally against him. But the English historians† go still farther, and plainly say that the king, about three o'clock in the afternoon, sent his own letter to William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to see the Lord Loudon's head struck off within the Tower before nine the next morning; a striking demonstration of the just and forgiving spirit for which, by some, King Charles is so much extolled! Upon this command, the lieutenant of the Tower, that his lordship might prepare for death, gave him notice of it, which awful intimation 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 scarcely named when the king, understanding their errand, stopped them, saying, "By God it shall be

* Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton.

† Rushworth's History, vol. i. Oldmixon, vol. i.

executed." But the marquis laying before him the odiousness of the fact, by the violation of the safe conduct he had granted to that nobleman, and the putting him to death without conviction or so much as a legal trial, with the dismal consequences that were like to attend an action of that nature, not only in respect of Scotland, which would certainly be lost; but likewise of his own personal safety from the nobility—the king called for the warrant, tore it, and dismissed the marquis and the lieutenant somewhat abruptly. After this, about the 28th of June, this noble lord, upon promise of concealing from his brethren in Scotland the hard treatment he had met with from the king, and of contributing his endeavours to dispose them to peace, was liberated from his confinement, and allowed to return home.

But things being now ripened for a new war, the king put himself at the head of another army, in order to suppress the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots resolved not to be behind in their preparations, and entered England with a numerous army, mostly of veteran troops, many of whom had served in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus.* A

* See Dr. Welwood's Memoirs.

party of the king's forces disputed the passage of the Tyne, but were defeated by the Scots at Newburn; whereupon the Scots took Newcastle and Berwick, pushing their way as far as Durham. Here the noble earl of Loudon acted no mean part, for he not only persuaded the citizens of Edinburgh and other places to contribute money and other necessaries for the use and supply of the Scots, 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. Alexander Henderson and Archibald Johnston, advocates for the church, as their commissioners for the treaty. Both commissioners, upon October 1, 1640, met at Rippon, where, after agreeing upon some articles for a cessation of arms for three months, the treaty was transferred to London. To this the Scots commissioners, upon a patent granted from the king for their safe conduct, consented

and went thither. And because great hopes were entertained by friends in England, from their presence and influence at London, the committee at Newcastle appointed Mr. Robert Blair, for his dexterity in dealing with the Independents; Mr. Robert 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; and Messrs. Smith and Borthwick followed soon after.

After this treaty things went smoothly for some time in Scotland; but the king, not relishing the proceedings of the English Parliament, made a tour next year to Scotland, where he attended the Scots Parliament. When this Parliament sat down (before the king's arrival), Traquair, Montrose, and several other incendiaries, were cited before them for stirring up strife between the king and his subjects, and for undoing the Covenanters; of whom some appeared and some appeared not. In the meanwhile the noble earl of Loudon said so much in favour of some of them, discharging himself so effectually of all the orders 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. This so much offended his lordship, that he supplicated the Parliament to be examined by them of his past conduct and negotiations, if they found him faithful (so far was he emboldened, having the testimony of a good conscience), 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 favour 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 new revised by the Parliament,

subscribed by the lord-president and others.

After the return of the commissioners, the king having 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 in this, and thinking it more difficult to find a fit person for the chancery than for the treasury, was obliged to make the earl of Loudon chancellor, contrary both to his own inclination (for he never was ambitious of preferment) and to the solicitation of his friends. But to make amends for the smallness of his fees, an annual pension of £1000 was added to the office.

Accordingly, upon the 2nd 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 privy councillor, 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, he did swear the oath *de fidei administratione*

officii, and was, by the Lyon king at arms, placed in the seat under his Majesty's feet, on the right hand of the lord-president of Parliament. On this he 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 goodwill of this honourable House in faithfully discharging what you both (without desert of mine) have put on me." Then kissing his Majesty's hand, he retired to his seat.

This was a notable turn of affairs; for he who last year, for the cause of Christ and the love of his country, in all submission received the message or sentence of death, was now, for his great wisdom and prudence, advanced by the same person and authority unto the helm of the highest affairs of the kingdom; which verifies what the wise man saith, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and before honour is humility" (Prov. xv. 33).

As soon as this excellent nobleman was advanced unto this dignity and office, he not only began to exert his power for the utility and welfare of his own native country, but also, the next year, went up to London to importune his Majesty to call his English Parliament, as the most expedient way to bring about a firm, permanent, and lasting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And although he was not one of those commissioners nominated and sent up from the Parliament and Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the year 1643, yet it is evident, from a letter sent from them while at London, bearing the date of January 6, 1645, that he was amongst them there, using his utmost endeavours for bringing about that happy uniformity of religion in doctrine, discipline, and church government, which took place and was established in these nations at that time.

And next year, before the king surrendered himself to the Scots army at Newcastle, Lord Loudon, being sent up as commissioner to the king, after the Lord Leven, at the head of one hundred officers in the army, had presented a petition upon their knees, beseeching his Majesty to give them satisfaction in point of

religion and to take the Covenant, did in plain terms accost the king in this manner: "The difference between your Majesty and your Parliament is grown to such a height that, after many bloody battles, they have your Majesty, with all your garrisons and strongholds, in their hands. They are in a capacity now to do what they will in church and state; and some are afraid, and others are unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your Majesty's last resolution. Now, sire, if your Majesty shall refuse your assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the House and in the city, and all England will join against you as one man; they will depose you, and set up another government. They will charge us to deliver up your Majesty to them and remove our arms out of England; and upon your refusal we shall 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 must be left to the history of those times.

He was again employed on the like errand to the king in the year 1648, but with no better success, as appears from two excellent speeches to the Scots Parliament at his return, concerning these proceedings. 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's and Middleton's forces, after they had given their promise to his lordship of the contrary.

Although this noble earl, through the influence of the earl of Lanark, had given his consent at first to the king, who was setting on foot an army for his own rescue, yet he came to be

* At the Parliament which met upon the execution of Charles I., the earl of Loudon, as lord-chancellor, presided. By their fourteenth Act this Parliament proclaimed King Charles II., and sent commissioners to treat with him at the Hague. The treaty was speedily concluded, the king, who was in no condition to resist, being under the necessity of yielding to the demands of the Covenanters and of taking the Covenant. After this they proceeded to his coronation, which took place on the 1st of January, 1651, with great solemnity and demonstrations of loyalty. When the king was seated on the throne the earl of Loudon, as lord-chancellor, addressed him in the following words:—"Sir, your good subjects desire that you may be crowned as righteous and lawful heir of the crown of this kingdom; that you would maintain the present professed religion, the National Covenant, and

among those who protested against the duke of Hamilton's unlawful Engagement. To account in some measure for this, he had before received a promise of a gift of the teinds, and a gift sometimes blindeth the eyes, especially of a nobleman whose estate was at that time somewhat burdened; but by conversing with some of the protesting side and some ministers, who discovered to him his mistake when his foot had wellnigh slipped, 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 last, Charles I. being executed and his son Charles II. called home by the Scots, a new scene began to appear in 1650;*

Solemn League and Covenant; that you would be graciously pleased to receive them into your protection, to govern them according to law, to defend them in their rights and privileges by your royal power, they offering themselves in humble manner to your Majesty, with their vows to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power, for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your Majesty's sacred person, and of your crown, which they entreat your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that for many years you may enjoy the same." To this address the king answered: "I do esteem the affections of my people more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing I may live no longer than I may see religion and the kingdom flourish in all happiness." (*The Form and Order of the Coronation*

for malignants being then again brought into places of power and trust, it behoved the lord-chancellor, who never was a friend to malignants, to demit. He had now for nearly the space of ten years presided in Parliament, and had been highly instrumental in the hand of the Lord to establish in this nation, both in church and state, the purest reformation that ever was established in any particular nation under the New Testament dispensation; but now he was turned out, and Lord Burleigh substituted in his place.

In what manner he was mostly employed during the time of Cromwell's usurpation there is no certain account, only it is probable that, notwithstanding the many struggles he had in asserting the king's interest, he

of Charles II., King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, as it was acted at Scoone the First day of January, 1651. Aberdeen: imprinted by James Brown, 1651, 4to.) This tract, which includes the sermon preached by Mr. Robert Douglas at the coronation, has been several times reprinted.

* The earl of Loudon did not comply in any respect with Cromwell, and he suffered for his non-compliance. He and Lord Machlin, his eldest son, were excepted out of Cromwell's Act of grace and pardon to the people of Scotland, passed in his Parliament 12th April, 1654. (*Crawfurd's Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland. Appendix, p. 453.*) Whatever then the hostility with which Loudon, as being a strict Presbyterian and Covenanter, was regarded by Charles II. and the malignants, and whatever were their plans after the Restoration to

mostly lived a private life, as most of the noblemen and gentlemen of the nation did at that time.*

But no sooner was the king restored unto his dominions than these lands did again return 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 beheld, not only the carved work of the sanctuary cut down, by defacing that glorious structure of Reformation which he had such an eminent hand in erecting and building up, but also found himself at the king's mercy for his accession to the same.† He knew that, next to the marquis of Argyll, he was the butt of the enemies' malice, and he had frequently applied for his Majesty's grace, but was as

deprive him of all power in the state and otherwise to persecute him, they could not accuse him of complicity with the government of the usurper.

† Upon the restoration of Charles II., when the malignants ruled all, and gave full swing to their thirst for vengeance on such as had been specially zealous and active in the late triumph of Presbytery and the Covenant, the earl of Loudon was under the necessity of resigning his office of chancellor, though it had been conferred upon him by Charles I. *ad vitam aut culpam*, and the earl of Glencairn was put in his place. (*Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 215.*) In the list of Middleton's fines imposed in 1662 upon persons obnoxious to the government in Ayrshire, the name of the earl of Loudon appears for the sum of £12,000.

often refused ; so that the violent courses now carried on, and the plain invasions upon the liberties and religion of the nation, made him weary of his life. Being then at Edinburgh, he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray that he might never see the next session of Parliament, else he might follow his dear friend the marquis of Argyll ; and the Lord was pleased to grant his request ; for he died in a most Christian manner at Edinburgh, March 15, 1663, and his corpse was carried home, and interred beside his ancestors in the old church of Loudon.*

The most exaggerated praise that can be at present bestowed on this renowned patriot, the worthy earl of Loudon, must be far below his merit, as he was possessed of singular prudence, eloquence, and learning, joined with remarkable courage. These excellent endowments he invariably applied for the support of our ancient and admirable constitution, which he maintained upon all hazards and occasions ;

* The earl of Loudon sat in the first session of the Parliament of 1661, in which the marquis of Argyll was impeached for high treason. On this occasion he strenuously exerted himself on behalf of his chief and particular friend ; and made a long and eloquent speech in his defence, showing, from the opinions of eminent divines and lawyers, from the history of nations,

and he might be truly accounted the chief advocate, both for the civil and religious liberties of the people. To sum up all in a few words, he was a most exquisite orator in the senate, a refined politician, an honour to his name, an ornament to this nation, and in every virtue, in political, social, and domestic life, a pattern worthy of imitation. And although his offspring have hitherto all along retained a sense of their civil liberties, yet it is to be lamented that few or none of our noblemen at this day follow his example. 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 which this worthy family have all along retained, and which, we doubt not, will be transmitted to their posterity.

and particularly from that of Scotland, that men who submit to a usurpation when forced by inevitable necessity, ought to be leniently dealt with ; and not regarded, as hitherto they had never been, as criminals, much less as guilty of the crime of treason to their king and country. (*Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State*, p. 215.)

† He died at Leyden, 29th October, 1684.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

ROBERT BAILLIE was born at Glasgow on Friday, the 30th April, 1602. His father, Thomas Baillie, was a citizen there, probably a merchant, and was a younger son of Robert Baillie of Jerviston, near Hamilton, who was a cadet of the family of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient house of Lamington, all in the county of Lanark. By his mother's side he was of the

* "His mother, Helen Gibson, was a daughter of Henry Gibson, who appears in 1580 as town clerk of Glasgow, and in 1592 as commissary of the diocese of Glasgow. He is supposed to have been either the uncle or brother of George Gibson of Goldingstone, the founder of the Durie family, one of whom, Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, became a judge in the supreme civil court; and his son, of the same name, was lord clerk register in the reign of Charles I., and was also raised to the bench." (*Life of Baillie, by David Laing, Esq.*)

† Having acquired his first instructions apparently under the domestic roof, Baillie, in the eleventh or twelfth year of his age, was sent to a public school in Glasgow, of which the famous Robert Blair, after taking his degree of master of arts in the university of Glasgow in 1614, became assistant master. Baillie ever after retained an affectionate and grateful remembrance of this worthy teacher, from whose able and faithful instructions he had greatly profited, both in piety and letters. In his dedication of his "Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland," published in London, 1646, to "his reverend and well-beloved brother, Mr. Robert Blair, minister of St. Andrews," he thus writes in terms which do equal honour to them both:—"When I look back (as frequently I do with a delightful remembrance) towards those years of my childhood and youth wherein

same stock with the Gibsons of Durie, who have made such a figure in the law.* He received his education at Glasgow,† and at that university plied his studies so hard, that by his industry and uncommon genius, he attained to the knowledge of twelve or thirteen languages, and could write a Latin style that, in the opinion of the learned, might well become the Augustan age.

I did sit under your discipline, my heart blesses the goodness of God, who in a very rich mercy to me did put almost the white and razed table of my spirit under your hand after my domestic instructions which were from mine infancy, to be engraven by your labours and example with my first most sensible and remaining impressions, whether of piety or of good letters, or of moral virtue. What little portion in any of these it hath pleased the Lord of his high and undeserved favour to bestow upon me, I were ungrateful if I should not acknowledge you, after my parents, the first and principal instrument thereof. I cannot deny that since the eleventh year of mine age to this day, in my inmost sense, I have always found myself more in your debt than in any other man's upon earth. Among the many blessings wherein God hath made you instrumental towards me, this was one not the least, that by your gracious and most loving discourses, you so seasoned my childish heart with an early love towards the ancient oppressed discipline of our church and the patrons thereof, that no after temptations were ever able totally to extinguish it. You did so replenish me with narrations of the more than ordinary graces of many, both in Scotland and England, who had lived and died in opposition to episcopal usurpations, that my spirit was ever thereafter kept in a reluctancy and a kind of averseness from the prelatial ways."

[At the time when Baillie commenced the study of theology at the university of Glasgow, Robert Boyd of Trochrig was principal. In a short life of Boyd prefixed to his posthumous commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, published in 1652, Baillie records the flourishing state of the university of Glasgow under the superintendence of that learned and accomplished man. "O what a brave time it was," he exclaims, "when the college enjoyed such a principal, and regents so eminent and highly esteemed as William Blair, David Dickson, James Robertoun (of Bedlay), James Sharp (of Govan), and Robert Blair." He had heard with deep interest the latter portion of that commentary delivered by Boyd in the course of his lectures to a large circle of ardent students, and the retrospect, after the lapse of thirty years, recalled to memory the most pleasant associations. On 16th August, 1625, Baillie was admitted to the office of regent in the college of Glasgow. During the time that he held this office, many young men of rank were students in the university. One of his pupils was Archibald Johnston of Warriston. Another was Hugh, Lord Montgomery, eldest son of the earl of Eglinton.

Baillie was at length presented to the parish church of Kilwinning by this family, on the occurrence of a vacancy. This was before the autumn of the year 1631, as appears from the admission of James Forsyth on 1st September that year, to the office of a regent in the college, evidently to supply the place which had been made vacant by Baillie's resignation.]

When the Reformation began in the year 1637, Baillie wanted not his own difficulties from his education and tenderness of the king's authority, to see through some of the measures then taken. Yet, after reasoning, reading, and prayer (as he himself expressed it), he came heartily into the Covenanted interest about that time.

Being a man of distinct and solid judgment, he was often employed in the public business of the church. In the year 1638 he was chosen by his Presbytery to be a member of the memorable Assembly held in that year at Glasgow, where he behaved himself with great wisdom and moderation.

He was also one of those who attended as chaplains the army in 1639* and 1640, and he was

* One of the most graphic passages in Baillie's Letters is his account of the Scottish army as they lay encamped on Dunse Law about the

present during the whole treaty begun at Rippon and concluded at London. What comfort he had in these things appears from his letters. Referring to the time when he was present with the army of the Covenanters at Dunse Law, he says "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 as one who had taken leave

7th of June, 1639. "It would have done you good to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich hill, as oft I did with great contentment and joy; for I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with my lord of Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and picks, and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to preach and pray for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most cheerfully. Our regiment lay on the sides of the hill almost round about. Every company had flowing at the captain's tent door a brave new colour, stamped with the Scottish arms and this motto, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters." Baillie commemorates the devotion of the army, "the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells;" "the wisdom and authority of that old little crooked soldier, that all with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solyman." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 203, 211-14.) Troops thus resolute, and led by veteran commanders, who had served with distinction in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, appear to have overawed Charles I. Before an engagement had taken place the pacification at the Birks of

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." †

When the Westminster Assembly terminated, the Parliament of England, as an acknowledgment of his good services, made him a handsome present of silver plate, with an inscription signifying it to be a token of

Berwick, proclaimed 18th June, 1639, produced in the meantime a cessation of open hostilities. But the treaty was, unfortunately, soon violated by the imprudence and faithlessness of Charles.

† While Baillie was at London negotiating a treaty with Charles I., in 1640, his various publications bearing on the controversies then agitated contributed not a little to the overthrow of Prelacy in England. He drew up the first draft of the charge of the Scottish commissioners against Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Strafford; though this, as well as all the public documents of the Scottish Covenanters at that time, received its last form from Alexander Henderson. Strafford was beheaded 12th May, 1641. Laud, who underwent the same fate, did not suffer till 10th January, 1645, when he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Baillie returned to Scotland along with the other Scottish commissioners in the beginning of June, 1641. In July, 1642, he was admitted to be joint professor of divinity with Mr. David Dickson in the university of Glasgow; and he preached once a week as minister of the Tron church. In 1643 he was appointed by the General Assembly to attend, as one of the representatives of the Church of Scotland, the Westminster Assembly of Divines. On this mission he remained several years in London, though during that time he repeatedly returned to Scotland, and addressed the General Assembly on the great work in which the Westminster Assembly were engaged.

their great respect to him. This, not long since, was to be seen in the house of Carnbroe, very carefully preserved; and perhaps it remains there to this day.

By his first wife, Lilius Fleming, of the family of Cardarroch, in the parish of Cadder, near Glasgow, and to whom he was married about the time of his settlement at Kilwinning, 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.

For a long time he was a great confidant of the marquis

* The estates of the Scottish Parliament having, immediately on receiving intelligence of the execution of Charles I., passed an Act on the 5th of February proclaiming Prince Charles, who was then in Holland, king, Baillie was one of the commissioners whom they sent to the Hague to invite him to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, and previously to demand security for religion. The other commissioners were the earls of Cassillis, George Wynram of Libberton, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, and James Wood, minister at St. Andrews. The security of religion required was not given. The state of parties at the Hague, of which Baillie gives an account, was not such as to encourage the hopes of the Presbyterians. On 3rd April, 1649, he thus writes from the Hague to Mr. Robert Douglas:—"As yet our fears are great of a sore storm to Scotland; yet yesternight I learned from a great person here that our affairs, blessed be God, are not desperate. There is no Scotsman that is on the king's council; the five or six English that are, Cottington, Culpepper, Hyde, Long, and some more, are divided. The most are of Prince Rupert's faction, who caress Montrose, and press mightily to have the king to Ireland. Culpepper and

of Argyll, the earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, Lauderdale, and Loudon, Lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston (Lord Warriston), with others of the leaders amongst the Covenanters, whereby he obtained the most exact knowledge of the transactions of that time, which he has carefully collected in his Letters. As he expresses himself, there was no one from whom his correspondent could get a more full narrative of events under Cromwell's usurpation. He joined with the Resolutioners, and composed several of the papers belonging to that party.*

some bed-chamber men, as Willmot, Byron, Gerard, and the master of the horse, Peircie, are of the queen's faction, and these are for the king's joining with us; but all of them are much averse from the League and Covenant. The Prince of Orange, and by him all the nobles here, are for the last; and by their means we are somewhat hopeful yet to carry his Majesty to our Covenant, and the most of our desires for religion." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 88.) In a letter to Robert Douglas, dated 17th April [1649], Baillie writes in reference to an audience which he had with Charles, "In this conference I found the king, in my judgment, of a very meek and equitable disposition, understanding, and judicious enough, though firm to the tenets his education and company have planted in him. If God would send him among us, without some of his present councillors, I think he might make, by God's blessing, as good a king as Britain saw these hundred years." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 89.) As if blinded by a spirit of infatuation Baillie, like other Scottish Presbyterians, seemed incapable of judging of the true character of Charles II. It need hardly be added that he and the other commissioners failed of the objects of their mission.

On 23rd January, 1661, Baillie was, by Lauderdale's interest, made principal of the college of Glasgow, upon the deprivation of Mr. Patrick Gillespie,* for having intruded himself in the times of the late usurpation. About this time it is commonly said that he had a bishopric offered him, but that he refused it, because, says the writer of the memorial, he did not choose to enter into a dispute with those whom he had formerly lived with in friendship. But this was only a sly way of wounding an amiable character; for Baillie continued firmly attached to Presbyterian government, and in opposition

* Mr. Patrick Gillespie was the son of Mr. John Gillespie (second minister of the collegiate church of Kirkaldy), and brother of the celebrated George Gillespie. He was born at Kirkaldy in 1617, and was for some time minister of that parish. He was subsequently translated to Glasgow. After the execution of Charles I., favouring the Commonwealth, he was appointed by Cromwell to be principal of the university of Glasgow, and installed in that office, notwithstanding much opposition. Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was ejected from the principalship, and was succeeded by Baillie.

Baillie, whose prejudices against Gillespie both as being a Protester and a rival were evidently strong, frequently in his letters blames him for the gross extravagance with which he had managed the pecuniary affairs of the university. The following passage from the *Mercurius Caledonius*, in reference to Gillespie's appearance before Parliament, 6th March, 1661, may be set over against this accusation:—"Mr. Gillespie was brought to the bar; he had a handsome discourse by way of information relating to a vindication. It is a great pity that

to Prelacy, to the very last. In proof of this several instances could be brought, but a few extracts from some of his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale, dated Glasgow, 18th April, 1661, a little before his death, may effectually wipe away that reproach:—"Having the occasion of this bearer, I tell you that my heart is broken with grief, and I find the burthen of the public weighty, and hastening me to my grave. . . . What needed you do that disservice to the king, which all of you cannot recompence, to grieve the hearts of all your gracious friends in Scotland, . . . with pulling

this man should ever have been ensnared in mistakes, for he is a generous and public spirited soul; witness his great improvement of the university of Glasgow, both by the enlargement of the fabric, and increasing of the bursarships, which is the grand nursery of our clergy, and the first degree of their advancement. And if there be merit in the fanatics of either kind, this man hath the largest share." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 475.)

Gillespie was imprisoned successively in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and in 1661 he was impeached of high treason before the Parliament, on the alleged ground of his having compiled "The Western Remonstrance," approved the pamphlet entitled "The Causes of God's Wrath," and corresponded with Cromwell. But having made concessions he was shortly after liberated, and confined to Ormiston and six miles around it. "His works speak for him," says Wodrow, "and evidence him a person of great learning, solidity, and piety, particularly his excellent treatises upon "The Covenants of Grace and Redemption." (*Wodrow's History*, vol. i. p. 204.)

down all our laws at once, which concerned our church since 1633? Was this good advice, or will this thrive? Is it wisdom to bring back upon us the Canterburian times? The same designs, the same practices, will they not at last bring on the same horrible effects, whatever fools dream?" And again, in the same letter, further on, he says, "My lord, you are the nobleman in all the world I esteem most, and love best. I think I may say and write to you what I like. If you have gone with your heart to forsake your covenant, to countenance the re-introduction of bishops and books, and strengthening the king by your advice in these things, I think you a prime transgressor, and liable among the first to answer to God for that great sin; and opening a door, which in haste will not be closed, for persecution of a

* This was James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews. He had been consecrated along with three other Scottish bishops at London, 15th December, 1661. The other three were Andrew Fairfoull, minister of Dunse, who was made archbishop of Glasgow; Robert Leighton, principal of the university of Edinburgh, who was made bishop of Dunkeld; and James Hamilton, minister of Cambusnethan, who became bishop of Galloway.

Sharp had been sent up to London as commissioner by the Resolutioners, with instructions to use his utmost endeavours that in the event of the restoration of Charles II. no change should be made in the government and discipline of the Church of Scotland; but he

multitude of the best persons and most loyal subjects that are in all the three dominions. . . .

I will continue to pray for you, do what you will." When the archbishop* came to visit him on his deathbed, he would not so much as give him the appellation of lord; yea, it appears that the introduction of Prelacy hastened his death, as appears evident from his last public letter to his cousin, Mr. Spang, dated May 12, 1662. After some account of the west-country ministers being called into 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." Very shortly after that, namely,

became the betrayer of the church, and afterwards one of its most cruel persecutors. When reports of his treachery began to be circulated, Baillie was slow in believing them. Writing to him so late as 29th August, 1661, he says:—"You shall deceive us notably, and do us a very evident evil turn before I believe it." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 473.) But Baillie was soon compelled to believe the treachery of Sharp. In the last extant letter which he wrote, dated Glasgow, 12th May, 1662, he confesses, with feelings of the bitterest disappointment, that "Mr. Sharp, our agent whom we trusted, piece and piece, in so cunning a way has trepanned us." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 484.)

towards the end of August, 1662, he got to his rest and glorious reward, in the sixty-first year of his age.

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 which are his Scripture Chronology, written in Latin; his Canterburians Self-conviction; his Parallel or Comparison of the Liturgy with the Mass Book; his Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time; and a large manuscript collection of Historical Papers and Letters, consisting of four volumes folio, beginning in the year 1637, and ending at the Restoration. To him is, by some, ascribed that book entitled "Historia Motuum in Regno Scotiae, annis 1634-40;" and if he was the author of that, then he also wrote 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 Re-

ply to the Modest Inquirer, with other tracts, and some sermons on public occasions.

In the life and now published Letters of Principal Baillie we have a striking proof of human frailty; nay, more, that even great and good men will be biased in judgment and prejudiced in mind at others more faithful than themselves. For instance, those very noblemen and ministers to whom he gives the highest eulogiums of praise for being the prime ministers in God's hand for carrying on the work of Reformation betwixt 1638 and 1639, no sooner took the Protesters' side than he not only represents some of them to be of such a character as I shall forbear to mention, but even gives us a very diminutive view of their most faithful contentings about that time; wherein the gallant Argyll, the courageous Loudon, the able statesman Warriston, faithful Guthrie, godly Rutherford, peaceful Livingstone, honest M'Ward, &c., cannot escape their share of reflections. This, 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 these Protesters and his own party, the Resolutioners; taking, as he did, all divisions

and calamities that befel the church, state, and army, at that time, to proceed from the Protesters not concurring with them; whereas it was just the reverse. The admission of Charles II., that atheistical wretch, and his malignant faction, into the bosom of the church, proved the Achan in the camp that brought these evils upon the church, state, and army, at and since that time. The Protesters 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 awful gibbet, banishment, imprisonment, and other excruciating hardships; whereas several hundreds of the Resolutioners, on the very first blast of temptation, involved themselves in fearful apostacy and perjury; some of them becoming violent persecutors of their faithful brethren, and not a few of them absolute monsters of iniquity.

DAVID DICKSON.

DAVID 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 and possessor 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 considerable substance, and were many years married before they had David, who was their only child. As he was a Samuel asked of the Lord, so he

* David Dickson's father purchased from Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto the lands of Busby,

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 their remembrance, and then he was sent to prosecute his studies at the university of Glasgow.

Soon after he had received the degree of master of arts in 1609, he was admitted one of the regents, or professor of philosophy in that college, where he was very useful in training up the from which his successors took their title. (*Charters in Public Archives.*)

youth in solid learning; and, with the learned Principal Boyd of Trochrig, the worthy Mr. Blair, and other pious members of that society, his labours were singularly blessed in reviving serious piety among the youth in that declining and corrupted time, a little after the imposition of Prelacy upon the church. He held that situation for eight years.* 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 qualified in all the branches of useful learning. Accordingly David Dickson was, in 1618, when in the thirty-fifth year of his age, ordained minister to the town of Irvine, where he laboured with much acceptance and success for about twenty-three years.

That same year the corrupt Assembly at Perth agreed to the five articles imposed upon the church by King James VI. and the prelates. David Dickson at first had no great scruple against

Episcopacy, as he had not studied those questions much till the articles were imposed by the Assembly. These he then closely examined; and the more he looked into them the more aversion he found to them. When some time after, by a sore sickness, he was brought within view of death and eternity, he gave open testimony to the sinfulness of them.

But when this came to take air James Law, archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him to appear before the High Commission Court, January 29, 1622. Dickson, at his entrance to the ministry at Irvine, had preached upon 2 Cor. v. 11, "Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men;" and when he perceived at this juncture a separation (at least for a time), the Sabbath before his compearance he chose the next words of that verse, "But we are made manifest unto God." Extraordinary power and singular movings of the affections accompanied that parting sermon.

David Dickson appeared before the commission, where, after the summons being read and after some reasoning among the bishops, he gave in his declination, declining the authority of the court in ecclesiastical mat-

* Records of the University of Glasgow.

ters; upon which some of the bishops, whispering in his ear as if they had favoured him upon the good report they had heard of him and his ministry, said to him, "Take it up, take it up." He answered calmly, "I laid it not down for that end to take it up again." Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, asked if he would subscribe it. He professed himself ready. The clerk, at the archbishop's desire, began to read it, but had scarcely read three lines till the archbishop burst forth in railing speeches, full of gall and bitterness; and turning to Mr. David he 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. David answered, "I am not a rebel; I stand here as the king's subject; grant me the benefit of the law and of a subject, and I crave no more." But the archbishop seemed to take no notice of these words. Aberdeen 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 to his limitation." Aberdeen asked again, "May not the king give the same authority that we have to as many sutors and tailors in Edinburgh, to sit and see whether ye be doing your duty or not?" Mr. David said, "My declinature will answer to that." Then St. Andrews fell again to railing: "The devil," he said, "will devise; he has Scripture enough;" and then called him knave, swinger, young lad; and said he might have been teaching bairns in the school: thou knowest what Aristotle saith, said he, but thou hast no theology. Because he perceived that Dickson gave him no titles, but once called him sir, he gnashed his teeth and said, "Sir! you might have called me lord; when I was in Glasgow long since ye called me so, but I cannot tell how, ye are become a puritan now." All this time Dickson stood silent, and once lifted up his eyes to heaven, which St. Andrews called a proud look. So after some more reasoning betwixt him and the bishops, St. Andrews pronounced sentence upon him in these words: "We deprive you of your ministry at Irvine, and ordain you to enter in Turriff, in the north, in twenty days." "The will of the Lord be done,"

said Mr. David; "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 with his own weak servant."

Mr. Dickson continued preaching till the twenty days had expired, and then began his journey. The earl of Eglinton prevailed with the archbishop of Glasgow that he might come to Eglinton and preach there; but the people from all quarters resorting to his sermons in Eglinton hall and court-yard, Mr. Dickson enjoyed that liberty only two months; for the archbishop sent him another charge, and he went to the place of his confinement.

While in Turriff he was daily employed to preach by Mr. Thomas Mitchell, minister there.* But he found far greater difficulty, both in studying and preaching, than formerly. Some time after, his friends prevailed with the archbishop of Glasgow to repon him, upon condition that he would take back his declination, and for that purpose wrote to Mr. Dickson to come to Glasgow. He came as desired; but though

* Mr. Mitchell, as stated in a letter by Robert Blair to Robert Boyd of Trochrig, from Glasgow, 27th May, 1622, was "an honest-hearted man, in practice conform, but in affection altogether averse from their corrupt courses."

many wise and gracious persons urged him to yield, yet he could not be persuaded. Yea, at last it was granted to him that if he, or any friend he pleased, would go to the archbishop's castle, and either lift the paper or suffer his friend to take it off the hall table, without seeing the archbishop at all, he might return to Irvine. But he found that to be but a juggling in such a weighty matter, in point of public testimony, and resolved to meddle no farther in this matter, but to return to his confinement. Accordingly he began his journey, and was scarcely a mile out of town till his soul was filled with such joy and approbation from God that he seldom had the like.

Some time after, by the continued intercession of the earl of Eglinton and the town of Irvine with the archbishop, the earl got a license to send for him, and a promise that he should stay till the king challenged him. Thus he returned, without any condition on his part, to his flock, about the end of July, 1623.

While at Irvine, David Dickson's ministry was singularly (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 170.) Dickson, according to his own account of this part of his history before the General Assembly of 1638, was three-quarters of a year at Turriff. (*Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 149.)

countenanced of God, and multitudes were convinced and converted. Few who lived in his day were more instrumental in this work than he; so that people under exercise and soul-concern came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his sermons. The most eminent Christians, from all corners of the church, came and joined with him at the communions, which were indeed times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Yea, not a few came from distant places and settled at Irvine, that they might be under his ministry; yet he himself observed that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr. Welsh's time; where indeed the Gospel had wonderful success in conviction, conversion, and confirmation.

He commonly had his week-day sermon upon Monday, which was the market-day then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings many persons under soul-distress used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down. In all this he had an extraordinary talent; indeed he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In

a large hall which was in his own house, there would sometimes have been scores of serious Christians waiting for him after he came from church. These, with the people round the town who came into the market, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays than on the Lord's day. By these week-day sermons the famous Stewarton sickness (as it was called) was begun, about the year 1630,* and spread from house to house for many miles in the valley where Stewarton water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon such serious persons as were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excess, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, that Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, under the hardships of Prelacy.

About the years 1630 and 1631 some of our Scottish ministers, Messrs. Livingstone, Blair, and others, were settled among the

* It lasted from 1625 to 1630.

Scots in the north of Ireland, where they were remarkably owned of the Lord in their ministry and communions about the Six-Mile Water, for reviving religion and the power and practice of it. The Irish bishops, at the instigation of the Scots bishops, got them removed for a season. After they were silenced, and had come over to Scotland about the year 1637, Mr. Dickson employed Messrs. Blair, Livingstone, and Cunningham at his communion,* for which he was called before the High Commission; but the prelates' power being on the decline, he soon got rid of that trouble.

Several other instances might be given concerning Mr. Dickson's usefulness in answering perplexing cases of conscience, and in counselling students who had their eyes to the ministry. While he was at Irvine, the prudent directions, cautions, and encouragements given to such,

* Dickson was advised by some of his friends not to employ these ministers to preach, lest the bishops, who were then intent on enforcing on ministers the use of the Service-book, should thereby be so incensed as to raise a prosecution against him. "But," said he, "I dare not be of their opinion, nor follow their counsel so far to discountenance these worthies, now when they are suffering for holding fast the name of Christ, and every letter of that blessed name, as not to employ them as in former times; yea, I would think my so doing would provoke the Lord, so that I might upon another account be

were extremely useful and beneficial. Some examples might also be given of his usefulness to his very enemies; but there is little room here to insist on these things.

It was David Dickson who brought over the Presbytery of Irvine to supplicate the Council in 1637 for the suspension of a charge given to ministers to buy and use the Service-book. At this time four deputations from different quarters, without any concert in the supplicants, met at the council-house door, to their mutual surprise and encouragement; which were the small beginnings of the happy turn of affairs that next year 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 country to join in renewing the Covenants. This brought him to

deposed, and not have so good a conscience." (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 147.) Rutherford, when warded in Aberdeen, having been informed of Dickson's generous encouragement of these ministers, wrote to him an affectionate letter, dated 1st May, 1637, expressing the delight with which he had received the intelligence: "My soul hath been refreshed and watered, when I hear of your courage and zeal for your never-enough-praised, praised Master, in that ye put the men of God chased out Ireland to work. Be valiant for that Chief among ten thousand" (*Letters*, p. 311.)

bear a great part in the debates with the learned doctors of the university of Aberdeen, Drs. Forbes, Barrow, Sibbald, &c., which, being in print, need no further notice at present.*

When King Charles I. was prevailed upon to allow a free General Assembly at Glasgow, November, 1638, Mr. Dickson and Mr. Baillie, from the Presbytery of Irvine, made no small figure in all the important matters before that grave Assembly. Mr. Dickson signalized himself in a most seasonable and prudent speech, when his Majesty's commissioner left the Assembly; † as also, in the eleventh session, December 5, he had another most learned discourse against Arminianism. ‡

By this time, not only the Lord's eminent countenancing of Mr. Dickson's ministry at Irvine spread abroad, but his eminent prudence, learning, and holy zeal came to be universally known, especially to ministers, from the part he bore in the Assembly at Glasgow, so that he was almost unanimously chosen moderator to the next General Assembly at Edinburgh, in

* It was upon the occasion of this dispute that Dickson and his two colleagues were called in ridicule the apostles of the Covenant.

† He urged the Assembly, notwithstanding, to proceed with their business, which they did.

August, 1639. In its tenth session the city of Glasgow presented a call to him; but partly because of his own aversion, and the vigorous appearance of the earl of Eglinton and his loving people, and mostly for the remarkable usefulness of his ministry in that corner, the General Assembly continued him still at Irvine.

Not long after this, about 1641, he was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, where he did great service to the church by training up young men for the holy ministry; and yet, notwithstanding of his laborious work, he preached on the forenoon of every Sabbath in the High Church there; where for some time he had the learned Mr. Patrick Gillespie § for his colleague.

In the year 1643 the church laid a very great work upon him, together with Messrs. Calderwood and Henderson, to form a draft of a directory for public worship, as appears by an Act of the General Assembly. When the pestilence was raging at Glasgow in 1647, the masters and students, upon Mr Dickson's

His speech is in *Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 147.

‡ This discourse is printed in *Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 156.

§ See before, p. 338.

motion, removed to Irvine. There it was that the learned Mr. Durham passed his trials, and was earnestly recommended by David Dickson to the Presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. A very strict friendship subsisted between these two great lights of the church, and among other effects of their religious conversation we have "The Sum of Saving Knowledge," which has been printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This, after several conversations upon the subject and manner of handling it, so that it might be useful to vulgar capacities, was dictated by Messrs. Dickson and Durham to a reverend minister about the year 1650; and though never judicially approved by the church, yet it deserves to be much more read and practised than what it at present is.*

About this time Dickson was translated from the profession of divinity at Glasgow to the same

† Mr. M'Cheyne, in his Diary, attributes his conversion to the reading of this treatise: "March 11th, 1834.—Read in the 'Sum of Saving Knowledge,' the work which I think first of all wrought a saving change in me. How gladly would I renew the reading of it, if that change might be carried on to perfection!"

* On 16th February, 1650, the town council and the ministers of Edinburgh presented a petition to the Commission of the General Assembly which then met, for the translation of Dickson

work at Edinburgh;† at which time he published his *Prelæctiones in Confessionem Fidei* ("Lectures on the Confession of Faith"), which he dictated in Latin to his scholars. There he continued his laborious care of students in divinity, the growing hopes of the church; and either at Glasgow or at Edinburgh the most part of the Presbyterian ministers, at least in the west, south, and east parts of Scotland, from 1640, were under his inspection. From the fore-mentioned book we may perceive his care to educate them in the form of sound words, and to ground them in the excellent standards of doctrine agreed to by the once famous Church of Scotland; and happy had their successors been had they preserved, and handed down to posterity the scriptural doctrines, pure and entire, as they were delivered by our first reformers to Mr. Dickson and his contemporaries, and from him and them handed down

from the chair of divinity in the university of Glasgow to that of Edinburgh, which had been vacant about two years by the death of Dr. John Sharp. The Commission ordained that he should remove from Glasgow to Edinburgh before the 1st of April following. (*Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 156.) On 27th May the town council of Edinburgh augmented his salary from 1600 to 2000 merks, as he was called to be a minister of the city as well as a professor in the college. (*Ibid.*, p. 171.)

without corruption to their successors.*

All this time, viz., in 1650 and 1651, Mr. Dickson had a great share in the printed pamphlets upon the unhappy debates betwixt the Resolutioners and the Protesters. He was in favour of the Public Resolutioners: and most of the papers on that side were written by him, Robert Baillie, and Robert Douglas; as those on the other side were written by James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and a few others.

David Dickson continued at Edinburgh, discharging his trust with great diligence and faithfulness, until the restoration of Pre-lacy upon the return of Charles II.; when, for refusing the oath of supremacy, he was, with many

* When Charles II. came to Scotland in 1651, Dickson was appointed one of his Majesty's chaplains; and he always treated the young king with the utmost courtesy and good breeding. (*Crawford's Collections on Families*, Wodrow's MSS. Svo, vol. xl., No. 5.)

+ *Ibid.*, vol. xl., No. 5.

‡ "Mr. John Dickson of Busbie, his eldest son, married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Montgomery of Skelmorly, and niece to the marquis of Argyll, an alliance which Mr. David much affected, for he was very great with the marquis, and a confidant of his. The heiress of this marriage was married to John Birsban of Freeland.

"His second son was Mr. Archibald Dickson of Tourlands, whose descendants came at length to be Mr. David's heirs. Mr. Archibald married one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Mr. Robert Barclay, provost of Irvine, a great and leading man in the times of the Covenant, by

other worthies, turned out, so that his heart was broken with this heavy change on the beautiful face of that once famed Reformed church.

He married Margaret Robert-toun, daughter of Archibald Roberttoun of Stone-hall [son of John Roberttoun of Earnock, in the shire of Lanark, and sister to Mr. James Roberttoun, who was one of the senators of the College of Justice after the Restoration†]. By her he had three sons: John, clerk to the exchequer in Scotland; Archibald, who lived with his family afterwards in the parish of Irvine; and Alexander, professor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh.‡

In December, 1662, he fell extremely sick, at which time wor-

whom he had Sir Robert, his son and heir, and Dr. David Dickson, physician at Edinburgh, a person of excellent learning and very great eminency in his profession. Sir Robert quitted the title of Tourlands, and took the style of Sornbog, a barony he acquired in the shire of Ayr. But after settling in the East-country, he sold his estate in the west, and purchased near Edinburgh, not only the lands of Carberry and Inveresk, from which last he took his title, but also the lordship of Corstorphine, which was afterwards sold." (*Crawford's Collections on Families*, *at supra*.)

His third son, Alexander, was first minister at Newbattle. On 3rd September, 1656, he was elected by the town council of Edinburgh professor of Hebrew in the university, in the room of Julius Conradus Otto. (*Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 175.) In 1679, having refused to subscribe the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and an engagement

thy Mr. Livingstone, now suffering for the same cause, though he had then but forty-eight hours' liberty to stay in Edinburgh, came to see him on his death-bed. They had been intimately acquainted nearly forty years, and now rejoiced as fellow-confessors together. When Livingstone asked the professor what were his thoughts of the present affairs, and how it was with himself? his answer was—"That he was sure Jesus Christ would not put up with the indignities done against his work and people;"* and as for himself, said he, "I have taken all my good deeds, and all my 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 in particular to each of them; and having gone through them all, he pronounced the words of

owning the prelatie government of the church as then established, he was deprived of his chair by the orders of the privy council. He was the only one of the professors of the college of Edinburgh who refused to subscribe these oaths. (*Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. p. 3.)

* Dickson lived to see the triumph of the policy of the Public Resolutions, and, as the Protesters had always predicted, but what the Resolutioners would never believe, the consequent overthrow of all that had been done on behalf of the Presbyterian church of Scotland

the apostolical blessing (2 Cor. xiii. 13, 14) with much gravity and solemnity. Then putting up his hand he closed his eyes; and without any struggle or apparent pain immediately expired in his son's arms, and, like Jacob of old, was gathered to his people in a good old age, being upwards of seventy-two years.

He was a man singularly endowed with an edifying gift of preaching; and his painful labours had been in an eminent manner blessed with success. His sermons were always full of solid and substantial matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar style; not low, but extremely strong and affecting, being somewhat akin to the style of godly Samuel Rutherford. It is said that scarcely any minister of that time came so near Mr. Dickson's style or method of preaching as William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him.†

since 1638. He now became fully convinced of the impolicy of the Public Resolutions, alas! when too late, strongly as he had been in their favour. To a lady who visited him on his death-bed he said, "I must confess, madam, that the Protesters have been much truer prophets than we were." (*Wodrow's Analecta*.)

† Dickson was one of the principal promoters of a scheme concerted by a number of the most eminent ministers of the Church of Scotland for the publication of short, plain, and practical expositions of the whole Bible. The ministers

His works are, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, on Matthew's Gospel, on the Psalms of David and on the Epistles; his *Prælectiones in Confessionem Fidei*, or, Truth's Victory over Error; his *Therapeutica Sacra*, or, Cases of Conscience Resolved, in Latin and English; and a Treatise on the Promises. Besides these, he wrote a great part of the Answers to the Demands, and Duplies to the Replies of the Doctors of Aberdeen, and some of the pamphlets in defence of the Public Resolutioners, as has been already observed; also some short poems on pious and serious subjects, such as the Christian Sacrifice; O Mother, dear Jerusalem, True Christian Love, to be sung with the com-

who encouraged or contributed to this undertaking included Robert Douglas, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Blair, George Hutcheson, James Ferguson, Alexander Nisbet, James Durham, and John Smith. To make the Scriptures plain to "the weaker judgments," says Dickson in his preface to his "Short Explanation of the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews," in which he describes the plan, "I have been very instant with the godly learned of mine acquaintance to take this matter in hand, and to divide amongst them the hard parts of Scripture at least, that this work might be done by the hands of many, which could not be done by one. I found their appro-

mon tunes of the Psalms. There are also several other pieces of his, mostly in manuscript, such as his *Tyrones Conscionaturi*, supposed to be dedicated to his scholars at Glasgow; *Summarium libri Isaie*; 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 a Catechism for his congregation at Irvine; with a Compend of Sermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations, and the first nine chapters of the Romans.

bation of my desire, and inclinable willingness to put hard to work also. But some of them for the weight of their ordinary charge, some of them for age and infirmity of body, some of them for their hands full of the Lord's work in another sort, could not adventure to be straitly engaged in the work. Wherethrough I was forced either to forsake my desires, which daily were kindled within me more and more, or else come forth with something of this kind, as might be, and seek amongst my readers some to take this matter to heart, and to do therein as the Lord should enable them, by themselves or by others."

ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

THE first of Archibald Johnston's public appearances in favour of that glorious work of Reformation, commonly called the second reformation period, seems to have been about the beginning of 1638.* When it came first to be known that Traquair was going up to King Charles I., the deputies (afterwards called the Covenanters) were desirous that he would carry up an information, which the Lord Balmerino and Mr. Johnston (the only advocates as yet trusted by the petitioners) had drawn up, and that he would present the same with their supplication to his Majesty. But both these being rejected by the king, and orders given by him 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, after hearing the proclamation, caused Mr. Johnston to read a protest against the same. 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 at Preston, in name of the church; and Mr. Archibald Johnston, in name of all others who adhered to the Covenant—took instruments in the hands of three notaries, and in all humility offered a copy of the same to the herald at the Cross of Edinburgh.

Upon the 9th of September a declaration of the same nature being published, the noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses gave in another protest, and Mr. Johnston, leader and advocate for the church, in name of all who adhered to the Confession of Faith and Covenant lately renewed within the kingdom, took instruments in the hands of three notaries there present, and offered a copy thereof to the herald at the Cross of Edinburgh.

* Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, was son of James Johnston, merchant in Edinburgh, by his wife Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, advocate for

the church in 1606, and afterwards lord-advocate. He was educated at the university of Glasgow, and was admitted an advocate 6th November, 1633.

In the same year, when the famous General Assembly sat down at Glasgow in the month of November, Alexander Henderson being chosen moderator, it was moved that Mr. Johnston, who had hitherto served the Tables at Edinburgh without reward, and yet with great diligence, skill, and integrity, deserved the office of clerk above all others. After much reasoning concerning him and some others put on a leet for election, the roll being called, on a vote for clerk it was 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 any in that office had formerly enjoyed; and instruments were taken both of his admittance and acceptance.

Mr. Johnston being thus installed, the moderator desired that all who had any acts or books of former Assemblies would put them into his hands; whereupon Mr. Sandihills (formerly clerk) exhibited two books, containing some acts from 1592 to those of Aberdeen in 1618, 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. Then a farther motion was made by the Assembly for recovering the rest, and that if any had them they should give them up; whereupon Mr. Johnston gave an 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, which was very acceptable to the whole Assembly.

In the twenty-fourth session of this Assembly a commission was given to Mr. Johnston to be their procurator, and Mr. Dalglish to be their agent; and in their last session of 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 anything of that kind not licensed by him.

But the king and the Canturburian faction, being highly displeased with the proceedings of this Assembly, advanced with an army towards the Borders, which made the Covenanters, seeing the danger to which they were exposed, raise another army, with which, under the command of General Alexander Leslie, they

marched towards the king's, now encamped on the south side of the Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Upon their approach the English began to faint; whereupon the king and the English nobility desired a treaty, which was easily granted by the Scots, who appointed the earls of Rothes, Dunfermline, and Loudon, the sheriff of Teviotdale, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, advocate for the church, as their commissioners, to treat with the English commissioners, 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 answered by the other side. On the 17th, and the day following, the articles of pacification were subscribed by both parties, in sight of both armies, at Birks near Berwick.

But this treaty was but short-lived, and as ill kept; for the very next year the king took arms against the Scots, who immediately armed themselves a second time and went for England, where they defeated a party of the English at Newburn, and pushed their way as far as Durham. The king, finding himself in a strait, the English supplicat-

ing him behind, and the Scots with a potent army before him, resolved on a second treaty, which was set on foot at Rippon and concluded at London; and thither Mr. Henderson and Mr. Johnston were sent again as commissioners for the church; in which affairs they behaved with great prudence and candour. When the Scots Parliament sat down this year, they by an Act appointed a fee of one hundred merks to Mr. Johnston as advocate for the church, and five hundred merks as clerk to the General Assembly; so sensible were they of his many services done to the church and nation.

Next year (1641) the king, having fallen out with his English Parliament, came to Scotland, where he attended the Scots Parliament. In this Parliament several offices of state were filled up with persons fit for such employments; the earl of Argyll being put at the head of the treasury, and the earl of Loudon made chancellor. Among others, Mr. Archibald Johnston stood fair for the register's office, and the generality of the well-affected thought it the just reward of his labours, but the king, Lennox, Argyll, &c., being for Gibson of Durie, he carried the prize. Yet Mr. Johnston's disappointment

was removed by the king's conferring the order of knighthood upon him, and granting him a commission to be one of the lords of session, with an annual pension of two hundred pounds; and Ormiston was made justice-clerk.

During this and the next year 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 those commissioners who were sent up to London to negotiate with the English Parliament for sending over some relief from Scotland to Ireland, it being then on the back of the Irish rebellion. While at London they waited on his Majesty at Windsor, and offered their mediation betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament; but for this he gave them little thanks, although he found his mistake afterwards.

When the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh in 1643, they, upon a motion from Sir Archibald Johnston, their clerk, emitted a declaration for joining with the English Parliament, for a variety of reasons, of which these were the sum and substance:—“(1.) They apprehended

the war was for religion. (2.) The Protestant faith was 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 cause, if the one were ruined the other could not subsist. (5.) The prospect of an uniformity between the two kingdoms in discipline and worship would 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 took in good part, and suggested others of their own, as they saw proper.

Toward the latter end of this Assembly, upon the arrival of the commissioners from the Parliament and Assembly at Westminster, the Scots Assembly, by an Act of session fourteen, commissioned Messrs. Henderson, Douglas, Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, ministers; John, earl of Cassillis, John Lord Maitland,

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 the subsequent Assemblies, till the year 1648. And it appears that Lord Warriston did not only use all diligence, as a member of the Westminster Assembly, for bringing about uniformity of religion in worship, discipline, and government, but also, for some time, sat as a member of the English Parliament, for con-

certing such methods as might bring about a firm and lasting peace between the two kingdoms afterwards; which was reckoned a most noble piece of service both to church and state in those days; yet we shall find it accounted high treason in this worthy man afterwards. The following is an abstract of a speech which he made in the Westminster Assembly, after the delivery of some queries from the Parliament:—

“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 church and state, and at the desire of this kingdom assisting in their debates, I 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 to 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 anything 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 therefor 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, or deny it, but confess and avouch it, by pleading, doing, and suffering for it, even when what is in agitation seems most to oppose it, and therefore requires a seasonable testimony. But it lies upon you, sir, who have both your calling from Christ for it, and at this time a particular calling from many; that which the honourable houses require from you at such a time, when the settlement of religion is 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, giving you a good example, come 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 preminures. 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 preminures 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 govern-

ment of his church, and that he has set down laws and offices, and other substantial thereof, and a part of the kingdom for the coming of which we daily pray. We must not now before men mince, hold up, or conceal anything 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 refuse to flinch for one hour, nor quit one hoof, nor edge away a hem of Christ's robe royal. These would seem effects of desertion, tokens of being ashamed, afraid, or politically diverted; and all these, and every degree of them, sir, I am confident will be very far from the thoughts of every one here who by their votes and petitions, according to their protestations at their entry, have showed themselves so zealous and forward to give 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 ye answer to that question, If this were a Parliament, and if it was a full and free one, would he not, and should he not be esteemed a great breaker of privileges and *contemptor curiæ*? Albeit we are not so wise, yet let us be as tender and 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 anything 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 curarum*, 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 great-

est honour God doth bestow upon an Assembly, so it is in 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 of our desires concerning religion, either in Scotland or here, albeit we have often set down *mensura voti* to ourselves. But he has as often moved us step after step to trace back our defections, and make the last innovations 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 awhile, I am confident, has been and will be still, not that they may serve you, but for to serve the Lord Jesus Christ; and that Parliament will glory more in their subordination and 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 substantials and overword 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 the only King and Head of his church, albeit kings and magistrates may be members in it. There is no authority to be balanced with his, nor posts to be set up against his, nor Korahs to be allowed against his Aarons, nor Uzziahs 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 and mother, paternal and 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 I will never believe the honourable house will allow thereof, as being far beneath their wisdom, and contrary to your merit.

“And, sir, seeing these queries are before you, I am confident that whatever diversity of opinion may be among you in any particular, you will all hold out Christ’s kingdom distinct from the kingdoms of the earth, and that he has appointed the government of his own house, and should rule the same; and that none of this Assembly, even for the gaining of their desires in all the points of difference, would by their silence, concealment, and connivance, weaken, commutate, or sell a part of this fundamental truth, this sovereign interest of Christ; and that ye will all concur to demonstrate the same by clear passages of Scripture, or necessary consequences therefrom, and by the 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 with 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 virgini 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, not 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

* This letter was read August 17, 1643, in the Scots General Assembly, as it stands in the collection of the Acts thereof from 1638 to 1649, p. 205. (*Howie.*)

of God are fixed, deserves not a special day of humiliation and prayer for the Lord's extraordinary assistance and direction of this assembly."

Lord Warriston, for his upright and faithful dealing in the many important matters committed to his charge, received many marks of favour and dignity both from church and state; and to crown all the rest, the Scots Parliament in 1646 made an Act appointing his commission to be lord-advocate, with the conducting of the committee of London and Newcastle and the general officers of the army; all which evidence what a noble hand he had in carrying on that blessed work of reformation.

He had now been clerk to the General Assembly since the year 1638; and when that unhappy difference fell out in 1650, when the Act of Classes was repealed and malignants were taken into places of power and trust, which occasioned the rise of the Protesters and Resolutioners, Lord Warriston was one of those who had a principal hand in managing affairs. He wrote a most solid letter to the meeting at St. Andrews, July 18, 1651, concerning which the Protesters, in their reasons proving the said meeting to be no lawful, full, or free General Assembly, say, "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 all the tracts of 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 the face of the Assembly, and urged to be read by him who presented it, that then the moderator did break it open and caused it to 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, those papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c., were by the said Lord Warriston, Messrs. Cant, Rutherford, Livingstone, and others, presented to the reverend ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652,

when the marquis of Argyll, at London, procured an equal hearing to the Protesters; and Mr. Simpson, one of the three ministers deposed by the Assembly, 1651, being sent up by the Protesters for that purpose in the beginning of 1657, Messrs. James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie, the two others who had been deposed by that Assembly, together with Lord Warriston, were sent up to assist Mr. Simpson.”*

Lord Warriston had now, for the space of five years or more, wrestled and acted with all his power for the king's interest; and being a man of great resolution, he both spoke and wrote openly against Scotsmen submitting to take offices under Cromwell. But being sent up to London in the foresaid year 1657, with some of the Scots nobility, upon some important affairs, 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;† which was much lamented by this worthy man afterwards, as well as his sitting and presiding in some meeting at London after Oliver's death.‡ Wodrow has observed that, at the meeting at Edinburgh which sent Lord Warriston to London upon business, he reasoned against it, and to the utmost of his power opposed his being sent up, acquainting them with what was his weak side; that, through the easiness of his temper, he might not be able to resist importunity, craving that he might not be sent among snares; and yet, after all, he was peremptorily named.

To account some way for his conduct in this: his family was numerous, and very considerable sums were owing him, which he had advanced for the public service, and a good many bygone years' salaries. He was, through importunity, thus prevailed upon to side with the usurper, there

September, 1658, and the succession of his son Richard to the protectorate, Warriston was created a peer by Richard, obtained a seat in the House of Lords, and was made one of his counsellors. Baillie, in a letter to Mr. Spang, 31st January, 1661, writes:—“My Lord Warriston was called to the House of Peers by the last protector; when the Parliament was dissolved, his old friend, Sir Henry Vane, got him in the council of state, and the most ordinary chairman thereof: all the weight of Scots affairs lies on him alone.” (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 430.)

* Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 329.

† Baillie, in a letter to Mr. Spang, without date, but probably written in June, 1658, says, “My Lord Warriston's domestic straits had made him content, contrary to his former resolutions, to embrace his prior place of register from his highness.” He adds, “With his place he obtained the most of the registers which were carried out of the betrayed (as many say) castle of Edinburgh to the Tower of London.” (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 352, 356.)

‡ After the death of Oliver Cromwell, on 3rd

being no other door open then for his relief. And yet, after this his compliance, it was observed that he was generally more sad and melancholy than what he had formerly been; and it is said that his outward affairs did not prosper so well afterwards.

King Charles II. being restored to his dominions in 1660, and the noble marquis of Argyll imprisoned July 14, 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 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 one who should do it, and discharging all from concealing or harbouring him, under pain of treason. A most arbitrary step indeed! for here is not only a reward offered for apprehending this worthy gentleman, but it is declared treason for any to harbour him, and that without any cause assigned.

Upon the 10th of October fol-

* "Warriston fled, whereupon he was declared fugitive, and all his places void: his poor lady could not obtain to him a pass from the king to live in banishment; so he lurks daily in fear of his life." (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 447.)

lowing he was, by order of the Council, declared fugitive; and next year (February 1) the indictment against Lord Warriston, William Dundas, and John Hume, was read in the House, none of them being 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 to the act of the West Kirk, &c.; his drawing out, contriving, or assenting 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 Cromwell; and being president of the Committee of Safety when Richard Cromwell was laid aside. But none of all these was the proper cause of this good man's sufferings. Personal prejudice and pique were at the bottom of all these bitter proceedings; for the godly freedom he took in reproving vice was what could never be forgotten or forgiven. Wodrow hints that the earl of Bristol interceded for him, and says, "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.* In his compliance with Cromwell he was not alone; 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 Warriston, who had before come to Scotland, and was ordered to appear before the Parliament, at the sitting down thereof.

This good man, after the sentence of forfeiture and death

* "The real cause of Warriston's death was not his activity in public business, but our king's personal hatred, because, when the king was in Scotland, he thought it his duty to admonish him because of his very wicked debauched life. . . . This the king could never forgive, and told the earl of Bristol as

passed against him by the first Parliament, being obliged to go abroad to escape the fury of his enemies, even there did their crafty malice reach him. For while at Hamburg, being visited with sore sickness, it is certain that Dr. Bates, one of King Charles's physicians, intending to kill him, contrary to his faith and office, prescribed poison to him instead of physic, and then caused draw from him sixty ounces of blood, whereby, though the Lord wonderfully preserved his life, he was brought near the gates of death, and 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.†

And yet all this did not satisfy his cruel and bloodthirsty enemies. While he was yet in life they sought him carefully; and at last, he having gone unadvisedly to France, one Alexander Murray, called "crooked Murray," being dispatched in quest of him, apprehended him at Roanne while he was engaged in secret

much when he was speaking for Warriston." (*Kirkton's History*, p. 173.) "Even the council," says Row, "inclined to spare his life, but that they had orders to the contrary." (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 443.)

† Apologetical Relation, published in 1665, preface.

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, and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, from which he was brought before the Parliament on the 8th of July. His nephew, Bishop Burnet, in his History, says he was so disordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to any government to proceed against him.

When at the bar of the House he discovered such weakness of memory and judgment that almost every person lamented him,† except Sharp and the other bishops, who scandalously and basely triumphed over and publicly derided him, “although it is well known,” says the author of the “Apologetical Relation,” “that 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 seemed that many of the members of Parliament inclined to spare his life; but when the question was put whether the time of his execution should be just now 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 22nd of July, and his head placed on the Netherbow, beside that of James Guthrie. He received his sentence with such meekness as filled all with admiration; for then he desired that the best blessings might be on church and state, and on his Majesty (whatever might befall himself), 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 of his very enemies; and the nearer that his death approached, the composure of

reflecting upon the man's great parts, former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind.” (*History of Scotland*, p. 134.)

* Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 356.

† Sir George Mackenzie, after describing Warriston's greatly debilitated bodily and mental condition, adds, “This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy, and the chancellor,

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 getting a new song of the Lamb's praise in 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 he had spent some time in secret prayer, about two o'clock he was taken from prison, 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 going to the scaffold he said frequently to the people, "Your prayers! your prayers!" When he was on the scaffold he said, "I entreat you, quiet yourselves a little, till this dying man deliver his last speech among you;" and desired they would not be offended at his making use of the paper to help his memory, it being so much impaired by long sickness and the malice of physicians. Then he read his speech, first on the one side of the scaffold, and then on the other.*

After this he prayed with great

* See Testimony.

fervency and liberty, and being in a rapture, he began thus: "Abba, Father! Accept this thy poor sinful servant, coming unto thee through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then taking leave of his friends he prayed again with great fervency, being now near the end of that sweet work he had so much through the course of his time been employed in. No ministers were allowed to be with him; but it was by those present observed that God sufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by some of his friends in deep mourning; and as he ascended he said, "Your prayers! your prayers! Your prayers I desire in the name of the Lord." Such was the esteem he had for that duty.

When got to the top of the ladder, he cried out with a loud voice, "I beseech you all who are the people of God not to scare at suffering for the interest of Christ, or stumble at any thing of this kind falling out in these days; but be encouraged to suffer for him, for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges." While the rope was putting about his neck he repeated these words again; adding, "The Lord hath graciously comforted me." When

the executioner desired his forgiveness, he said, "The Lord forgive thee, poor man;" and withal gave him some money, bidding him do his office if he was ready; and crying out, "O pray, pray! Praise, praise, praise," he was turned over; and died almost without any struggle, with his hands lifted up unto heaven, whither his soul ascended, to enjoy the beatific presence of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

He was soon cut down and his head struck off, and set up beside that of his dear friend James Guthrie; his body being carried to the Greyfriars' churchyard. But his head soon after, by the interest and intercession of Lieutenant-general Drummond, who married one of his daughters, was taken down and interred with his body.

Thus stood and thus fell the eminently pious and truly learned Lord Warriston, whose talents

* Alexander Brodie of Brodie, who personally knew Warriston, bears the highest testimony to his eminence in the graces of the Christian character:—"28th August, 1656, I came to Warriston, . . . I did take further confirmation of the love of God to that man W[arriston], and durst not censure him or judge him. Albeit I came not up to him in his neglect of the world, abstractedness from worldly employment, zeal, fervency of spirit, I desired to partake with him in all his cares, distresses, or burdens; and that is the unfeigned desire of my heart. I heard his overture for settling the

as a speaker in the senate, as well as on the bench, are too well known to be here insisted upon. For prayer he was one among a thousand, and oftentimes met with very remarkable returns; and though he was for some time borne down with weakness and distress, yet he never came in the least to doubt of his eternal happiness. He used to say, "I dare never question my salvation, I have so often seen God's face in the house of prayer." And as the last-cited historian observes, "Although his memory and talents were for some time impaired, yet like the sun at his setting, after he had been a while under a cloud, he shone most brightly and surprisingly, and so in some measure the more sweetly; for that morning he was under a wonderful effusion of the Spirit; as great, perhaps, as any have had since the primitive times." *

He wrote a large diary, which

differs with the Assembly, and commended them to God, and looked to God so far as I was concerned in them." (*Brodie's Diary*, p. 188.) "To form a fair estimate," says Dr. M'Crie, "of the character of Archibald Johnston, we must view it apart from the peculiar complexion of his religious and political creed. Granting the goodness of the cause he espoused, which rests on surer grounds than the merits or demerits of its supporters, he cannot be justly charged with having acted either dishonourably or with unbecoming violence in the prosecution of his measures. The sole offence with which his

yet remains in the hands of his relations, a valuable treasure both of Christian experience and matters of fact, little known at present, but which might be of great use and light to the history of that period. Therein he records his sure hope (after much wrestling in which he was mightily helped), that the Church of Scotland would be manifestly visited and freed from the evils she fell under after the Restoration. His numerous family, whom he so often left upon the Lord's providence, were for the most part as well provided for as could have been expected, though he had continued with them in his own outward prosperity. "He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life; but I will confess his name before my Father and his angels."

TESTIMONY OF SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

HIS SPEECH AT HIS EXECUTION.

"Right honourable, much honoured, and beloved auditors and spectators,—that which enemies could charge him was his having accepted office under the usurper; a crime, if crime it was, shared by many besides him, and which was confessed and regretted by none more cordially than by himself. But Warriston belonged to a class rarely to be met with now; he was a religious politician. The standard of his policy was the

I intended and prepared to have spoken at this time and in this condition, immediately before my death (if it should be so ordered that it should be my lot), is not at present in my power, having been taken from me: but I hope the Lord shall preserve it to bear my testimony more fully and clearly than now I can in this condition, having my memory much destroyed through much sore and long sickness, melancholy, and excessive drawing of my blood; though I bless the Lord my God, that notwithstanding the forementioned distempers, I am in some capacity to leave this short and weak testimony.

"1st, I desire in the first place to confess my sins, so far as is proper to this place and case, and to acknowledge God's mercies; and to express my repentance of the one and my faith of the other, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, our gracious Redeemer and Mediator. I confess that my natural temper (or rather distemper) hath been hasty and passionate, and that in my manner of going about and prosecuting of the best pieces of work and service to the Lord and to my generation, I have been subject to many excesses of heat, and thereby to some precipitations, which hath no doubt offended standers-by and lookers-on, and hath exposed both me and the work to their mistakes, whereby the beauty of the work hath been obscured: neither have I, in following the Lord's work, his good work, been without my own self-seeking; which hath several ways vented itself, to the offence of both God and man and to the grief thereafter of my own conscience, and which hath often made me groan and cry out with the apostle, 'O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver

word of God; his great and governing aim the divine glory. And on this account his name has suffered obloquy from a quarter where all who would follow his steps may expect similar treatment, so long as society is composed, as it still is to such an alarming extent, of the godless and unbelieving." (*Story of the Scottish Church*, p. 276.)

me from this body of death;’ and to lie low in the dust mourning and lamenting over the same, deprecating God’s wrath, and begging his tender mercies to pardon and his powerful grace to cure all these evils. I must withal confess that it doth not a little trouble me, and lie heavy upon my spirit, and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this offence, but had the body of the nation going before me and the example of persons of all ranks to ensnare me), that I suffered myself through the power of temptations, and the too much fear ament the straits that my numerous family might be brought into, to be carried unto so great a length of compliance in England with the late usurpers; which did much grieve the hearts of the godly, and made those that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake, and did give no small occasion to the adversary to reproach and blaspheme, and did withal not a little obscure and darken the beauty of several former actings about his blessed and glorious work of reformation, happily begun and far advanced in these lands, wherein he was graciously pleased to employ, and by employing to honour me to be an instrument (though the least and unworthiest of many) whereof I am not ashamed this day, but account it my glory, however that work be now cried down, opposed, laid in the dust, and trode upon. And my turning aside to comply with these men was the more aggravated in my person, that I had so frequently and seriously made profession of my averseness from and abhorrence of that way, and had shown much dissatisfaction with those that had not gone so great a length; for which, as I seek God’s mercy in Christ Jesus, so I desire that all the Lord’s people from my example may be more stirred up to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.

“2nd, I do not deny on the other hand, but must testify in the second place to the glory of his free grace, that the Lord my God hath often showed and engraven upon

my conscience the testimony of his reconciling and reconciled mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ, pardoning all my iniquities, and assuring me that he would deliver me also by the graces of his Holy Spirit from the speat, tyranny, and dominion thereof; and hath often drawn out my spirit to the exercise of repentance and faith, and often engraven upon my heart in legible characters his merciful pardon and gracious begun cure thereof, to be perfected thereafter, to the glory of his name, the salvation of my soul, and edification of his church.

“3rd, I am pressed in conscience to leave here at my death my true and honest testimony, in the sight of God and man, to and for ‘the national Covenant; the solemn League and Covenant; the solemn acknowledgment of our sins’ and ‘engagement to our duties;’ to all the ‘grounds and causes of fasts’ and humiliations, and of the ‘Lord’s displeasure’ and contending with the land; and to the several ‘testimonies’ given to his interests by general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, presbyteries, and by other honest and faithful ministers and professors.

“4th, I am also pressed to encourage his doing, suffering, witnessing people, and sympathizing ones with those that suffer, that they would continue in the duties of witnessing, mourning, praying, and sympathizing with those that suffer, and humbly to assure them in the name of the Lord our God, the God of his own word and work, of his own cause, covenant, and people, that he will be seen, found, and felt (in his own gracious way and time, by his own means and instruments, for his own glory and honour) to return to his own truths, and interests, and servants, and revive his name, his covenant, his word, his work, his sanctuary, and his saints in these nations, even in the three covenanted nations, which were by so solemn bonds, covenants, subscriptions, and oaths, given away and devoted unto himself.

“5th, I exhort all those that have been or are enemies or unfriends to the Lord’s name, covenants, or cause, word, work, or people, in Britain and Ireland, to repent and amend before these sad judgments that are posting fast come upon them, for their sinning so highly against the Lord, because of any temptation of the time, on the right or left hand, by baits or straits whatsoever, and that after so many professions and engagements to the contrary.

“6th, I dare not conceal from you that are friendly to all the Lord’s interests, that the Lord (to the commendation of his grace be it humbly spoken) hath several times, in the exercise of my repentance and faith during my trouble, and after groans and tears upon these three notable chapters, to wit, the 9th of Ezra, the 9th of Nehemiah, and the 9th of Daniel, with other such suitable scriptures, and in the very nick of fervent and humble supplication to him for the reviving again of his name, cause, covenant, word, and work of reformation, in these covenanted nations, and particularly in poor Scotland, which first solemnly engaged to him, to the good example and encouragement of his people in the other two nations to do the same also—that the Lord, I say, hath several times given to me good ground of hope and lively expectations of his merciful, gracious, powerful, and wonderful renewing and reviving again of his fore-mentioned great interests in these covenanted nations: and that in such a way, by such means and instruments, with such antecedents, concurrents, consequents, and effects, as shall wonderfully rejoice his mourning friends, and astonish his contradicting and counteracting enemies.

“7th, I do earnestly recommend my poor wife and children and their posterity to the choicest blessings of God, and to the prayers and favour of all the Lord’s children and servants, in their earnest dealing with God and men in their behalf, that they may not be ruined for my cause, but for the Lord my God’s sake they may be favoured,

assisted, supplied, and comforted, and also may be fitted by the Lord for his fellowship and service; whom God himself hath moved me often, in their own presence and with their own consent, to dedicate, devote, and resign alike, and as well, as I devote and resign my own soul and body to him for time and eternity.

“8th, I beg the Lord to open the eyes of all the instruments of my trouble, that are not deadly irreconcilable enemies to himself and his people, that they may see the wrong done by them to his interests and people, and to me and mine, and may repent thereof and return to the Lord; and may more cordially own and adhere to all his interests in time coming: the good Lord give unto them repentance, remission, and amendment; and that is the worst wish I do wish them, and the best wish I can wish them.

“9th, I do earnestly beg the fervent prayers of all his praying people, servants, and instruments, whether absent or present, wherever they be, in behalf of his name, cause, and covenant-work and people; and in behalf of my wife, children, and their posterity: and that the Lord would glorify himself, edify his church, encourage his saints, further his work, accomplish his good word, by all his doings and dealings, in substance and circumstance toward all his own.

“10th, Whereas I have heard that some of my unfriends have slandered and defamed my name, as if I had been accessory to his late Majesty’s death and to the making of the change of government thereupon, the great God of heaven be witness and judge between me and my accusers in this; for I am free (as I shall now answer before his tribunal) from any accession, by counsel or contrivance or any other way, to his late Majesty’s death, or to their making that change of government: and I pray the Lord to preserve our present king, his Majesty, and to pour out his best blessings upon his royal posterity, and to give unto them good

and faithful counsellors, holy and wise counsels, and prosperous successes, to God's glory and to the good and interest of his people, and to their own honour and happiness.

"11th, 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, witnessing and sympathizing ones, in the present and subsequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, services, employments, empowerments, enjoyments, improvements, and inheritments,

on earth and in heaven, in time and eternity. All which suits, with all others which he hath at any time by his Spirit moved and assisted me to make and put up, according to his will, I leave before and upon the Father's merciful bowels, and the Son's mediating merits, and the Holy Spirit's compassionate groans, for now and evermore. Amen."*

* Warriston's speech was printed and sold by the booksellers and boys in the streets. But the sale was stopped, and the printers and vendors threatened by an Act of Council, 9th August, 1664. (*Woodrow's History*, vol. i. p. 418.)

JAMES WOOD.

JAMES WOOD was [admitted minister of Deninno in 1641, and in July, 1645, he was translated from that parish to be professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary's or the New College of St. Andrews, of which Mr. Samuel Rutherford was then principal.* But being in favour of the Public Resolutions, the differences between him and Rutherford in that controversy rendered his situation, according to Baillie, very uncomfortable; he was desirous of leaving that situation, and in 1657 he was translated to be principal of St. Salvador's, or the Old College of St. Andrews. His appointment

* Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 205, 215.

to this office by the university was owing to Cromwell's government, which, by the advice of James, afterwards Archbishop Sharp, wrote a letter to the ministers of St. Andrews and the masters of the university, requiring them to admit Wood as principal of the Old College without delay. "The Old College being long vaiking," says Baillie, "and he the oldest master of it, and for sundry years employed to oversee it, almost as principal, was wished by sundry who loved it and him to be placed there; and there is no doubt he was the fittest man living for that charge. . . . I am glad he is in it, or any other

where he is contented; for indeed he is the most serviceable man our church now has; but," he adds, such was his loyalty to the house of Stewart, "I am not yet satisfied of his accepting of that place on the English command; for if, in Divine Providence, they who had right to call for their own base and hurtful designs refused to call him, I think it was hard for him, upon whatever causes, to meddle with it. I love not that we should justify or harden the English in their usurpations in our universities' rights; but these things I will debate with himself at meeting." *]

Wood was also one of the ministers of St. Andrews. Though one who in judgment fell in with the Resolution party, and though this occasioned some difference betwixt him and Samuel Rutherford, yet the latter had ever a great and high esteem for Mr. Wood, as appears from a message he sent him when on his death-bed, wherein he said, "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 is still for the government of the Church of Scotland." And truly he was not deceived in him, for Mr.

* Baillie's Letters, vol. iii. pp. 316, 376.

Wood was true and 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 the apostacy and treachery of others, whom he had too much trusted, broke his upright spirit, particularly the aggravated defection and perfidy of James Sharp, whom he termed Judas, Demas, and Gehazi, all in one, after he had found what part he acted to the Church of Scotland under trust.

On one occasion, in company with Mr. Veitch, he went into one James Glen's shop, in Edinburgh, to see Sharp, whom he had not seen since he became archbishop, and who was expected to pass in the commissioner's coach. Sharp coming first out of the coach, and uncovering his head to receive the commissioner, they had a full view of his face, at which Mr. Wood looked very seriously, and then, being much affected, uttered these words: "O thou Judas and apostatized traitor, thou hast betrayed the famous Presbyterian Church of Scotland to its total ruin, as far as thou canst; if I know anything of the mind of God, thou shalt not die the ordinary and common death of

men." This, though spoken eighteen years before, was exactly accomplished in 1679.

James Wood continued in the exercise of the foresaid offices until 1663, when, at the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, he got a charge to appear before the Council on the 23rd of July, to answer to several things laid to his account. For though Sharp was indebted to him for any reputation he had, and was under as great obligation to him as one man could be to another (for they had been more than ordinarily familiar), yet now he could not bear his continuing any longer at St. Andrews, and he cited him before the Council.

When he compeared, he was interrogated, How he came to be provost of the college of St. Andrews? When he began to answer he was rudely interrupted, and commanded to give in his answer in a word, for the archbishop and others present could not endure his telling some truths he was entering upon. He told them he was called by the faculty of that college, at the recommendation of the usurper, as some present (meaning Sharp) very well know. Thereupon he was removed, and a little after, being called in again, his sentence was intimated unto him: "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 farther orders." He replied, "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 Sharp got the charge and privileges of his office; which shows that he had some reason for pushing Mr. Wood from 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 that he desired liberty to go there for that purpose. 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 sickness, whereof 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 his death, if not sooner; in order to which he saw good, once or twice, to pay him a visit when on his death-bed in St. Andrews. Being now extremely weak, Mr. Wood spoke very little to him, and nothing at all about the changes made in the state of public affairs. However, the consequence of these visits was, that the primate spread a rumour that Mr. Wood, being now under the views of death and eternity, professed himself very indifferent as to church government, and declared himself as much for Episcopacy as for Presbytery. And in all companies he asserted that Mr. Wood had declared to himself that Presbyterian government was indifferent, and alterable at the pleasure of the magistrate, and other falsehoods; yea, he had the impudence, says Wodrow, to write an account of this to court, even before Mr. Wood's death. These reports, coming to the ears of this good man, added grief unto his former sorrow; and he could have no rest till he vindicated himself

from such a false calumny by a solemn testimony, which he himself dictated and subscribed upon the 2nd of March, before two witnesses and a public notary; which testimony, being burned by order of the High Commission in April following, deserves a place here.*

After this he uttered many heavenly expressions to several persons who came to see him, all setting forth the sweet experience of his soul, until, upon the 5th of March, he made a happy and glorious exit, exchanging this present life for a crown of righteousness.

James Wood was among the brightest lights of that period. He had been colleague to Sharp, and after the Restoration he lamented much that he had been deceived by that unhappy man. He refuted the Independents, and asserted the Presbyterian government, as is evident from that work of his, written in opposition to Nicholas Lockyer's "Little Stone hewed out of the Mountain,"† and his other books that are in print. It is also said, that before his death he lamented

* See Testimony.

† Nicholas Lockyer was an English Independent minister, who had come to Scotland with the English forces in the year 1652. He preached at Edinburgh a lecture-sermon "concerning the matter of a visible church," which he published

under the title, "A Little Stone out of the Mountain; Church Order briefly opened. Printed at Leith by Evan Tyler, anno 1652," 18mo. Wood's answer was printed at Edinburgh, 1654, 4to. (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 177, 214.)

his taking part with the public Resolutioners very much.

“I have been informed,” says Wodrow, “that he left some very valuable manuscripts behind him, particularly a complete refutation of the Arminian scheme of doctrine, ready for the press, which doubtless, if published, would be of no small use to this age, when Arminianism has so far got the ascendant.”

TESTIMONY OF JAMES WOOD.

“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 therefor 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

* So greatly incensed was Archbishop Sharp on hearing that the reports which he had circulated, as to Mr. Wood’s loose sentiments on the question of Episcopacy and Presbytery, had been pronounced to be false by a solemn declaration subscribed by Wood on his death-bed in the presence of witnesses, that he caused the witnesses to be summoned before the High Commission Court. Carstairs, who had been one of the ministers of the High Church of Glasgow, but after the Restoration was ejected for nonconformity, judged it prudent not to compare, and to abscond; but he wrote a letter

anything 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, this is so precious that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see meet to put him to the trial; and for myself, if I were to live, I would account it 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 having subscribed these presents at St. Andrews, on the 2nd of March, 1664, about seven hours in the afternoon, before Mr. William Tullidaff, minister at Dumbog, Mr. John Carstairs, my brother-in-law, and John Pitcairn, writer hereof.

“JAMES WOOD.”

WILLIAM TULLIDAFF,
JOHN CARSTAIRS. } Witnesses.*
JOHN PITCAIRN, *writer.* }

to the chancellor vindicating his deceased friend, and affectingly describing the circumstances under which the testimony was written and subscribed. From this letter we learn that Wood left a widow and six children. Tullidaff and Pitcairn appeared before the High Commission Court, and declared that the testimony was written at Wood’s express desire, and dictated by him word for word. After remaining for some time in prison they were set at liberty. (*Wodrow’s History*, vol. i. p. 404. *Dr. McCre’s Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, Appendix.*)

WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE was born in the year 1620. He was the eldest son of the laird of Pitfrothy, in the shire of Angus; and by the mother's side was descended from the ancient house of Easter Ogle, of which she was a daughter. God blessed his parents with a numerous offspring, for he had three sisters german and four brothers, who all, except one, dedicated themselves to the service of the gospel of Christ. Robert was licensed to preach, but never was ordained to the charge of any parish, his tender constitution and numerous infirmities rendering him unfit, and soon bringing him to the end of his days. Alexander was a minister in the Presbytery of Brechin about the year 1645, where he continued a pious and useful labourer in the work of the gospel till the introduction of Prelacy; which unhappy change affected him in the tenderest manner, and was thought to have shortened his days, for he died in 1661. John, the youngest, was minister at Tarbolton, in Ayrshire, in which place he continued till the Restoration, 1662. When, by the infamous Act of Glasgow, above a third part of the minis-

ters in Scotland (amounting to nearly four hundred) were thrust from their charges, he had his share of the hardships that many faithful ministers of Jesus Christ at that time were brought under. The next year, being 1663, the council, at the instigation of the archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him and other nine to appear before them on the 23rd of July, under pain of rebellion; but he and other six did not appear. In the year 1666 he joined with that party who, on the 26th of November, renewed the Covenants at Lanark. After a sermon preached by him, he tendered the Covenants, which were read, to every article of which, with their hands lifted up to heaven, they engaged with great solemnity and devotion. After their defeat at Pentland, he no doubt had his share of the violence and cruelty that then reigned, till in the year 1668, when he was removed to a better world.

William, who was the eldest of the sons, soon gave proofs of his capacity and genius, by very considerable progress made in the Latin and Greek languages. He was sent to the university of

St. Andrews, where he studied philosophy under the memorable 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." As the master and scholar were near relations, William was his peculiar care, and lodged when at the college in the same chamber with him, and therefore had the principles of learning infused into him with more accuracy than his class-fellows.

Having taken the degree of master of arts, he applied himself for some years to the study of divinity, under the direction of Samuel Rutherford. Mr. Trail says, "Then and there it pleased the Lord, who separated him from his mother's womb, to call him by his grace by the ministry of excellent Samuel Rutherford, and this young gentleman became one of the first-fruits of his ministry at St. Andrews. His conversion was begun with great terror of God in his soul, and completed with that joy and peace in believing that accompanied him through his life. After this blessed change wrought upon him, he resolved to obey the call of God to serve him in the ministry of his gospel, which was given him by the Lord's

calling him effectually to grace and glory. He did for this end so dispose of his outward estate, to which he was born heir, as not to be entangled with the affairs of this life." He gave his estate to the only brother of the five who was not engaged in the sacred office, that thereby he might be perfectly disentangled from the affairs of this life, and entirely employed in those of the eternal world.

Soon after he was licensed to preach he left St. Andrews, with high esteem and approbation from the professors of that university, which they gave proof of by their ample recommendations. After this he became tutor to Lord Mauchline, eldest son to the earl of Loudon, in which situation he continued for some time, till he entered upon a parochial charge.

The parish of Kilmarnock, in the shire of Ayr, being large, and many of the people belonging to the said parish being no less than six or seven miles distant from their own kirk, the heritors and others procured a disjunction, and called the new parish Fenwick or New Kilmarnock.

William Guthrie was employed to preach at Galston on a preparation day, before the celebra-

tion of the Lord's Supper; and several members of the newly erected parish being present on that occasion, and being greatly edified by his sermons, conceived such a value for him that they immediately resolved to make choice of him for their minister, and in consequence thereof 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 for building the church upon, and preached within the walls of the house before it was completed.

He was ordained unto the sacred office, November 7, 1644, and had many difficulties to contend with, many circumstances of his ministry being extremely discouraging; but yet, through the Divine blessing, the gospel preached by him had surprising success, and became in an eminent manner the wisdom and power of God to the salvation of many perishing souls.

After William Guthrie came 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 everything that respected religion was disagreeable; many refused to be visited or catechized

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 that 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 reasons they had for it.

There was one person in particular whom he would have to perform family worship, but he told him that he could not pray. Mr. Guthrie asked what was the reason? He told him that he never was used to pray. Mr. Guthrie 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 this Mr. Guthrie bade 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; for they did not know him. 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 such a constant attendance on public ordinances, as 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 the 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 the week for that sport. Guthrie asked what he could make by that day's fowling? He replied, that he would make half-a-crown of money. 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

Guthrie asked if he would come back the next Sabbath day, and he would give him the same? which he did, and from that time afterwards never failed to keep the church, and also freed Mr. Guthrie of his promise. He afterwards became a member of his session.

He would frequently use innocent recreations, such as fishing, fowling, and playing on the ice, which contributed much to preserve a vigorous state of health; and while in frequent conversation with the neighbouring gentry, as these occasions gave him opportunity, he would bear in upon them reproofs and instructions with an inoffensive familiarity. Mr. Dunlop has observed of him "that he was animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his blessed Master, and a tender compassion for the souls of men; and as it was the principal thing which 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 famil-

iarizing 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 gown; of which there happened several memorable examples."

His person was stately and well set; his features comely and handsome; he had a strong and clear voice, joined to a good ear, which gave him a great pleasure in music, and he failed not to employ that talent for the noblest use, the praising of his Maker and Saviour; in which part of divine worship his soul and body acted with united and unwearied vigour.

He was happily married in August, 1645, to Agnes Campbell, daughter of David Campbell of Sheldon, in the shire of Ayr, a remote branch of the family of Loudon. His family affairs were both easy and comfortable. His wife was a gentlewoman endued with all the qualities that could render her a blessing to her husband, joined to handsome and comely features, good sense, and good breeding, sweetened by a modest cheerfulness of temper; and, what was most comfortable to Mr. Guthrie, she was sincerely pious, so that they lived a little

more than twenty years in the most complete friendship, and with a constant mutual satisfaction founded on the noblest principles; one faith, one hope, one baptism, and a sovereign love to Jesus Christ, which zealously inspired them both. By her he had six children, two of whom only outlived himself, both of them daughters, who endeavoured to follow the example of their excellent parents. One of them was married to Miller of Glenlee, a gentleman in the shire of Ayr; and the other to Mr. Peter Warner, in 1681, who after the Revolution was settled at Irvine. The latter had two children, William, of Airdrie in Ayrshire, and Margaret Warner, married to Mr. Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, who wrote the History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland betwixt the years 1660 and 1688 inclusive.

When William Guthrie was but young and newly married he was appointed by the General Assembly to attend the army. When he was preparing for his departure a violent fit of the gravel, to which he was often subject, reduced him to the greatest extremity of pain and danger. This made his religious spouse understand and improve the Divine chastisement. She

then saw how easily God could put an end to his life, which she was too apprehensive about, and brought herself to a resolution never to oppose her inclination to his entering upon any employment whereby he might honour his Master, though ever so much hazard should attend it.

While he was with the army, upon the defeat of a party he was then with, he was preserved in a very extraordinary manner, which made him ever after retain a greater sense of the Divine goodness, and, after his return to his parish, animated him to a more vigorous diligence in the work of the ministry, and propagating the kingdom of the Son of God, both among his people and all round about him; his public preaching, especially at the administration of the Lord's Supper, and his private conversation, conspiring together for these noble purposes.

After this William Guthrie had occasion again to be with the army, when the English sectaries prevailed, under Oliver Cromwell. After the defeat at Dunbar, September 3, 1650, when the army was at Stirling, Samuel Rutherford wrote a letter to him, wherein, by way of caution, near the end he says, "But let me obtest all the serious seekers of

his face, his secret sealed ones, by the strongest consolations of the Spirit, by the gentleness of Jesus Christ, that Plant of Renown, by your last accounts and appearing before God, when the white throne shall be set up, be not deceived with their fair words. Though my spirit be astonished at the cunning distinctions which are found out in the matters of the Covenant, that help may be had against these men, yet my heart trembleth to entertain the least thought of joining with these deceivers." Accordingly Guthrie joined the Protesters, and was chosen moderator at that Synod at Edinburgh, after the Public Resolutions went out and left them.

The author of his memoirs saith, "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 extravagances of the sectaries, and maintain order and regularity." One instance of this 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 William Guthrie's turn to serve at that 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 that sect called Quakers endeavoured to sow their tares in Fenwick parish, when Mr. Guthrie was some weeks absent about his own private affairs in Angus. He returned home before this infection had sunk deep, recovered some who were in hazard of being tainted by its fatal influence, and confounded the rest, that they despaired of any further attack upon his flock. This wild sect had made many proselytes to their demented 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 dead with their

heads to the east, contrary to the practice of all other Christians.

After this he had several calls to other parishes of 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 to him caused him to put on an invincible obstinacy against all designs of separation from them; a relation which, when it is animated with this principle of spiritual life, and founded on so noble a bottom, enters most deeply into the soul. Indeed, a minister can scarcely miss to have peculiar tenderness and warmth of divine affections to those whose father he is after the Spirit, whom he hath been honoured of God in bringing to the kingdom of his Son, and begetting through the gospel; whose heavenly birth is now the highest pleasure and brightest triumph of his life, and will be one day his crown of glory and rejoicing. Doubtless, when Mr. Guthrie preferred Fenwick, a poor obscure parish, to the most considerable charges in the nation, it was also a proof of his mortification to the world, and

that he was moved by views superior to temporal interests.

About the year 1656 or 1657 an unknown person somehow got a copy of a few imperfect notes of some sermons that Guthrie had preached from Isaiah lv., with relation to personal covenanting; and, without the least intimation made to him, printed them in a little pamphlet of sixty-one pages, under the title, "A Clear, Attractive, Warming Beam of Light, from Christ the Sun of Light, leading unto Himself." This book was indeed anonymous; but William Guthrie was reputed the author by the whole country, and was therefore obliged to take notice of it. He was equally displeased 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 soon composed that admirable treatise, "The Christian's Great Interest;" the only genuine work of Mr. Guthrie, and one which hath been blessed by God with wonderful success in our own country, being published very seasonably a little before the reintroduction of

Prelacy into Scotland at the Restoration.

The author of his memoirs quotes the sentiments of Dr. John Owen regarding it, who said, "You have truly men of great spirit in Scotland: there is, for a gentleman, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswoode, 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 written several folios, but there is more divinity in it than in them all." It was translated into Low Dutch by the reverend and pious Mr. Koelman, and was highly esteemed in Holland; so that Mrs. Guthrie and one of her daughters met there with uncommon civility and kindness, when their relation to its author was known. It was also translated into French and High Dutch; and we are informed that it was also translated into one of the Eastern languages, at the charge of that noble patron of religion, learning, and charity, the Hon. 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; and William Guthrie prescribed the draft of an address to the 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. All the committee approved of it, and it was transmitted to the Synod. But some on the Resolution side judging it not convenient, gave an opportunity to those who designed to comply with Prelacy to procure a delay, and at that time got it crushed. Yet it affords a proof of Guthrie's zealous honesty and firmness.

About this time, being the last time that he was with his cousin, James Guthrie, he happened to be very melancholy, which made Mr. James say, "A penny for your thoughts, cousin!" Mr. William answered, "There is a poor man at the door, give him the penny:" which being done, he proceeded and said, "I will tell you, cousin, what I am not only thinking upon, but 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 friend, Mr. James, at his execution on Saturday, June 1, 1661, 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 (whom he had obliged before the Restoration, when he was imprisoned for his loyalty, and who now contributed what he could for his preservation), he had nearly four years further respite with his people at Fenwick, during which time his church, although a large country one, was overcrowded every Sabbath day. Many came from distant parishes, such as Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, Lanark, Kilbride, Glassford, Strathaven, Newmilns, Eaglesham, and many other places, who hungered for the pure gospel preached, and got a meal by the word of his ministry. It was their usual practice to

come to Fenwick on Saturday, and after spending the greatest part of the night in prayer to God and conversation about the great concerns of their souls, to attend the public worship on the Sabbath, dedicating 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 refreshment; neither did they find themselves the less prepared for any other business through the week.* These years, under the divine influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying the ministry and ordinances dispensed by Mr. Guthrie, were the most remarkable in all his life, and will still be had in remembrance. A blessing accompanied ordinances to people who came with such a disposition of soul; great numbers were converted unto the truth, and many built up in their most holy faith. In a word, he was honoured to be a means, in the Lord's hand, of turning many

to a religious life, who after his being taken from them could never, without exultation of soul and emotion of revived affection, think upon their spiritual father, and the power of that victorious grace which, in those days, triumphed so gloriously. 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 with prelatial schemes afterwards.

His extraordinary reputation and the usefulness of his ministry were admired and followed by all the country around; which provoked the jealous and angry prelates against him, and was one of the causes of his being at last attacked by them. The earl of Glencairn made a visit

* Guthrie's high qualities as a herald of the Cross attracted to his church from the parishes around a crowded auditory, who Sabbath after Sabbath hung upon his lips. But can it be doubted that he owed no small part of his power to the manner in which the people spent the Saturday night? The effect of their united

prayers and Christian conference would be to give greater solemnity to their own minds, to make the words of truth fall with greater effect upon their hearts and consciences, and to deepen in the preacher the conviction that he was standing in Christ's stead, as his ambassador, beseeching men to be reconciled to God.

to the archbishop of Glasgow at his own house, and at parting asked as a favour that William Guthrie might be overlooked, as knowing him to be an excellent man. The archbishop not only refused, but with a disdainful, haughty air, told him, "That shall not be done—it cannot be—he is a ringleader and keeper up of schism in my diocese." Rowallan and some other Presbyterian gentlemen who were waiting on him, observing the chancellor discomposed when the archbishop 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; and the archbishop dealt with several of his creatures, the curates, to intimate the sentence against him, but many refused; for, says Wodrow, "there was an awe upon their spirits, which scared them from meddling with this great man." At last he prevailed with the curate of Calder, and promised him five pounds sterling of reward. Guthrie being warned of this design of the archbishop against him, advised his friends to make no resistance

to his expulsion 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," and with great plainness and affection 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 of 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." As usual 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 of them, commending them to God, who was able to build them

up and help them in time of need.

Upon the day appointed (the Sabbath day), the curate came to Fenwick with a party of twelve soldiers, and by commission from the archbishop discharged William Guthrie from preaching any more in Fenwick, declared the church vacant, and suspended him from the exercise of his ministry.

The curate, leaving the party without, came into the manse, and declared that the archbishop and committee, after much lenity showed to him for a long time, were constrained to pass the sentence of suspension against him, for not keeping of 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 for that purpose he 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 the 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 for this sentence passed against me. I declare I would not surcease from the exercise 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 do 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 that 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 gave 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 in the way to it. And now, sir, if you will take it upon you to interrupt my work among this people, I shall wish the Lord may forgive you the guilt of it; and 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 ministry 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 that he judged them apostates that adhered to that Covenant; and he wished that the Lord would not only forgive him (meaning Mr. Guthrie), but if it were lawful to pray for

the dead (at which expression the soldiers laughed), that the Lord might forgive the sins of this church these hundred years bypast." "It is true," said Guthrie, "the Lord had a work before that Covenant had a being; but it is as true that it hath been more glorious since that Covenant; and it is a small thing for us to be judged of you in adhering to this Covenant, who have so deeply corrupted your ways, and seem to reflect on the whole work of Reformation from Popery these hundred years 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 and more had passed, Mr. Guthrie called for a glass of ale, and craving a blessing himself, drank to the commander of the soldiers. After being civilly entertained they left the house, and at parting with the curate Mr. Guthrie signified so much to him 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, and that very soon.

When the curate left the manse he went to the church with the soldiers (now his hearers), preached to them not a quarter of an hour, and intimated to them from the pulpit the bishop's sentence against Mr. Guthrie. Nobody came to hear him but his party and a few children, who created some disturbance till they were chased away by the soldiers. Indeed, the people were ready to have sacrificed their all, and resisted even unto blood, in Mr. Guthrie's defence and the Gospel's, had they been permitted by him.

"As for the curate," says Mr. Wodrow, "I am well assured he never preached any more after he left Fenwick. He came into Glasgow, but it is not certain if he reached Calder, though but four miles from Glasgow. 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. So hazardous a thing it is to meddle with Christ's sent servants." His reward of five pounds was dear bought; it was the price of blood,

the blood of souls. Neither he nor his had any satisfaction in it.

William Guthrie continued at Fenwick until the year 1665. The brother to whom his paternal estate was made over dying in summer, his presence at home was necessary for ordering of his private affairs, which made him and his wife make a journey to Angus about the same time. He had not been long in that country until he was seized with a complication of distempers, the gravel, with which he had been formerly troubled, the gout, a violent heart-burning, and an ulcer in his kidneys; all which attacked him with great fury. Being thus tormented with violent pain, his friends were sometimes obliged to hold down his head and lift up his feet, and yet he would say that the Lord had been kind to him for all the ills he had done, adding, "though I should die mad, yet I know I shall die in the Lord." Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord at all times, but more especially when a flood of errors, snares, and judgments are beginning or coming on a nation, church, or people.

In the midst of all his heavy affliction, he still adored the measures of Divine Providence, though at the same time he

longed for his dissolution, and expressed the satisfaction and joy with which he would make the grave his dwelling-place, when God should think fit to give him rest there. His compassionate Master did at last indulge the pious breathing of his soul; for after eight or ten days' illness, he was gathered to his fathers in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Lewis Skinner of Brechin, upon Wednesday forenoon, October 10, 1665, in the forty-fifth year of his age,* and was buried in the church of Brechin under Pitfrothy's desk.

During his sickness he was visited by the bishop of Brechin and several Episcopal ministers and relations, who all had a high value for him, notwithstanding that 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 hope that God would return in glory to the Church of Scotland.

John Livingstone, in his *Memorable Characteristics*, says:—

* "This year also the Presbyterians lost one of their pastors, Mr. William Guthrie, minister at Fenwick, one of the most eloquent, successful, popular preachers that ever was in Scotland—a

"Mr. William Guthrie, minister at Fenwick, was a man of a most ready wit, fruitful invention, and apposite comparisons, qualified both to awaken and pacify consciences; straight and steadfast for the public cause of Christ, and a great light in the west of Scotland." Elsewhere he says:—"Mr. Guthrie in his doctrine was as full and free as any man in Scotland had ever been; which, together with the excellency of his preaching gift, did 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."

Mr. Crawford, in a MS. never published, says:—"Mr. Guthrie was a burning and a shining light, kept in after many others, by the favour of the old earl of Eglinton, the chancellor's father-in-law. He converted and confirmed many thousands of souls, and was esteemed the greatest preacher in Scotland."

And, indeed, he was accounted as singular a person for confirming those that were under soul

godly man, and died a sufferer (for he was deposed by the bishops), but in hope that the Lord would one day deliver Scotland from her thralldom." (*Kirkton's History*, p. 221.)

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 archbishop's suspension; but his reasons may be taken from what hath been already related. It is true, indeed, the authority of the Stuarts was too much the idol of jealousy to many of our worthy Scots reformers. For we may well think (as a late author, though no enemy unto these civil powers, says) that it was a wonder the nation did not rise up as one man to cut off those who had razed the whole of the Presbyterian constitution. But the Lord, for holy and wise ends, saw meet to appoint it otherwise, and to cut off those in power by another arm, after they had all been brought to the furnace together, although they might well have all the while seen, as Mr. Guthrie has observed, "that the civil power laid the foundation for the other."

As far as can be learned, William Guthrie never preached in Fenwick again, after the intimation of the archbishop's sentence to him; but it is well known that he, with many of his people in Fenwick, upon a time went to Stewarton to hear a young Presbyterian minister preach. When

coming home they said to him that they were not pleased with that man's preaching, he being of a slow delivery. He said they were mistaken in the man; he had a great sermon; and if they pleased, at a convenient place he should let them hear a good part thereof. And sitting all down on the ground in a good summer night, about sunsetting, he rehearsed the sermon, when they thought it a wonderfully great one, because of his good delivery and their amazing love to him. After which they arose and set forward.

All allow that William Guthrie was a man of strong natural parts, notwithstanding his being a hard student at first. His voice was of the best sort, loud, and yet managed with a charming cadence and elevation; his oratory was singular, and by it he was wholly master of the passions of his hearers. He was an eminent chirurgeon at the jointing of a broken soul, and at the stating of a doubtful conscience; so that persons afflicted in spirit came far and near, and received much satisfaction and comfort by him. Those who were very rude when he came first to the parish, at his departure were very sorrowful, and at the curate's intimation of the archbishop's

commission would have made resistance if he would have permitted them, not fearing the hazards and hardships they might have endured on that account afterwards.

Besides his valuable treatise already mentioned, there are also a few very faithful sermons bearing his name, said to be preached at Fenwick, from Matt. xiv. 24, and 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 works, it was written by his cousin, James Guthrie of Stirling. 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 a very great variety of sermons and notes of sermons, bearing his name, yet in manuscript, some of which seem to be written with his own hand.

ROBERT BLAIR.

ROBERT BLAIR was born at Irvine in the year 1593. His father was John Blair of Windyedge, a younger brother of the ancient and honourable family of Blair of that ilk; his mother was Beatrix Muir, of the ancient family of Rowallan. His father died when he was young, leaving 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.

Robert entered 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 observes, 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 twentieth year of his age, when he gave himself sometimes to the exercise of archery and the like recreations; but lest his studies should have been hindered, he resolved to be busy at them every other night, and for that purpose could find no place so proper as a room whereunto

none was permitted to be, by reason of apparitions that were said to frequent it. Yea, it is said that he himself had here seen the devil in the likeness of one of his fellow-students, whom he took to be really his companion; but chasing him to the corner of the room, and offering to pull him out, he found nothing; after which, however, he was never more troubled, studying the one part of the night without fear, and sleeping the other very sweetly, believing in him who was still his great Preserver and Protector for ever.

Having now finished his course of philosophy under the discipline of his own brother, Mr. William Blair, who was afterwards minister at Dumbarton, he engaged for some time to be an assistant to an aged schoolmaster at Glasgow, who had above three hundred 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, into whose hand, as he himself observes in his Memoirs, the Lord did put the key of his heart so, that whenever he heard him in public or private he profited much, Mr. Boyd 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 the archbishop's motion, Mr. Blair was admitted. After his admission, his elder colleagues perceiving what great skill and insight he had in humanity, urged him to read the classical authors, whereupon he began and read Plautus. But the Lord being displeased with that design, diverted him from it by his meeting with Augustine's Confession, wherein he inveighs sharply against the education of youth in heathen writings. Upon this he betook himself to the reading of the Holy Scriptures and the ancient fathers, especially Augustine, who had another relish; and though he perceived that our divines were more sound than several of the ancients, yet in his spare hours he was wont to peruse the ancient authors, wherein he made considerable progress.

In summer, 1616, he entered on trials for the ministry; and it was laid upon him to preach in

the College Kirk the first Sabbath after his license.* Some years after he was told by some of his hearers (who were better acquainted with religion than he was then), that in his sermon the Lord did speak to their hearts; which not only surprised him, but also stirred him to follow after the Lord.

Upon an evening the same year, having been engaged with some irreligious company, when he returned to his chamber to his wonted devotion he was threatened to be deserted of God. He had a restless night, and on the 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 turned to beware of such company; but running into another extreme of rudeness and incivility to profane persons, he found it was very hard for shortsighted sinners to hold the right and the straight way.

* On occasion of some of Blair's first public appearances the celebrated Mr. Robert Bruce, minister in Edinburgh, was one of his hearers, in reference to which the following anecdote has been recorded:—"Upon his first coming forth to preach, he by a remarkable providence had Mr. Bruce to be his hearer; and as I heard himself declare, it was his desire to have the judgment of so great a man upon his discourse, whose censure he said he would never forget, it had been so much blessed. It was

While he was regent in the 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!" 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, did continue after he was gone; but it is to be noticed, that he was many years in such poverty as forced him to supplicate the General Assembly for some relief. Robert Blair (who was then moderator) upon his appearing in such a desperate case, could not shun observing that former passage of his, and upon meeting him in private, with great tenderness put him in mind that he had been truly carried through by his faith,

this: 'I found,' said he, 'your sermon very polished and digested' (which was indeed easy to one of his parts), 'but there is one thing I miss in it, to wit, the Spirit of God; I found not *that*.' This grave Mr. Blair did often speak to others, which then took a deep impression upon himself, and helped him to see it was something else to be a minister of Jesus Christ than to be a knowing and eloquent preacher." (*Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, vol. i. p. 384.)

at which he had formerly scoffed.

Some time after Robert Blair was a regent in the college he was under deep exercises of soul, wherein he attained unto much comfort. Among other things, that great saying, "the just shall live by faith," sounded loudly in his ears, which put him on a new search of the Scriptures, in which he went on till Mr Culverwell's Treatise on Faith came out; which being of the same nature with what is since published by the Westminster Assembly, he was thereby much satisfied and comforted. "By this study of the nature of faith," says he, "and especially of the text before mentioned, I learned—

"*First*, That nominal Christians, or common professors, were much deluded in their way of believing; and that not only Papists, who place faith in an implicit assent to the truth which they know not, and that it's better defined by ignorance than by knowledge (a way of believing very suitable to Antichrist's slaves, who are led by the nose they know not whither), were hugely herein mistaken, but also secure Protestants, abusing the description of old given of faith, that it is an assurance or assured knowledge of

the love of God in Christ. This assurance, indeed, no doubt is attainable, and many believers do attain and comfortably enjoy it, as our divines from the Holy Scriptures prove unanswerably against the Popish doctors, who maintain the necessity of perpetual doubting, and miscall that Christian comfortable assurance of the Protestants presumption. But notwithstanding that it is true of a high degree of faith, yet it agrees not to all the degrees of saving faith; so that hereby many gracious sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ, and rested on him as he is offered to them in the word, have been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all. But, upon the other hand, many secure, unhumbled misbelievers, who have not believed in the Lord's holiness and hating of sin, who have not believed how self-destroyed they are, out of self-love, without the warrant of the word, conceit themselves to be beloved of God; and that the formerly mentioned description of faith agrees well to them.

"*Secondly*, I perceived that many who make right use of faith in order to their justification, made not directly use thereof in order to sanctification. But then I perceived that the living

of the just by faith reached further than I formerly conceived, and that the heart is purified by faith. If any think, What! knew I not till then that precious faith, being a grace, was not only a part of our holiness, but did set forward other parts of holiness? I answer, I did indeed know, and so accordingly made use of faith as a motive to stir up to holiness, according to the apostle's exhortation: 'Having, therefore, these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord' (2 Cor. vii. 1). But I had not before that learned to make use of faith as a mean and instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, the well of salvation, though it may be I had both heard that and spoken that by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose that they who receive forgiveness of sins are sanctified through faith in Christ, as our glorious Saviour taught Paul (Acts xxvi. 18). Then I marvelled not that my progress met with an obstruction for not making use of faith, as hath been said for sanctification. Then I perceived, that in making use of Christ for sanctification, without direct employing of faith to extract the same out of him,

I 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 provisions reached to me as it were by a window. I had come to the right house, but not to the right door. But by this new discovery I did find a patent door made for provision and furniture in and from Christ my Lord. So, blessed Lord, thou trainedst on thy poor servant step by step, suffering difficulties to arise, that greater clearing from thyself might flow in. . . .

"I hoped then to make better progress with less stumbling; but not long after encountering difficulties, I wondered what discovery would next clear the way. Then I found that the Spirit of holiness, whose immediate and appropriate work was to sanctify, had been slighted, and so grieved. For though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of him and to him frequently, and seeking the pouring out of the same, and urging others to seek the same, yet that discovery appeared to me a new practical lesson; and so I laboured more to crave, cherish, and not grieve or quench the Holy Spirit, praying to be led into all truth,

according to the Scriptures, by that blessed guide; and that by that heavenly Comforter I might be comforted in all troubles, and sealed up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

“About that time the Lord set me a work to stir up the students who were under my discipline earnestly to study piety, and to be diligent in secret seeking of the Lord; and my gracious Lord was pleased herein to bless my endeavours.”

Dr. John Cameron being brought from France, and settled principal of the college in Mr. Boyd's place,* and being wholly set on to promote the cause of Episcopacy, urged Robert Blair to conform to the Perth Articles, but he utterly refused. And it being a thing usual in those days for the regents to meet to dispute some thesis for their better improvement, Blair had the advantage of his opponent, who was a French student, and maintained that election did proceed upon foreseen faith. But the doctor having stated himself in opposition to Blair in a way which tended to Arminianism, and Blair being urged to a second dispute by the doctor himself, did so drive him to the mire of Arminianism as did redound much to the doc-

* See before, p. 169.

tor's ignominy afterwards; and although he and Mr. Blair were afterwards reconciled, yet being nettled by that dispute, he improved all occasions against him. For that purpose, when Blair was on a visit to some of his godly friends and acquaintances, he caused one Gardner to search his Prelections on Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, who, finding some things capable of being wrested, brought them to the doctor, who presented them to the archbishop of Glasgow. This coming to Mr. Blair's ears, he was so far from betraying innocence, being assured that 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 properly, that all present professed their entire satisfaction with him; yea, one of the ministers of the city, who had been influenced against him formerly, said in the face of that meeting, “Would to God King James had been present and heard what answers that man hath given.” Such a powerful antagonist, however, rendered Blair's life so uneasy, that he resolved to leave the college and go abroad, which resolution no sooner took air than the doctor and the arch-

bishop, knowing his abilities, wrote letters to cause him stay. But he, finding that little trust was to be put in their fair promises, and being weary of teaching philosophy, demitted his charge, took his leave of the doctor, wishing him well, although he was the cause of his going away, and left the college, to the great grief of his fellow regents and students and the people of Glasgow.

Though he had several charges in Scotland presented to him, and an invitation to go to France, yet the day after he left Glasgow being invited to go and be minister of Bangor, in the county of Down in Ireland, he felt bound in spirit to set his face towards a voyage to that country. Although he met with a contrary wind and turned sea-sick, yet he had such recourse to God upon the very first sight of that land, that he was made to exult with joy; and on coming near Bangor he had a strong impression borne in upon him that the dean thereof was sick. This he found to be true when he came thither; and being invited to preach there, he did so

* Howie incorrectly says "Knox," who was bishop of Raphoe, copying from the edition of Blair's autobiography published by Stevenson, the historian, who supplied a blank which at this

for three Sabbaths, to the good liking of the people of that parish. The dean, though formerly but a very naughty man, yet told Mr. Blair that he was to succeed him in that place; and exhorted him, in the name of Christ, not to leave that good way wherein he had begun to walk, professing much sorrow that he had done so himself. He condemned Episcopacy more strongly than ever Mr. Blair durst; and drawing his head towards his bosom with both his arms he blessed him; which conduct being so unlike himself, as also his speaking in a strain so different from his usual, made a gentlewoman standing by say, "An angel is speaking out of the dean's bed to Mr. Blair," thinking it could not be such a man. Within a few days he died, and Robert Blair was settled minister there.

His ordination was on this manner. He went to Bishop Echlin* and told him his opinions; and said that a bishop's sole ordination did contradict his principles. But the bishop being informed beforehand of his great parts and piety, answered him both wittily and submissively,

point of Blair's history occurs in the MS. with the name of "Knox." It should be Echlin, bishop of Down. (*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 103).

saying, "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. He was accordingly ordained about the year 1623.

Being thus settled, his charge was very great, having above twelve hundred persons come to age, besides children, who stood greatly in need of instruction; and in this case he preached twice a week, besides the Lord's-day; on all which occasions he found little difficulty either as to matter or method. He became the chief instrument of 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, wherein he was both diligent and faithful, but also in the great pains he took to stir up others unto the like duty.

[After his settlement at Bangor he was married in the year 1624 to Beatrix Hamilton, of the house of Bardowie, an old family. She had three sisters, all of them

eminent for piety; Marion, wife of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, and afterwards married to Mr. John Stevenson; Elizabeth, married to Mr. Richard Dickson, minister at Kinneill; and Barbara, the wife of Mr. John Mein, merchant, Edinburgh.*]

While Blair was at Bangor there was a man named Constable in the parish, who went to Scotland with horses to sell, and at a fair sold them all to a person who pretended he had not money at present, but gave him a bond till Martinmas. The poor man suspecting nothing, returned home; and one night about that time, going homeward, near Bangor, his merchant (who was supposed to be the devil) met him: "Now (says he), you know my bargain, how I bought you at such a place, and now I am come, as I promised, to pay the price." "Bought me!" said the poor man trembling; "you bought but my horses." "Nay," said the devil, "I will let you know I bought yourself;" and further said, that he must kill somebody, and the more excellent the person, the better it would be for him; and particularly charged him to kill Mr. Blair, else he would not free him. The man was so overcome with

* Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 116.

terror, through the violence of the temptation, that he determined the thing, and went to Mr. Blair's house with a dagger in his right hand, under his cloak, and though much confounded was moving to get it out. But on Mr. Blair's speaking to him he fell a trembling, and on inquiry declared the whole fact; and withal said he had laboured to draw out the dagger, but it would not come from the scabbard, though he knew not what hindered it; for when he essayed to draw it forth again, it came out with ease. Mr. Blair blessed the Lord, and exhorted him to choose him for his refuge, after which he departed. Two weeks afterwards, being confined to his bed, Constable sent for Mr. Blair, and told him that the night before, as he was returning home, the devil appeared to him, and challenged him for opening to Mr. Blair what passed betwixt them, claiming him as his; and putting the cap off his head and the band from his neck, said that on Hallow evening he should have him soul and body, in spite of the minister and all others. He therefore begged Mr. Blair, for Christ's sake, to be with him against that time. Mr. Blair instructed him, prayed with him, and promised to be with him

against the appointed time. Afterwards he had much hesitation in his own mind whether to keep that appointment or not; yet at last he took one of his elders with him and went according to promise, and spent the whole night in prayer, explaining the doctrine of Christ's temptation, and praising with short intermissions. In the morning they took courage, defying Satan and all his devices. The man seemed very penitent, and died in a little after.

It was during the first year of his ministry that he resolved not to go through a whole book or chapter of the Bible, but to make choice of some passages which held forth important heads of religion, and to close the course with one sermon of heaven's glory, and another of hell's torments; but when he came to meditate on these subjects, he was held a whole day in great perplexity, and could fix upon neither method nor matter till night, when, after sorrowing for his disorder, the Lord in great pity brought both matter and method into his mind, which remained with him until he got the same delivered.

About this time 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, the candle was burned out, and having called for another, as the landlady brought it from a room under which he lay, she saw to her astonishment that a joist under his bed had taken fire. The consequence of this, had he been in bed as usual, in all probability would have been dreadful to the whole town, as well as to him, the wind being strong; but by the timeous alarm 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, under the view of a second administration of the ordinance, resolve to go back unto that inexhaustible fountain of consolation; and coming over to Scotland about that time, he received no small assistance from David Dickson, who was then restored unto his flock at Irvine, and was studying and preaching on the same subject.

But it was not many years that he could have liberty in the exercise of his office; for in harvest of 1631 he and John Livingstone were, by Echlin, bishop of Down, suspended from

their office. Upon recourse to Archbishop Usher, who sent a letter to the bishop, their sentence was relaxed, and they went on in their ministry until May, 1632, when they were, by the said bishop, deposed from the office of the holy ministry.

After this no redress could be had; whereupon Mr. Blair resolved on a journey to court, to represent their petitions and grievances to King Charles I. On his arrival at London he could have no access for some time to his Majesty, and so laboured under many difficulties with little hopes of redress, until one day, having gone to Greenwich Park, where, being wearied with waiting on the court, and while at prayer, the Lord assured him that he would hunt the violent man to destroy him. And while thus in earnest with the Lord for a favourable return, he adventured to propose a sign that, if the Lord would make the reeds growing hard by (which were moved with the wind as he was tossed in mind) to cease from shaking, he would take it as an assurance of the despatch of his business. To this the Lord condescended, for in a little time it became so calm that not one of them moved; and in a short time he got a despatch

to his mind, wherein the king did not only sign his petition, but with his own hand wrote on the margin, directed to the depute,* “Indulge these men, for they are Scotsmen.”

It was while in England that he had, from Ezek. 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.†

After Blair’s return, the king’s letter being slighted by the depute, who was newly returned from England, he was forced to have recourse to Archbishop Usher, who wept that he could not help them. By the interposition of Lord Castlestuart with the king, they got six months’ liberty. But upon the back of this, in November, 1634, he was again summoned before the bishop, and the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by Echlin, bishop of Down. After the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Blair rose up and publicly cited the bishop to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to

answer for that wicked deed. Whereupon he did appeal from the justice of God to his mercy; but Mr. Blair replied: “Your appeal is like to be rejected, because you act against the light of your own conscience.” In a few months after the bishop fell sick; and the physician inquiring of his sickness, after some time’s silence he with great difficulty said: “It is my conscience, man.” To which the doctor replied; “I have no cure for that;” and in a little after he died.

After Mr. Blair’s ejection he preached often in his own and in other houses, until the beginning of the year 1635, when he began to think of marriage with Catherine Montgomery, daughter to Hugh Montgomery, formerly of Busby in Ayrshire, but then residing in Ireland. For this 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.

Matters still continuing the same, he engaged with the rest of the ejected ministers in their resolution of building a ship, called the *Eaglewings*, of about one hundred and fifteen tons, on purpose to go to New England. But when about three hundred or four hundred leagues from Ire-

* This was Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, who at this time was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

† She died in July, 1632.

land, meeting with a terrible hurricane, they were forced back to Carrickfergus, the same harbour from which they loosed; the Lord having work for them elsewhere, it was fit their purpose should be defeated.* Blair continued four months after this in Ireland, until, upon information that he and Mr Livingstone were to be apprehended, they immediately went out of the way, took shipping, and landed in Scotland in the year 1637.

All that summer after Mr. Blair's arrival, he was as much employed in public and private exercises as before, mostly at Irvine and the country around, and partly at Edinburgh. But things being then in a confusion, because the Service-book was then urged upon the ministers, his old in-

* Under this accumulation of adverse events, Rutherford addressed to Blair a letter of encouragement from Aberdeen, 7th February, 1637. "It is no great wonder," he writes, "my dear brother, that ye be in heaviness for a season, and that God's will, in crossing your design and desires to dwell amongst a people whose God is the Lord, should move you. I deny not but ye have cause to inquire what his providence speaketh in this to you; but God's directing and commanding will can by no good logic be concluded from events of providence. The Lord sent Paul on many errands for the spreading of his gospel, where he found lions in the way. A promise was made to his people of the Holy Land, and yet many nations were in the way fighting against, and ready to kill them that had the promise, or to keep them from possessing that good land which the Lord their God had given them." (*Rutherford's Letters*, p. 169.)

clination to go to France revived; and upon an invitation to be chaplain of Colonel Hepburn's regiment (newly enlisted in Scotland for the French service), he embarked with them at Leith. Some of these recruits, who were mostly Highlanders, being desperately wicked, and threatening upon his reproofs to stab him, he resolved to quit that voyage. Calling to the shipmaster to set him on shore, without imparting his design, a boat was immediately ordered for his service; at which time he met with another deliverance, for his foot sliding, he was in danger of going to the bottom; but the Lord so ordered that he got hold of a rope, by which he hung till he was relieved.

Robert Blair's return gave

The ministers who had embarked in that voyage had important work to perform in Scotland, where after their return they were settled in various parishes, Mr. Blair at Ayr, Livingstone at Stranraer, Mr. M'Clelland at Kirkcudbright, and Mr. Hamilton at Dumfries, and were zealous promoters of the measures by which the triumph of the Presbyterian church of Scotland was ultimately secured. All of them were elected members of the famous General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, and in its proceedings they took a prominent part. "Neither the prelates and conformists, nor they themselves," says Row, "knew that within a year the Lord would not only root out the prelates in Scotland, and after that out of England and Ireland, but make some of them, especially Messrs. Blair, Livingstone, and M'Clelland, &c., to be very instrumental in the work of Reformation." (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 146.)

great satisfaction to his friends at Edinburgh, and the Second Reformation being then in the ascendant, he got a call to be colleague to Mr. Annan, at Ayr, in the spring of 1638; and upon May 2, at a meeting of the Presbytery, having preached from 2 Cor. iv. 5, he was at the special desire of all the people thereof admitted a minister. He stayed not long here; for having, before the General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, fully vindicated himself, both anent his affair with Dr. Cameron while regent in the university, and his settlement in Ireland, he was for his great parts and known abilities ordered to be translated to St. Andrews. But the Assembly's motives in this did prove his detriment for some time, and the burgh of Ayr, where the Lord had begun to bless his labours, had the favour for another year. But the Assembly held at Edinburgh, 1639, being offended at his disobeying, ordered him peremptorily to remove to St. Andrews.

In the year 1640, when King Charles I., by the advice of the clergy, had caused burn the articles of the former treaty with the Scots, and again prepared to chastise them with a royal army, the Scots, resolving not always to play after-game, also

raised an army, invaded England, routed about four thousand English at Newburn, had Newcastle surrendered to them, and within two days were masters of Durham. This produced a new treaty, more favourable to them than the former. With this army was Mr. Blair, who went with Lord Lindsay's regiment; and when the treaty was on foot, the Committee of Estates and the army sent him up to assist the commissioners with his best advice.

Again, after the rebellion in Ireland, 1641, those who survived the storm supplicated the General Assembly, in the year 1642, for a supply of ministers, when several went over, and among the first Mr. Blair. During his stay there he generally preached once every day, and twice on the Sabbath, and frequently in the field, the auditories being so large; and in some of these he also administered the Lord's Supper.

After his return the condition of the church and state was various during the years 1643 and 1644. In August, 1643, the committee of the General Assembly, whereof Mr. Blair was one, with John, earl of Rutland, and other four commissioners from the Parliament of England, and Messrs.

Stephen Marshall and Philip Nye, ministers, agreed to a solemn league and covenant betwixt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. And in the end of the same year, when the Scots assisted the English Parliament, Mr. Blair was by the commission of the General Assembly appointed minister to the earl of Crawford's regiment; with which he stayed until the king was routed at Marston Moor, July, 1644, when he returned to his charge at St. Andrews.

The Parliament and commission of the Kirk sat at Perth in July, 1645. The Parliament was opened with a sermon by Robert Blair; and after he had, 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 Forgandenny, and preached to Crawford's and Maitland's regiments, to the first of which he had been chaplain. He told the brigade that he was informed many of them were turned dissolute and profane; and assured them, that though the Lord had covered their heads in the day of battle (few of them being killed at Marston Moor), 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, yet was it too little laid to heart; and the most part of Crawford's regiment was cut off at Kilsyth in three weeks after. Upon the defeat at Kilsyth several were for treating with the marquis of Montrose, but Mr. Blair opposed it; so that nothing was concluded until the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people. For the Committee of Estates recalled General David Leslie, with four thousand foot and one thousand dragoons, from England, to oppose whom Montrose marched southward, but was shamefully defeated at Philiphaugh, September 13, many of his forces being killed and taken prisoners, and he himself hardly escaping.

On the 26th 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 before several sessions thereof; and when several prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were tried, and three of them, viz., Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Messrs. Nathaniel Gordon and Andrew Guthrie, were condemned to be executed on the 17th of January thereafter, Mr.

Blair visited them often, and was at much pains with them. He prevailed so far with Gordon, that he desired to be released from the sentence of excommunication under which he was; and accordingly Mr. Blair did the same. The other two, who were bishops' sons, died impenitent—*Mali corvi malum ovum.**

In the year 1646 the General Assembly, sitting at Edinburgh, ordered Robert Blair, who was then moderator, with Andrew Cant and Robert Douglas, to repair to King Charles I. at Newcastle, to concur with Alexander Henderson and others, who were labouring to convince him of the great bloodshed in these kingdoms, and reconcile him to the Presbyterian church government and the Covenants. When these three ministers got a hearing, the room was immediately filled with several sorts of people to see their reception. Andrew Cant, being oldest, began briskly to insinuate, with his wonted zeal and plainness, that the king favoured Popery; but Blair interrupted him, and modestly hinted that it was not a fit time nor place for that. The king looking earnestly said, "That honest man speaks wisely and discreetly, therefore I appoint you three to

* "Birds of an ill nest."

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. The king, lifting his hat, said, "I take God to witness that there are abominations in Popery, which I so much abhor, that ere I consent to them I would rather lose my life and my crown." Yet after all this, Mr. Blair and Mr. Henderson (for these two he favoured most) having most earnestly desired him to satisfy the just desires of his subjects, he obstinately refused, though they besought him on their knees with tears. Renewed commissions for this end were sent from Scotland, but to no good purpose, and Mr. Blair returned home to St. Andrews.

Alexander Henderson died at Edinburgh, August 19, which the king no sooner heard, than he sent for Robert Blair to supply his place as chaplain in Scotland. Through fear of being ensnared, Blair was at first averse to this; but having consulted with Mr. David Dickson, and reflecting that Mr. Henderson had held his integrity fast unto the end, he applied himself to that employment with great diligence, every

day praying before dinner and supper in the presence-chamber; on the Lord's day lecturing once and preaching twice; besides preaching some week-days in St. Nicholas' Church; conversing also much with the king, desiring him to condescend to the just desires of his Parliament; and at other times debating 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 orthodox divines.'" To this Mr. Blair replied, "To me this is no controversy, and I am sorry that 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. King James' 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.

After the sitting of the Scots Parliament Mr. Blair made an-

other 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, and he was confident all honest Scotsmen would 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 Robert Blair, David Dickson, and James Guthrie, to deal with him for an uniformity in England. When they came he entertained them with smooth speeches, and solemn appeals to God as to the sincerity of his intentions. Blair being best acquainted with him, spoke for all the rest, and among

other things begged an answer to these three questions—(1.) What was his opinion of monarchical government? He answered, he was for monarchical government. (2.) What was his opinion anent toleration? He answered confidently, that he was altogether against toleration. (3.) What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? “O, now,” said Cromwell, “Mr. Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me, that I give you not a present answer to this.” This he evaded, because he had before, in conversation with Mr. Blair, confessed he was for Independency. When

* Blair, though inclining somewhat to the Public Resolutions, was opposed to the severe measures adopted by the Resolutioners in furtherance of their policy, and being extremely desirous to effect an accommodation between the two parties, he assumed the position of a mediator between them. As preliminary to a reconciliation he would, among other things, have had the acts and censures passed by the Resolutioners in the church courts against the Protesters laid aside. In a letter to Robert Baillie, dated 23rd March, 1652, he thus strongly expresses himself in favour of the adoption of this pacific policy:—“The longer brethren live at a distance they see the greater necessity to unite in the Lord. . . . I know how needless it is to exhort you to incline to and to follow after peace and union: ye would rather expect of me overtures. I have been desirous for some space, that not only debates about former resolutions, but determinations, acts, censures, all be quite laid aside; all authoritative acting either by commission of 1650 or 1651 laid aside; correspondence entertained by all synodals in the the kingdom, that by consent we may fall upon a public way again; in the meantime, about

they came out Mr. Dickson said, “I am glad to hear this man speak no worse;” whereunto Mr. Blair replied, “If you knew him as well as I do, you would not believe one word he says, for he is an egregious dissembler and a great liar.”

When the differences fell out betwixt the Resolutioners and Protesters, Mr Blair was at London, and afterwards for the most part remained neutral in that affair. For this he was subjected to some hardships, yet he never omitted any proper place or occasion for uniting and cementing these differences;* none now in Scotland being

planting of kirks, neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction to be taken notice of. If uniting on such terms may be had, they are accursed that would hinder the same, by seeking satisfaction for what is passed: for my own part, I think I see evidently enough things amiss *utrinque* [on both sides]; but I would prefer one act of oblivion herein, lest new debating ulcerate our sores.” (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 174.)

This letter evidently offended Baillie, who was too red hot a Resolutioner, and stood too much on the dignity of church courts, to treat their acts and censures so lightly as Blair proposed to do. He thus wrote in reply, 1st April, ready to do battle for the rigorous proceedings of the General Assembly of 1651, by which three ministers had been deposed and one minister, Mr. James Nasmith, suspended, for their opposition to the Public Resolutions (see before, p. 265):—“How gladly I would be at union in any tolerable terms many know, but for the quite laying aside of all the acts of the last Assembly, and that men censured shall not make so much as the least acknowledgment for all their erroneous and very evil remonstrances,

more earnest in this than he and the learned and pious Mr. James Durham, minister at Glasgow. These two, meeting at St. Andrews, had the influence to draw a meeting of the two sides to Edinburgh, where harmony was like to prevail; but the Lord's anger being still drawn out for the prevailing sins of that time, all promising beginnings were blasted, and all hopes of agreement did vanish. Thus affairs continued until the year 1660, when the kingdom, being quite sick of distractions, restored Charles II.; the woeful consequences of which act are otherwise too well known. On this last occasion Mr. Blair again began to bestir himself to procure union betwixt the two fore-

protestations, and other miscarriages, whereby they have directly ruined the commission and the General Assembly, and have been very instrumental in the public calamity, and to this day go on with a high hand in destructive ways, to their power; to clap their heads in all this, I doubt [if] it be acceptable to God, or [to] the men's good, or can stand with the being of our discipline in any time to come; but that you pronounce all these men accursed that are not for these terms of union, when I read it, I was amazed. . . . I shall be loath to deserve the estimation of accursed man by any, but least of all from you, whom hitherto I have professed a father in Christ. Your son in Christ." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 175, 176.) Baillie, in a letter to Mr. David Dickson, 4th June, 1652, expressing his uneasiness at the middle position assumed by Blair and Mr. James Durham, who co-operated with him in his efforts to compose differences, writes:—"If Mr. Blair and Mr. Durham will still go

said parties, and for that end obtained a meeting; but his endeavours were frustrated, and no reconciliation could be made, till both sides were cast into the furnace of a sore and long persecution.

In September, 1661, James Sharp came to St. Andrews; and the Presbytery, having had assurance of his deceitful carriage at court, and of the probability of his being made archbishop of St. Andrews, sent Mr. Blair and another to discharge their duty to him; which they did so faithfully, that Sharp was never at ease till Mr. Blair was rooted out.

Mr. Blair, taking occasion, in a sermon from 1 Pet. iii. 13, &c., to enlarge on suffering for righteousness' sake, and giving his

on to draw us by [out of] our right straight way, we must beseech them to speak plainly their mind, and not to halt betwixt two, but at last to side. Or if they will make a third party, we must tell them that they lay but stepping stones to lead over our friends from us to our opposites; which is the worst office they can perform, and far more evil than any thing they can do now, who stand in the extremest opposition." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 189.) Blair thus got no credit from the Resolutioners for his conciliatory efforts, nor did he obtain any credit for them from the Protesters, so that, as he himself expresses it, he was "cuffed upon both haffets by them." When, along with Durham, and Alexander Brodie of Brodie, he went in May, 1653, to the Protesters, who had met in Warriston's house, and urged them to ways of peace and union, Warriston told them that the neutrals were as far wrong as any of them, and therefore exhorted them to consider. (*Brodie's Diary*, p. 43.)

testimony to the Covenants and the work of Reformation, against the sinful and corrupt courses of the times, was called before the Council, November 5, when the advocate and some noblemen were appointed to converse with him. They posed him on the following points:—(1.) Whether he had asserted Presbyterian government to be *jure divino*? (2.) Whether he had asserted that suffering for it was suffering for righteousness' sake? And (3.) Whether in his prayers against Popery he had joined Prelacy with it?

Having answered all in the affirmative, professing his sorrow that they doubted his opinions in these points, Blair was first con-

finied 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, by a decret of the Privy Council, dated 2nd January, 1662.*

Mr. Blair continued here till October following, enjoying much of God's presence amidst his outward trouble; but being again commanded to appear before the Council, he took a sore fit of gravel by the way, and was for that time excused. Afterwards, through the chancellor's favour, having got liberty to go where he pleased, except St. Andrews and the west country, he went to Kirkcaldy.†

While at Kirkcaldy, he lec-

* Blair's petition bore "that he had kept the restraint put upon him for two months, so that, except his domestics and of late two physicians and an apothecary allowed to visit him, no person had seen him; that his craziness he had tolerably endured the first month, but that during all the second his health and strength had been so prostrate that several times he had been at the gates of death, not capable of either nourishment or medicaments, through frequent faintings and continual watching all the night over." He therefore prayed to be relieved from his restraint that he might retire to some convenient place adjacent in the country, where he might have accommodation, as he was unable to be carried to any place of considerable distance. The petition was accompanied with a certificate under the hands of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Henderson, testifying to the petitioner's valetudinary health occasioned through want of air and exercise,

which threatened death if air and other accommodations should not be allowed. The Lords of Council, 2nd January, 1662, freed him from his present restraint and confinement at his chamber in Edinburgh, and granted him liberty to reside in any part within the parish of Musselburgh which he should think most fit and convenient for his health, until he was cited to answer before the Council to such things as were or should be laid to his charge. (*Decrets of Secret Council*, Register House, Edinburgh.)

† This, it would appear, was subsequent to the passing of an Act of Council, 13th August, 1663, commanding nonconforming ministers to remove with their families within twenty days after proclamation of the Act out of the respective parishes where they had been incumbents, and not to reside within twenty miles thereof, nor within six miles of Edinburgh or any cathedral church, or three miles of any royal burgh. (*Worror's History*, vol. i. p. 340.) An Act of Council

tured and prayed often to some Christian friends in his own family; and for his recreation taught his younger son the Greek language and logic. But the archbishop, envying the repose Mr. Blair and some others had in these circumstances, procured an Act that no outed minister should reside within twenty miles of an archbishop's see; upon which Mr. Blair removed from Kirkcaldy, in February, 1666, to Meikle Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, an obscure place, where he continued till his death, which was shortly after. For upon the 10th of August Mr. Blair, being now worn out with old age, and his spirits sunk with sorrow and grief for the desolations of the Lord's sanctuary in Scotland, took his last sickness, and entertained most serious thoughts of his near approaching end, ever extolling the glorious and good Master whom he had served.

His sickness increasing, he was visited by many Christian friends and acquaintances, whom

having been passed 17th November, 1664, for enforcing the above Act (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 402), Blair was in danger of being compelled to leave Kirkcaldy. He accordingly presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying that, notwithstanding the late Act of Council commanding ministers who had not conformed to depart forth of the town of Edinburgh, and not to reside there nor within several miles of the place at which they last

he strengthened by his many gracious and edifying words. At one time, when they told him of some severe Acts of Council newly made at Archbishop Sharp's instigation, he prayed that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance. At another time to Mrs. Rutherford he said, he would not exchange conditions with that man (albeit he was now on the bed of languishing, and the other possessed of great riches and revenues) though all betwixt them were red gold, and given him to the bargain. When some ministers asked him if he had any hopes of deliverance to the people of God, he said that 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 loath them for their

preached, he might have liberty to come to Edinburgh or Leith for obtaining the advice of physicians, as he was sorely diseased, or at least have liberty to stay still in Kirkcaldy, where he then was. The Council, on 24th November, 1664, remitted the petition to the archbishop of St. Andrews, and in the meantime granted warrant to the petitioner to stay at Kirkcaldy. (*Decrees of Secret Council.*)

pride, falsehood, and covetousness.*

To his wife and children † he spake gravely and Christianly, and after he had solemnly blessed them, he severally admonished them as he judged expedient. His son David said, "The best and worst of men have their thoughts and after-thoughts; now, sir, God having given you time for 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 com-

muned with mine heart; and as for my public actings and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I were to begin again, I would just do as I have done." He often repeated the 16th and 23rd psalms, and once the 71st, which he used to call his own psalm.

About two days before his death his speech began to fail, and he could not be well heard or understood; however, some things were not lost, for speaking of some eminent saints then alive, he prayed earnestly that

* "September 13, 1673.—Mr. James Taylor told me that good old Mr. Blair desired him to tell me, ere he died, that he hoped the Lord would revive his work in these lands; but he trembled at the apprehension of the door it would enter in at, through much blood, confusion, and calamity." (*Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie*, p. 345.)

† Blair, as already stated, was twice married. By his first wife, Beatrix Hamilton, he had two sons, James and Robert, and a daughter. The two sons predeceased their father. The eldest, after having been for a number of years a regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, was ordained minister of Dysart, but he died on 20th October, 1655, in his father's house at St. Andrews, only a few months after his ordination. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 321.) The daughter, who was named Jean, was married to Mr. William Row, minister of Ceres. By his second wife Catherine Montgomerie, daughter of Hugh Montgomerie of Busbie, who having sold these lands went to Ireland, carrying a colony of Protestants, and purchased the lands of Ballishary and others, and was created Viscount of Ardes in 1620 (*Ibid.*, p. 136), Blair had three sons and a daughter. The sons were—1. William, who was born in August, 1636, and died in 1637. 2. David, who was born in the summer of the

year 1637. He was for some time minister to the English congregation at the Hague, and in December, 1689, he accepted a presentation from the magistrates of Edinburgh to become one of the ministers of that city. He died 10th June, 1710. Robert, his eldest son, was minister of Athelstaneford, and author of the classic poem entitled "The Grave" (*Steven's History of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam, p. 106), who again was the father of Lord President Blair of Avon-ton. David had also a son named Archibald, who became minister of Garvald, and was father to Dr. Robert Blair, professor of practical astronomy in the university of Edinburgh. 3. Hugh, the third son, was the grandfather of the celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university. (*Hill's Life of Dr. Hugh Blair*, pp. 12, 13.) The descendants of Robert Blair thus became eminent for their talents, and for the places of distinction to which they rose by their eminent talents and high Christian character. His daughter by his second wife, named Catherine, became the wife of Dr. George Campbell, minister of Dumfries, from which he was ejected at the Restoration for non-conformity, but restored after the Revolution, and subsequently professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh.

the Lord would bless them ; and as an evidence of his love to them he desired Mr. George Hutchison, then present, to carry his Christian remembrance to them. When Mr. Hutchison went from his bedside, he said to his wife and others who waited on him, that he rejoiced in suffering as a persecuted minister. "Is it not 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 my 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, till at length, about four o'clock in the morning, he was gathered to his fathers by a blessed and happy death, the certain result of a holy life.

* "Here lie entombed the mortal remains of Mr. Robert Blair, S.S., a most faithful preacher of the gospel at St. Andrews, who died on the 27th of August, 1666, in the seventy-second year of his age." Wodrow thus describes the peculiar gift of Blair as a preacher in comparison with the peculiar gifts of some other eminent preachers of his day :—"Mr. Blair used when speaking of Elihu in Job's affair, to call him God's moderator. His talent was in holding out the majesty and excellency of God ; and several times to say O ! our God is a great God ; O ! that his enemies knew how great a God he is.

His body lies near the church wall in the burial place at Aberdeen ; and upon the wall above his grave was erected a little monument with this inscription :—

Hic reconditæ jacent
Exuvie Mortales D. Roberti Blair,
S. S. Evangelii apud Andreapolin
Prædicatoris fidelissimi.
Obiit Augusti 27, 1666, ætatis suæ 72.*

Robert Blair was a man of a fine constitution both in body and mind, of a majestic but amiable countenance and carriage, thoroughly learned, and of a most public spirit for God. He was of unremitting diligence and labour in all the private as well as public duties of his station. He did highly endear himself to the affection of his own people, and to the whole country wherein he lived, and their attachment to him was not a little strengthened by his conduct in the judicatories of the church, which indeed constituted a distinguishing part of his character.

The story of the gentleman from London I think is set down before, that said he came to St. Andrews in the forenoon and heard the majesty and stateliness of God laid out as he never had heard before. In the afternoon from Mr. Ruthersford his soul was melted with the loveliness of Christ ; and next day at Glasgow he heard a little old man, Mr. D. D., [David Dickson] who told him all his heart. These were their three talents. It was observed of Mr. Blair, that he was seldom deserted in preaching, and almost never brangled as to his assurance." (*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 138.)

When the General Assembly resolved upon a new version of the Holy Bible, among others of the godly and learned in the ministry, Mr. Blair had the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes assigned to him for his part; but he neglected that task till he was rendered useless for other pur-

poses, and then set about and finished his Commentary on the Proverbs in 1666. He composed also some small poetical pieces; a poem in commendation of Jesus Christ, for the confutation of Popish errors; with some short epigrams on different subjects.

HUGH M'KAIL.

HUGH M'KAIL was born about the year 1640,* and was educated at the university of Edinburgh, under the inspection of his uncle, Mr. Hugh M'Kail,† in whose family he resided. In the winter of 1661 he offered himself for trials for the ministry before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, being then about twenty years old; and being by them licensed, he preached several times with great acceptance.

He preached his last public sermon, from Cant. i. 7, in the High Church of Edinburgh, upon the

* His father was Matthew M'Kail, minister at Bothwell.

† Mr. Hugh M'Kail was first minister of a parish in the Presbytery of Irvine, from which he was translated to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh after the General Assembly of 1648, in terms of the recommendation of that Assembly. In the unhappy controversy between the Resolutioners and Protesters he took the side of the former. But being a man of a con-

Sabbath immediately preceding the 8th September, 1662, the day fixed by Parliament for the removal of the ministers of Edinburgh. In this sermon, taking occasion to speak of the great and many persecutions to which the church of God had been and was subjected, and amplifying the point from the persons and powers that had been instrumental therein, he said, that the church and people of God had been persecuted by a Pharaoh upon the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church; and

ciliatory temper he evinced so strong a disposition to restore harmony that Robert Baillie cautions others of his party against M'Kail's moderation. (*Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 56, 184, 194.) He died in the beginning of the year 1660, and was buried in the Greyfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh. (*Lanout's Diary*, p. 121.) He was the friend and correspondent of Samuel Rutherford, several of whose printed letters are addressed to him.

these characters seemed so similar to those of the rulers of church and state at the time, that though he made no particular application he was reputed guilty.* Whereupon, a few days after, a party of horse was sent to the place of his residence, near Edinburgh, to apprehend him; but upon little more than a moment's warning he escaped out of bed into another chamber, where he was preserved from the search. After this he was obliged to return to his father's house near Libberton, and having lurked there for some time, he spent other four years in several other places before his death. †

* The passage, as reported in the Coltness Collections (p. 47), was as follows:—"Let Pharaoh, let Haman, let Judas, let Herod, let each of them speak from experience of God's faithfulness! Let all, then, have ears to hear, and hearing, acknowledge that those who have made themselves remarkable for persecution, God has stigmatized by his judgments." The sermon is referred to in an Act of the Privy Council for citing Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Goodtrees, to whom M'Kail was chaplain, to appear before the Council for retaining M'Kail in his family after thus preaching sedition. "6th November, 1662. — 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 the said sermon was preached, at least were certainly informed

While he lived at his father's house troubles arose in the west; and the news thereof having alarmed him, for such motives and considerations as he himself afterwards more fully declares, he joined himself, upon the 18th of November, 1666, to those who rose in these parts for the assistance of that poor afflicted party. ‡

Being of a tender constitution, Hugh M'Kail, by the toil, fatigue, and continual marching in tempestuous weather, was so disabled and weakened that he could no longer endure; and upon the 27th, the day before the battle, he was obliged to leave his comrades near Cramond

thereof, yet notwithstanding did entertain him in their family; as also that the said Mr. Walter had emitted some speeches in a smithy, on . . . tending to sedition, especially anent public differences, and 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 instant." (*Records of the Privy Council*, quoted in *Wodrow's History*, vol. i. p. 304.) Sir James was discharged, but his son Walter was imprisoned for a short time.

† It is said that during this time he went to Holland, and attended for several years one of the most distinguished of the Dutch universities, cultivating especially theological learning.

‡ The reference here is to the insurrection which resulted in the battle of Pentland Hills, fought on 28th of November, 1666. The leader of the insurgents was Lieutenant-colonel James Wallace. The royal army was commanded by General Dalziel. The insurgents, overpowered by superior numbers, were completely defeated, fifty of them being killed and many taken prisoners.

water. On his way to Libberton parish, passing through Braid's Craigs, he was taken without any resistance (having only a small ordinary sword) by some of the countrymen who were sent out to view the fields. And here it is observable that his former escape was not more miraculous than his present taking was fatal; for the least caution might have prevented this misfortune; but God, who gave him the full experience of his turning all things to the good of them that love him, did thus prepare the way for his own glory, and his servant's joy and victory.

M'Kail was brought to Edinburgh, first to the town council house, where he was searched for letters; but none being found, he was committed prisoner to the Tolbooth. Upon Wednesday, the 28th, he was, by order of the Secret Council, brought before the earl of Dumfries, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Priestfield, and others, in order to his examination. Being interrogated concerning his joining the westland forces, M'Kail, conceiving himself not obliged by any law or reason to be his own accuser,

* The Boot was a kind of box, made of iron, or of wood strongly hooped with iron, in the shape of a boot, into which the leg of the victim was put, and compressed by wedges driven by frequent blows of a mallet till the bone was

declined the question. After some reasoning he was desired to subscribe his name, but refused; and this fact, 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, when, to allay this prejudice, he gave in a declaration under his own hand, testifying that he had been with the westland forces. Though it was certainly known that he had both formed and subscribed this acknowledgment the night before, yet they still persisted in their jealousy. 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 3 the Boots, a most terrible instrument of torture,* were laid on the council-house table before him, and he was certified that, if he would not confess, he would be tortured next day. Accordingly he was called before them, and being urged to confess, he solemnly declared that he knew no more than what he had already confessed; whereupon they ordered

crushed, and even the marrow sometimes extruded, rendering the leg ever after unserviceable. Sometimes it was formed for admitting both legs. This infernal instrument of torture had not been used in Scotland for a century before.

the executioner to put his leg in the Boot, and to proceed to the torture, to the number of ten or eleven strokes, with considerable intervals; yet all did not move him to express any impatience or bitterness.*

This torture was the cause of his not being indicted with the first ten, who were arraigned and sentenced on Wednesday, December 5, to be hanged on the Friday following. Many thought that his slight connection with the rising, and what he had suf-

* “Notwithstanding the extremity and painfulness of the torture, even to ten or twelve strokes, yet he sustained it most constantly and Christianly, expressing no impatience or bitterness, declaring with a solemn attestation, as in the sight of God, that he knew no more than he had confessed, namely, that to the best of his knowledge the rising in the west was no contrived or plotted business, but merely occasional, upon a discontent betwixt the people in the stewartry of Galloway and Sir James Turner, to which every one did run, as their hearts moved them, when they heard of it.” (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 504.)

John Neilson of Corsack, who had been one of the officers in the army of the insurgents at Pentland, and whom John Blackadder describes as “a meek and generous gentleman,” was also tortured in the Boot. He with some others had made Sir James Turner prisoner at Dumfries, and when the leading man of his party offered to shoot Turner, he interfered, saying, “You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarters.” His sufferings under the torture were dreadful; but his piercing cries seemed to afford only gratification to Rothes, before whom he was examined, who frequently called for “the other touch.” Neilson also was executed.

† It seems probable that the intercession of these ladies moved the duke to interpose with the king on behalf of M'Kail, as his Majesty not

ferred by torture, should have procured him some favour; but it was otherwise determined, for his former sermon was not forgotten, especially the words, “A Pharaoh upon the throne,” &c.

Upon December 8 his brother went from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with a letter in his favour from the marchioness of Douglas, and another from the duchess of Hamilton to the [duke of Rothes, who was then] lord commissioner, but both proved ineffectual.† His cousin, Mr. Matthew

long after, and previous to the execution of M'Kail, sent down a pardon to the prisoners implicated in the Pentland insurrection who were not executed, and ordered that they should be sent to Barbadoes. But Archbishop Sharp never forgave M'Kail for the sermon before referred to, in which a Judas in the church, which Sharp took to mean himself, was associated with a Pharaoh on the throne and a Haman in the state, as persecutors of the church; and he most deceitfully and cruelly concealed the king's pardon till M'Kail and other four with him were executed. (*Naphtali*, p. 363. *M'Crìe's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 36. *Kirkton's History*, p. 255. *Row's Life of Blair*, p. 506.) Bishop Burnet says that Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, kept up the letter, pretending that there was no meeting of council previous to the day of execution. (*History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 348.) Sharp, says Row, “after Mr. M'Kail was cruelly tortured, coming over to St. Andrews (for that was his ordinary deceitful policy and trick, after he had plotted and contrived the greatest wickedness and severities against honest people, and had engaged the Council to act what he had contrived, and set them on, then to withdraw and come to St. Andrews, and after the mischief was acted to say that he was free of it—he was not there, &c.), did write over to some of the prime counsellors that they should take care that, whoever were spared, Mr. Hugh M'Kail should

M'Kail, carried another letter from the marchioness of Douglas to the archbishop of St. Andrews for the same purpose, but with no better success.*

On Monday the 10th, he and other seven received their indictment of treason, and were summoned to appear before the justices on Wednesday, December 12; but his torture and close imprisonment (for so it was ordered) had cast him into a fever, whereby he was utterly unable to make his appearance. Therefore, upon Tuesday the 11th, he gave in to the lords of the Council a supplication, declaring his weak and sickly condition, crav-

not be spared; and yet he had the impudence, when he returned to Edinburgh, to say that he was free of Mr. Hugh M'Kail's death. Psalm cxx. 3, 4."

* Matthew M'Kail, Hugh M'Kail's cousin, was an apothecary in Edinburgh, and afterwards doctor of medicine. He had acted as amanuensis to Sharp when an agent in London for the Resolutioners in 1657, and therefore, on hearing of the capture and imprisonment of his cousin, he went to Sharp to bespeak his interposition, when Sharp promised to befriend Hugh if he would reveal the mystery of the plot, but there had been no plot. Sharp having gone to St. Andrews on Thursday, Matthew followed him on Friday, and arrived at the bishop's house on Saturday. When he was waiting in an outer room, "the bishop's son," to quote the words of a contemporary chronicler, "about twelve years old, came and inquired of Mr. Matthew if he came from Edinburgh, to which it was answered yes; then he inquired for the news there, and Mr. Matthew answered there was none, but that other four of the west countrymen were hanged yesterday; then the youth said, 'No more! it will be long before they hang them all;' and thus

ing that they would surcease any legal procedure against him, and that they would discharge him of the foresaid appearance. Hereupon the Council ordered two physicians and two chirurgeons to visit him, and to return their attestations, upon soul and conscience, betwixt that time and the morrow at ten o'clock, to the justices.

On December 16 he, being indifferently recovered, was with other three brought before the justices, where the general indictment was read, founded both on old and recent Acts of Parliament made against rising in arms, entering into leagues and was verified the old proverb, 'as the old cock crows the young cock learns.'" On being admitted to the bishop, Matthew delivered to him one letter from the marchioness dowager of Douglas in favour of Mr. Hugh, whose brother Matthew was governor to her son, Lord James Douglas, and another from the lady of Sir William Sharp, the bishop's brother. Having read them, Sharp said, "The business is now in the justiciary's hands, and I can do nothing; but, however, I shall have answers ready against the next morning," which was the Sabbath. At that 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." Matthew, having arrived at Leith on Monday evening, went immediately to Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him, who, on reading it, said that the business was now in the justiciary's hands. (MS. of the period, quoted in *M' Crie's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., pp. 35-37.)

covenants, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, without and against the king's authority. Hugh M'Kail was particularly charged with joining the rebels at Ayr, Ochiltree, Lanark, and other places, on horseback. Hereupon, being permitted to answer, he spoke in his own defence, both concerning the charge laid against him, and likewise of the ties and obligations that were upon this land to God; commending the institution, dignity, and blessing of Presbyterian government; and said that the last words of the National Covenant had always a great weight upon his spirit. Here he was interrupted by the king's advocate, who bade him forbear that discourse, and answer the question for the crime of rebellion. To this he answered, that the thing which moved him to declare as he had done, was that weighty important saying of our Lord Jesus. "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God." After the depositions of those examined against him were read, with his replies to the same, the assize was inclosed; after which they gave their verdict unanimously, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray, their chancellor, re-

ported him guilty. This being done, doom was pronounced, declaring and adjudging him and the rest to be taken on Saturday, December 20, to the market cross of Edinburgh, there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and their goods and lands to be escheated and forfeited for his Highness' use.

At the hearing of the sentence he cheerfully said, "The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord;" and 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 prayer, with great enlargement of heart, in behalf of himself and those who were condemned with him. Afterwards he said to a friend, "O how good news, to be within four days' journey to enjoy the sight of Jesus Christ;" and protested that 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."

This afternoon he supplicated the Council for liberty to his father to visit him; which being granted, his father came next night, to whom he discoursed a little from the fifth commandment, concerning obedience to parents. After prayer his father said to him, "Hugh, I have called thee a goodly olive-tree of fair fruit, and now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruit." He answered, that his too good thought had afflicted him. His father said that 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;" and added, "I have sinned; thou poor sheep, what hast thou done?" Hugh answered with many groans that, through coming short of the fifth commandment, he had come short of the promise, that his days should be prolonged in the land of the living; and that God's controversy with his father was for overvaluing his children, especially himself.

Upon the 20th of December, through the importunity of friends more than his own inclination, he gave in a petition to the Council craving their

clemency, after having declared his own innocence; but it proved altogether ineffectual. During his abode in prison the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fears of death, and to expel the overcloudings of terror, unto which the best of men, through the frailty of flesh and blood, are sometimes subject. He was also wonderfully assisted in prayer and praise, to the admiration of all. On Thursday night, being at supper with his fellow-prisoners, his father, and one or two more, he said merrily to the former, "Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be a fat Christmas-pie 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 book 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, among others the following:—

"How should I 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?"

The answer was, "By conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of angels who are on-lookers, according to that saying, 'We are a gazing-stock to the world, 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; the angels are but ministering spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen dying believers."

"What is the way for us, who are hastening to it, to conceive of heaven, seeing the word saith, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard?'"

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 teach-

ing 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. "Oh! 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 be anything in the world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the Scriptures. I said that 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 the city; and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs." He then called for a pen, saying, it was to write his testament, wherein he ordered some few books he had to be delivered to several persons. He went to bed about eleven o'clock, and slept till five in the morning,*

* His cousin, Matthew M'Kail, the apothecary, slept with him the night before his execution, and having himself slept very little that night through a pain in his head,

he was able to testify that Hugh slept till five o'clock in morning, as stated in the text. (Manuscript quoted in *Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, p. 38.)

when 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." He answered, "John, I fear you bar me out, because you were more free before the Council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold;" adding, "I have got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after my awakening, but it was a little overclouded thereafter." He then prayed with great fervency, pleading his covenant relation with him, and that they might be enabled that day to witness a good confession before many witnesses. His father coming to him, bade him farewell; to whom his last words were that his sufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry twenty years. Then he desired his father to go to his chamber,

* John Wodrow was a merchant in Glasgow, and uncle of Wodrow the historian. He was imprisoned in the same cell with M'Kail, and

and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with him on the scaffold, "for how to carry there," said he, "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 he then addressed 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 prayed with such power and fervency as caused many to weep bitterly. Then he gave his hat and cloak from him, and taking 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

suffered along with him. His last testimony is in "Naphtali."

† See Testimony.

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 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, I know that my Redeemer liveth. 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 that bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope," the executioner then putting the rope about his neck.

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 con-

fession; 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;" which having read, he said, "Here you see the glory that is to be revealed on me; a 'pure river of water of life;' and here you see my access to the glory and reward, 'Let him that is athirst, come;' 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. Ye need neither to lament nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I may make use of that expression of Christ's, 'I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God,' to my King and your 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 could be. Farewell, farewell in the Lord!"

The napkin being put on his

face, he prayed a little, and putting it up with his hand, he said that 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, my comfort is 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, a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, a people looking out of 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; 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,

* Matthew M'Kail, his cousin, the night before the execution "went to the house of the executioner, John Dunmore, and did drink with him, and gave him six dollars, desiring him not to meddle with Mr. Hugh'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." (MS. quoted in *Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, p. 37.)

† "When he was cut down he was laid into

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 me, O Lord God of truth." And thus, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, he died as he lived, in the Lord. †

His death was so much lamented by the onlookers and spectators, that there was scarcely a dry cheek in all the streets and

his coffin, which his cousin, Mr. Matthew, had provided, and was carried to Magdalene Chapel; and when his graveclothes were put on he was carried to the Greyfriars' churchyard, and was interred near the east dyke, a little above the stair, at the entry, being conveyed by a great company of honest men. . . . 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 so long as it lasted." (MS. quoted in *Memoirs of Veitch, &c.* p. 38.)

windows about the Cross of Edinburgh at the time of his execution. A late historian, Mr. Crookshanks, gives him this character, that "he was a youth of twenty-six years of age, universally beloved, singularly pious, and of very considerable learning. He had seen the world, and travelled some years abroad, and was of a very comely and graceful person. I am told," he adds, "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. His share in the Pentland rising was known to be but small; and when he spoke of comfort and joy in his death, heavy were the groans of those present."

TESTIMONY OF HUGH M'KAIL.

"Being by a great surprisal of Providence thus staged before the world, in a matter of so universal concernment to all that fear God and desire to be steadfast in his Covenant, I could not forbear to leave behind me this standing testimony, concerning the occasion and uses thereof, for the glory of God and the vindication of my profession from the aspersions cast thereon by men, and the edification of those by my death, to whom I had devoted my life in the work of the ministry.

"I have esteemed the government of this church by Presbytery to be among the chief of the ordinances of Jesus Christ,

which by his blood he has purchased, and ascended up on high to bestow as a gift upon it; as being the very gospel in its simplicity and purity, [free] from the inventions of men, and so the mean by which other ordinances are administered and the most fundamental truths made effectual in the hearts of his people, and therefore that it ought with that same carefulness to be contended for. Experience, both of the having and wanting of it, hath given it this epistle of commendation, so that it may be both known and read of all men: which is also true of the solemn engagements of the nation thereto by the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, which I have esteemed, in their rise and renewing, pregnant performances of that promise, Isa. xlv. 5, where it is evident that, where church reformations come to any maturity, they arrive at this degree of saying, 'I am the Lord's; and subscribing with the hand unto the Lord.' So was it in the days of the reforming kings of Judah, and after the restoration from the captivity in the days of Nehemiah. This same promise did the Lord Jesus make yea and amen to us, when he redeemed us from spiritual Babylon; which is so much the greater evidence that these were the very motions of God's Spirit in our first reformers, that they were expressly designed against the greatest motions of the spirit of darkness in antichrist and his supporters, and against the greatest confirmations that ever these abominations attained by the decrees of the council of Trent, and that bloody bond called the Holy League. And therefore, whatever indignity is done unto these Covenants, I do esteem to be no less than doing despite unto the Spirit of grace in his most eminent exerting of himself, but especially declaring against the same as flowing from a spirit of sedition and rebellion, to be a sin of the same nature with theirs who ascribed Christ's casting out of devils to Beelzebub; and that with this aggravation, that these Scribes and Pharisees came never the length of profess-

ing Christ, and submitting themselves to him and his ways.

“But we are condemned to death upon the account of this Covenant, for adhering to the duties therein sworn to, by such as once did as much themselves as we have done, and some of them more than some of us: which considerations have moved me to great fears of God’s wrath against the land, according to the curse that we are bound under, if we should break that Covenant, and in the fear of it many times to pour out my soul before the Lord; and as soon as I heard of a party up in arms in behalf of the Covenant (all other doors being shut whereby the redress of the manifest violations of it might be obtained; and these by manifest and unheard-of violence obtruded upon others to go along with them), being bound by that Covenant against detestable indifferency and neutrality in this matter, and to esteem every injury done to any engaged in this Covenant, upon account of it, as done to myself: very conscience of duty urged me to this against some reluctancy of fear of what might follow. Upon the same reasons, at Lanark, with the rest I declared my adherence to the Covenant by my lifting up of my hand, after the articles thereof were read.

“And here I cannot but with grief of heart acknowledge my fainting in a day of trial, that being engaged with them upon such accounts I many times in fear designed to withdraw, and at length did, which, as it was the occasion of my falling into the hands of the enemy, so I think among other things it was the cause why God delivered me into their hands. Upon the same fear, in all my examinations I have denied my engagement with them, and endeavoured to vindicate myself by asserting the real designs I had to part from them, and have utterly cast away the glory of a testimony which my very being in their company, as a favourer of the ends of the Covenant, and as one willing to contribute my best endea-

vours for the promoting of them, but especially my declaring for the Covenant, did bear unto the truth and ordinances of Jesus Christ against this untoward generation: this I confess to be no less than a denying of Jesus Christ, and a being ashamed of his words before men; but I hope the Lord, who remembereth that we are but frail dust, shall not lay it to my charge, and according to his faithfulness and grace will forgive me, who by this public confession take to myself shame and confusion of face, and fly to the propitiation offered to all sinners in Jesus Christ. And these things, as they have procured this death unto me as an act of God’s justice, so they mind me of other evils in mine own heart, that have been the source of this my unwillingness to take on Christ’s cross: my heart hath not studied to maintain that spirituality in walking with God, and edifying exemplariness with others, that became one that had received the first-fruits of the Spirit and aimed at the ministry of the gospel, living in times of so much calamity for the church of God and particular afflictions as to myself. If I had spent my days in groaning after my house from heaven, would I have shifted so fair occasion of being clothed with it? Alas, that I have loved my Lord and Master Jesus Christ so little! Alas, that I have done so little service to him, that I have so little labour to follow me to my everlasting rest! This I speak to those especially with whom I have familiarly conversed in my pilgrimage, that seeing the Lord will not grant me life to testify my real reformation of these things, my acknowledgment at death may have influence upon them, to study not only godliness but the power of it.

“As I acknowledge that I have not been free and ingenuous in these particulars fore-mentioned, so in other things, wherein I interponed that holy name of God, as to the not being upon the contrivance of this rising in arms, nor privy to any resolution thereanent, nor conscious of any intelligence

at home or abroad concerning it, I was most ingenuous: and they wronged me much who said that I denied upon oath that which they were able to make out against me, or knew to be truth; but none allege perjury against me, but such as are so manifestly guilty of it before the world that their tongues in such allegations are no slander.

“Although I be judged and condemned as a rebel amongst men, yet I hope, even in order to this action, to be accepted as loyal before God. Nay, there can be no greater act of loyalty to the king, as the times now go, than for every man to do his utmost for the extirpation of that abominable plant of Prelacy, which is the bane of the throne and of the country: which if it be not done, the throne shall never be established in righteousness, until these wicked be removed from before it. Sure I am, those who are now condemned as rebels against him by them, are such as have spent much time in prayer for him, and do more sincerely wish his standing, and have endeavoured it more by this late action so much condemned, than the prelates by condemning them to death.

“This disaster hath heightened greatly the afflictions of our church, and ought to teach all of you to drink the wine of astonishment: ye have not known tribulation till now; now we judge them happy that are fallen asleep, and removed far away, and know that God hath been taking away his servants from the evils that were to come. Know that God’s design is to make many hearts contrite that have been formerly too whole, and have not lamented sufficiently the removal of his ordinances and ministry, and the reproach rubbed upon the work of reformation. Beware that your sorrow be not a momentary motion of common compassion, that evanisheth, when it may be there is some intermission in this violent course of shedding innocent blood; but labour to have a constant impression that may sanctify the heart;

nay, ye should live much in the apprehension of approaching judgment. Certainly the withdrawing of many from us, and not contributing their help to the great work they were engaged to as well as we, the general rising against us in many places of the country, but above all this open shedding of the blood of the saints, which involveth the land in the guiltiness of all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world, have made Scotland fit fuel for the fire of God’s wrath. I can say nothing concerning times to come but this, ‘All things shall work together for good to them that love God,’ and so this present dispensation. And they shall have most comfort in this promise, who are most willing that such afflictions as we are brought to, be the way that God chooseth to work their good.

“Commit wholly the management of all matters to God, and make it your entire study, night and day, to keep your very garments clean: it is hard, in times of so general corruptions, not to be defiled one way or other. Be free of the sins as ye would be of the judgments, which will certainly be such as will make ‘all the churches know that God is the searcher of the hearts, and trier of the reins’ (Rev. ii. 23), and so will not be mocked by these pretences, whereby men colour their going along in an evil course, from the real love that they have to a present world. If simple presence amongst them who are esteemed rebels by men be sufficient to engage them in the crime and punishment (for that is all the ground of my condemnation), shall not God be much more zealous of his own glory against all who so much as seem to go along with this course of backsliding.

“As a good mean and encouragement to all the duties of our time, labour to be rooted and grounded in the love of Jesus Christ; this will be tender of anything that may have the least reflection upon him, his words or works, and will prompt the soul to zealous appearing for him at the greatest

hazard, and to as much willingness to die for him as to live that they may glorify him. And for the encouragement of you all in this matter, I do declare that ever since the day of my coming into prison God hath kept my soul free from all amazement or fear of death; that since my indictment and sentence God hath so manifested himself at several times, that he hath lifted up my soul above prelates, principalities, and powers, death and hell, to rejoice and be glad in his salvation, and from my soul to account him worthy for whom, in this his cause, I should undergo the greatest shame or pain, and to the assured hopes of eternal communion with him in heaven; and that nothing hath more brangled my peace, than shifting an open and free testimony before my examiners, to the work that I was engaged in.

“I do freely pardon all that have accession to my blood, and wish that it be not laid to the charge of this sinful land, but that God would grant repentance to our rulers, that they may obtain the same reconciliation with him whereof I myself do partake. Truly I believe many of them, if not instigated by the cruel prelates (at whose door our blood doth principally lie), would have used more mitigation; but that reluctancy of mind to shed blood will be so far from vindicating of them that, upon the contrary, it will be a witness against them in the day of the Lord.

“I heartily submit myself to death, as that which God hath appointed to all men

because of sin, and to this particular way of it as deserved by my particular sins. I praise God for this fatherly chastisement, whereby he hath made me in part, and will make me perfectly partaker of his holiness. I glorify him that called me forth to suffer for his name and ordinances, and the solemn engagements of the land to him, and that he hath taken this way to take me away from the evil to come. The Lord bless all his poor afflicted groaning people that are behind.

“Hereafter I will not talk with flesh and blood, nor think on the world’s consolations: farewell all my friends whose company hath been refreshful to me in my pilgrimage; I have done with the light of the sun and moon. Welcome eternal life, everlasting love, everlasting praise, everlasting glory! Praise to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever! Though I have not been so with thee as I ought to have been in the house of my pilgrimage, yet ‘thou hast made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure: and this is all my salvation and all my desire.’ Bless the Lord, O my soul! that hath pardoned all mine iniquities in the blood of his Son, and healed all my diseases! ‘Bless him, O all ye his angels that excel in strength, ye ministers that do his pleasure! Bless the Lord, O my soul!’ Hallelujah!

“HUGH M’KAIL.”

EDINBURGH TOLBOOTH,
Dec. 22, 1666.

JOHN NEVAY.

JOHN NEVAY was licensed and ordained a minister in the time of Scotland’s purest Reformation, and settled in Newmilns, in the

parish of Loudon. Besides his soundness in the faith, shining piety in conversation, and great diligence in attending all the

parts of his ministerial functions, particularly church judicatories, he was one who was also very zealous in contending against several steps of defection, which were contrary to the work of reformation carried on in that period.

When the earl of Callender and Major-general Middleton were cruelly harassing the Covenanters and well affected people in the west of Scotland, because they would not join in the duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement in war against England (which was a manifest breach of the Solemn League and Covenant), John Nevay was one of those ministers who, with other well affected people, were assembled at the celebration of our Lord's Supper at Mauchline Muir, in the month of June, 1648; where opposition (in their own defence) was made to the said Callender and Middleton's forces, who attacked them upon the last day of the solemnity. Bishop Guthrie says that the chief managers here were Messrs. Adair, William Guthrie, and John Nevay, and that the Covenanters were of foot two thousand and horse five hundred strong, and this is more than probable.* Robert Baillie says that seven ministers

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 177.

were with them, Messrs. William Guthrie, Matthew Mowat, Thomas Wylie, Gabriel Maxwell, John Nevay, William Adair, and Alexander Blair, and that they were some twelve hundred horse and eight hundred foot strong.†

When that pretended Assembly, held at Edinburgh and St. Andrews in the year 1651, did approve and ratify the Public Resolutions for bringing the justly-excluded malignants into places of public power and trust, Nevay was one of those who faithfully witnessed and protested against the sad course of covenant-breaking and land-defiling sin.

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 began to be defaced and overturned, it behoved the chief promoters thereof to be in the first place attacked. John Nevay, being the earl of Loudon's chaplain, and very much valued by him, was included among the rest, and was, upon the 18th of November, 1662, by order of the Council cited, with some others, to repair to Edinburgh, and appear before the Council on the 9th of December after.

He did not compear until the

† Baillie's Letters, vol. iii. pp. 48, 52.

23rd, when he was examined, and upon his refusal of the oath of allegiance he was banished, and executed a bond as follows:—

“I, John Nevay, minister of the Gospel at Newmilns, 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 diocese of Glasgow and Edinburgh in the meantime. Subscribed at Edinburgh, December 23.

“JOHN NEVAY”

Taking leave of his old parishioners (no doubt with a sorrowful heart) he prepared for his journey, and went over, among the rest of our banished ministers, to Holland, where for some years he preached to such as would come and hear him. Yet all the while he retained the affection of a most dear and loving pastor to his old parishioners of Loudon, sending them many sermons and several affectionate letters, wherein he not only exhorted them to steadfastness in the midst of manifold temptations, but also showed a longing desire to return to his own native land and parishioners. This is evident from that excellent letter, written some time before his death, dated at Rotterdam, October 22, 1669, in

which, among many other things, he has these expressions: “I can do no more but 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 which 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 more ease than others, and how you wanted not your share in the most honourable testimony that ever was given to the truth and kingdom of Christ in Scotland, since the days of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, Mr. George Wishart, Mr. Walter Mill, and others, his martyrs.”*

That John Nevay was no mean

* Nevay’s persecutors, who had driven him from his native land, not to return under pain of death, would not allow him to remain in Hol-

land unmolested. On 26th July, 1670, a letter from Charles II. was laid before the states of Holland, accusing Nevay and two other minis-

divine in his day, either in parts or learning, is fully evident, from an Act of the General Assembly in the year 1646, from which it appears that he was one of those four ministers who were appointed to revise and correct Rouse's paraphrase of David's Psalms in metre, lately sent from England (of which he had the last thirty for his share); and also from that elegant and handsome paraphrase of his upon the Song of Solomon in Latin verse; both of which show him to have been

ters, Mr. Robert Trail and Mr. Robert M'Ward, all residing within the jurisdiction of the States, of writing and publishing *pasquils* and other infamous productions against his Majesty's government; and on 23rd September it was decreed by the States that the three individuals complained of should remove from the Dutch territories within fifteen days, under pain of being prosecuted as "stubborn rebels." It, however, appears that Nevay still continued at Rotterdam, and died there. He was highly respected both at home and abroad. Wodrow describes him as "a person of very considerable parts, and bright piety." Robert M'Ward, in a letter written from Utrecht in 1677, to Mr. Hoog and the Consistory of Rotterdam, when he was obliged by a resolution of the States in Holland to remove from that country, thus writes:—"Oh!

of a profound judgment and rare abilities.

There are fifty-two sermons (or rather notes of sermons) of his published upon the nature, properties, blessings, &c., of the Covenant of Grace; and thirty-nine sermons on Christ's Temptations in manuscript, sent over from Holland for the benefit of his old parishioners of Newmilns, which might also have been published if the former collection had met with that reception which they deserved.

when I remember that burning and shining light, worthy and warm Mr. Livingstone, who used to preach as within the sight of Christ and the glory to be revealed; acute and distinct Nevay; judicious and neat Simson; fervent, serious, and zealous Trail; when I remember, I say, that all these great luminaries are now set and removed by death from our people, and out of our pulpit, in so short a time, what matter of sorrow presents itself to my eye." (*Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, pp. 36, 51, 53.)

Nevay had a son who married Sarah Van Brakel, who was favourably known by her poetical powers, exhibited in various pieces, including an elegy upon a popular preacher, and who was a generous friend to British refugees expatriated for religion and liberty. (*Ibid.* p. 54.)

JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

JOHN LIVINGSTONE was born in the year 1603. He was son of Mr. William Livingstone, minister first at Monybroch or Kil-

syth, and afterwards translated to Lanark. He was also nearly related to the house of Callender. His father, having first taught

him to read and write, put him to the Latin school at Stirling, under Mr. Wallace, a godly and learned man, where he stayed till summer 1617, when he returned home. In October following he was sent to the college of Glasgow, where he stayed four years, until he passed his degree of master of arts in the year 1621.*

After this he stayed with his father until he was ready to preach, during which time he began to observe the Lord's great goodness in that he was born of such parents, who taught him the principles of religion as soon as he was capable of understanding anything. He says, in his own account of his life, that he does not remember the time or means particularly whereby the Lord at first wrought upon his heart, only when he was but very young he would sometimes pray with some feeling, and read the word with some delight; but thereafter he did often intermit such exercises, and then would have some challenges, and begin, and intermit again. He says he had no inclination to the ministry till a year or more after he had passed his course at the college, for he bent his desires to the knowledge and practice of medicine, and wished to go to France

* See before, p. 168.

for that end; but when he proposed this to his father he refused to comply. About this time his father, having purchased some land in the parish of Kilsyth, took the rights in his son's name, proposing that he should marry and live there; but this he refused, thinking it would divert him from his studies.

In the midst of these straits John Livingstone resolved to set apart a day by himself before God for more special direction, which he did near Cleghorn Wood, where, after much confusion anent the state of his soul, he at last thought it was made out to him that he behoved to preach Jesus Christ, which if he did not, he should have no assurance of salvation; upon which, laying aside all thoughts of other things, he betook himself to the study of divinity. He continued a year and a half in his father's house, where he studied and sometimes preached. During this time he wrote all his sermons before he preached them, until one day, being to preach after the communion of Quodquhan, and having in readiness a sermon which he had preached one day before, he perceived several there who had heard him at that time, and resolved to choose a new text, taking only

some notes of the heads he was to deliver. Yet he says he found at that time more assistance in enlarging upon these points, and more motion in his own heart than ever he had found before, which made him never afterwards write any sermons, but only some 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 design was laid aside. In the harvest following he hearkened to another call to Torphichen; but this proved also unsuccessful.

After this he went to the earl of Wigton's, where he stayed some time; and the most part of the summer he travelled from place to place, according as he got invitations to preach, which was especially at communions in Lanark, Irvine, Newmilns, Kin-niel, &c. He was also sometimes invited to preach at Shotts, and in that place he says he used to find more liberty in preaching than elsewhere; yea, the day in all his life wherein he found most of the presence of God in preaching, he observes, was on a Monday after a communion at the kirk of Shotts, June 21, 1630. The night before he had been with some Christians, who spent

the time 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 thought to have stolen away somewhere and declined that day's work; but thinking he could not so distrust God he went to preach, where he got remarkable assistance in speaking about one hour and a half from Ezek. xxxvi. 25, "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." Here he was led out in such a melting strain that, by the down-pouring of the Spirit from on high, a most discernible change was wrought on about five hundred of his hearers, who could date either their conversion or some remarkable confirmation from that day forward. Some little of that spirit, he says, remained on him the Thursday after, when he preached at Kil-marnock; but on the Monday following, preaching at Irvine, he was so deserted that what he had meditated upon, written, and kept fully in memory, he could not get pronounced. This so discouraged him that he resolved not to preach for some time, at

least at Irvine; but David Dickson would not suffer him to go till he preached next Sabbath, which he did with some freedom.

This summer, being in Irvine, he got letters from Viscount Clanniboy* to come to Ireland in reference to a call to Killinchie; and seeing no appearance of entering into the ministry in Scotland, he went thither and got an unanimous call from that parish. Here he laboured with the utmost assiduity among the people, who were both rude and profane before, but now became the most experienced Christians in that country. But he was not above a year here until the bishop of Down † suspended him and Robert Blair for nonconformity. They were deposed in May, 1632. But in May, 1634, by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart, ‡ a warrant was granted them from the king to be restored.

After this Livingstone married Janet, the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, [who died at London in 1624, and was interred near the grave of Mr. John Welsh, both

of them having been buried without the Service-book. The lady with her mother, who had married for her second husband John Stevenson,] was then residing in Ireland. § In November, 1635, Livingstone was again deposed by the bishop of Down, and a little after, by his orders, excommunicated. This winter, seeing no appearance of liberty either to ministers or professors from the bondage of the prelates, he, with others of the deposed ministers, formed 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 the banks of Newfoundland, where they were all in danger of being drowned; and after prayer and consultation they resolved to return. After this Livingstone stayed in Ireland until he heard that he and Robert Blair were to be apprehended, when they went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When he came to Irvine, he was em-

* Vicount Claneboy, afterwards earl of Clanbrissel, befriended nonconformists in Ireland. He presented the parish of Bangor, of which he was patron, to Mr. Robert Blair.

† Echlin. See before, p. 400.

‡ Lord Castlestewart, formerly Sir Andrew Stewart, was a zealous friend of the Presbyter-

ians in Ireland. (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 99.)

§ The mother of Janet Fleming was Marion Hamilton, sister of Beatrix Hamilton, the first wife of Mr. Robert Blair. See before, p. 398. Livingstone's marriage took place on 23rd June, 1635. (*Select Biog., Wodrow Society*, p. 150.)

ployed to preach by David Dickson, who for this was called in question afterwards. Leaving Irvine, he passed by Loudon and Lanark to Edinburgh, where he continued some time.

About the beginning of March, 1638, when the body of the nation was about to renew the National Covenant, he was sent post-haste to London with several copies of the Covenant, and letters to friends at court. When he came there Mr. Borthwick delivered the letters for him; but he had been there only a few days when the marquis of Hamilton informed him that he had overheard King Charles I. say he was come, but he should put a pair of fetters about his feet. Whereupon, fearing he should be taken in the post-way, Livingstone bought a horse, and came home by St. Alban's and the western way, and was present at Lanark and other places when the Covenant was read and sworn unto. Excepting at the kirk of Shotts already noticed, he says that he never saw such motions from the Spirit of God—all the people so generally and willingly concurring, yea, thousands of persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling from their eyes; so that throughout the whole land the

people (a few Papists, and others who adhered to the prelates, excepted) universally entered into the Covenant of God, for the reformation of religion against Prelacy.

After this, in the year 1638, he got a call both from Stranraer in Galloway, and Straiton in Carrick. He referred the matter to Messrs. Blair, Dickson, Cant, Henderson, Rutherford, and his father; who, having heard both parties, advised him to accept Stranraer, and he was received there by the Presbytery upon the 5th of July, 1638. Here he remained in the faithful discharge of the ministry until harvest, 1648, when he was, by the determination of the General Assembly, translated to Ancrum in Teviotdale. When he came to Ancrum he found the people tractable, but very ignorant, and some of them very loose in their conduct; and it was a long time before any competent number of them were brought to such a condition that he could venture to celebrate the Lord's Supper. However, by his diligence, some of them, through the grace of God, began to lay religion to heart.

In the year 1649 the Parliament and Church of Scotland sent some commissioners to

treat with King Charles II. at the Hague, in order to his restoration, but they returned without satisfaction. Yet the Parliament in summer, 1650, sent other commissioners to prosecute the fore-said treaty at Breda; and the Commission of the Kirk chose Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Wood, and after that added Mr. Hutchison to them, with the Lord Cassillis and Brodie as ruling elders, that in name of the church they should present and prosecute their desires. Livingstone was very unwilling to go, and that for several reasons, the chief of which was that he suspected the king to be not right at heart in respect of the true Presbyterian religion. Notwithstanding this, seeing that many in the kingdom were ready to receive the king home upon any terms, he was prevailed on by Messrs. Dickson, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gillespie, to go; but after much conference and reasoning with the king at Breda, they were not like to come to any conclusion. Here Livingstone observed that the king still continued the use of the Service-book and his chaplains, and was many a night balling and dancing till near day. This, with many other things, made him conclude that there would be

no blessing on that treaty; but it was, to his unspeakable grief, at last concluded, and some time after the king set sail for Scotland. Livingstone refused to go aboard with them, but when Brodie and Hutchison saw this they desired him, before parting, to come into the ship, to speak of some matters in hand; and on his doing so, the boat that should have waited his return made straight for shore without him. After this the king agreed with the commissioners to swear and subscribe the Covenants, National and Solemn League, and take his oath thereon; and it was laid upon Livingstone to preach the next Sabbath, and tender to him these solemn deeds. But judging that such a rash and precipitate swearing of the Covenants would not be for the honour of the cause they were embarked in, he did all he could to deter the king and commissioners from doing it until they came to Scotland; but when nothing would dissuade the king from his resolution, it was done. The king performed everything that could have been required of him, upon which Mr. Livingstone observed that it seems to have been the guilt, not only of commissioners, but of the whole kingdom; yea, and of the church also, who

knew the terms whereupon he was to be admitted to his government, and yet received him without any evidence of a real change upon his heart, and without his forsaking former principles, counsels, and company.

After they landed in Scotland, before he took his leave of the king at Dundee, John Livingstone used some freedom with him. After speaking somewhat to him anent his conduct, he advised him, that as he saw the English army approaching in a victorious manner, he should divert the stroke by a declaration (wherein he need not weaken his right to the crown of England), and refrain from prosecuting his title at present by fire and sword, until the storm blew over, when, perhaps, the nation would be in a better mood to be governed. But the king did not relish this motion well, saying he would not wish to sell his father's blood, which made Livingstone conclude that he was not called to meddle in state matters, for he should have little success. Another instance of this he gives us in the year 1654, when he and Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. Menzies were called up by the protector to London. On this occasion he proposed that the heavy fines that were laid on many in Scot-

land, which they were unable to pay, should be taken off. Cromwell seemed to like the motion, but when he proposed it to the Council, they refused.

While at London, preaching before the protector, Livingstone mentioned the king in prayer, whereat some were greatly incensed; but Cromwell, knowing 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."

The General Assembly appointed some ministers, and Livingstone among the rest, to wait upon the army and the Committee of Estates then with it; but the fear and apprehension of what ensued kept him from going, and he 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 to him, but he excused himself. That winter the unhappy difference falling out anent the public resolutions, his light carried him to join the Protesters against the Resolutioners and the Assembly that followed thereafter. He was present at their first meeting in the west at Kilmarnock, and several other meetings of the protesting bre-

thren afterwards; but not being satisfied with keeping these meetings so often, and continuing them so long, which he imagined made the breach wider, he declined them for some time.

After this he spent the rest of his time in the exercise of the ministry, both at Ancrum and other places, until summer, 1660, when news was brought him that Charles II. was restored. Then he clearly foresaw that the overturning of the whole work of reformation would ensue, and a trial fall upon all who should adhere to the same. But in the year 1662, when the Parliament and Council had, by proclamation, ordered all ministers who had come in since 1649, and had not kept the holiday of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelates or remove, he then more clearly foresaw a storm approaching. At the last communion which he had at Ancrum, in the month of October, he says, that after sermon on Monday it pleased the Lord to open his mouth, in a reasonably large discourse, anent the grounds and encouragements to suffer for the present controversy of the kingdom of Christ, in the appointing the government of his house. Then he took his leave of that place,

although he knew nothing of what was shortly to follow after.

After he had, like Elijah, eaten before a great journey, having communicated before he entered upon suffering, he heard in a little time of the Council's procedure against him and about twelve or sixteen others who were to be brought before them. He went presently to Edinburgh, before the summons could reach him, and lurked there some time, until he got information of the Council's design, though at first uncertain whether it was intended to take their lives, as was done with Mr. Guthrie, or only banish them, as was done with Mr. M'Ward and Mr. Simpson; but finding that only the last was intended, he resolved to appear with his brethren. He appeared December 11, and was examined before the Council. They required him to subscribe or take the oath of allegiance, which he, upon several solid grounds and reasons, refused; and sentence was pronounced that in forty-eight hours he should depart from Edinburgh, and go to the north side of Tay, and within two months depart out of all the king's dominions. Accordingly he went from Edinburgh to Leith; but thereafter, upon a petition in regard of his infirm-

ity, he obtained leave to stay there until he should remove from the kingdom. He petitioned also for a few days to go home to see his wife and children, but was refused; as also for an extract of his sentence, but he could not obtain it. In the year 1663 he left Leith (accompanied by several of his friends to the ship), and in eight days reached Rotterdam, where he found the rest of the banished ministers. He got frequent occasions of preaching to the Scots congregation at Rotterdam: and in December following his wife, with two of his children, came over to him, and the other five were left in Scotland.

Here, upon a retrospective view of his life, he (in the fore-said account of it) observes, that the Lord had given him a body not very strong, and yet not weak, for he could hardly remember himself wearied in reading and studying, although he had continued seven or eight hours without rising; and also that there were but two recreations that he was in danger to be taken with. The first was hunting on horseback; this he had very little occasion of, yet he found it very enticing; the other was singing in concerts of music, wherein he had some

skill, and in which he took great delight. He says further, that he was always short-sighted, and could not discern any person or thing afar off; but hitherto he had found no occasion for spectacles, and could read small print as long, and with as little light, almost as any other. And as to his inclination, he was generally soft and amorous, averse to debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and too easily wrought upon. And although he could not say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness, yet he could say, that he had been less troubled with covetousness and cares than many other evils: he was rather inclined to solitariness than company, and much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts. As for outward things, he was never rich; and although when in Killinchie he had not above four pounds sterling of stipend a year, yet he was never in want.

He further observes, that he could not remember any particular time of conversion, or that he was much cast down or lifted up. Only one night, in the dean of Kilmarnock's, having been most of the day before in company with some people of Stewarton, who were under rare and sad exercise of mind, he lay

down under heaviness that he never had such experience of, and in the midst of his sleep there came such a terror of the wrath of God upon him, that if it had but increased a little higher, or continued but a few minutes longer, he had been in a most dreadful condition. But it was instantly removed, and he thought it was said within his heart, "See what a fool thou art to desire the thing thou couldst not endure."

In his preaching he was sometimes much deserted and cast down, and again at other times greatly assisted. He himself declares that he never preached a sermon, excepting two, that he would be earnest to see again in print. The first was at the kirk of Shotts, as already noticed, and the other on a communion Monday at Holywood in Ireland; and both these times he had spent the night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without 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 somewhat of the Syriac languages; Arabic he did essay, but did not persevere in it. He had as

much of the French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish as enabled him to make use of their books and Bibles. It was thrice laid upon him by the General Assembly to write the history of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation of 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 he compared that by Pagninus with the original text and with the later translations, such as the Munster, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodati, the English, but especially the Dutch, which he thought was the most accurate translation.

Whether by constant sitting at these studies, or from some other reasons, such as the infirmities of old age creeping on, he could not determine, but since the year 1664 there was such a continual pain contracted in his bladder, that he could not walk abroad, and a shaking of his hands, that he could scarcely write any. Otherwise, he blessed the Lord that hitherto he had found no great defection either in body or mind.

Thus he continued at Rotterdam until August 9, 1672, when he died. Some of his last words were, "Carry my commenda-

tion 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 as long as sun and moon endure, and that Independency, though there be good men and well-meaning professors of that way, will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware of. I have had my own faults as well as other men, but he made me always abhor show. I have, I know, 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 likely our parting will only be for a short time." After this he fell asleep in the Lord.

Since our Reformation com-

menced in Scotland there have been none whose labours in the gospel have been more remarkably blessed with the downpouring of the Spirit in conversion work than John Livingstone. Yea, it is a question if any, since the primitive times, can produce so many convincing and confirming seals of his ministry, as witness the kirk of Shott and Holywood in Ireland, at which two places, it is said, about fifteen hundred souls were either confirmed or converted and brought to Christ.

His works, besides his letter from Leith, 1663, to his parishioners at Ancrum, are, his Memorable Characteristics of Divine Providence, and a manuscript of his own life, of which this is an abbreviation.* He also (while in his Patmos of Holland) wrote a new Latin translation of the Old Testament, which was revised and approved of by Vossius, Essenius, Nethenus, Luesden, and other eminent lights of that time. Before his death it was put into the hands of the last named to be printed.

* All these productions of Livingstone, with a few of his Letters and Sayings and Observations by him, are printed in *Select Biographies* edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i.



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