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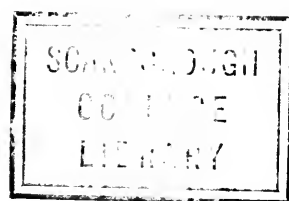
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JOHN SEMPLE.

JOHN SEMPLE* was, for his exemplary walk and singular piety, held in such esteem and veneration, that all ranks of people stood in awe of him; and particularly the clergy, he being a great check upon the lazy and corrupt part of them, who oftentimes were much afraid of him. One time, coming from Carsphairn to Sanquhar, being twelve rough miles, on a Monday morning after the Sacrament, the ministers, being still in bed, got up in all haste to prevent his reproof; but he, perceiving them putting on their clothes, said, "What will become of the sheep, when the shepherds sleep so long? In my way hither I saw some shepherds on the hills looking after their flocks." This, considering his

* Semple at first acted as precentor to some of the Presbyterian ministers in Ireland--Livingstone, Blair, or Cunningham. On one occasion while, according to an ancient custom, singing a psalm before the minister came in to preach, the minister being late in making his appearance, Semple felt a strong impulse to make some observations on the psalm which he was singing. He spoke with much freedom, and greatly to the satisfaction of the congregation. These Presbyterian ministers having discovered his edifying gift of utterance, gave him license to address the people in private houses and families. He had no pretensions to scholarship, having never attended any university or Latin school; but he was endowed with a popular and profitable gift of preaching. Leaving Ireland he came over to

age, and early journey so many miles, after he had preached the day before at home, had much influence on them, and made them feel somewhat ashamed.

He was one who very carefully attended church-judicatories, from which he was seldom absent, and that from a principle of conscience; so that almost no impediment could hinder him in his purpose. One time going to the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, twenty miles distant from Carsphairn, when about to ford the water of Dee, he was told by some that it was impassable; yet he persisted, saying, "I must go through, if the Lord will; I am going about his work." He entered in, and the strength of the current carrying him and his

Kirkcudbright, where he passed his trials for the ministry, and he was settled in the newly-erected church and parish of Carsphairn. Here he administered the Lord's Supper twice in the year; and thither, on the recurrence of these solemnities, at which he employed the more lively of the ministers of that part of the country, many of the most religious of the people in Galloway and Nithsdale repaired, travelling twenty or thirty miles. (*MS. Memoirs of Mr. Gabriel Semple*, minister of Jedburgh, who was his relative). A short notice of Semple is given in *Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 119. Howie mainly copies from Patrick Walker, a very credulous authority, as appears from some parts of the subsequent narrative (*Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. p. 154.)

horse beneath the ford, he fell, but immediately stood upright in the water, and taking off his hat, he prayed a word [to this purpose, "Lord! art thou in earnest to drown me, thy poor servant, who would fain go thy errands?"*] after which he and his horse got safely out, to the admiration of all the spectators.

He was also a man much given to secret prayer. He ordinarily prayed in the kirk before sacramental occasions [because the kirk was more retired than the manse], oftentimes setting apart Friday in wrestling with the Lord for his gracious presence on the Sabbath. He was often favoured with merciful returns, to the great comfort of ministers and people; and would appoint a week-day thereafter for thanksgiving to God.

As he was faithful and laborious in his Master's service, so he was also most courageous and bold, having no respect of persons, but sharply reproofing all sorts of wickedness in the highest as well as in the lowest. And yet he was so convincingly a man of God, that the most wicked had a love for and sometimes spoke very favourably of him, as one who wished their

souls well; so much so that one time, some persons of quality calling him a varlet, another person of quality, whom he had often reproofed for his wickedness, being present, said he was sure, if he were, he was one of God's varlets. At another time a gentleman, from whose house he was going home, sent one of the rudest of his servants, well furnished with a horse, broadsword, and loaded pistols, to attack him in a desert place in the night-time, and to do all that he could do to frighten him. Accordingly he surprised him by holding a pistol to his breast, bidding him render up his purse, under pain of being shot; but Semple, with much presence of mind, although he knew nothing of the design, answered, "It seems you are a wicked man, who will either take my life or my purse, if God gives you leave. As for my purse, it will not do you much service, though you had it; and for my life, I am willing to lay it down when and where God pleaseth; however, if you will lay by your weapons, I will wrestle a fall with you for my life; which, if you be a man, you cannot refuse, seeing I have no weapons to fight you with." After many threats (though all in vain), the servant revealed

* Patrick Walker, *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. p. 159.

the plot, and asked him if he was not at the first afraid? "Not in the least," answered he, "for although you had killed me, as I knew not but you might, I was sure to get the sooner to heaven;" and then they parted.

Mr Semple was a man who knew much of his Master's mind, as evidently appears by his discovering of several future events. When news came that Cromwell and those with him were engaged in the trial of Charles I., some persons asked him what he thought would become of the king. He went to his closet a little, and coming back he said to them, "The king is gone, he will neither do us good nor ill any more;" which of a truth came to pass. At another time, passing by the house at Kenmuir as the masons were making some additions thereunto, he said, "Lads, ye are busy, enlarging and repairing the house, but it will be burnt like a crow's nest in a misty morning," which accordingly came to pass, for it was burnt in a dark misty morning by the English. Upon a certain time, when a neighbouring minister was distributing tokens before the Sacrament, and was reaching a token to a certain woman, Mr. Semple

(standing by) said. "Hold your hand, she hath gotten too many tokens already; she is a witch;" which, though none suspected her then, she herself confessed to be true, and was deservedly put to death for the same.

At another time, a minister in the shire of Galloway sent one of his elders to Mr. Semple with a letter, earnestly desiring his help at the Sacrament, which was to be in three weeks after. He read the letter, went to his closet, and coming back he said to the elder, "I am sorry you have come so far on a needless errand; go home, and tell your minister he hath had all the communions that ever he will have, for he is guilty of fornication, and God will bring it to light ere that time." This likewise came to pass. He often said to Lord Kenmuir that he was a rough wicked man, for which God would shake him over hell before he died, and yet God would give him his soul for a prey; which had its accomplishment at last, to the no small comfort and satisfaction of all his near and dear relations.

When some Scots regiment, in the year 1648, was on its march through Carsphairn for Preston in England, to the Duke's Engagement (as it was commonly

called), hearing that the Sacrament was to be dispensed next Lord's day, some of the soldiers put up their horses in the kirk, went to the manse, and destroyed the communion elements in a most profane manner, Mr. Semple being then from home. The next day he complained to the commanding officer in such a pathetic manner, representing the horrible vileness of such an action, that the officer not only regretted the action, but gave money for furnishing the elements again. He moreover told them, he was sorry for the errand they were going upon, for it would not prosper, and the profanity of that army would ruin them. About or after this he went up to a hill and prayed; and being interrogated by some acquaintances, What answer he got? He replied that he had fought with neither small nor great, but with the duke himself, whom he never left until he was beheaded. This also was sadly verified.

His painful endeavours were blessed with no small success, especially on sacramental occasions. This the devil envied very much, and particularly one time among many, when Semple designed to administer the Lord's Supper; before which he assured

the people of a great communion, by a gracious and remarkable down-pouring of the Spirit, but that the devil would be envious about this good work, and that he was afraid he would be permitted to raise a storm or speat of rain, designing to drown some of them. "But," said he, "it shall not be in his power to drown any of you, no, not so much as a dog. Accordingly it came to pass on Monday that, when he was dismissing the people, they saw a man all in black entering the water a little above them, at which they were amazed, as the stream was very large. He lost his feet, as they apprehended, and came down on his back, waving his hand; the people ran and got ropes and threw them to him, and there were ten or twelve men upon the ropes, yet they were in danger of being all drawn into the water and drowned. Semple, looking on, cried, "Quit the rope and let him go; I see who it is; it is the devil. He will burn, but not drown; and by drowning of you would have God dishonoured, because he hath got some glory to his free grace in being King to many of your souls at this time." All search was made in that country to find if any man was lost, but none was heard of,

which made them to conclude it to be the devil.

John Semple being one of the faithful Protesters in the year 1657, was apprehended with James Guthrie at Edinburgh in August, 1660. After ten months' imprisonment in the Castle he was brought before the bloody Council, who threatened him severely with death and banishment: but he answered with boldness, "He is above all that guides the gully. My God will not let you either kill or banish me; but I will go home and die in peace, and my dust will lie among the dust of the bodies of my people." Accordingly he was dismissed, and on going home and entering his pulpit he said, "I parted with thee too easily, but I shall hang by the wicks of thee now." Some time after the Restoration, while under hiding, being one night in bed with another minister, the back side of the bed falling down to the ground, the enemy came and carried away the other minis-

ter, but got not him, which was a most remarkable deliverance.

He was so concerned for the safety of his people that when on his death-bed he sent for them, and preached to them with much fervency, showing them their miserable state by nature and their need of a Saviour; expressing his sorrow to leave many of them as graceless as he got them. He spake with so much vehemency as made many of them weep bitterly.

He died at Carsphairn about the year 1677, being upwards of seventy years of age, in much assurance of heaven, often longing to be there, rejoicing in the God of his salvation, and under great impressions of dreadful judgments to come on these covenanted sinning lands. When scarcely able to speak he cried three times over, "A bloody sword for thee, O Scotland, England, and Ireland!" He was buried in the churchyard of Carsphairn.

JAMES MITCHELL.

JAMES MITCHELL was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and was, with some others of his fellow-students, made Master of

Arts in the year 1656. Mr. Robert Leighton, afterwards archbishop, being then principal of that college, before the degree was con-

ferred upon them tendered to them the National and Solemn League and Covenant; which covenants, upon mature deliberation, Mitchell took, finding nothing in them but a short compend of the moral law, binding to our duty towards God and towards man in their several stations, and taking the king's interest to be therein included. When others were taking the tender to Oliver Cromwell he subscribed the oath of allegiance to King Charles II.; but how he was repaid for this after the Restoration the following account will more fully discover.

James Mitchell, having received a license to preach the gospel, very soon after the Restoration was, with the rest of his faithful brethren, reduced to many hardships and difficulties. "I find," says an historian, "Mr. Trail, minister at Edinburgh, in the year 1661, recommending him to some ministers in Galloway as a good youth, that had not much to subsist upon, and as fit for a school, or teaching gentlemen's children; there being no door of access then to the ministry for him, or any such, when Prelacy was on such an advance in Scotland." *

But whether he employed him-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 115.

self in this manner, or if he preached on some occasions as he had opportunity, we have no certain account,† only we find he joined with that faithful handful who rose in 1666. He was not at the engagement at Pentland, being sent in by Captain Arnot to Edinburgh the day before upon some necessary business; he was excepted, however, from the indemnity in the several lists for that purpose. About six weeks after this Mitchell went abroad in the trading way to Flanders, and was for some time upon the borders of Germany, after which he, in the space of three-quarters of a year, returned home with some Dutchmen of Amsterdam, having a cargo of different sorts of goods, which took some time to dispose of.

James Mitchell was now excluded from all mercy or favour from the government. Having not yet laid down arms, and taking the archbishop of St. Andrews to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed of his faithful brethren, he took a resolution in 1668 to despatch him. For that purpose,

† He became a tutor and domestic chaplain to the Laird of Dundas, and afterwards chaplain to a lady who was the niece of Archibald Johnston of Warriston, till the year 1666.

upon the 11th of July he waited his coming down in the afternoon to his coach, at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd in Edinburgh, upon which occasion Sharp was accompanied by Honeyman, bishop of Orkney. When the archbishop had entered and taken his seat in the coach, Mitchell stepped straight to the north side and discharged a pistol loaded with three balls in at the door thereof. Honeyman, who was setting his foot in the boot of the coach and reaching up his hand to step in, received the shot in the wrist,* and the primate escaped. Upon this Mitchell crossed the street with much composure, till he came to Niddry's Wynd-head, where a man offered to stop him, to whom he presented a pistol, upon which he let him go; and stepping down the wynd and up Stevenlaw's Close, he went into a house, changed his clothes, and came straight to the street, as being the place where he would be least suspected. The cry arose that a man was killed; upon which some replied it was only a bishop, and all was very soon calmed. Upon Monday the 13th the Council issued a proclamation, offering a reward

of five thousand merks to any one that would discover the perpetrator, with pardon to accessories; but nothing more at that time ensued.

The Council and those of the prelatical persuasion made a mighty noise and handle of this against the Presbyterians; whereas the deed was his only, without the knowledge or preconcert of any, as he himself in a letter declares. Yea, with a design to bespatter the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, a most scurrilous pamphlet was published at London, not only reflecting on our excellent reformers from Popery, publishing arrant lies anent Alexander Henderson, abusing David Dickson, and breaking jests upon the Remonstrants and Presbyterians, as they called them, but also in a most malicious and groundless kind of rhapsody slandering James Mitchell.

After this Mitchell shifted the best way he could, until the beginning of the year 1674,† when he was discovered by Sir William Sharp, the archbishop's brother, who, ere ever Mitchell was aware, caused a number of his servants, armed for that pur-

* The three surgeons who examined the wound said it was between the wrist and the elbow.

† Mitchell was in Holland, England, and

Ireland till the end of the year 1673, when he returned to Scotland, married a wife, and probably lived privately in Edinburgh.

pose, to lay hold on him and commit him to prison. On the 10th of February he was examined by the lord chancellor, lord register, and Lord Halton. He denied the assassination of the archbishop; but being taken apart by the chancellor, he confessed that it was he who shot the bishop of Orkney while aiming at the archbishop. This he did upon assurance of his life, given by the chancellor in these words: "Upon my great oath and reputation, if I be chancellor, I shall save your life."* On the 12th he was examined before the Council, and said nothing but what he had said before the committee. He was remitted to the Justice Court to receive his indictment, and the Council, after consulting about the punishment to be inflicted on him, ultimately determined on his sentence, which was to be that his right hand should be struck off at the Cross of Edinburgh and his goods forfeited, which, however, was not to be executed till his Majesty had got notice;

* Returning to the committee of the Council, Mitchell repeated his confession and subscribed it in their presence.

† There was no evidence of the truth of these charges but his own confession. To make his confession available for his conviction it was necessary that he should repeat it before the Justiciary Court, it being illegal to use the *extra*

"because," say Lord Halton in a letter to the earl of Kincardine, "assurance of his life was given him upon his confession."

However, he was on the 2nd of March brought before the Lords of Justiciary, and indicted for being concerned at Pentland, and for the attempt on the archbishop of St. Andrews. He pleaded not guilty; and insisted that the things alleged against him should be proved.† The Lords postponed the affair till the 25th. Meanwhile, the Council made an Act (March 12) specifying that Mr. James Mitchell, having retired with one of the committee of Council, confessed his firing the pistol at the archbishop of St. Andrews, upon assurance given him of life by one of the committee, who had a warrant from the lord commissioner and Secret Council to give the same. In the said Act it was declared, that on account of his refusing to adhere to his confession the promises made to him were void; and that the Lords of Justiciary and jury ought to pro-

judicial confession of a pannel against himself, as was that of Mitchell before the committee of Council and the Council itself. But he now refused to own or subscribe the confession he had made before the Council—the judge, who hated Sharp, whispering to him, in passing to the bench, not to do so, unless secured of his limbs as well as of his life.

ceed against him without any regard to these. About the 25th he was brought before the Justiciary again; but as there was no proof against him, they, with consent of the advocate,* protracted the affair; and he was again remanded to prison.

Thus he continued until January 6, 1676, when he was ordered to be examined before the Council by torture, concerning his being in the rebellion, as they termed it, in the year 1666. Accordingly, he was brought before them upon the 18th about six o'clock at night. The earl of Linlithgow, being president, told him he was brought before them to see whether he would adhere to his former confession. He answered, "My lord, it is not unknown to your lordship, and others here present, that by the Council's order I was remitted to the Lords of Justiciary, before whom I received an indictment at my lord advocate's instance, to which indictment I answered at three several diets; and the last diet being deserted by my lord advocate, I humbly conceive that, both by the law of the nation and the practice of this court, I ought to have been set at liberty; yet notwithstanding I was, contrary to law, equity,

* Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton.

and justice, returned to prison, and upon what account I am this night before you I am ignorant." The president told him he was only called to see if he would own his former confession. He replied, that he knew no crime he was guilty of, and therefore made no such confession as he alleged. Upon this the treasurer-depute said, that the pannel was one of the most arrogant liars and rogues he had known. Mitchell replied, "My lord, if there were fewer of these persons you have been speaking of in the nation, I should not be standing this night at the bar; but my lord advocate knoweth that what is alleged against me is not my confession." The president said, "Sir, we will cause a sharper thing make you confess." He answered, "My lord, I hope you are Christians and not Pagans." Then he was returned to prison.

On the 22nd he was again called before them, to see if he would own his former confession, and a paper produced alleged to be subscribed by him, but he would not acknowledge the same. The president said, "You see what is upon the table (meaning the Boots); I will see if that will make you do it." Mitchell answered, "My lord, I confess that by torture you may

cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did compel the saints; you may compel me to speak amiss of your lordships, to call myself a thief, a murderer, and then pannel me on it; but if you shall here put me to it, I protest before God and your lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment, nor have any force in law against me or any other person. But to be plain with you, my lords, I am so much of a Christian that whatever your lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be truth, I shall not deny it; but, on the contrary, I am so much of a man, and a Scotsman, that I never held myself obliged by the law of God, nature, and nations, to be my own accuser." The treasurer-depute said, "He hath the devil's logic, and sophisticates like him; ask him whether that be his subscription?" Mitchell replied, "I acknowledge no such thing;" and was then sent back to prison.

Upon the 24th, according to the appointment of the Council, the committee of Council and the Lords of Justiciary assembled in their robes in the Inner Parliament House, and the Boots and executioner were presented. Mr. Mitchell was again interro-

gated as above, but still persisting, he was ordered to the torture; and he knowing that, after the manner of the Spanish Inquisition, the more he confessed, either concerning himself or others, the more severe the torture would be to make him confess more, delivered himself in this manner: "My lord, I have been now these two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which hath been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if I had been capable thereof; and it is well known that some in a shorter time have been tempted to make away with themselves; but respect and obedience to the express law and command of God hath made me to undergo all these hardships, and I hope this torture, with patience also, for the preservation of my own life and the life of others, as far as lies in my power, and to keep innocent blood off your lordships' persons and families, which, by the shedding of mine, you would doubtless bring upon yourselves and posterity, and wrath from the Lord to the consuming thereof, till there should be no escaping; and now again I protest. When you please, call for the man appointed for the work." The executioner

being called, Mitchell was tied in a two-armed chair, and the Boot brought. The executioner asked which of the legs he should take; the lords bade him take any of them. The executioner laying the left in the Boot, Mitchell lifted it out again, saying, "Since the judges have not determined, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it in the cause," and so laid his right leg in the engine. After this the advocate asked leave to speak but one word, but, notwithstanding, insisted at a great length; to which Mitchell answered: "The advocate's word or two hath multiplied to so many, that my memory cannot serve, in the condition wherein I am (the torture being begun), to resume them in particular, but I shall essay to answer the scope of his discourse. Whereas he hath been speaking of the sovereignty of the magistrate, I shall go somewhat further than he hath done, and own that the magistrate whom God hath appointed is God's depute. Both the throne and the judgment are the Lord's when he judgeth for God, and according to his law; and a part of his office is to deliver the poor oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, and shed no innocent blood (Jer. xxii. 3). And where-

as the advocate has been hinting at the sinfulness of lying on any account; it is answered, that not only lying is sinful, but also a pernicious speaking of the truth is a horrid sin before the Lord, when it tendeth to the shedding of innocent blood; witness the case of Doeg (Psalm lii. compared with 1 Sam. xxii. 18). But what my lord advocate has forged against me is false; so that I am standing on my former ground, viz., the preservation of my own life and the life of others, as far as lies in my power, the which I am expressly commanded by the Lord of Hosts."

Then the clerk's servant, being called, interrogated him during the torture in upwards of thirty questions, which were all in writing, of which the following are of the most importance:—

Q. Are you that Mr. James Mitchell who was excepted out of the king's grace and favour?

A. I never committed any crime deserving to be excluded?

Q. Were you at Pentland?

A. No.

Q. Were you at Ayr? and did you join with the rebels there?

A. I never joined with any such.

Q. Where were you at the time of Pentland?

A. In Edinburgh.

Q. When did you know of their rising in arms?

A. When the rest of the city knew of it.

Q. Where did you meet with James Wallace? *

A. I knew him not at that time.

Q. Did you go out of town with Captain Arnot?

A. No.

The other questions were anent his going abroad, &c. He perceived that they intended to catch him in a contradiction, or to find any who would witness against him. At the beginning of the torture he said, "My lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, I beseech you to remember what the apostle saith, 'He shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy!' (James ii. 13.) And now, my lords, I do freely from my heart forgive you, who are sitting judges upon the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrible piece of work, and also those who are vitiating their eyes in beholding the same; and I entreat that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg God may be pleased, for

* Colonel James Wallace, who commanded the insurgents at the battle of Pentland Hills.

Christ's sake, to blot out my sins and iniquities, and never to lay them to my charge here or hereafter."

All this being over, the executioner took down his leg from a chest on which it was lying all the time in the Boot, and set both on the ground; and thrusting in the shafts to drive the wedges, began his strokes—at every one of which Mr. Mitchell, being asked if he had any more to say, answered, No. Mitchell having fainted at the ninth stroke through the extremity of pain, the executioner cried, "Alas! my lords, he is gone." Then they stopped the torture, and went off; and in a little time, when recovered, he was carried in the same chair to the tolbooth.

It is indeed true that James Mitchell made a confession, upon the promise of his life; but the Council having revoked their promise, because he would not adhere to his confession before the Justiciary (being advised by some friends not to trust too much to that promise), and be his own accuser, "the reader must determine," says a very impartial historian (Crookshanks), "how far he was to blame now, in not owning his confession judicially, as they had judicially revoked the condition upon which the



JOHN OF BAPTISTE

confession was made; and to put a man to torture for finding out things for which they had not the least proof, seems to be unprecedented and cruel; and to bring him to a farther trial appears to be unjust." Another author* has well observed, "that when a confession or promise is made upon a condition, and that condition is judicially rescinded, the obligation of the promise or confession is taken away, and both parties are in *statu quo* (Josh. ii. 14); that in many cases it is lawful to conceal and obscure a necessary duty, and divert enemies from a pursuit of it for a time (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 2; xx. 5, 6; Jer. xxxviii. 24); that when an open enemy perverts and overturns the very nature and matter of a discourse or confession, by leaving out the most material truths, and putting untruths and circumstances in their room, it no longer is the former discourse or confession; that when a person is brought before a limited judicatory, before whom nothing was ever confessed or proven, the person may justly stand to his defence, and put his enemies to bring in proof against him."

After this Mitchell continued in prison till the beginning of

* The author of the narrative of his torture, which is inserted at large in "Naphtali."

the following year,† when he and Mr. Fraser of Brea were, in charge of a party of twelve horse and thirty foot, sent to the Bass Rock, where Mitchell remained till about the 6th of December, when he was again brought to Edinburgh for his trial, which commenced on the 7th of January, 1678. On the 3rd of that month Sir George Lockhart and Mr. John Ellis had been appointed to plead for the pannel; but Sharp would have his life, and Lauderdale gave way to him. Sir Archibald Primrose, lately turned out of the office of lord register, [and made justice-general, presided at the trial. He] took a copy of the Council's Act anent Mr. Mitchell, and sent it to his counsel, and a day or two before the trial went to Lauderdale, who, together with Lord Rothes, Lord Halton, and Sharp, were summoned as witnesses against the prisoner. Primrose told Lauderdale that he thought a promise of life had been given; the latter denied it; the former wished that that Act of the Council might be looked into; Lauderdale said he would not give himself the trouble to look over the books of Council.

When Mitchell's trial came on, the great proof was his confession on February 10, 1674; and many

† Till the 30th of January, 1677.

and long were the reasonings on the points of the indictment. Sir George Lockhart argued in behalf of the prisoner with great learning, to the admiration of the audience, that no extra-judicial confession could be allowed in court, and that his confession was extorted from him by hopes and promises of life. The debates were so tedious that the court adjourned to the 9th of January. The replies and duplies are too long to be inserted here, but the reader will find them at large in Wodrow's History.

The witnesses being examined, Lord Rothes (being shown Mr. Mitchell's confession) swore that he was present, and saw him subscribe that paper, and heard him make that confession, but that he did not at all give any assurance to the prisoner for his life; nor did he remember that there was any warrant given by the Council to his lordship for that effect. Halton and Lauderdale swore much to the same purpose; and

the archbishop swore that he knew him, at the very first sight at the bar, to be the person who shot at him, but that he either gave him assurance, or a warrant to any to give it, was a false and malicious calumny. Nichol Sommerville, Mr. Mitchell's brother-in-law, offered in court to depone that the archbishop promised to him to secure his life, if he would prevail with him to confess. The archbishop denied this, and called it a villanous lie. Several other depositions were taken; such as those of Sir William Paterson, Mr. John Vanse,* and the bishop of Galloway,† who all swore in Sharp's favour, it being dangerous for them at this juncture to do otherwise.‡

After the witnesses were examined, the advocate declared that he had closed the probation: whereupon Mitchell produced a copy of an Act of Council, March 12, 1674, and prayed that the register might be produced, or the clerk obliged to give extracts;

* John Vanse was the keeper of the tolbooth.

† The bishop of Galloway was John Paterson. He afterwards became bishop of Edinburgh.

‡ Thus four of the principal officers of state, Rothes, Halton, Lauderdale, and Sharp, did not hesitate to perjure themselves to accomplish the death of an individual for whose blood they thirsted. It can hardly be admitted that they had all forgotten the promise of life made to Mitchell, on his confession that he was the person who had made an attempt on the life of Archbishop

Sharp; a promise which had come so prominently under their consideration. The Act of Council of 12th March, 1674, a standing proof of their perjury, can still be read in the Records of the Privy Council. "They were not probably aware," says Hume, "when they swore, that the clerk having engrossed the promise of pardon in the narrative of Mitchell's confession, the whole minutes had been signed by the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record."

but this they refused to do. "Lockhart," says Burnet, "pleaded for this; but Lauderdale, who was only a witness, and had no right to speak, refused: and so it was neglected."

The assize were enclosed,* and ordered to return their verdict to-morrow afternoon; which they did, unanimously finding the prisoner guilty, upon which the sentence was pronounced, "That the said Mr. James Mitchell should be taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh upon Friday, the 18th of January instant, between two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there be hanged on a gibbet till he be dead, and all his moveables, goods, and gear be escheat, and in-brought to his Majesty's use." No sooner did the court break up than the lords, being up-stairs, found the Act recorded and signed by Lord Rothes, the president of the Council.

"This action," says the last cited historian, "and all con-

* To secure a verdict against Mitchell the jury was packed. "It was judged an argument of a bad deplorable cause," says Fountainhall, "that they summoned and picked out an assize of soldiers, under the king's pay, and others who, as they imagined, would be clear to condemn him."—Quoted in *Kirkton's History*, p. 386.

† Burnet adds, "Primrose not only gave me an account of this matter, but sent me an authentic record of the trial, every page signed by the clerk of the court, of which I have here given an abstract. This I set down the more fully, to let my readers see to what a height of wicked-

cerned in it, were looked on by the people with horror; and it was such a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known."‡

Two days after the sentence orders came from court for placing Mr. Mitchell's head and hands on some public place of the city; but the sentence being passed, no alteration could be made; and if Sharp had any hand in this, he missed his end and design. About the same time Mitchell's wife petitioned the Council that her husband might be reprieved for some time, that she might see him and take her last farewell, especially as it was not above twelve days since she was delivered of a child, and was presently affected with a fever. But no regard was paid to this; the sentence must be executed.

While Mitchell was in prison he emitted a large and most faithful testimony.‡

Upon the 18th of January he

ness men may be carried after they have once thrown off good principles. What Sharp did now to preserve his life from such practices was probably that which, both in the just judgment of God and the infatuated fury of wicked men, brought him two years after to such a dismal end. Primrose did most inhumanly triumph in this matter, and said it was the greatest glory of his life that the four greatest enemies he had should come and consign the damnation of their souls in his hands. I told him that was an expression fitter for a devil than a Christian."

‡ See his Testimony.

was taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, and the sentence put in execution. In the morning he delivered some copies of what he had to say, if permitted, at his death; but not having liberty to deliver this part of his vindictory speech to the people, he threw it over the scaffold,* the substance of which was as follows:—

“CHRISTIAN PEOPLE,

“It being rumoured abroad, immediately after I received my sentence, that I would not have liberty to speak in this place, I have not troubled myself to prepare any formal discourse on account of the pretended crime for which I am accused and sentenced. Neither did I think it very necessary, the fame of the process having gone so much abroad, and that by a former indictment given me near four years ago, the diet of which was suffered to desert, in respect the late advocate† could not find a just way to reach me with the extra-judicial confession they opposed to me. All knew he was zealous in it, yet my charity to him is such, that he would not suffer that unwarrantable zeal so far to blind him, as to overstretch the laws of the land beyond their due limits in prejudice of the life of a native subject: first, by an extreme inquiry of torture, and then by exiling me to the Bass, and then, after all, by giving me a new indictment at the instance of the new advocate,‡ who before was one of mine when I received the first indictment. To this new indictment, and debate in the process, I refer you; and particularly to these two defences of an extra-judicial confession, and the promise of

life given to me by the chancellor, upon his own and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity whereof I am content to die and ready to lay down my life, and hope your charity to me, a dying man, will be such as not to mistrust me therein; especially since this is notoriously proved by Act of Secret Council, although denied upon oath by the principal officers of state present in council at the making of said Act, and whom the Act bears to have been present (the duke of Lauderdale, his majesty's commissioner, being among the rest); which Act of Council was, by the Lords of Justiciary, most unjustly repelled. This much for a short account of the affair for which I am unjustly brought to this place. I acknowledge, however, that my private and particular sins have been such as deserved a worse death to me; but I hope in the merits of Jesus Christ to be freed from the eternal punishment due to me for sin. I am confident that God doth not plead with me in this place for my private and particular sins, but I am brought here that the work of God may be made manifest for the trial of faith (John ix. 3, 1 Pet. i. 7); that I might be a witness for his despised truths and interests in this land, where I am called to seal the same with my blood; and I wish heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this place, so much urged by these perfidious prelates, in opposition to whom, and in testimony to the cause of Christ, I at this time lay down my life, and bless God that he hath thought me so much worthy as to do the same for his glory and interest. Finally, concerning a Christian duty in a singular and extraordinary case, and anent my particular judgment concerning both church and state, it is evidently declared and manifested elsewhere. Farewell all earthly enjoyments; and welcome Father,

* The drums were ordered to beat to drown his voice, after which he applied himself wholly to devotion.

† Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton.

‡ Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, commonly called “the bloody Mackenzie.”

Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.”*

Here we have heard the end of the zealous and faithful James Mitchell, who beyond all doubt was a most pious man, notwithstanding the foul aspersions that have been, or will be, cast upon him, not only by malignant prelates, but even by the high-fliers or more corrupt part of the Presbyterian persuasion, on account of his firing at Archbishop Sharp; which they think is enough to explode, affront, or bespatter all the faithful contendings of the true reformed and covenanted Church of Scotland. But in this Mitchell stands in need of little or no vindication; for by this time the reader may perceive that he looked upon himself as in a state of war, and that, as Sharp was doubtless one of the chief instigators of the tyranny, bloodshed, and oppression in that dismal period, he no doubt thought that he had a right to take every opportunity of cutting him off, especially as all the ways of common justice were blocked up.

Yet all this opens no door for every private person at his own hand to execute justice on an open offender, where there is access to

a lawful magistrate appointed for that end. Yea, what Mitchell himself saith anent this affair, in a letter dated February, 1674, is sufficient to stop the mouths of all that have or may oppose the same, a few words of which may be quoted. After relating what passed betwixt him and the chancellor, he says, that as to his design against Sharp, he looked on him to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed of his brethren that followed thereupon, and of the continual pursuing of his life; and he being a soldier, not having laid down arms, but being still upon his own defence, and having no other end or quarrel against any man, but what (according to his apprehension of him) may be understood by the many thousands of the faithful; besides the prosecution of the end of the same Covenant, which was and is, in that point, the overthrow of prelates and Prelacy; he being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to him in like manner; and as he was always to take his advantage, he took of him also any opportunity that offered. “For,” says he, “I, by his instigation, being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him on all occasions.” A little farther on he

* Mitchell's body was conveyed to the Magdalene chapel, and at least forty mourners attended it to its resting place in the Greyfriars' churchyard.

instances Deut. xiii. 9, where the seducer or enticer to a false worship is to be put to death, and that by the hand of the witnesses, whereof he was one; he takes notice of Phinehas, Elijah, &c.; and then observing, that while the bishops would say that what they did was by law and authority, but what he did was contrary to both, he answers—"The king himself, and all the estates of the land, both were and are obliged, by the oath of God upon them, to extirpate the perjured prelates and Prelacy; and in doing thereof to defend one another with their lives and fortunes."*

TESTIMONY OF JAMES MITCHELL.

"I suppose some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this place of suffering, to which I give no other answer than that which Elijah gave when threatened with death by Jezebel, 1 Kings xix. 14, 'I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine

* "It is gratifying to know that the Presbyterians cannot be implicated in Mitchell's attempt. None of them was concerned in it; and nearly all of them, notwithstanding their antipathy to Sharp, condemned it. They might, no doubt, think that the responsibility connected with it was, in a great measure, to be laid at the door of the government, whose violence and cruelty were driving the people to desperation, and produced on the mind of Mitchell the conviction that liberty and the protection of property and life could only be secured by taking away the life of a man whom he believed to be the chief author of the sufferings of his countrymen; but they repudiated as dangerous and unwarrantable, the principle that he could be justified, as

altars and true worship, and slain thy prophets and ministers, and they seek my life to take it away, this day.' I know no other reason why I am brought to this place, but because I have lifted up my hand to the most high God, and sworn in judgment and in righteousness, from which I cannot go back, Jer. iv. 2, viz., from prosecuting the ends of these blessed Covenants, which are the very basis and the fundamental rights and constitution of the kingdom, which all ranks and stations were and are equally obliged and engaged to maintain to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes, and from which obligation and holy Covenants no power on earth is capable to loose any man's conscience.

"With all my heart and soul I own and adhere to the work of reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this kingdom, according to the word of God, and to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and as it was settled amongst us in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, kirk sessions, and the people's just power to choose and call their own lawful pastors; and I do declare that I judge patronages to be a popish rite, and an usurpation in the house of God.

"I homologate and approve of 'Lex Rex,' † 'The Causes of God's Wrath' ‡ (to which there be many since that time to be added), 'The he himself maintained, from Phinehas killing Cosbi and Zimri, and from the law of Moses, which commanded that the seducer to idolatry should be put to death by the hand of those whom he sought to seduce. They were more enlightened interpreters of Scripture, and sought relief by more rational and defensible means. Amidst a protracted and most exasperating persecution there were only a very few individuals whom a sense of intolerable oppression moved, in the moment of feverish excitement, to revenge their own and their country's wrongs by assassination.'" (*Martyrs of the Bass*, p. 78.)

† See before, p. 274.

‡ See before, p. 309.

Apologetical Relation,* ‘Naphthali,’† ‘Jus Populi,’ &c.† as orthodox and consonant to the received principles and doctrine of the Church of Scotland.

“I believe that magistracy is an ordinance appointed of God, as well under the New Testament as it was under the Old, and that whosoever resisteth the lawful magistrate in the exercise of his lawful power, resisteth the ordinance and appointment of God, Rom. iii. 1–8, ‘for he is God’s minister to thee for thy good,’ and in doing good thou needest not be afraid of him; 1 Pet. ii. 13; ‘we must obey the magistrate for conscience’ sake;’ Deut. xvii. 15, 16, 17, &c. The lawful magistrate must be a man qualified according to God’s appointment, and not according to the people’s lust and pleasure, lest in the end he should prove to them ‘a prince of Sodom’ and ‘governor of Gomorrah,’ whom God in his righteousness should appoint for their judgment and establish for their correction, &c.; he must be ‘one of thy brethren,’ and not the son of a stranger; he must not ‘make himself strong by multiplying of horses,’ to the end he may compel the Lord’s people to rebel against God’s express command, and Jeroboam-like compel the people to any course of apostasy; ‘he must not multiply wives to himself,’ much less whores, nor marry an idolatrous wife like Jezebel, 1 Kings xvi. 31, nor be covetous ‘in multiplying to himself silver or gold;’ he must be ‘a diligent student of the law of the Lord all the days of his life, that he turn neither to the right hand nor to the

left therefrom,’ but must judge the people accordingly; otherwise neither he nor his children can expect to prolong their days in Israel. ‘He must not be a son of Belial,’ without or above law and order, whom a man cannot touch except he be fenced with iron, for such shall ‘be thrust away; for,’ saith David, ‘he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God,’ &c., 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. But if a man simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter, when he hath strengthened himself upon his throne, shall abjure and falsify his oath and covenant both to God and his subjects, and shall transgress the law and commandment of the Lord, which have given the magistrate only an accumulative power to promote, protect, and defend God’s laws, truth, and people from being corrupted, violated, or any ways damnified, and for that end he hath received both his place and power from God and men; (for he hath not received of the Lord an absolute, an obstructive, destructive, and privative power, but as hath been said, the people can give no right nor power to any man but what is according to God’s appointment, lest they should incur that sad challenge from God, Hos. viii. 4, ‘They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, but I knew it not.’ for in chap. x. 3 Israel confess their fault, and they denied that they had a king, because he was not such as God had appointed, and saith, ‘What should a king do to them,’ seeing he had, partly by force and partly by fraud, withdrawn them from the fear and

* “The Apologetical Relation of the Particular Sufferings of Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland, since August, 1660,” which was printed in 1665, was the production of Mr. Brown of Wamphray, who had been banished for nonconformity, and went to Holland.

† “Naphthali, or a true and short Deduction of the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ, from the beginning of the Reformation to the year 1667,” was the joint work of Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Stewart of Goodtrees, who wrote the argumentative part, and Mr. John Stirling, minister of Paisley, who wrote the narrative part. It was published about the year 1667. It therefore at first con-

tained only the speeches and testimonies of the martyrs previous to that date. In subsequent editions the dying speeches and testimonies of the later martyrs who suffered, including Mitchell’s, were added. By the government it was suppressed, and condemned to be publicly burned. It has been frequently reprinted.

‡ “Jus Populi Vindicatum, or the People’s Right to Defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion Vindicated,” which was published in Holland, was written by Mr. Stuart in answer to Bishop Honeyman’s feeble performance against Naphthali. It also was suppressed as seditious by the government, who issued a proclamation against it, dated 16th February, 1671.

obedience which they owed to God and his law, and had seduced and compelled them to idolatry and worshipping of false gods), and if the magistrate, being in power, shall overturn the covenanted work of God, his truth, and interest, the fundamental and municipal laws of the land; and, moreover, a parliament selected according to his own mind, and for his own use and ends shall, as the people's representatives, by Acts rescissory rescind all Acts of laudable parliaments, committees of estates, or counsellors, wherein were contained and comprehended a mutual bond, obligation, covenant, or contract betwixt the prince and people, he having divested himself of any legal right to rule over such a people, and they being *in statu quo prius*, none having right to rule over them without their consent; if the foresaid magistrate shall then again injure and invade the people's lives, religion, liberties, and laws, and make even a simple supplicating of him a crime of treason, contrary to the dictates of nature; and by his armed emissaries, and his arbitrary power carried on by the sword in their hands, compel the Lord's people to relinquish and forsake the true religion and worship of God, and make a surrender of both their souls, consciences, lives, lands, and liberties, and embrace a false religion and will-worship, and engage to serve and worship false and idol gods at his pleasure (for this is all that is near and dear to a people being in extremity of hazard); *then*, it necessarily followeth to be the duty of such a people, or any part of them, to take up arms in defence of their lives, laws, liberties, and religion, and of their posterity, that they may not be left in such intolerable bondage, and as they would not be accounted guilty of bringing God's wrath upon the whole land, Jer. xxii. 2, 3, 'Hear ye the word of the Lord, O king of Judah, thou and thy servants, and thy people that enter in by these gates, execute ye justice, and judgment, and righteousness, and deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the op-

pressors;' Jer. xxxvii. 2, 'But neither he, nor his servants, nor the people of the land, hearkened unto the prophet Jeremiah, till wrath from the Lord consumed them all.' And now, if it had not been the people's duty to have executed judgment and righteousness, and to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor Zedekiah and his servants (which I think was meant by the nobility or princes proving deficient, in order to the performing of their duty); it had not been their sin to have omitted it; but here we see it is as well charged home to be the sin of the people, as the sin of the king or of the nobles, &c. But say some, Who shall be judge in such cases? for what other judge is there when two kings or monarchies fall out in war, neither of them being subject to any judge? But some profane, brutish, ignorant malignant says, Shall this or that ignorant fellow, or hussy, take upon them to determine what the law of God says in such cases? I answer, that neither this nor that ignorant fellow nor hussy, nor yet this or that profane, wicked, or perfidious prince or princes, are capable to be judge; Deut. xxx. 11, 'For the commandment which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off.' Ver. 12, 'It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?' ver. 13, 14, 'Neither is it in the sea; but the word is near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it;' and in this case I do appeal to every man of sober wit and judgment, seeing 'the secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him,' Ps. xxv. 14, and seeing 'evil men understand not judgment, but they that seek the Lord understand all things,' Prov. xxv. 5, for they know not how to do right, 'they store up robbery in their palaces,' Amos iii. 10. Who is then most capable to judge what the law of God determineth in all such matters? Artaxerxes, a great monarch, commanded 'that whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, it should

be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven; for why should there be wrath upon the realm of the king and of his sons?' Ezra vii. 23. But oh! how many at this time of the sons of Belial, contrary to what is here spoken, screw up those that are above themselves to such a pinnacle of unlimited and arbitrary power, far above either what the law of God or the law of nature will admit of, for this very end and purpose, that they may glory in the work of their hands; and he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they have made a surrender of both credit, conscience, and common honesty, may return to them a power over others who are under them, by putting a sword in the hands of bloody cut-throats, who are raised and kept up for that effect, to bring and keep into an Egypt-bondage their persons, lives, laws, and liberties; yea, even the souls and consciences of the Lord's people! This power I declare to be diabolical, profane, and blasphemous; and Pharaoh-like to say, 'Who is the Lord? that I should obey him,' Exod. v. 2. Now, seeing both the throne and judgment is the Lord's, then blessed and happy is the magistrate who ruleth and governeth his subjects, keeping a straight line of subordination to God's law and statutes, for in so doing none may say to him, What doest thou? And happy and blessed are the people thus governed; Deut. iv. 7, 'And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as this law which I set before you this day?' But O the blasphemous perjuries of this wicked and apostate generation, whom no bonds, obligations, nor covenants can bind, except those spoken of in Ps. cxlix. 8, 'But shall they thus break the covenant and prosper?' escape and be delivered, Ezek. xvii. 15 and 18, as if the Lord's hand could not reach them to inflict due and just punishment upon them who commit such doings.

"I do detest and abhor that woeful *indulgence*, and encroachment, and usurpation on the crown and prerogative royal of our

Lord Jesus Christ (both in the givers and receivers thereof), howbeit I have very much charity, love, and affection to many of the ministers who have embraced the same; for I do really think that they have been outwitted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord; yea, I hope they shall get their souls for a prey in the day of the Lord, although they may suffer loss in building such hay and stubble upon the rock Jesus Christ, when their work shall be burnt by the fire of the Lord's jealousy. I approve of Mr. Burnet [of Kibride's] letter sent to the commissioner thereanent.

"I protest before God, angels, and men, against all those Acts of Parliament and Council, which are against or derogative to the work of God and reformation, and carrying on of the same, according as we are engaged and sworn to in these holy bonds of the National and Solemn League and Covenant. I abhor the shedding of the blood of the Lord's people for their adhering to the same, and the people's guarding such in prison-houses and scaffolds unto their death, whom both by the oath of God upon them, and by the ancient and laudable laws of the land, and by the law of nature, they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes; it being well known that such as were put to death had committed no crime; but on the contrary had performed the duty which the guarders were as much obliged to have performed as the pannels, if they had been as faithful to God and men as they were.

"Likewise I protest against their banishment, their imprisonment, their finings and confinements, and against all the hardships and perplexities of whatsoever kind they have been put to through the iniquities of the times, so that we may justly (with our predecessors) say that our persecutors have devoured us, and have crushed us, swallowed us up like dragons, and have filled their bellies with our delicacies, and have cast us out, Jer. li. 34, for which cause God gave a charge to prepare instruments for the over-

throw and destruction of such persecutors, ver. 11, 'because it was the vengeance of the Lord, and the vengeance of his temple, and so shall our remnant who outlive the persecution say, ver. 35; 'The violence done to me and my flesh be upon Babylon, and my blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea; let the wrath of the Lord pursue them, for their blood and violence in their persons and estates, and their strength wherein they confide, and their friends and favourites, who have consulted and continued with them in their wicked courses. I hope the time is drawing near, and the joints of their loins are loosening, their knees are beginning to smite one against another, Dan. v. 6, and the handwriting beginning to be portrayed upon the wall, because they have not considered what God did to their predecessors for their idolatrous pride and wickedness; although they know it, yet they are become more insolent in idolatry and wickedness, and daring against God, than ever their forefathers presumed to be, meddling with the vessels and materials of the Lord's house, and with the crown and kingly office of Christ Jesus, and have appropriate them for their idolatrous ends and uses, ver. 23; therefore when the furbished sword of the Lord's indignation and justice shall break forth to devour, which it may do before the dark night of these dreadful dispensations quite pass over, then shall the time-serving hypocrites of this generation begin to their untimely prayers, viz., 'for hills and mountains to fall upon them, to hide them from the face of the righteous Judge; for who may abide the day of his coming,' for executing vengeance on his adversaries? In that day the man shall be accursed that 'keepeth back his sword from blood, and who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully.' Jer. xlviii. 10. Yea, happy shall he be that taketh this cursed malignant and prelatie brood, and dasheth them against the stones; yea, happy shall he be that rewardeth them as they have served us, Ps. cxxxvii. 'For this honour have all the saints, the high

praises of God in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute vengeance on the heathen,' Ps. cxlix. 9.

"Having thus delivered myself in the point that I have mentioned, I only add to what I have said, that I own these things as my own judgment allenarly (what may seem to be singular in those great and important matters), not willing that any thing, wherein others may differ from me, should be looked upon as the principles or persuasion of the party whereto I adhere. I obtest that no man be so diabolical and profane as to charge this upon any of my persuasion, it being but my own, which I hope God hath approved in me; and whom God justifieth, who dare condemn?

"Now, if the Lord in his wise and overruling providence bring me to the close of my pilgrimage, to the full enjoyment of my long looked for and desired happiness, let him take his own way and time in bringing me to it. And in the meanwhile, O my soul, sing thou this song, Spring thou up, O well of thy happiness and salvation, of thy eternal hope and consolation, and whilst thou art burdened with this clog of clay and tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, hope, and charity, and with all the instruments that God has given thee; dig in it by precepts and promises, dig carefully and dig continually, aye, and while thou comest to the source and head of the fountain himself, from whence the water of life flows; dig until thou come unto the assembly of the first-born, where this song is most suitably sung to the praise and glory of the rich grace and mercy of this fountain of life. O my soul, follow thou in all thy diggings the direction of the great Lawgiver, so shalt thou prosper in all thy taking of pains. O happy nobles and princes of Israel, who were admitted to the sight and to the song, to the pains and to the profit, which none of the mixed murmurers were admitted to because of their unbelief! Num. xxi. 17. And O, Father of mercies (whilst I am tossed upon the turbulent seas of

manifold troubles), grant that thy presence may be with me, and that thy everlasting arms may be underneath me to support me; for sure I am, Moses thy servant had good reason to be important in his suit, *Exod. xxxiii. 12*, compared with verses 14, 15, and *chap. xxxiv. 9*, seeing no less could furnish him with fresh support in the work he was about. O let thy presence be with me, and then my soul shall dig and sing, and sing and dig through times of trouble unto eternal rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the rock Christ, out of whom floweth the pure river and fountain of life and happiness, where I may drink, and not be damnified through the assaults of Satan, and the invasions of Satan, or of a wicked world any more. Now, according to the promise, *Mat. x. 19*, out of thy fatherly mercy grant present help, supply, and direction in this time of trouble, seeing 'that it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps,' *Jer. x. 23*. And although it be a hard thing to distinguish betwixt sin and duty, yet thy 'law,' thy 'word,' and 'truth,' which are quick and powerful, dividing asunder the soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts; thy law giveth light,' *Ps. cxix. 105*. 'And thy testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making wise the simple,' *Ps. xix. 7*. For they alone, O Lord, can make all the dispensations profitable in order to 'the purging away of sin,' even when they seem to be 'destructive,' *Isa. xxvii. 9*. Especially when thou intendest them 'not for destruction, but for trial' and further 'humiliation,' *Deut. viii. 2, 16*. For thou, O Lord, hast led me for many years through a barren and wearisome wilderness, to the end that thou mightest work this work of mortification in me; although had it seemed good unto thee, thou wouldst have brought me into the land of promise and rest another nearer way, *Exod. xiii. 16*. For by hardships many a time 'thou hidest pride from men, and sealest up their instruction that thou mayest deliver his soul from the pit, and his life may see the light,'

Job xxxiii. 17, 18. And although, O Lord, thou shouldest send me the back rack and tenor of my life, to seek my soul's comforts and encouragements from them, yet I have no cause of complaining of hard dealing from thy hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy people, *Ps. xiii. 6*, 'O God, my soul is cast down in me, therefore I will remember thee from the land of Jordan and from the hill Hermon,' &c. Yea, the last time he brought me to the banqueting-house, and made love his banner over me, among the cold Highland hills beside Kippen, November, 1673, he remembered his former loving kindness towards me. But withal he spoke in mine ear that there was a tempestuous storm to meet me in the face, which I behoved to go through in the strength of that provision, *1 Kings xix. 7*. And now, O my soul, seeing the ordinary method and way with the Lord is to send a shower and a sun-blink, and again a sun-blink and a shower, therefore keep thou silent unto God, murmur not, fret not, be not disquieted, be still and be content, seeing that all my persecutors can do, either by fraud or force, can neither alter the nature or kind of my sufferings, nor add so much as one degree thereto, nor lengthen out the time of them one moment, *Micah vii. 10*; *Exod. xii. 41*. All Pharaoh's power could not keep Israel one moment longer in Egypt, therefore it is my duty to study with Paul, *Phil. iv. 12*, 'In whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content;' and to say, 'Should the earth be forsaken, and the rocks removed for me?' *Job xviii. 4*: should God alter the course of providence for me, in which there is such efficacy as to carry all things to their proper and appointed end with a most stable power? 'and that I may be found in him, not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith,' *Phil. iii. 9, 10*; and to resign up to God my will and affections to be disposed of as he pleaseth, and to say with fear, humility,

and reverence, 'O Father, not my will, but thy will be done,' and whether I live or die I may be the Lord's, that through his mercy and grace I may attain to his approbation, viz., that, 'Well done, good and faithful servant;' who hath hitherto 'shut the lions' mouths by his angel that they have not hurt me,' Dan. vi. 22. And who hath so shut the eyes of my persecutors with a Sodomitish blindness, that hitherto they could not find out the way to break in upon me; and it may be in due time he will bring me out of the furnace, and will, through his grace, not suffer the smell thereof to be found upon me; and if not, yet I never held it to be my duty to worship this rotten and stinking idol of jealousy which these nations have set up, 'Who have both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us,' 1 Thes. ii. 15. For thou, Lord, hast not despised nor abhorred my afflictions when I was afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy face from me: 'When I cried unto thee, thou heardest me,' Ps. xxii. 24. 'O Lord God, thou hast made the heavens and the earth by thy great power and outstretched arm,' Jer. xxxii. 17. Bring thou me at length to a happy arrival within the gates of the new

Jerusalem, where no unclean thing can come, 'that my praise may be of thee in the great congregation.' And although, as Job saith, chap. x. 17, that thou, O Lord, hast delivered me over into the hand of the wicked, yet 'by this, O Lord, I know that thou favourest me, because mine enemies shall not triumph over me,' Ps. xli. 11. And when I stood in judgment, thou, O Lord, didst not condemn me. And if it please thee, 'thou wilt not leave me in their hand,' Ps. xxxvii. 33. 'But canst bring up my life from the pit of corruption,' Jonah ii. 6. And seeing I have not preferred, nor sought after, mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, liberty, and safety of thy church and people, although it be now misconstrued by many, yet I hope at length thou, Lord, wilt make 'my light to break forth as the morning, and my righteousness as the noon-day,' and that shame and darkness shall cover all who are adversaries to my righteous cause, for thou, O Lord, art the shield of my head and the sword of my excellency, and mine enemies shall be found liars, and shall be subdued. Amen, yea, and amen.

JAMES MITCHELL.

JOHN WELWOOD.

JOHN WELWOOD was born about the year 1649. He was son of Mr. James Welwood, sometime minister in Tindergarth, in the county of Dumfries, and brother of Mr. Andrew Welwood, author of a work entitled "The Glimpse

of Glory," and James Welwood, doctor of medicine at London. After having gone through the ordinary course of learning, he was licensed for the ministry, and afterwards preached in many places;* but we do not hear that

him. Almost immediately after he went to Morayshire, in compliance with an earnest invitation from Mrs. Ross (Catharine Collace), who

* About the end of May, 1675, Welwood preached at Falkland in a private house, notwithstanding the danger to which this exposed

he was ever settled minister in any parish, it being then a time

had gone hither from Falkland, and one of whose sisters, Jean, with their mother, who were resident at Falkland, accompanied him in his journey. During his sojourn in that country he "confirmed by his preaching," says Mrs. Ross, "what our ministers had been holding forth, I mean the controverted truths; and [he] himself professed that he was much edified by conversing with some in the north, and many times spoke of them in the south to professors for imitation." (*Mrs. Ross's Diary*, p. 64).

After his return to the south Welwood corresponded with Mrs. Ross, whom he much respected for her intelligence, piety, and public spirit. A considerable number of his letters to her, written while he was engaged in preaching in different parts of the country in the years 1676 and 1677, are preserved in a volume among the Wodrow MSS. deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. They reveal the depth of his devotional sentiments, the strength of his faith in God under persecution, his readiness to suffer in the cause of Christ, his grief over the unhappy differences which had arisen among the Presbyterians, and his assured hope of the ultimate deliverance of the church from oppression, though deliverance might be long delayed. They contain allusions to the history of the times, to his labours in preaching in different places, and to the weak and broken state of his health.

The following extract from one of these letters, dated 27th March, 1676, breathes the true spirit of the martyr:—"I want not my weights to ballast me, but far greater are my encouragements; for I have been taught twice since I wrote to you that life of faith, and I have won a little to the exercise of it, which lifts me above all my miseries, and I complain less than all my neighbours almost. . . . I have this to bless the Lord for, that he hath wonderfully preserved me as in a strong city; and I have this experience, that they that trust in him shall never be ashamed; and he makes me to be like Mount Zion, that cannot be moved, so that I live without fear in the midst of fear, and I am made to think little more of men and devils than they are. Only I lay my account with sufferings, and it is one of my great works to win to be able to say, 'I am ready not only

when all, who had any honesty or faithfulness in testifying

to be bound, but to die for the name of the Lord Jesus.'"

In August that year he went to Northumberland at the invitation of some of his acquaintances, and found, as they had told him, "that there was a great door and effectual opened in that country, both upon the Scottish and English borders." It was gratifying to him to find that, in the districts which he visited on his return, the severity of persecution did not prevent the people from attending the prohibited meetings. In a letter to Mrs. Ross, 25th January, 1677, he writes:—"There is more universal persecution than heretofore. The Lord, as I think, intends to bring his people very low before the deliverance. How low they shall be brought I cannot guess. . . . It is three Sabbaths since I came from Hatton. And coming through the Merse and East Lothian I was refreshed to see that, notwithstanding all the persecution, the people are ever drawn more and more from the curates in the Merse. The curates gave up a list of 3500, all which (a few excepted) were fined and forced to pay their fines. If I had time I would tell you of their rigour. But guess it by this. They took from some poor people 20 pence and 10 pence from others, blankets, coal sacks, from others and yet the people came out abundantly to the meetings."

When driven from place to place the field preachers betook themselves to the borders, and preached with great success, the lawless inhabitants flocking to hear the word, and many of them being turned to the Lord. Writing to Mrs. Ross from Galloway, 8th September, 1677, Welwood says: "I have been five Lord's days in Annandale, not without opposition; yea, many oppositions and many alarms. But the Lord protected me, and gave more than might recompense the pains and toil. I would resolve (if the Lord will) to draw piece and piece towards Edinburgh. But if I get my design it will be a while ere I be there, because I purpose to see many places by the way. Though the enemy has been busy this long time, yet we see the Lord makes that tend to the advantage of his people and work; for all the south borders, and many other places besides, have of late

against the sins and defections of the times, were thrust out of the church, and prosecuted with the greatest severity. It is said that he preached five or six sermons in the parish where his father was minister, which were blessed with more discernible effects of good amongst that people than all the diligent painfulness his father had exercised.

Besides his singular piety and faithfulness in preaching, he was most fervent in pressing home all the duties of the Christian life, particularly the setting up and keeping of fellowship and society meetings for prayer and Christian conference, which he often frequented. One time, among several others, at Newhouse, in Livingstone parish, the night being far spent, he said: "Let one pray, and be short, that we may win to our apartments before it be light." It was the turn of one who exceeded many in gifts. But before he ended it

came out to hear. O strange! and truly it is most strange, that these places that there was no access to before are most desirous of preaching." He adds: "I am hit at here also by reports from Edinburgh as being guilty of Arminianism. But I have vindicated myself. The spirit of division (fomented amongst us) makes me to have sadder thoughts than all the persecution; yet I am so selfish that if I could win to that temper, when reviled not to revile again, I would not be much troubled."

* Howie, copying from Patrick Walker, writes with undue severity of this meeting of indulged

and non-indulged ministers, held at Edinburgh, with the view of promoting unity among them. That Welwood, Cameron, and another minister were called before the meeting in order to their being deposed or deprived of their license, is extremely doubtful. The meeting was stigmatised by its opponents as pretending to be a General Assembly. "But," says Wodrow, "it never assumed any power of this kind to itself, and did nothing, I can find, but what was competent for a meeting of brethren that was occasional, and for consultation, and the mutual strengthening of one another's hands,

was daylight within the house. After prayer Welwood said: "James, James, your gifts have the start of your graces;" and to the rest he said: "Be advised, all of you, not to follow him at all times and in all things; otherwise there will be many ins and many outs in your tract and walk." In the year 1677 there was an Erastian meeting of the actually indulged and non-indulged, got up by the indulged and their favourites, in order, as they pretended, to promote a union between the parties; but rather, in reality, a conspiracy, without any honour or veracity, among these backsliders and false prophets. John Welwood, Richard Cameron, and another minister, were called before this meeting in order to be deposed, or their license taken from them, for their faithfulness in preaching up separation from the actually indulged.* But they declined their authority, as being no lawful

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judicatory of Jesus Christ, whilst thus made up of those who were indulged. Some of them went to Mr. Hog, who was then in town, though not at this meeting, for his advice anent them: to whom he said, "His name is Welwood; but if ye take that unhappy course to depose him, he will perhaps turn out the Torwood at last."

John Welwood was a man of a lean and tender body. He slept, ate, and drank but little, as being under deep exercise about the defections and tyranny of that day, especially concerning the indulged, and the many who were pleading in their favour; and being of a sickly constitution before, he turned more melancholy and tender. Much about this time he was informed against to the Council at Edinburgh, that he had intruded upon the kirk of Tarbolton, in the shire of Ayr. The Council appointed Glencairn and Lord Ross to see that he be turned out and apprehended; but nothing further can be learned anent this order.

One Sabbath, when he was going to preach, and the tent was set up for him, the laird on whose ground it was caused lift it, and set it on another laird's

and never claimed the powers of the supreme judicatory of this church." Mr. Ralph Rogers

ground. But when Welwood saw it, he said, "In a short time he shall not have one furr of land." Some quarrelled him for saying so, this laird being then a great professor. He said, "Let alone a little, and he will turn out in his own colours." Shortly after this he was convicted of adultery, and became most miserable and contemptible, being, as was said, one of the duke of York's four-pound Papists.

In the beginning of the year 1679 Welwood said to William Nicholson, a Fifeshire man, "Ye shall have a brave summer of the Gospel this year; and for your further encouragement an old man or woman, for very age, may live to see the bishops down, and yet the church not delivered; but ere all be done, we will get a few faithful ministers in Scotland to hear. But keep still amongst the faithful poor mourning remnant that is for God; for there is a cloud coming on the Church of Scotland, the like of which was never heard of, for the most part will turn to defection. But I see, on the other side of it, the church's delivery, with ministers and Christians such as you would be ashamed to open a mouth before."

was chosen moderator of the meeting. (*History*, vol. ii. p. 346.)

Among his last public days of preaching, he preached at Boulterhall in Fife upon that text, 1 Cor. i. 26: "Not many noble are called." Here he wished that all the Lord's people, whom he had placed in stations of distinction, there and everywhere, would express their thankfulness that the words, *not many*, were not, *not any*, and that the whole of them were not excluded. In the end of that sermon he said, pointing to St. Andrews, "If that unhappy prelate Sharp die the natural death of men, God never spoke by me." The archbishop had a servant who, upon liberty from his master on Saturday night, went to visit his brother, who was a servant to a gentleman near Boulterhall, the archbishop ordering him to be home on Sabbath night. He went with the laird and his brother on that day. Mr. Welwood noticed him with the archbishop's livery on; and when sermon was ended he desired him to stand up, for he had somewhat to say to him. "I desire you," said he, "before all these witnesses, when thou goest home, to tell thy master that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life are near an end, and his death shall be both sudden, surprising, and bloody; and as he hath thirsted after and shed the

blood of the saints, he shall not go to his grave in peace." The youth went home, and at supper the archbishop asked him if he had been at a conventicle? He said he had. He asked what the text was, and what he heard? The man told him several things, and particularly the above message from Mr. Welwood. The archbishop made sport of it, but his wife said, "I advise you to take more notice of that, for I hear that these men's words are not vain words."

Shortly after this he went to Perth, and there lodged in the house of John Barclay. His bodily weakness increasing, he was laid aside from serving his Master in public, and lingered under a consumptive distemper until the beginning of April, 1679, when he died. During the time of his sickness, while he was able to speak, he still laid himself out to do good to souls. None but such as were looked upon to be friends to the persecuted cause knew that he was in town, and his practice was to call them in, one family after another, at different times, and discourse to them about their spiritual state. His conversation was both convincing, edifying, and confirming. Many came to visit him, and among the rest Mr. Ayton,

younger of Inchdarney, in Fife, a pious youth about eighteen years of age. On giving Mr. Welwood an account of the great tyranny and wickedness of Pre-late Sharp, Mr. Welwood said, "You will shortly be quit of him; and he will get a sudden and sharp off-going; and you will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven." This literally came to pass the May following.

About the same time he said to another who came to visit him, that many of the Lord's people would be in arms that summer for the defence of the gospel; but he was fully persuaded that they would work no deliverance, and that, after the fall of that party, the public standard of the Gospel would fall for some time, so that there would not be a true faithful minister in Scotland excepting two, unto whom they could resort to hear or converse with anent the state of the church; that they would also seal their testimony with their blood; and that after this there would be a dreadful defection and apostasy; but God would pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his church and people, whereby many of the Lord's people, who had made defection from his way, would fall among the rest in this com-

mon calamity. This stroke, he thought, would not be long, and upon the back thereof there would be the most glorious deliverance and reformation that ever was in Britain, wherein the church would never be troubled any more with prelacy.

When drawing near his end, in conversation with some friends, Welwood used frequently to communicate his own exercise and experience, with the assurance he had obtained of his interest in Christ, saying, "I have no more doubt of my interest in Christ, than if I were in heaven already." And at another time he said, "Although I have been for some weeks without sensible comforting presence, yet I have not the least doubt of my interest in Christ; I have oftentimes endeavoured to pick a hole in my interest, but cannot get it done." That morning ere he died, when he observed the light of the day, he said, "Now eternal light, and no more night and darkness to me:" and that night he exchanged a weakly body, a wicked world, and a weary life, for an immortal crown of glory, in that heavenly inheritance which is prepared and reserved for such as him.

The night after his death his corpse was removed from John

Barelay's house into a private room belonging to one Janet Hutton, till his friends might consult about his funeral, that so he might not be put to trouble for having concealed him. It was quickly spread abroad, however, that an intercommuned preacher was dead in town, upon which the magistrates ordered a messenger to go and arrest the corpse. It lay there that night; and the next day a considerable number of his friends in Fife, in good order, came to town to attend his burial. The magistrates, however, would not suffer him to be interred at Perth, but ordered the town militia to be raised, and imprisoned John Bryce, boxmaster or treasurer to the guildry, for refusing to give out the militia's arms. However, they gave his friends leave to carry his corpse out of town, and bury it without the precincts where they pleased; but any of the town's people who were observed to accompany the funeral were imprisoned. After they were gone out of town, his friends sent two men before them to Drone, four miles from Perth, to prepare a grave in the churchyard of that place. The men went to Mr. Pitcairn, the minister there

(one of the old Resolutioners), and desired the keys of the churchyard, that they might dig a grave for the corpse of Mr. Welwood; but he refused to give them. They went over the churchyard dyke and digged a grave, and there the corpse was interred.

There appears to be only one of his sermons in print, said to be preached at Bogleshole, in Clydesdale, upon 1 Peter iv. 18: "And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" There are also some of his religious letters written to his godly friends and acquaintances, yet extant in manuscript. We are not to expect, however, to meet with anything considerable of the writings of John Welwood, or of the succeeding Worthies, seeing that, in such an afflicted state of the church, they were constantly upon the watch, hunted and hurried from place to place, without the least time or convenience for writing; yea, and oftentimes what little fragments they had collected fell into the hands of false friends and enemies, and were by them either destroyed or lost.

WILLIAM GORDON OF EARLSTOUN.

WILLIAM GORDON of Earlstoun was a son of that great reformer, Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, and was lineally descended from that famous Alexander Gordon who entertained the followers of John Wickliffe, and who had a New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used to read in their meeting at the wood near Airds, beside Earlstoun. William Gordon, having thus the advantage of a religious education, began very early to follow Christ. As early as the year 1637 Samuel Rutherford, in a letter, admonished him thus: "Sir, lay the foundation thus, and ye shall not soon shrink nor be shaken; make tight work at the bottom, and your ship shall ride against all storms, if withal your anchor be fastened on good ground; I mean, within the vail." And indeed, by the blessing of God, he began very early to distinguish himself for piety and religion, with a firm attachment to the Presbyterian interest and the covenanted work of reformation, in which he continued steadfast and unmovable until he lost his life in the honourable cause.

What hand he had in public affairs during Cromwell's usur-

pation I cannot so well say; we must suppose him, however, upon the Remonstrants' side. But the first public testimony he gave after the Restoration of Charles II., recorded in history, was about the year 1663, when commissioners were appointed by the Council to go south and inquire anent some opposition that was then made by the people to the settlement of curates at Kirkeudbright and Irongray. The said commissioners, knowing this worthy gentleman's firmness to Presbyterian principles, were resolved either to make him comply in settling an Episcopal incumbent in the parish of Dalry in Galloway, where, by the once established laws, he had some right in presenting; or if he refused to concur with the bishop, which they had all reason imaginable to suspect he would, to bring him to further trouble. Accordingly, they wrote him a letter in the following tenor:—

"Finding the church of Dalry to be one of those to which the bishop hath presented an actual minister, Mr. George Henry, fit and qualified for the charge, and that the gentleman is to come to your parish this Sabbath next to preach to that people, and that you are a person of special interest there, we do require you to cause this edict to be served,

and the congregation to convene and countenance him, so as to be encouraged to prosecute his ministry in that place.—Your loving friends and servants,

“LINLITHGOW, GALLOWAY,
“ANNANDALE, DRUMLANARK.”

To this letter Earlstoun gave a most respectful reply, showing upon solid reasons why he could not comply with their unjust demand, as the following excerpt from that letter evidences: “I ever judged it safest to obey God, and stand at a distance from whatsoever doth not tend to God’s glory and the edification of the souls of his scattered people, of which that congregation is a part. And besides, my Lords, it is known to many that I pretend to lay claim to the right of patronage of that parish, and that I have already determined therein, with the consent of the people, on a truly worthy and qualified person, that he may be admitted to exercise his gifts amongst that people; and for me to countenance the bearer of your lordships’ letter were to procure me most impiously and dishonourably to wrong the majesty of God, and violently to take away the Christian liberty of his afflicted people, and enervate my own right.” Though this worthy gentleman mentions the right of patronage, yet it is with this pro-

viso or limitation—the choice or consent of the people; otherwise, says he, it would wrong the majesty of God, take away the Christian liberty of the people, and invalidate his own right. How unlike is this to the species of patronage and claim of patrons at this time, when nothing but absolute power and arbitrary measures will satisfy them!

This was, without question, what the government wanted, and so his trouble began; for on the 31st of July, 1663, “the Lords of Council ordained letters to be directed to messengers at arms to charge William Gordon of Earlstoun to compear before them to answer for his factious and seditious carriage, in prejudice of his Majesty’s government, under the pain of rebellion.” This “factious and seditious carriage” amounted only to his refusing to comply with Prelacy and hear the curates, and his favouring and hearing the outed ministers. And further, November 24 the same year, “the Council being informed that the Laird of Earlstoun kept conventicles and private meetings in his house, notwithstanding all the laws and Acts of Parliament and Privy Council to the contrary, do therefore ordain letters to be directed to cite him to appear

before the Council, to answer for his contempt of his Majesty's authority and laws in the said matter, under pain of rebellion."* But all this nowise dashed the courage of this faithful confessor of Christ in adhering to his persecuted and despised gospel; which made these malignant enemies yet pass a more severe and rigorous Act against him on 1st March, 1664. In this Act it was exhibited that he had been at several conventicles (as they were pleased to call the preachings of the gospel), contrary to the laws and Acts of Parliament, with his own judicial confession that he had been at three several conventicles where Mr. Gabriel Semple, a deposed minister, did preach; namely, one in the Corsock Wood and two in the Wood of Airds, at all which there were great numbers of people;

* Witnesses were summoned to appear before the Council to give evidence against Gordon; but a vacation in the Court of Session occurring at that time, the case was delayed till after the holidays. Witnesses were, however, unnecessary, as Gordon was ready to admit that when a minister came to his house he invited him to pray and expound the Scriptures in his family, nor could anything else be proved against him. John Fullartoun of Carletoun, in a letter to his friend, "Mr. Thomas Wylie, minister of Kirkcudbright," dated ———, * 1663, written evidently from Edinburgh, says:—"The witnesses against Earlstoun have been here these

and that he did hear one Mr. Robert Paton, a deposed minister, expone a text of Scripture and perform other acts of worship in his mother's house; and that Mr. Thomas Thomson, another deposed minister, did lecture in his own house to his family upon a Sabbath day; and that being required to enact himself to abstain from all such meetings in all time coming, and to live peaceably and orderly, conform to the law, he refused to do the same. They did therefore ordain the said William Gordon of Earlstoun to be banished, and to depart forth of the kingdom within a month, and not to return without license from his Majesty or his Council, under the pain of death, and that he enact himself to live peaceably during that time, under the penalty of ten thousand

two or three days, but are delayed because the Council are not to meet till Tuesday next, by reason of the Yowl vacance. It seems they shall not need witnesses against him, for he resolves to acknowledge that when any honest man of the ministry came to his house, according to his custom, he desired them to pray in the family, to read and give the meaning of the Word, which he thinks is all they can prove. I trust he shall come out without trouble, unless there be secret unfriends to press him to more than is libelled against him" (*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xxix., 4to, No. 97A). Fullartoun in another letter to Wylie from Edinburgh, 17th March, 1664, writes:—"Earlstoun is looked for to be here the next week, with the Lady Kenmuir" (*Ibid.* vol. xxix., 4to, No. 97B).

* The month, and date of the month, are destroyed by the wax of the letter.

pounds Scots, or otherwise to enter his person in prison.

It would appear that he did not obey this sentence;* and although we have little or no particular account of his sufferings, yet we are assured he endured a series of hardships. In the year 1667 he was turned out of his house and all, and the house made a garrison for Banatyne, that wicked wretch, and his party; after which almost every year produced him new troubles, until the 22nd or 23rd of June, 1679, when he emerged out of all his troubles, arrived at the haven of rest, and obtained his glorious reward.

Having some affairs to settle (perhaps with a view never to return) Gordon could not join the Covenanters who were then in arms near Bothwell; but sent his son, who was in the action. He himself hastening forward as

* Howie is here incorrect. Gordon obeyed the sentence. This appears from the Decrets of the Privy Council, which state that at their meeting on the 23rd of January, 1668, his wife, Mary Hope, presented to the Council a petition, humbly praying that whereas by Act of Council he had been banished from this kingdom in 1663, and in submissive obedience thereto had been ever since absent from his country, to the great prejudice of his affairs, which through so long absence were sadly disordered, some time might be allowed to him to come and order his affairs; and that the Council granted license to him to return to this kingdom for that purpose until the 15th of March, notwithstanding any former act of banishment

soon as possible to their assistance, and not knowing of their disaster, was met near the place by a party of English dragoons who were in quest of the sufferers, and like another valiant champion of Christ he refused to surrender or comply with their demand, and so they killed him upon the spot. His son being out of the way, and his friends not obtaining that his body should be laid amongst the bones of his ancestors, he was interred in the churchyard of Glassford; and though a pillar or monument was erected over his grave, yet no inscription was put on it because of the severity of the times.

His son, Alexander Gordon, narrowly escaped being taken by means of one of his tenants, who, knowing him as he rode through Hamilton, made him dismount, put on woman's clothes, and rock the cradle. After this he went

or bond given by him for remaining without the country, upon his finding sufficient caution, under the pain of 5000 merks, to live peaceably during the time specified, and to depart forth of the kingdom the said day, should the Council give order to that effect. On the 27th of February the Council ordained the clerk to deliver to Gordon a bond by which he found caution for his peaceable deportment during the time he should stay within the country, in regard he had signed the bond for the public peace, for himself, his tenants, and servants. Gordon's wife, Mary Hope, was a daughter of Sir John Hope, second baronet of Craighall, and president of the Court of Session. (*Douglas's Baronage*, p. 59.)



Portrait of a man, likely a historical figure, wearing a long, curly wig and a dark coat.

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over to his brother-in-law, Mr. Hamilton, to represent the low case of the united societies to the churches of the Netherlands. He was by them called home, and when returning back a second time he was apprehended by the enemy and put to the torture; but by means of his friend, the duke of Gordon, his life was spared. However, he was sent to the Bass, and from thence, I suppose, to Blackness, where, from the year 1683, he continued till he was liberated at the Revolution. It is to be lamented that after this neither he nor his

son, Sir Thomas, fully followed the steps of their ancestors.

Thus fell a renowned Gordon, one whose character at present I am in no capacity to describe; only I may venture to say that he was a gentleman of good parts and endowments, a man devoted to religion and godliness, and a prime supporter of the Presbyterian interest in that part of the country where he lived. The Gordons have all along made no small figure in our Scottish history; but here was a patriot, a good Christian, a confessor, and, I may add, a martyr of Jesus Christ.

MESSRS. JOHN KID AND JOHN KING.

JOHN KID and JOHN KING suffered many hardships during the persecuting period, from the year 1670 to the time of their martyrdom, 1679. John King was some time chaplain to Lord Cardross; and it appears that he was apprehended and imprisoned in the year 1674, but got out on a bond and surety for five thousand

marks, to appear when called. Next year he was again apprehended by a party of the persecutors, in the house of Lord Cardross, but was immediately rescued from their hands by some country people, who had profited much by his ministry. After this he was taken a third time by bloody Claverhouse,* near Hamilton,

* John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards viscount of Dundee, who appears in the history of those times as one of the most energetic and merciless persecutors of the Presbyterians, was the eldest son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, by his wife Lady Jean Graham, third daughter of John, first earl of Northesk. His

family was a branch of that of Montrose. No record of the exact date of his birth has been discovered; but from certain data it is reckoned that he was born in the year 1643. He was matriculated a student at St. Andrews College, February 13, 1665. He was then above twenty-one years of age, a rather late period of life to

with about seventeen others, and brought to Evandale, where they were all rescued by their suffering brethren at Drumclog.* After this he and John Kid were of

enter a university; a fact which does not say much in favour of the pains taken upon his early education. He made choice of the military profession, and served some years as a volunteer in the French army, and was afterwards in the Dutch service in Holland. Having left Holland, he returned in 1677 to Scotland, where he first appears upon the public stage in 1679, when he commenced his career against his nonconforming countrymen, bearing "the rank of captain, in command of his own troop of horse, and of two newly raised troops of dragoons." He was now about thirty-five or thirty-six years of age, and his subsequent life was devoted to the ruthless persecution of the Scottish Presbyterians. After the triumph of the cause of freedom at the Revolution, he became conspicuous for his strenuous but meteoric and unsuccessful efforts to recover the fallen fortunes of King James VII., in supporting whom he fell at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689.

* On Sabbath, 1st June, 1679, a large meeting of Covenanters having taken place at Loudon Hill or Drumclog, where Mr. Thomas Douglas was to preach, Claverhouse came upon them with a body of his troops. Those of the assembly who were armed immediately prepared to defend the congregated multitude, and they quickly put to flight Claverhouse, whose horse was shot, and his soldiers, killing and wounding about forty, and releasing a number of prisoners. "The armed men," says Mr. Dodds in his "Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters," "drew out firmly and orderly from the rest of the meeting. Their aged parents, their wives, children, and kindred, and those of them who had no weapons, were left behind, and directed to retire slowly towards some security, in case their defenders should be overpowered. There they mustered on that hill-side, transformed at once from a peaceful assemblage of Christian worshippers into a body of stern and fearless warriors, ready to the last drop of their blood to protect their homes and the muirland temple of their God. They formed into a compact

great service, and preached often among the honest party of our sufferers, till their defeat at Bothwell,† where Kid, among other prisoners, was taken and brought

mass of fifty horse, fifty footmen with guns, and one hundred and fifty on foot, who were only equipped with halberts, pikes, and other rude and inefficient weapons. Hamilton took the command, and was supported by brave men and skilful soldiers, who acted as his officers—the veteran Henry Hall of Haughhead in Teviotdale, Hackston, and Burley, and the gallant young soldier-poet, the Körner of the Covenanting party, William Cleland of Douglas, now only in his eighteenth year. Being formed in battle array, a grand old tradition survives, which tells how this little host marched in solemn majesty down the brow of the hill, singing together, to the half-plaintive, half-triumphant 'Martyrs,' that sublime psalm—

* In Judah's land God is well known,
His name's in Israel great, &c.

At the swamps of Drumclog they met face to face with Claverhouse and his dragoons, ranged on the opposite slope." "They pursued us," writes Claverhouse himself, in recording the conflict, "so hotly, that we got no time to rally. I saved the standards, but lost on the place about eight or ten men, besides wounded; but the dragoons lost many more."

† The armed men who had obtained a complete victory over Claverhouse at Drumclog, could not separate with safety; and emboldened by their success they marched first to Hamilton, and then to Glasgow, their number increasing as they advanced. But unhappily they were without training, and deficient in skilful officers. Their commander-in-chief, Robert Hamilton, was wholly destitute of military ability. They were badly armed, and insufficiently provided with ammunition. Their camp, too, was agitated by bitter disputations and dissension about the Indulgence and collateral questions, which in the meantime ought to have been allowed to rest. Their number never exceeded from four thousand to six thousand men, while the king's forces brought together to oppose them, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, consisted



THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY



to Edinburgh. It would appear that King was apprehended also at the same time, and the circumstances of his capture are so interesting as to be worthy of being recorded.

John King having come to pay his respects to the Laird of Blair in Dalry parish, near Kilwinning, to whom he had formerly been chaplain, Bryce Blair, a farmer, who had been groom at Blair House, getting

of fifteen thousand men. The Covenanters took up a position at Bothwell Bridge, which they barricaded, as being the key of the defence, and disputed the duke's passage. They were attacked by the royal troops on the morning of Sabbath, the 22nd of June. Three hundred of them, who defended the bridge, fought valiantly, under the command of Hackston of Rathillet, Hall of Haughhead, and Turnbull of Bewly, whom Dodds specially commemorates, but with their names ought to be joined those of Ure of Shargarton and Major Learmont. "For three hours," says Dodds, "they bore the brunt of attack, those three hundred wearied and over-tasked men. Well do they deserve the tribute of admiration and praise; for theirs is the one bright act to irradiate the memory of this disastrous day. Overpowered by numbers, they sent for reinforcements, but none came. Exhausted by long watching, fatigue, and the toils of the incessant contest, they begged to be relieved by some of the many troops that were standing idly on the muir; but there was no commander, there was no order, every man was in hot dispute with his neighbour. If they were to stand alone and unsupported in the breach, three hundred against the iron weight of fifteen thousand, at least they required more ammunition, for their store was failing them. The answer returned was that the ammunition was exhausted. Who can imagine the despair of that gallant three hundred, and their three brave officers, who had watched that bridge night and day, and maintained their post against

notice, came and desired King to pay him a visit also. King went, and preached a short discourse on the Saturday night following. On the Sabbath morning a party of the enemy (said to be Crichton's dragoons) being in quest of him, and getting the scent, two of them in disguise came to an old man feeding cattle near Bryce Blair's house, and asked him whether he knew where that godly minister Mr. King was;

all odds and all comers? But madness ruled the hour. They were ordered to retire from the bridge and fall back to the main body on the muir." The royal army then crossed the bridge, drew up upon the bank with their artillery in front, and quickly routed the Covenanters, few of whom fell in the fight, but of whom four hundred were killed in the pursuit, and twelve hundred compelled to surrender at discretion. The slaughter would have been greater had not Monmouth, in spite of the advice of Claverhouse, Dalziel, and other generals, ordered that the vanquished should be spared. The humanity with which Monmouth acted on this occasion is justly celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in his poem of the "Clyde":—

"The hardy peasant, by oppression driven
To battle, deem'd his cause the cause of heaven;
Unskill'd in arms, with useless courage stood,
While gentle Monmouth grieved to shed his blood."

The poet Edmund Waller pays a like tribute to the duke.

"Taking more pains when he beheld them yield,
To save the fliers than to win the field;
And at the court his interest does employ,
That none who 'scaped his fatal sword should die."

Monmouth was blamed by the duke of York, Lauderdale, and King Charles II. for his leniency. "If I had been there," said Charles, "we would not have had the trouble of prisoners." The duke answered, "I cannot kill men in cold blood; that's work only for butchers." (*Roberts' Life of Monmouth*, vol. i. p. 56.)

for they were afraid he should be taken, as the enemy was in pursuit of him; and if they knew where he was they would secure him from them. The old man having more honesty than policy, cried out, "I'll run and tell him." Whereupon they rode full speed after him to the house. Finding a servant of the house waiting on the horses of Mr. King and his servant, they immediately dismounted; and having driven their own horses into the standing corn, threatened him with death should he stir from the spot. One of them took his own saddle, and putting it on Mr. King's horse, said, "Many a mile have I rode after thee, but I shall ride upon thee now."

By this time the rest had surrounded the house; and they immediately commanded Mr. King and his servant, who were in bed, to rise and put on their clothes. While the servant was putting on his master's spurs, one of the soldiers swore at him, saying, was he putting a spur on a prisoner? He replied he would put on what he pleased: for which he received a blow from the soldier, who in his turn was

reproved by another for striking a prisoner while making no resistance. Thus Mr. King and his servant were both carried off to Glasgow, attended by one David Cumming, of the same parish, as guide.

A party of English dragoons being there, one of them on horseback called for some ale, and drank to the confusion of the Covenants. Another of his companions asking him at the stable-green port where he was going, he answered, "To carry King to hell." But this poor wretch had not gone far, whistling and singing, till his carbine accidentally went off and killed him on the spot. "God shall shoot at them with an arrow; suddenly shall they be wounded" (Ps. lxiv. 7).

John King was taken to Edinburgh, where both he and Mr. Kid were brought before the Council, July 9. King confessed, when examined, that he was with those who rose at that time. Kid confessed that he had preached in the fields, but never where there were men in arms, except in two places.* They signed their confession, which

to preach; and their hearers also now became so numerous, coming from all parts of the country, that private houses being insufficient to contain them, they began to meet in the fields, and on various occasions the Sacrament

* Prior to the Pentland insurrection field meetings were rare. But after its suppression, which, so far from breaking the spirits of the Covenanters, inspired them with fresh courage, a great number of the ejected ministers began

was afterwards produced in evidence against them before the Justiciary. On the 12th Kid was again examined before the Council, and put to the torture. It seems he was more than once in the Boots, where he behaved with much meekness and patience. King was again examined on the 16th before the Justiciary, and Kid on the following day. On the 22nd they received their indictments. The trial came on upon the 28th, when, in answer to their petition on the 24th, advocates were allowed to plead for them; but no exculpation

of the Lord's Supper was dispensed at these meetings. Field meetings were very offensive to the government, who stigmatized them as rendezvouses of rebellion, and proscribed them under severe penalties. Soldiers and the militia were sent out to disperse them, and to apprehend the ministers who preached and the principal hearers. But though the military were thus let loose upon them, the people still attended these meetings: and so little disposed were they at first to offer resistance, that three or four dragoons would often break up a field meeting where a thousand persons were assembled. But the military and other parties, not content with dispersing these meetings, frequently maltreated the people, beating, plundering, wounding, and committing other outrages upon them. This gave rise to what were called "armed conventicles;" that is, field-meetings to which a few stalwart males came armed, and stationed themselves around the meeting, solely for the protection of the unarmed multitude, and of the minister or ministers who preached. Many of those who assembled at these meetings, which often consisted of hundreds, or thousands, were wives and maidens, little children and infants, the feeble and the old. It cannot then be supposed that, had the purpose of those who came armed to the meeting been any

was allowed them. When their indictments were read, the advocate produced their confessions before the Council as proof against them; and accordingly they were brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on Thursday the 14th of August, and their heads and right arms to be cut off and disposed of at the Council's pleasure.

The same day in the forenoon the king's Act of Indemnity was published, and to grace the solemnity, the two noble martyrs (who were denied a share therein)

thing else but protection—had it been to make a hostile attack—they would have exposed to jeopardy the dearest objects of their affection. It is equally incredible that these armed meetings were held for seditious or rebellious purposes, for hatching treasonable plots to deprive the king of his just authority, or to lay violent hands upon him. Plots of treason are not commonly formed in the broad light of day and in large assemblies. These were not meetings held by the people even to ask the redress of their wrongs. They were intended simply for worshipping God and hearing the gospel of Christ proclaimed; and the people assembled quietly, conducted themselves quietly during the service, and then at the close quietly returned to their homes. The notes of the sermons of the most free-spoken of the field preachers, as Cargill, Cameron, and Renwick, some of which have been preserved, though containing some allusions to the events of the times, and strong expressions against the government when the persecution became more fierce and intolerable, as might be expected, yet demonstrate that what the people were thirsting after was to hear undisturbed the words of eternal life from the lips of their favourite ministers, whose only crime was nonconformity.

were in the afternoon brought forth to their execution. It was related by one there present that, as they approached the place, walking together hand in hand, Mr. Kid, looking about to Mr. King, with a cheerful countenance said, "I have often heard and read of a *Kid* sacrificed, but I seldom or never heard of a *King* made a sacrifice." Upon the scaffold they appeared with a great deal of courage and serenity of mind (as was usual with the martyrs in those times), and died in much peace and joy—even a joy that none of their persecutors could intermeddle with. Their heads were cut off on another scaffold prepared for the purpose.

Thus ended the lives of these two worthy ministers and martyrs of Jesus Christ, after having owned their allegiance to Zion's King and Lord, and given a faithful testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and for the covenanted work of Reformation in its different parts and periods. The reader will find their dying testimonies in Naph-

tali and the Western Martyrology.* A few of their sermons I had occasion lately to publish.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN KID.

"Right worthy and well beloved Spectators and Auditors:—Considering the bodily distempers I have been exercised under since I came out of the torture, viz., scarcely two hours out of my naked bed in one day, it cannot be expected that I should be in case for saying any thing to purpose in such a juncture; especially seeing I am not as yet free of it. However, I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me for good, and desire with all my soul to bless him for this present lot.

"It may be there are a great many here that judge my lot very sad and deplorable. I must confess, death in itself is very terrible to flesh and blood; but as it is an outlet to sin and an inlet to righteousness, it is the Christian's great and inexpressible privilege. And give me leave to say this:—

"I. That there is something in a Christian's condition that can never put him without the reach of unsufferableness—even shame, death, and the cross being included. And then if there be peace betwixt God and the soul, nothing can damp peace through our Lord Jesus Christ; it is a supporting ingredient in the bitterest cup, and under the sharpest and fieriest trial he can be exposed unto. This is my mercy, I have somewhat of this to lay claim unto, viz., the intima-

side in the disputes which divided those who had recourse to arms at Bothwell Bridge, "he was still for peace-making, and was not so bent for us as he should, which I told him several times; but he still kept company with us." Both Kid and King in their dying testimonies strongly profess their aversion to divisive courses, and assert that they had ever been loyal to the person or lawful authority of the king.

* Kid is said by Patrick Walker to have preceded Richard Cameron in preaching separation from the indulged ministers (*Biographia Presbyterianica*, vol. i. p. 292); and he is represented by Ure of Shargarton, in his narrative of the rising at Bothwell Bridge, as one of the ministers who sided with Robert Hamilton of Preston. (*McCrie's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 462.) "As for Mr. King," says Ure, who took the moderate

tions of pardon betwixt God and my soul. And as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace that I never had the least challenge for it, but on the contrary, judge it my honour that ever I was counted worthy to be staged upon such a consideration.

“II. There is another thing that renders the most despicable sufferings of Christians and mine sufferable, and that is a felt and sensible presence from the Lord, strengthening the soul when most put to it. And if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to say, ‘O death, where is thy sting?’ and would but cry out, welcome to it and all that follows upon it. I grant, the Lord from an act of sovereignty may come and go as he pleases, but yet he will never forsake his people; and this is a cordial to me in the case I am now exposed unto.

“III. The exercising and putting forth of his glorious power is able to transport the soul of the believer and mine above the reach of all sublunary difficulties; and therefore, seeing I have hope to be kept by his power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, or any other that is or may be in my case, in the least deplorable; seeing we have ground to believe that in more or less he will perfect his power and strength in weakness.

“IV. That I may come a little nearer to the purpose in hand, I declare before you all, in the sight of God, angels, and men, and in the sight of that sun and all that he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, in regard of my original and actual transgressions: I must confess they are more than the hairs upon my head, and altogether past reckoning: I cannot but say, as Jacob said, ‘I am less than the least of all God’s mercies,’ yet I must declare to the commendation of the freedom of his grace made known, and that by a strong hand, and dare not but say, ‘He has loved me, and washed me in his own blood from mine iniquity;’ and well is it with me this day that ever I heard or read that faithful saying,

‘Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.’

“V. I must also declare in his sight, I am the most unworthy that ever opened the mouth to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in the gospel; yea, the sense of this made me altogether unwilling to fall about so great a work, until by the importunity of some, whose names are precious and savoury to me and to many others, I was prevailed with to fall about it. And howbeit out of great weakness I went about it, yet I am hopeful not altogether without some fruit: and if I durst say it without vanity, I never found so much of the presence of God upon my spirit as I have found in exercises of that nature, though, I must still confess, attended with inexpressible weakness. And this is the main thing for which I must lay down my tabernacle this day, to wit, that I did preach Christ and the gospel in several places; for which I bless him, as I can, that ever such a poor obscure person as I am has been thus privileged by him for making mention of his grace, as I was able.

“VI. Give me leave to add this word, that though there be great appearance for the spreading and preaching this glorious gospel, yet I fear there be a snare at the bottom and poison in the dish, which may gender and be productive of not only greater scarcity of honest preaching and preachers, but a real famine of the word. This, I say, is my fear; and I hope God will keep his servants from fomenting any thing to the detriment of the gospel.

“VII. I am also afraid the Lord is intending to multiply his strokes upon the land. We have walked seven times contrary to him, and therefore we may lay our account (unless repentance prevent it) that he will walk seven times contrary to us: there is more than ground to fear that a sword is bathed in heaven, a glittering sword, sharpened and furbished against thee, O guilty and harlot Scotland!

“VIII. For that other clause in mine indictment, upon which my sentence of death

is formed, viz., personal presence twice or thrice with that party whom they called the rebels—for my own part, I never judged them nor called them such. I acknowledge, and do believe, there were a great many there that came in the simplicity of their own hearts, like those that followed Absalom long ago. I am as sure, on the other hand, that there was a great party there that had nothing before them but the repairing of the Lord's fallen work, and the restoring of the breach which is wide as the sea; and I am apt to think that such of these who were most branded with mistakes will be found to have been most single: but for rebellion against his majesty's person or lawful authority, the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing. Loyal I have been, and will every Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment, to 'give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.'

"IX. Since I came to prison I have been much branded with many things, which I call aspersions, whereof Jesuitism is one. I am hopeful there was never any that did converse with me that had the least ground for laying this to my charge: and I know not how it is come to pass to cast it upon me, except for implacable prejudice, that some have been prepossessed with against me. I am not ignorant that nearly two years ago a person of some note in this church, while living, was pleased to say that I had died in that judgment; after he was better informed he changed his note, and said it was misinformation. But now the Lord, before whom I must stand and be judged by and by, knows I have a perfect abhorrence of that thing, and that was never my temptation, directly nor indirectly; though I must confess, some few years ago some were very pressing with me that I might conform and embrace Prelacy; but for Popery and that trash, it came never nearer my heart than the pope's conclave and the Alcoran, which my soul abhors.

"X. I have been also branded with fac-

tiousness, divisive and seditious preaching and practices. I must confess if it be so, it was more than ever I was aware of. According to the measure God has given me, it was my endeavour to commend Christ to the hearts and souls of the people, even repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the word of God, Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter. Yea, I did press them also, when God did cast it into my way, to remember their sworn covenant, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; and that they would make it their work to stand to it in substance and circumstance, seeing it is so cried down in this day; and if this be divisive preaching, I cannot deny it.

"XI. I am pressed in conscience to bear my testimony and abhorrence of every invasion, usurpation, and encroachment that is made, or has been made, against Christ's royal prerogative, crown, and kingdom originated upon and derived from that which they call the supremacy. I was never free to say a confederacy with those who, I judge, have in a great part said a confederacy with that thing. And the Lord is my record, I was never free in my conscience for that that is called the Indulgence, neither first nor second,* as it was tendered by the Council, and as it was embraced by a great many godly and pious men in this land. Yea, it was never lawful nor expedient to me: and in effect, this is one of the main grounds why I am rendered obnoxious to so many imputations, that I have been all alongst contrary to that Indulgence in my judgment. I confess I have been of that judgment, and I die in my judgment contrary to it: and this I crave leave to say, without any offence given to the many godly and learned that are of another judgment.

"XII. I judge it fit likewise in this case to leave my testimony against that stent, taxation, and cess,† that has been so unjustly

* See p. 499.

† The Highland host let loose upon the West country,

imposed, so irrelevantly founded, and vigorously carried on by the abettors of that convention, and merely upon no other account imaginable, but to a final extirpation of Christ and his gospel ordinances out of these lands: and how lamentable is it to consider how many professors did willingly pay it, and were most for inciting others to do the same.

“In the next place, though to many I die desired, yet I know to not a few my death is not desired; and it is the rejoicing of my heart that I die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath loved me and given himself for me; and in the faith of the prophets and apostles; and in this faith that there is not a name under heaven by which men shall be saved but the name of Jesus; and in the faith of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Kirk of Scotland, as it is now established according to the word of God, Confessions of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, &c. Likeas, I join my testimony against Popery and perjury, profanity, Prelacy, heresy, supremacy, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine.

“In the close, as a dying person, and as one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it upon godly ministers to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and not to hold their peace in such a day, when so many ways are taken for the injuring of him, his name, way, sanctuary, ordinances, crown, and kingdom. I hope there will be found a party in the land that will contend for him and his matters, upon all hazards. And as faithfulness is called for in ministers, so they should concern themselves that they countenance not, nor abet, any thing that is

not having been so effective as was expected in putting down field conventicles, a Convention of Estates which met in June, 1678, passed an Act on 10th July, in obedience to a letter from the king, offering to him a cess of £18,000 for raising and maintaining additional troops for the suppression of such meetings. The lawfulness or unlawfulness of paying this cess became another source of contention among the persecuted Presbyterians. (*Wodrow's History*, vol. ii. p. 491.)

inconsistent with former principles and practice.

“1. Let the land consider how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like Ephraim long ago, a cake not turned, which is upon the matter contrary to and inconsistent with our solemn sworn covenants.

“2. Next, how far we are fallen from our first love, how far we are degenerated from that noble vine into which the Lord did once plant us, how lamentable is it? How far we are gone in the way of Egypt, drinking the waters of Sichar.

“3. Again, what a woful cursed spirit of bitterness is predominating in this land and in this age, Ephraim vexing Judah, and Judah Ephraim, Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh: the growing doggedness of this temper, almost amongst us all, portends terrible things from the Lord against Scotland.

“4. Reformation according to our sworn covenants neither designed nor practised—what means all this deformity, that is come to pass in these days instead of the contrary? how many of us are pulling down that which we have been building up? how many of us calling good evil and evil good, disowning and disavouching that which sometime we judged our honour to testify for and to avouch?

“5. A public spirit in contending for God in his matters, in substance and circumstance, according to our vows and obligations, is much amissing amongst us this day. Further,

“I. I am pressed in conscience to make honourable mention of all these great and glorious things that God has done in Scotland since the year 1638; the abundant measure of his Spirit that was poured out upon his servants and people at the renewing of the national covenant twice in that year, and once in the year following; the blessed efficacy that the gospel had at that time in all corners of the land; and the great things that followed upon it, which, while improven, made our land desirable.

“II. I bear my testimony to the Solemn League and Covenant, as it was pressed and sworn in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1643; yea, as it was timed and taken by the representatives and body of these three lands: which tie is binding, and can by no power on earth be infringed, whether secular or ecclesiastic, and that it was our glory to be counted a people married to the Lord, from one generation to another, from henceforth and for ever. So that Prelacy, as it is now established by a pretended law, is downright destructive to that sworn covenant; yea, and not only Prelacy, Popery, malignancy, and heresy, but the supremacy and every thing originated upon and derived from it.

“III. I cannot but make mention of that honourable and noble practice that this land was privileged with, viz. after two defections, the Lord put it into the heart of both state and church to renew these covenants once again, viz., both the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, together with an acknowledgment of sins and engagement to duties, and that in the close of the year—which performance was attended with so much of the Lord’s power and presence, that it was like a resurrection from the dead to all that were witnesses, yea, to both speakers and hearers, that many were forced to cry out, ‘The joy of the Lord is our strength, God of a truth is here.’

“IV. I dare not but add this in the case wherein I now stand, viz., I cannot but add my concurrence with and adherence to all those public testimonies, protestations, and declarations, that have been owned, evinced, and emitted by all the Presbyterian ministers and professors of old and of late, since this work began; and particularly, I dare not but join my approbation of and adherence to the testimony and protestation of those renowned and eminently worthy gentlemen, ministers and professors, that appeared against the public resolutions for taking in the malignant party into judicatories and armies: as also, I join my

cordial adherence to and with them that protested against the two pretended assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, which endeavoured to approve what the commission had done in the year 1650 and 1651, in reference to the intrusting of the malignant party: which, as was said by the protesting worthies, laid the foundation for all that is come, or may come upon us. I hope this will not offend any.

“V. I am bound in conscience likewise, in the next place, to testify my dislike and abhorrence of that cruel, horrid, and barbarous unheard of and unparalleled deportment and practice of that Act Rescissory, wherein at one dash, by an Act of that precipitant parliament, they endeavoured to rescind, annul, and expel all these great and glorious things that the strong hand of the Lord had done in Scotland for more than twenty years bygone, over the belly of so much opposition and standing contradiction of proclaimed and avowed adversaries upon all hands; yea, I proclaim my abhorrence of all the confusions, blood and murder, fining, confining, imprisonment, stigmatizings, with all other inexpressible cruelties that have issued from that cursed Act these nineteen years bygone. And moreover, I leave my testimony against all other confusions, imprisonment, and blood, that is or may be intended against those of the land that desire to keep their garments clean, whether in prison or out of prison.

“VI. As concerning that which is the ground of my death, viz., preaching here and there in some corners: I bless my God I have not the least challenge for it, and though those that condemned me are pleased to call such preachings *rendezvouses of rebellion*, yet I must say this of them, they were so far from being reputed such in my eyes, that if ever Christ had a people or party wherein his soul took pleasure, I am bold to say these meetings were a great part of them: the shining and glory of our God was eminently seen amongst these meetings; the convincing power and authority of our Lord

went out with his servants in these blasphemously nicknamed conventicles. This I say without reflection upon any. I have a word to add further, that God is calling persons to repentance, and to do their first works. O that Scotland were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are sworn in the Covenant!

"Again, Christians of grace and experience should study more straightness and stability in this day, when so many are turning to the right and many to the left hand; 'but he that endures to the end shall be saved.' He hath appointed the crown and kingdom for such as continue with him in his temptations.

"Next, as ever ye expect to have the form of the house showed you, all the laws thereof, goings out thereof, and comings in thereof, then think it no shame to take shame to you for all that hath been done; sitting down this side Jordan is like to be our bane! O when shall we get up and after him with all our heart, and never rest till he return?

"I recommend my poor wife and young one to the care and faithfulness of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: the God that hath fed me to this day, and who is the God of my salvation, be their God and my God, their father and my father! I am hopeful that Christian friends and relations will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.

"Lastly, I leave my testimony to the cross of Christ, and bless him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in such a lot as this: all glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this; and therefore let none that love Christ and his righteous cause be offended in me. And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands; so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, covenants, and of all his interests therein, though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all these things

to the infinitely wise God, who hath done and will do all things well. O that he would return to this land again, repair our breaches, take away our backslidings, and appear for his work! O! that he were pacified towards us. O! that he would pass by Scotland again, and make our time a time of love: come Lord Jesus, come quickly; himself hasten it in his own time and way. 'The Lord is my light and my life; my joy, my song, and my salvation!' The God of his chosen be my mercy to-day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghost keep me up, and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, to the edification of his people, and to my own eternal advantage! Amen.

"JOHN KID."

TESTIMONY OF JOHN KING.

"Men and Brethren:—I do not doubt but many that are spectators here have some other end than to be edified by what they may see in the behaviour, and hear in the words, of one going into eternity. But if any of you have ears to hear, which I nothing doubt but some of this great gathering have, therefore I desire your ears and attention, if the Lord shall help and permit me to speak a few things.

"I. I bless the Lord, since infinite wisdom and holy providence hath so carved out my lot to die after this manner, that I die not unwillingly, neither by force. It is true, I could not do this of myself, nature having always an inclination to put the evil day far away; but through grace I have been helped, and by his grace hopeful, yet shall; and though possibly I might have shunned such a hard sentence, if I had done things that, though I could, I durst not do—no, not for my soul—yet I durst not, God knoweth, redeem my life by the loss of my integrity and honesty. I bless the Lord, that since I have been apprehended and a prisoner, God hath very wonderfully upholden me,

and made out that comfortable word, 'Fear not, be not dismayed; I am with thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness,' Isa. xliii. 10. I thank the Lord, he never gave me leave so much as to have a thought, much less to seek after any shift, that might have been in the least sinful. I *did* always, and yet *do*, judge it better to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: therefore I am come hither to suffer and to lay down my life, I bless the Lord, I die not as a fool: though I acknowledge I have nothing to boast of myself: I acknowledge I am a sinner, and one of the chiefest that have gone under the name of a professor in religion, yea, amongst the unworthiest of those that have preached the gospel; my sins and corruptions have been many, and have defiled me in all things, and even in the doing and following of duty I have not wanted my own sinful infirmities and weakness: so that I may justly say I have no righteousness of mine own, all is vile like filthy rags. But blessed be God that there is a Saviour for sinners, and an advocate, Jesus Christ the righteous, and I do believe that 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief;' and that through faith in his righteousness I have obtained mercy; and that through him, and him only, I desire to hope for and have a happy and glorious victory over sin, Satan, hell, and death; and that I shall attain to the righteousness 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 to him against that day.' I have in my poor capacity preached salvation in his name, and as I have preached, so do I believe; with all my soul I have commended, and yet I do commend to all of you the riches of his grace, and faith in his name as the alone and only way whereby ye can be saved.

"II. It may be many may think—but I bless the Lord without any solid ground—that I suffer as an evil-doer, and as a busy-

body in other men's matters, but I reckon not so much on that (having the testimony of my conscience), for it was the lot of our blessed Lord himself, and also the lot of many of his eminent precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil-doers; yea, I think, I have so far ground not to fear at such a lot, that I count it my non-such honour. And oh! what am I that I should have been honoured so, when so many Worthies have panted after the like, and have not come at it; and my soul rejoiceth in being brought into conformity with my blessed Lord and Head, and such blessed company, in this way and lot; and I desire to pray that I may be to none of you to-day a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence: and blessed is he that shall not be offended in Christ and his poor followers and members, because of being condemned by the world as evil-doers.

"As for those things for which sentence of death was passed against me, I bless the Lord my heart doth not condemn me. Rebellious I have not been, neither do I judge it to be rebellion for me to have endeavoured, in my capacity, what possibly I could for the ruined and borne-down interest of our Lord and Master, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted, not only in their liberties, privileges, and persons, but also in their lives; therefore it was that I joined with that poor handful. The Lord, who is the searcher of hearts, knows that neither my design nor practice was against his Majesty's person and just government; but I always intended to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord. I thank God, my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty: I have been loyal, and do recommend it to all to be obedient to the higher powers in the Lord. And that I preached at field meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence, I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way was a rendezvousing in rebellion, as it is termed, that I bless the Lord that ever

counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands, yea, I do assert that if the Lord hath had a purer church and people in this land than another, it hath been in and among these meetings in fields and houses, so much now despised by some and persecuted by others. That I preached up rebellion and rising in arms against authority, I bless the Lord my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my design. If I could have preached Christ and salvation in his name, *that* was my *work*, and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meanest) a minister of the gospel.

“III. I have been looked on by some, and misrepresented by others, as having been of a divisive and factious humour, and one that stirred up division in the church; but I am hopeful that ye will give me charity, being within a little to stand before my Judge, and I pray the Lord that he will forgive them that did so misrepresent me; and I thank the Lord, whatever men did say of me concerning this, that upon the contrary, I have often dissuaded from such ways, and of this my conscience bears me witness. But here I would not have any to mistake me, as if I did approve of ways and practices contrary to the word of God and our covenanted reformed religion. As I ever abhorred division and faction in the church, as that which tends to its utter ruin if the Lord prevent it not; so I would in the bowels of my Lord and Master (if such a feckless one as I may presume) persuade and exhort both ministers and professors, ‘If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies; that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind; in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than himself.’ Phil. ii. 1-3.

Harmoniousness and oneness in the things of God can never enough be sought after, and harmony and unitedness in things that tend to the prejudice and hurt of Christ’s interests can never enough be fled from and avoided. And as I am willing to lay down my tabernacle, so also I die in the faith of the holy scriptures, and in the faith of the apostles and primitive Christians, and Protestant reformed churches, and particularly of this Church of Scotland, whereof I am a poor member, that hath been so powerfully carried on against so much opposition, by the mighty power and goodness of God.

“IV. I bear my witness to the doctrine and worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland, by kirk sessions and presbyteries, synods and general assemblies. As also, I bear my witness and testimony unto our solemn covenants, national and solemn league betwixt the three kingdoms, which sacred and solemn oaths, I believe, cannot be dispensed with or loosed by any person or party upon the earth, but are still binding upon these nations, and will be so for ever hereafter. Also I bear my witness and testimony unto our public confessions of sins and engagement to duties, and that either as to what concerns the reformation of our families or persons, or the reformation of the whole land in general; as also the causes of God’s wrath, the rejecting of which, it is to be feared, is one of the greatest causes of God’s wrath this day against our land. I also do bear witness and testimony to the protestation given in against the controverted assemblies in their public resolutions for bringing in the malignant party into places of power and trust, contrary to our solemn engagements and obligations to God. I also adhere to our Confessions of Faith, Shorter and Larger Catechisms. I bear witness and testimony against Popery, which is so greatly increased; yea, so much countenanced and professed openly by many, and that without the least punishment. I bear

witness against that antichristian Prelacy, now established by a law contrary to our vows to the Almighty God ; and against the rescinding of our solemn engagements and oaths, as a thing that calls for Divine vengeance, and against all oaths and bonds contrary to our covenant and engagements, especially the oath of supremacy, the declaration against our covenant, and that bond called the bond of peace ; and that horrid bond so frequently imposed against the meetings of his people in houses and fields, intended for the down-bearing of the gospel and interest of our Lord and Master, with all those bonds, public and private, contrary to our obligations and oaths to God. Also, against all such as connive at, comply with, or strengthen the hands of the malignant, prelatie, and persecuting party ; against all schism and heresy, contrary to our engagements with God, and especially against that ruining and soul-deluding evil, or rather *devilry*, Quakerism, so much connived at, if not allowed and countenanced by many, whose office it is to restrain it ; as also, against all the steps and courses of back-sliding and defection, which have been and now are on foot in this land, and against all the branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion.

“V. Moreover, I bear my testimony to all the testimonies given both formerly and of late by our suffering and banished witnesses, and to all the testimonies of our first witnesses, noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that have suffered in this city and kingdom, who cheerfully laid down their lives with admirable divine assistance, and to all those who have laid down their lives, either formerly or of late, in the fields. As also, to all those who have sealed their testimonies either with forfeitures, imprisonment, or banishment, on this account, score, and quarrel. And particularly I bear my testimony against that horrid violation done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by usurping upon his royal prerogatives, and in spoiling him of his crown, sceptre, sword, and royal robe, by

taking the princely ornaments to invest a man whose breath is in his nostrils, through that woful supremacy so much applauded and universally owned, even by those of whom better things might be expected ; I mean the indulged, and such as countenance them in that way, even to the ruining and rending of the church, which is also too evident by sad and doleful experience. As also, I leave my testimony against this cess imposed by the late Convention of Estates, whereby the enemies of Christ and his church are supplied with all necessities for the utter extirpating of the interest of Christ in this church.

“VI. There is one thing more I would say, the Lord seems to be very wroth with this land : the causes are many. 1. The dreadful slights our Lord Jesus has received in the offers of his gospel. 2. The horrid profanity that has overpassed the whole land, that not only religion in its exercise, but even common civility, is gone. 3. The horrid perjury in the matters of our vows and engagements ; it is to be feared, the Lord will bring his sword on the land, which shall avenge the quarrel of his covenant. 4. There is a dreadful formality and supineness in the duties of religion, which is introductive to that wo which came upon the careless daughters. 5. Horrid ingratitude ; what do we render to him for his goodness ? Is it not the most of all that we do, to work wickedness, and strengthen our hands to do evil ? 6. The want of humility under all our troubles ; we are brought low, yet we are not low in the sight of God. 7. Dreadful covetousness and minding of our own things more than the things of God, and this amongst all ranks ; would to God that there were not too much of this amongst many, who are enemies to the cross of Christ, and mind earthly things. And yet, I dare not say but that there are many faithful and precious to him in Scotland, both of ministers and professors, whom I hope God will keep steadfast, and who will study to be faithful to their Lord and Master, and whom

I hope he will make as brazen walls and iron pillars, and as defended cities in the following of their duty, in these sad and evil times; but it were to be wished that there were not too many who strengthen the hands of evil-doers, and make themselves transgressors, by studying to build up again that which formerly they had destroyed: let such take heed of that flying roll in Zech. v. And let all the Lord's servants and ministers take heed, that they watch and be steadfast in the faith, and 'quit themselves like men, and be strong;' and that they set the trumpets to their mouths, and give a seasonable and faithful warning to all ranks, concerning sin and duty, especially against the sins of this sinful time. It is to be lamented, and is sadly regretted by many of the Lord's people, that there hath been so much silence and fainting, even amongst ministers. Oh! how great a concernment is it now in this sad juncture! Let ministers consider well what it is that God calleth for at their hands: to be silent now, especially when so horrid and cruel things are acted, when they are so much called, and ought to be concerned to speak, even upon the peril of life, is certainly a dreadful sin in the sight of God. I shall only desire that God may open the mouths of his faithful servants, that with all boldness they may speak out the mind of their Master, and so the work, interest, crown, and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ may not be destroyed; and that the souls of his poor people, which are precious to God, may not without testimony be ruined. I shall but say two or three words more. 1. All that are profane, I would seriously exhort you that ye would return to the Lord by serious repentance, which if ye do, iniquity shall not be your ruin; if not, know that the day of the Lord's vengeance is near, and it hasteneth on. O, know for your comfort, there is a door of mercy yet open, if ye be not despisers of the day of salvation. And ye that have been and yet are reproachers and

persecutors of godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed; sad will your day be when God ariseth to scatter his enemies, if ye repent not of all your ungodly deeds. 2. All those that are Gallios (if their own private interest prosper and go well, they care the less for the interest of Christ), take heed, be zealous and repent, lest the Lord pass that sentence, 'I will spew you out of my mouth.' 3. For the truly godly, and such as are lamenting after the Lord, and mourning for all the abominations done in the city and in the land, and are taking pleasure in the rubbish and stones of Zion, be of good courage, and cast not away your confidence. I dare not say anything to future things, but surely the Lord hath a handful that are precious to him, whom he will be gracious unto. This is a dark night, how long it may last the Lord knoweth; and let none of the sad disasters his people are trusted with, though very astonishing, terrify you; beware of sin that abounds; cleave fast to your covenanted, reformed religion; do not shift the cross of Christ, if ye be called unto it. It is better to suffer than sin; account the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the world.

"VII. In the last place, let not my death be grievous to any of you; I hope it will be more profitable both for you and me, and for the church and interest of God, than my life could have been. I bless the Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive all men the guilt of it, even as I desire to be forgiven of God. 'Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you.' As to the cross of Jesus Christ the Lord, I never had cause, nor have this day, to rue for anything I have suffered or can now suffer for his name. I thank the Lord, who hath showed mercy to such a vile sinner as I am, and that ever he should have advanced me to such a high dignity as to be made a minister of the blessed and everlasting gospel, or that ever I should have had a seal set to my ministry upon the hearts of some in several places of this land. The

Lord visit Scotland with more and more faithful pastors, and send a reviving day to the work and people of God. In the meantime, 'Be patient, be steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord;' and live in love and peace one with another, and the Lord be with his afflicted, groaning people that are behind.

"Now I bid farewell with all my friends and dear relations; farewell my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand

of him who is better than seven husbands, and will 'be a father to the fatherless.' Farewell all creature comforts, and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me!'

"JOHN KING.

"EDINBURGH,

"August 14th, 1679."

JOHN BROWN.

JOHN BROWN was ordained minister at Wamphray, in Annandale.* There is no certain account how long he was there, only it was some time before the restoration of Charles II., as appears from his great faithfulness in opposing Prelacy, which was then about to be intruded upon the church. Indeed, it was for his fortitude and freedom with some of his neighbouring ministers for their compliance with the prelates, contrary to the promise they had given him, that he was turned out of that place.

Upon the 6th of November,

* Brown's mother, Jean Brown, a woman of intelligence and piety, was one of Samuel Rutherford's correspondents, and to her three of his printed letters are addressed. In one of them, dated Aberdeen, March 13, 1637, he thus testifies to the worth of her son:—"I rejoice to hear that your son John is coming to visit Christ, and taste of his love. . . . I had always (as I said often to you) a great love

1662, he was brought before the Council; whether by letters to converse with the managers, or by a citation, it is not certain; but the same day the Council's Act against him runs thus:—

"Mr. John Brown of Wamphray, being convened before the Council for abusing and reproaching some ministers for keeping the diocesan synod with the archbishop of Glasgow, calling them perjured knaves and villains, did acknowledge that he called them false knaves for so doing, because they had promised the contrary to him. The

to dear Mr. John Brown, because I thought I saw Christ in him, more than in his brethren." In a letter to Marion McNaught from Aberdeen, September 9, 1637, he writes:—"Remember my love to Mr. John Brown, I never could get my love off that man; I think Christ hath something to do with him." (*Rutherford's Letters*, pp. 153, 211, 247, 248, 489.)

Council ordain him to be secured close prisoner in the Tolbooth, till further orders." He remained in prison till December 11, when, after Mr. Livingstone and others had received their sentence, the Council came to this conclusion anent him: "Upon a petition presented by Mr. John Brown, minister of Wamphray, now prisoner in Edinburgh, showing that he hath been kept close prisoner these five weeks by-past, and that seeing, that by want of free air, and other necessaries for maintaining his crazy body, he is in hazard to lose his life, therefore humbly desiring warrant to be put at liberty, upon caution to enter his person in prison when he shall be commanded, as the petition bears; which being heard and considered, the Lords of Council ordain the supplicant to be put at liberty forth of the Tolbooth, he first obliging himself to remove and depart off the king's dominions, and not to return without license from his Majesty and Council under pain of death."

Great were the hardships he underwent in prison, for (says Crookshank) "he was denied even the necessaries of life; and though, because of the ill treatment he met with, he was brought almost to the gates of death, yet

he could not have the benefit of the free air until he signed a bond, obliging himself to a voluntary banishment, and that without any just cause."

Upon the 23rd of the same month, on presenting a petition to the Council to prorogue the time of his removal from the kingdom, in regard he was not able as yet to provide himself with necessaries, and the weather was so unseasonable that he could not have the opportunity of a ship, it was agreed to "grant him two months longer after the 11th of December by-past; he being in the meantime peaceable, and acting nothing in prejudice of the present government." Next year he went over to Holland, then the asylum of the banished, where he lived many years, and he never, that we heard of, saw his native country any more.

How he employed himself in Holland we are at a loss to say, but his many elaborate papers, both practical, argumentative, and historical, which were either mostly written there or published from thence, witness that he was not idle; particularly those concerning the Indulgence, cess-paying, &c. These he sent for the support and strengthening of his persecuted brethren in the Church of Scotland, unto whom

he and Mr. M'Ward contributed all in their power, that they might be kept straight while labouring in the furnace of affliction under a time of sore oppression and bloody tyranny. But hither did the malice of their enemies yet pursue them, for the king, by the instigation of Prelate Sharp, in the year 1676 wrote to the States-General to remove them from their dominions. And although the States neither did nor could reasonably grant this demand in regard to men who had got the full stress of the laws in Scotland many years before, yet it appears that they were obliged to wander farther from the land of their nativity.*

Some time before his death Brown was admitted minister of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam;† where with great prudence and diligence he exercised his ministry; it being always his study and care to gain many souls to Christ. For as he was faith-

ful in declaring the whole counsel of God to his people, in warning them against the evils of the time, so he was likewise a great textuary, close in handling any truth he discoursed upon, and in the application most homely, warm, and searching, showing himself a most skilful casuist. His sermons were not so plain but the learned might admire them; nor so learned, but the plain understood them. His fellow-soldier and companion in tribulation, Mr. M'Ward, in his "Earnest Contendings" (p. 541), gives him this testimony, "that the whole of his sermons, without the intermixture of any other matter, had a speciality of pure gospel texture, breathing nothing but faith in Christ and communion with him."

The ordination of Richard Cameron seems to have been the last of his public employments, and his discourse (the last before his exit from this world, which

* Charles II., by three missives and by his envoy extraordinary, demanded that the States-General should expel Mr. Robert M'Ward, Mr. John Brown, and Colonel James Wallace from their territories, threatening, if this was not done, a breach between the two countries. The States-General, to avoid so great an evil, passed, with great reluctance, on 6th July, 1677, a resolution in which, while bearing the highest testimony in favour of these Scotsmen as good and faithful citizens in the United Provinces, they declare that they were necessitated to cause them to withdraw from the country. Brown

went to Germany, but being again permitted to return to Holland, after staying for some time in the neighbourhood of Utrecht, he again took up his abode in Rotterdam in 1678. (*Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, pp. 42, 66.)

† Howie is here incorrect. Brown was never admitted pastor of a particular congregation abroad, although he occasionally favoured Messrs. Hoog and M'Ward, who were settled over the Scottish church in Rotterdam, with his greatly valued assistance in the pulpit and in visiting their people. (*Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 38.)

appears to have been about the end of the year 1679) was from Jer. ii. 35: "Behold, I will plead with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned." Having finished his course with joy, he died in the Lord. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, . . . they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."*

No doubt Mr. Brown was a man famous in his day both for learning and faithfulness, warm zeal and true piety. He was a notable writer, and a choice and pathetic preacher; in controversy he was acute, masculine, and strong; in history, plain and comprehensive; in divinity, substantial and divine.† The first he

* Brown of Wamphray, by his testament, which is dated April 2, new style, 1676, ordered that his property should be divided into two parts: the one half to be equally distributed among the children alive of the marriage of Thomas Scott with his sister, Elizabeth Brown, both then deceased; and the other half to be also equally divided between Thomas and James Brown with Marion Brown, his brothers and sister by his father's marriage with Agnes Blair. He left to the poor of the congregation of Scots people in Rotterdam the sum of one hundred guilders Dutch money. September 11, 1676, he appointed Mr. Russell executor of his whole will; left to Agnes Blair, his step-mother, five jacobuses in gold; also to John Blair, her brother, two caroluses: he meant jacobuses and caroluses of twenty marks a piece. As a token of friendship he left to Mr. McWard his Complutensian Bible, 6 vols., and the half of the remanent gold which he had. (*Wodrow MSS.* vol. lx. fol. No. 90.)

† An account of Brown of Wamphray, and a complete chronological list of his works,

discovers in his work printed in Latin against the Socinians, and in his treatise *De Causa Dei contra Anti-Sabbatarios*, which the learned world know better than can be here described. There is also a large manuscript history, entitled, *Apologia pro Ecclesia*, A.D. 1660, consisting of 1600 pages in quarto, which he gave to Charles Gordon, some time minister at Dalmeny, to be by him presented to the first free General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and which accordingly was presented to the General Assembly of 1692. Of this history the Apologetical Relation seems to be an abridgement. His letters and other papers, particularly the "History

are given in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, vol. xxi. pp. 659-668, 778, and vol. xxiii. pp. 827-831. Interesting notices of Brown are also to be found in Dr. Steven's "History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam." Brown's testimony is so lengthened a document that it would be tedious to insert it here entire. It will be sufficient to state generally its import. He first testifies against the sin of covenant-breaking, of which the land was in a high degree guilty before the Lord, who had brought it several times into covenant with himself, and moved it to own and stand for the crown-privileges and prerogatives of Christ, to receive and submit to his doctrine, discipline, and government, and to have all things done in the house of God according to his will and command. He next testifies against the overthrow of the whole work of reformation, public and private, in church and state, which had cost no small expense of blood, watchings, tears, and prayers. He condemns Prelacy, which was again reintroduced, as "a plant which our heavenly Father

of the Indulgence," written and sent home to his native country, manifest his great and fervent zeal for the cause of Christ; and his other practical pieces, such as those "On Justification;" "On the Romans;" "Quakerism the Way to Paganism;" "The Hope

never planted—a stirrup to the man of sin—a foundation of his antichristian hierarchy . . . and repugnant to the government instituted by our Lord." He testifies against "the supremacy in ecclesiastical matters assumed by and granted to the king, as head of the church no less than of the commonwealth; and this now screwed up to a supra-papal height, whereby Christ is dethroned and spoiled of his royal prerogative and glory, as only Head and King to and over his visible church and kingdom." He cannot "mention or recall to mind without lamentation and woe the inhumanity and cruelty which is exercised to this day, to the end that this defection from and rebellion against the Lord may be fixed, established, and perpetuated to after generations, . . . the barbarous and cruel persecution of all ranks of persons by chasing, harassing, fining, confining, imprisoning, deportation to American plantations, Highland outlaws, letters of intercommuning, &c., against all such as cannot and will not in all points

of Glory;" "Christ the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" the first and second parts of his "Life of Faith;" and "Enoch's Testament opened up," &c., all evidence his solid piety and real acquaintance with God and godliness.

comply with this course of apostasy from the truth once delivered, received, professed, owned, and sworn to by all ranks of people." He testifies against the accepting of the Indulgence, which directly rose out of the sinful and usurped supremacy, and which was intended to break the suffering party, that being divided and broken they might the more easily be suppressed. Yet he expresses his confidence that such of those whom he knew that had accepted it, and his hope that others, had no corrupt or sinister design in accepting it. In short, he pronounces the Pentland rising a "laudable enterprise, undertaken in singleness and simplicity of heart, to deliver the whole land from the insupportable yoke of tyranny, and unjust and illegal oppression both of soul and body." This testimony, which is still preserved among M^r Ward's MSS. in the Wodrow Collection, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is printed in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, &c., M^r Phun's edition, 1870, pp. 135-159.

HENRY HALL OF HAUGHHEAD.

HENRY HALL of Haughhead (in the parish of Eckford in Teviotdale), having had a religious education, began very early to mind a life of holiness, in all manner of godly conversation. In his younger years he was a most zealous opposer of the public resolutions that took place in

the year 1651; insomuch that, when the minister of his parish complied with that course, he refused to hear him, and often went to Ancrum to hear John Livingstone. After the restoration of that wicked tyrant Charles II., being oppressed with the malicious persecutions of the

curates and other malignants for his nonconformity, he was obliged, in the year 1665, to depart his native country and go over to the border of England, where he was very much renowned for his singular zeal in propagating the gospel, by instructing the ignorant and procuring ministers to preach now and then among that people, who before his coming were very rude and barbarous, though now many of them became famous for piety.

In the year 1666 he was taken prisoner on his way to Pentland, to the assistance of his covenanted brethren, and imprisoned with some others in Cessford Castle; but by Divine providence he soon escaped thence, through the favour of his friend the earl of Roxburgh, who was a blood-relation of his, and to whom the castle then pertained. He retired again to Northumberland, where from this time until the year 1679 he lived, being very much beloved by all who knew him for his care and concern in propagating the gospel of Christ in that country; insomuch that his blameless and shining conversation drew love, reverence, and esteem, even from his very enemies. About the year 1678 the heat of the persecution in Scotland obliged many to wander

about in Berwick and Northumberland, as Colonel Struthers was violently pursuing all Scotsmen in those places. Haughhead was in that scuffle near Crookham, a village upon the English border, where one of his nearest intimates, that gallant and religious gentleman, Thomas Kerr of Hayhop, fell. Upon this he was obliged to return to Scotland, where he wandered up and down in the hottest time of the persecution, mostly with Messrs. Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron; during which time, besides his many other Christian virtues, he signalized himself by a real zeal in defence of the persecuted gospel in the fields. He was one of those four elders of the Church of Scotland who, at the council of war at Shawhead Muir, June 18, 1679, were chosen with Messrs. Cargill, Douglas, King, and Barclay, to draw up the "Causes of the Lord's Wrath against the Land," which were to be the subject of a fast on the day following. He had, indeed, an active hand in the most part of the transactions among the Covenanters at that time; being one of the commanding officers in their army, from the skirmish at Drumclog to their defeat at Bothwell Bridge.

After this, being outlawed and

diligently searched for and pursued after, he was forced to go over to Holland, the only refuge then of our Scots sufferers, to escape the violent hands of his indefatigable persecutors. But he had not stayed there long until his zeal for the persecuted interest of Christ, and his tender sympathy for the afflicted remnant of his covenanted brethren, who were then wandering in Scotland amongst the desolate caves and dens of the earth, drew him home again; choosing rather to undergo the utmost efforts of persecuting fury, than to live at ease in the time of Joseph's affliction; making Moses' generous choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy what momentary pleasures the ease of the world could afford. Nor was he very much concerned with the riches of this world; for he hesitated not to give his ground to hold field preachings on, when few or none else would do it; for he was still a true lover of the free and faithfully preached gospel, and

was always against the Indulgence.

About a quarter of a year after his return from Holland he was mostly with Donald Cargill, lurking as privily as they could about Borrowstounness, and other places on both sides of the Firth of Forth. At last they were taken notice of by these two bloody hounds, the curates of Borrowstounness and Carriden,* who soon smelled out Mr. Cargill and his companion, and presently sent information to Middleton, governor of Blackness Castle, who was a papist. After consultation, he immediately took the scent after them, ordering his soldiers to follow him at a distance, by twos and threes together, at convenient intervals to avoid suspicion, while he and his man rode on after them at some distance, till they came to Queensferry. Here, perceiving the house where they alighted, he sent his servant off in haste for his men, putting up his horse in another house; and coming to them as a stranger, he pretended

* The following entry in reference to the last named curate is contained in Decree of the Privy Council:—"At Edinburgh, 8th June, 1680, the lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, considering that Mr. John Park, minister at Carriden, upon the account of his good and faithful service in discovering and delating Mr. Donald Cargill, and some other vagrant and fugitive persons, has been threatened for his life,

and is not in safety to live in the place where he now resides, have thought fit hereby to recommend to the lords of the clergy, and particularly to the lord bishop of Edinburgh, to provide and prefer him elsewhere, where his person may be in safety, and where he may find encouragement in his ministry, and recommend to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to give him some allowance upon account of his good service."

a great deal of kindness to them both, desiring that they might have a glass of wine together. When each had taken a glass, and were in some friendly conference, the governor wearying that his men came not up, threw off the mask, and laid hands on them, saying, they were his prisoners, and commanded the people of the house in the king's name to assist. They all refused except one Thomas George, a waiter, by whose assistance the governor got the gate shut.

In the meantime Haughhead, being a bold and brisk man, struggled hard with the governor, until Cargill got off; but after the scuffle, as he was going off himself, having got clear of the

governor, Thomas George struck him on the head with a carbine, and wounded him mortally. However, he got out; and by this time the women of the town, who were assembled at the gate to the rescue of the prisoners, convoyed him out of the town.* He walked some time on foot, but was unable to speak much, save only to cast some little reflection upon a woman whose interposition hindered him from killing the governor, and so making his escape more timeously. At last he fainted, and was carried to a country house near Echlin; but although surgeons were speedily brought, yet he never recovered the use of his speech afterwards. Dalziel,† living near by, was soon

* The courageous attempt of these women to rescue Cargill and Hall from the king's soldiers so exasperated the government that an extraordinary meeting of the Privy Council was called (June 4, 1680) to adopt measures for the apprehension of Cargill and the female rioters. The Council sent General Dalziel with a party to make all the strict inquiry he could for the arrest of Cargill the minister, and to make all who had defended him prisoners. (*Fountainhall's Decisions of the Lords of Session*, vol. i. p. 100.)

† Thomas Dalziel of Binns, who was descended from the family of Carnwath, and born about the year 1599, was one of the fiercest persecutors of the Presbyterians. In 1651 he fought at the battle of Worcester on the side of Charles II., and was taken prisoner, and carried to the Tower of London. Having made his escape, he fled to the Continent; and in his absence his estates were forfeited, whilst he was excluded from Cromwell's Indemnity. Having entered the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he was raised, for his valour and skill in the war

against the Turks and Tartars, to the rank of a general. Returning to his native country after the Restoration, he was made general of his Majesty's forces in Scotland. He commanded the royal troops at the battle of Pentland Hills, at which the insurgents were defeated. For his services on that occasion he was, in terms of a letter from Charles II. dated Whitehall, 4th December, 1666, admitted a member of the Privy Council of Scotland; and he obtained, 11th July, 1670, a gift of the estate of William Muir of Caldwell, who had taken part in the Pentland insurrection.

Dalziel was a man of a rude and ruthless disposition, which had been hardened still more by his service in Muscovy, as well as by his habits of intemperance; and the peculiar dread and detestation in which he was held by the Presbyterians were intensified by his uncouth attire and appearance. "He never wore boots," says Captain Crichton, "nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey coats. He never wore a

apprised of the occurrence, and came quickly with a party of the guards and seized him; and although every one saw the gentleman just a dying, yet such was Dalziel's inhumanity that he must carry him to Edinburgh. But he died in their hands on the way thither; and made an end of this his earthly pilgrimage to receive his heavenly crown.

His corpse was carried to the Canongate tolbooth, where it lay three days without burial; and even then, although his friends convened for that end, to do their last office to him, yet that could not be granted. At last they buried him clandestinely in the

peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of King Charles I. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle." (Quoted by Kirkpatrick Sharpe in *Kirkton's History*, p. 226.) The thumbkins, a new instrument of torture for extorting confessions from the Covenanters, which inclosed and compressed the joints of the fingers by means of a screw, was introduced in 1684 at the suggestion of Dalziel and Colonel William Drummond, who had seen it used in Muscovy. (*Fountainhall's Historical Notes*, p. 97.) On 22nd August, 1685, Dalziel, when in perfect health, fell down in the act of drinking a glass of wine, and expired. (*Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. ii. p. 19.) His funeral, which took place on the 1st of September, was conducted with much display after the military fashion. It was attended by his Majesty's dragoons nearest the place, six pieces of cannon were drawn before the hearse, with the horse of the deceased led, and his general's baton carried.

night; for such was the fury of these limbs of Antichrist, that after having slain the witnesses, they would not suffer them to be decently interred in the earth; which is another lasting evidence of the cruelty of those times.

Thus, this worthy gentleman, after he had in an eminent manner served his day and generation, fell a victim to prelatie fury. Upon him was found, when he was taken, a rude draft of an unsubscribed paper, afterwards called the Queensferry Paper,* which the reader will find inserted at large in Wodrow's History, and in the appendix to the "Cloud of Witnesses."

The guns of the castle were fired during the procession. (*Fountainhall*, and *Records of Privy Council*.)

* The Queensferry Paper was so called from the place where Hall was murdered. It was a rude draught of a declaration, by which such as should subscribe it, after professing their adherence to the doctrine of the reformed churches, especially the Church of Scotland, summed up in the Confession of Faith and sworn to in the Covenants, bound themselves to endeavour the overthrow of that power (which was no longer authority) that had established and upheld that kingdom of darkness, that Prelacy, to wit, and Erastianism over the church, and had exercised such arbitrary tyranny over the subjects. By it they also renounced their allegiance to the existing king and government, and purposed to set up governors and a government the least liable to degenerate into tyranny, according to the word of God, and engaged to defend each other in worshipping God, and in their natural, civil, and divine rights and liberties. (*Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. p. 207.)

RICHARD CAMERON.

RICHARD CAMERON was born in Falkland in the shire of Fife, his father being a merchant there. He was of the Episcopal persuasion at first; as, after he had passed his course of learning, he was for some time schoolmaster and precentor to the curate of Falkland. He sometimes attended the sermons of the Indulged, as he had opportunity; but at last it pleased the Lord to incline him to go out and hear the persecuted gospel in the fields; which, when the curates understood, they set upon him, partly by flattery and partly by threats, and at last by more direct persecution, to make him forbear attending these meetings. But such was the wonderful working of the Lord by his

* There were two Indulgences previous to the suppression of the insurrection at Pentland, both of which proceeded from the king's usurped supremacy over the church. The first, of which Lauderdale may be regarded as the author, was granted by a letter from the king dated 15th July, 1669; and it was ultimately extended to forty-two of the nonconforming ministers. In the letter his Majesty declared that it was his pleasure that the ministers ejected by the Act of Glasgow in 1662, who had lived peaceably, should be reponed by the Council to their own charges if vacant, or might be settled in other churches that were vacant, on being presented by the patron; and that such ministers as should take collation from the bishop of the diocese, and keep presbyteries and synods, should be authorized to lift their stipends like other ministers of the kingdom; but that such as were not collated by

powerful Spirit upon him, that having got a lively discovery of the sin and hazard of Prelacy, he deserted the curates altogether; and no sooner was he enlightened anent the evils of Prelacy, than he began more narrowly to search into the state of things, that he might know what was his proper and necessary duty. The Lord was pleased to discover to him the sinfulness of the Indulgence, as flowing from the ecclesiastical supremacy usurped by the king; and being zealously affected for the honour of Christ, wronged by that Erastian acknowledgment of the magistrate's usurped power over the church; he longed for an opportunity to give a testimony against it.*

the bishop should only possess the manse and glebe. The letter closed with an injunction that, as the occasion for conventicles was now removed, those who kept them should be proceeded against with all severity. (*Wodrow's History*, vol. ii. p. 130.) Many of the most eminent of the Presbyterian ministers were pitched upon for this favour, and were settled in the parishes that were most Presbyterian, or where the gentlemen especially were so. The prelates, who at first opposed the measure, became satisfied when it was found that it divided the Presbyterians.

The second Indulgence, which was granted in 1672 to about eighty ejected ministers, who by twos, threes, and fours were confined to about fifty-eight parishes, was of a much more objectionable character than the first. The design in conferring it also was the more effectually to put

This made him leave Falkland, and go to Sir Walter Scott of Harden, who attended the Indulged meetings. Here he took the opportunity, notwithstanding many strong temptations to the contrary, to witness against the Indulged, particularly on Sabbath; for when called to attend the lady to church, he returned from the entry, refusing to go that day, and spent it in his chamber, where he met with much of the Lord's presence, as he himself afterwards testified, and got very evident discoveries of the nature of these temptations and suggestions of Satan, which were likely to prevail with him before. Upon Monday, giving a reason to the said Sir Walter and his lady why he went not to church with them, he took occasion to be plain and express in

testifying against the Indulgence in the original rise, spring, and complex nature thereof; and finding his service would be no longer acceptable to them, he went to the south, where he met with John Welsh, minister of Irongray. He stayed some time in his company, who, finding him a man every way qualified for the ministry, pressed him to accept a license to preach, which he for some time refused, chiefly upon the account that having such clear discoveries of the sinfulness of the Indulgence, he could not but testify against it explicitly as soon as he should have an opportunity to preach the gospel in public. But the force of his objections being answered by Mr. Welsh's serious solicitations, he was prevailed on to accept of a license from the outed ministers, who were then

down conventicles. The Indulged were allowed to preach, and to exercise the other parts of their ministerial function only within the parishes allocated to them. Restrictions of a very stringent character were imposed upon them. They were to marry or baptize only those who belonged to their respective parishes, or to the neighbouring parishes vacant for the time, to solemnize the Lord's Supper, all upon the same day, to preach only in their parish kirks; and if they presumed to preach in the churchyards, or in any other place, they were to be reputed and punished as keepers of conventicles; nor were they to go out of their own parishes without license from the bishop of the diocese. (*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 203-206.)

That many of the Presbyterian ministers and people regarded the acceptance of the Indul-

ences as involving a sacrifice of principle is not surprising; and these ensnaring royal favours proved more disastrous to their cause than all that they had suffered from their persecutors, by creating differences, animosities, and separation. The most of the ministers in whose favour the Indulgences were granted accepted them, though acknowledging their Erastian character. They conceived that the amount of liberty granted by them might be embraced without homologating the Erastian power of the crown, from which they admitted that the Indulgences proceeded, or sanctioning their objectional restrictions. Against both these points some of them protested when they first entered their pulpits, and they were from time to time breaking through the restrictions imposed, by which they rendered themselves obnoxious to the government.

preaching in the fields and had not complied with the Indulgence. Accordingly he was licensed by Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple at Haughhead in Teviotdale, at the house of Henry Hall. Here he told them he should be a bone of contention among them; for if he preached against a national sin among them, it should be against the Indulgences, and for the duty of separation from the Indulged.

After he was licensed they sent him at first to preach in Annandale. He said, how could he go there? He knew not what sort of people they were. But Mr. Welsh said, "Go your way, Ritchie, and set the fire of hell to their tail." He went, and the first day he preached upon the text, Jer. iii. 19, "How shall I put thee among the children?"

* The happy effects produced by the sermons of the Presbyterian field-preachers on the rude and lawless inhabitants of the border districts are well commemorated by William Cleland, the Cameronian poet. In the following lines he introduces a prelatist as warning the Highlanders of the danger of listening to the Presbyterian preachers, which threatened to annihilate the profitable trade of freebooting:—

"If their doctrine there get rooting,
Then farewell theft, the best of booting;
And this ye see is very clear,
Daily experience makes it appear.
For instance, lately on the Borders,
Where there was nought but theft and murders,
Rapine, cheating, and resetting,
Slight of hand—fortunes getting;
Their designation, as ye ken,
Was all along the *Tacking Men*.

In the application he said, "Put you amongst the children! the offspring of robbers and thieves." Many have heard of Annandale thieves. Some of them got a merciful cast that day, and told afterwards that it was the first field-meeting ever they attended; and that they went out of curiosity to see how a minister could preach in a tent, and people sit on the ground.* After this he preached several times with Mr. Welsh, Mr. Semple, and others, until the year 1679, when he and Mr. Welwood were called before that Erastian meeting at Edinburgh, in order to be deposed for their freedom and faithfulness in preaching against the sinful compliance of that time.†

After this Cameron preached at Maybole, where many thousands of people were assembled to—

Now rebels more prevail with words,
Than dragoons do with guns and swords;
So that their base preaching now,
Makes the rush-bush keep the cow,
Better than Scots or English kings
Could do by kilting them with strings;
Yea, those that were the greatest rogues
Follow them over hills and bogues
Crying for mercy and for preaching,
For they'll now hear no others teaching."

—*Cleland's Poems*, 1697, p. 30.

† A presbyterial meeting, which was held at Edinburgh, August 28, 1678, dealt with Mr. Richard Cameron about his forwardness, especially in his opposition to the Indulged ministers, and in exhorting the people to desert them. Of this meeting, Mr. Thomas Scott, minister of Hawick, was moderator. (*Wodrow's MSS.*, vol. ix, fol. No. 100; *McCrice's Mem. of Veitch*, &c., p. 406.)

gether, it being the first time that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was then dispensed in the open fields. At this time he used yet more freedom in testifying against the sinfulness of the Indulgence, for which he was also called before another meeting of the indulged in Gallo-way; and a little after that he was again called before a Presbytery of them at Sundewall, in Dunscore, in Nithsdale. This was the third time they had designed to take his license from him. Here it was that Robert Gray, a Northumberland man (who suffered afterwards in the Grassmarket in the year 1682), Robert Nelson, and others, protested against them for such conduct. At this meeting they prevailed with him to give his promise, that for some short time he should forbear such an explicit way of preaching against the Indulgence and separation from them who were indulged. This promise lay heavy on him afterwards, as will appear in its own proper place.

After the giving of this promise, finding himself by virtue thereof bound up from declaring the whole counsel of God, he turned a little melancholy; and to get the definite time of that unhappy promise exhausted, he went over to Hol-

land in the end of the year 1678, not knowing what work the Lord had for him there; where he conversed with Mr. M'Ward and others of our banished worthies. In his private conversation and exercise in families, but especially by his public sermon in the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam, he was most refreshing unto many souls, dwelling mostly upon conversion work, from that text, Matt. xi. 28: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;" and was most satisfying and agreeable to Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and others, who had been informed by the Indulged, and those of their persuasion, that he could preach nothing but babble against the Indulgence, cess-paying, &c. Here he touched upon none of these things, except in prayer, when lamenting over the deplorable case of Scotland by means of defection and tyranny.

About this time Mr. M'Ward said to him, "Richard, the public standard is now fallen in Scotland; and if I know anything of the mind of the Lord, ye are called to undergo your trials before us; and go home, and lift the fallen standard, and display it publicly before the world. But before ye put your hand to it ye shall go to as many of the field

ministers as ye can find, and give them your hearty invitation to go with you; and if they will not go, go alone, and the Lord will go with you."

Accordingly, he was ordained by Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Koelman, a famous Dutch divine. When their hands were lifted up from his head, Mr. M'Ward continued his still, and cried out, "Behold, all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and it shall be set up before sun and moon, in the view of the world."

In the beginning of the year 1680 he returned to Scotland, where he spent some time in going from minister to minister, of those who formerly kept up the public standard of the gospel in the fields. But all in vain;

* The Sanquhar Declaration was in substance nearly similar to the Queensferry Paper. It expressly disowned Charles Stuart, who had been reigning; or rather tyrannizing, on the throne of Britain these years bygone, as having any right, title to, or interest in the crown of Scotland for government, as forfeited several years since, by his perjury and breach of covenant both to God and his kirk, . . . by his breach of the very *leges regnandi* in matters civil, . . . and declared war against him as a tyrant and usurper, . . . and against all such as had strengthened him, sided with, or any wise acknowledged him in his tyranny, civil or ecclesiastic." It also disowned the duke of York, a professed papist, and protested against his succeeding to the crown.

for the prosecution after Bothwell Bridge being then so hot against all who had not accepted the Indulgence and Indemnity, none of them would adventure upon that hazard, except Donald Cargill and Thomas Douglas, who came together, and kept a public fast-day in Darneid Muir, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian; one of the chief causes of which was the reception of the duke of York, that sworn vassal of anti-christ, in Scotland, after he had been excluded from England and several other places. After several meetings among themselves for forming the declaration and testimony which they were about to publish to the world, at last they agreed upon one, which they published at the market-cross of Sanquhar, June 22, 1680, from which place it is commonly called the Sanquhar Declaration.* After

Such was the extreme course to which a party of the Covenanters, though only a comparatively small number of them, were driven by long-continued persecution. Nor need we wonder at their assuming this attitude of defiance. They had been harassed, hunted over moors and mosses and mountains, perseveringly tracked to dens and caves and the remotest recesses of the wilderness, whither they had betaken themselves for safety. They had been denounced as rebels and intercommuned, plundered and maltreated by barbarous soldiers, followed and trepanned by hired informers, and a price had been set upon their heads. They had been fined, imprisoned, banished to the plantations to be sold as slaves, forfeited in property and in life, and many of their number

this they were obliged, for some time, to separate one from another, and go to different corners of the land; and that not only upon account of the urgent call and necessity of the people, who were then in a most starving condition with respect to the free and faithfully preached gospel, but also on account of the indefatigable scrutiny of the enemy, who, for their better encouragement, had by proclamation offered five thousand merks for apprehending Cameron, three thousand for Cargill and Douglas respectively, and one hundred for each of the rest who were concerned in the publication of the foresaid declaration.

After parting, Richard Cam-

er was hanged at the Grassmarket, Edinburgh, and at the public cross in other towns. The wonder is that they did not to a man, long before now, throw off their allegiance to Charles, whose government had become one of the most relentless despotisms that ever existed in any country. When it is further considered that this ruthless persecution had continued without intermission for a period of nearly nineteen long years, before even the most resolute and fiery spirits among the persecuted made proposals of disowning Charles' authority, we cannot refuse to award to them the meed of almost unexampled patience. It was not till the period of the battle of Bothwell Bridge, about the middle of the year 1679, that propositions of this kind first began to be made by some of the more eager and determined of the proscribed sufferers, the party afterwards known by the name of Cameronians; and nearly another year elapsed before they openly renounced their allegiance to Charles and proclaimed war against him. To their taking this step at the

time Cameron went to Swine Knowe in New Monkland, where he had a most confirming and comforting day upon that soul-refreshing text, Isa. xxxii. 2: "And a man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest." In his preface that day he said he was fully assured that the Lord, in mercy unto this church and nation, would sweep the throne of Britain of that unhappy race of the name of Stuart, for their treachery, tyranny, and lechery, but especially their usurping the royal prerogatives of Christ; and this he was as sure of as his hands were upon that cloth, yea, and more sure, for he had that by sense, but the other by faith.

time our only objection is the apparent hopelessness of such an attempt by a small minority, as the Cameronians were, who had no prospect of support from any other party, great or small, throughout the country; and the certainty that it would to an increased degree exasperate the government, while it would afford it a pretext for persecuting them with aggravated severity. Yet in renouncing the authority of Charles the Cameronians asserted a great principle, which had need to be asserted in their day in opposition to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance—the principle that monarchs, when they go a certain length in oppressing their subjects, may be rightfully driven from their thrones. Nor was the Revolution anything else than a successful practical assertion of the very principle for which many of the Cameronians suffered martyrdom, and whose courage in asserting it emboldened the Prince of Orange in his heroic enterprize, and contributed to hasten the day of deliverance.

Mr. H. E. (probably Henry Erskine),* who suffered much by imprisonment and otherwise in this period, and who, although otherwise a worthy good man, was so misled that he had one time premeditated a sermon, wherein he intended to speak somewhat against Mr. Cameron and Mr. Cargill, so far was he from taking part with them. But on Saturday night he heard an audible voice, which said unto him, *Audi* (hear)! He answered, *Audio* (I hear)! The voice spoke again, and said, "Beware of calling Cameron's words vain." This stopped him from his intended purpose. This he told himself afterwards unto an old reverend minister, who related the matter as above stated.

When Richard Cameron came to preach in and about Cumnock, he was much opposed by the lairds of Logan and Horsecleugh, who represented him as a Jesuit, and a vile, naughty person. But yet some of the Lord's people, who had retained their former faithfulness, gave him a call to preach in that parish. When he began, he exhorted the people to mind that they were in the sight and presence of a holy God, and that all of them were hastening

to an endless state of either weal or woe. Andrew Dalziel, a debauchee (a cocker or fowler), who was in the house, it being a stormy day, cried out, "Sir, we neither know you nor your God." Mr. Cameron, musing a little, said, "You, and all who do not know my God in mercy, shall know him in his judgments, which shall be sudden and surprising in a few days upon you; and I, as a sent servant of Jesus Christ, whose commission I bear and whose badge I wear upon my breast, give you warning, and leave you to the justice of God." Accordingly, in a few days after, the said Andrew, being in perfect health, took his breakfast plentifully, but before he rose he fell a vomiting, and died in a most frightful manner. This admonishing passage, together with the power and presence of the Lord going along with the gospel as dispensed by him during the little time he was there, made the foresaid two lairds desire a conference with him, to which he readily assented; after which they were obliged to acknowledge that they had been in the wrong, and desired his forgiveness. He said, from his heart he forgave them what wrongs they had done to him; but for

* Henry Erskine was minister first at Cornhill, afterwards at Chirnside, and father of

Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, founders of the Secession Church.

what wrongs they had done to the interest of Christ, it was not his part to forgive them; but he was persuaded that they would be remarkably punished for it. To the laird of Logan he said that he should be written childless; and to Horsecleugh, that he should suffer by burning—both of which afterwards came to pass.

Upon the 4th of July following, being eighteen days before his death, he preached at the Grass Waterside near Cumnock. In his preface that day he said, “There are three or four things I have to tell you this day which I must not omit, because I will be but a breakfast or four-hours to the enemy some day or other shortly; and then my work and my time will both be finished. And the *first* is this: As for the king who is now upon the throne of Britain, after him there shall not be a crowned king of the name of Stuart in Scotland.* *Secondly*, There shall not be an old Covenanter’s head above ground, that swore these Covenants with uplifted hands, ere ye get a right Reformation set up in Scotland. *Thirdly*, A man shall ride a day’s journey in the shires of Galloway, Ayr, and

Clydesdale, and not see a reeking house nor hear a cock crow, ere ye get a right Reformation; and several other shires shall be little better. And *fourthly*, The rod that the Lord will make instrumental in this will be the French and other foreigners, together with a party in this land joining them; but ye that stand to the testimony in that day, be not discouraged at the fewness of your number; for when Christ comes to raise up his own work in Scotland, he will not want men enough to work for him.”

In the week following he preached in the parish of Carluke upon these words, Is. xlix. 24: “Shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captive delivered?” The Sabbath following, at Hind Bottom, near Crawfordjohn, he preached on these words, John v. 40: “And ye will not come to me that ye might have life.” In the time of this sermon he fell a weeping, and the greater part of the multitude also, so that few dry cheeks were to be seen among them. After this, to the day of his death, he mostly kept his chamber door shut until night; for the mistress of the house where he staid, having been several times at the door, got no access. At last she forced it up,

* King James II. never took the coronation oath of Scotland.—Howie.

and finding him very melancholy earnestly desired to know how it was with him. He said, "That weary promise which I gave to these ministers has lain heavy upon me, and for it my carcass shall dung the wilderness, and that ere it be long." Being now near his end, he had such a large earnest of the Spirit and such a longing desire for full possession of the heavenly inheritance, that he seldom prayed in a family, asked a blessing, or gave thanks, but he prayed for patience to wait until the Lord's appointed time came.

The last Sabbath he preached* was with Donald Cargill in Clydesdale, on Psalm xlv. 10: "Be still, and know that I am God." That day he said he was sure that the Lord would lift up a standard against antichrist which would go to the gates of Rome and burn it with fire, and that "blood" should be their sign and "no quarter" their word; and he earnestly wished that it might begin in Scotland. At their parting they concluded to meet the second Sabbath after this at

* Another account bears that his last sermon was preached at the Water of Renan in Gallo-way, and that it was a very prophetic one. But though he might have preached there, yet according to the time and place, it does not appear to have been the last sermon that he preached.—*Howie*.

Craigmead, but he was killed on the Thursday thereafter. The Sabbath following Cargill preached in the parish of Shotts upon that text, 2 Sam. iii. 38: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

The last night of his life he was in the house of William Mitchell of Meadowhead, at the Water of Ayr, where about twenty-three horse and forty foot had continued with him that week. That morning a woman gave him water to wash his face and hands; and having washed and dried them with a towel, he looked to his hands and laid them on his face, saying, "This is their last washing. I have need to make them clean, for there are many to see them." At this the woman's mother wept, but he said, "Weep not for me, but for yourself and yours, and for the sins of a sinful land, for ye have many melancholy, sorrowful, and weary days before you."

The people who remained with him were in some hesitation whether they should abide together for their own defence, or disperse and shift for themselves. But that day, being the 22nd of July, 1680, they were surprised by Bruce of Earlshall, who.

having got command of Airlie's troop and Strachan's dragoons, upon notice given him by Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree,* came furiously upon them, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when lying on the east end of Airsmoss. When they saw the enemy approaching and no possibility of escaping, they all gathered round Cameron, while he prayed a short word; wherein he repeated this expression thrice over, "Lord, spare the green, and take the ripe." When ended, he said to his brother with great intrepidity, "Come, let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day that I have longed for and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies! This is the day that we will get the crown!" And to the rest he said, "Be encouraged all of you to fight it out valiantly; for all of you that shall fall this day I see heaven's gates open to receive you." But the enemy approaching, they immediately drew up; eight horse with Cameron on the right, the rest with valiant Hackston on the left, and the foot in the

middle; where they all behaved with much bravery, until overpowered by a superior number. At last Hackston was taken a prisoner, as will afterwards be more fully narrated; Cameron was killed on the spot, and his head and hands cut off by one Murray, and taken to Edinburgh.

His father being in prison for the same cause, the enemy carried them to him, to add grief unto his former sorrow, and inquired at him if he knew them. Taking his son's head and hands, which were very fair—being a man of a fair complexion like himself—he kissed them and said, "I know—I know them; they are my son's—my own dear son's. It is the Lord—good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but hath made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." After which, by order of the Council, his head was fixed upon the Netherbow Port, and his hands beside it, with the fingers upward.

Thus this valiant soldier and minister of Jesus Christ came to his end, after he had been not only highly instrumental in turn-

* It is said Earls shall got £500, and Ochiltree 10,000 merks. However, some time after, one morning about break of day a fiery pillar of a bloody colour, seemingly about two yards long, was seen hanging about that house. The same day, about two o'clock afternoon, the castle took

fire, and was, with charters, plate, and all, burnt down to the ground. The son said to the father while it was burning, "This is the vengeance of Cameron's blood." That house was never built. For the new house, estate and all, they are gone from that race to others.—*Howie*.

ing many souls unto God, but also in lifting up a faithful standard for his royal Lord and Master against all his enemies, and the defections and sinful compliances of that time. One of his and Christ's declared enemies, when he looked at his head at Edinburgh, gave him this testimony, saying, "There's the head and hands of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." And wherever the faithful contentings of the once famous Covenanted Church of Scotland are made mention of, this, to his honour, shall be recorded of him.

When he was slain there was

found upon him a short paper, or bond of mutual defence, which the reader will find inserted in Wodrow's History and in the Appendix to the "Cloud of Witnesses." There are a few of his Letters now published along with Mr. Renwick's Collection of Letters. But the only sermon of his that appeared in print formerly, is that preached at Carluke, entitled "Good News to Scotland," published in 1733. He wrote also in defence of the Sanquhar Declaration, but we can give no account of its ever being published. Some more of his sermons have been lately published.

DAVID HACKSTON OF RATHILLET.

DAVID HACKSTON of Rathillet, in the shire of Fife, is said in his younger years to have been without the least sense of anything religious, until it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to incline him to go out and attend the gospel then preached in the fields, where he was caught in the gospel net, and became such a true convert, that after a most mature deliberation upon the controverted points of the principles of religion in that period,

he embarked in the noble cause for which he afterwards suffered, with a full resolution to stand and fall with the despised persecuted people, cause, and interest of Jesus Christ.

There is no account of any public appearances that this worthy gentleman made until the 3rd of May, 1679, when we find him, with other eight gentlemen, going in quest of one Carmichael, who by means of Archbishop Sharp had got com-

mission to harass and persecute all he could find in the shire of Fife for nonconformity; but not finding him, when they were ready to drop the search they providentially met with their arch-enemy himself. Whenever they descried his coach, one of them said, "It seems that the Lord hath delivered him into our hand;" and proposed that they should choose one for their leader, whose orders the rest were to obey. Upon this they chose David Hackston for their commander, but he absolutely refused, upon account of a difference subsisting betwixt Sharp and him in a civil process, wherein he judged himself to have been wronged by the primate; which deed he thought would give the world ground to think it was rather out of personal pique and revenge, which he professed he was free of. They then chose another, and came up with the coach; and having got the archbishop out, and given him some wounds, he fell on the ground. They ordered him to pray; but instead of that, seeing Rathillet at some distance (who had never alighted from his horse), he crept towards him on his hands and

his feet, and said, "Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me." To this he answered, "I shall never lay a hand on you." At last Sharp was killed; after which every one judged of the action as his inclination moved him. However, the deed was wholly charged upon Hackston and his brother-in-law, Balfour of Kinloch, although he had no active hand in this action.

About the latter end of the same month of May, that he might not be found wanting to the Lord's cause, interest, and people upon any emergent occasion, he, with some friends from Fife, joined that suffering handful of Covenanters at Evandale, whence Mr. Robert Hamilton, brother to the laird of Preston, Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister, and others, after they had drawn up a declaration, went to the market-cross of Rutherglen upon the anniversary day [of the birth and restoration of King Charles II.], the 29th of May, extinguished the bonfires [by which the burghers of that burgh were displaying their loyalty], and published the said testimony.* They returned back to Evandale, where they were

* Hamilton and Douglas were escorted to Rutherglen by about eighty armed men. The party affixed upon the cross their declaration,

in which, among other things, they testified against the Act Rescissory, the Act establishing abjured Prelacy, the Act for burning the Solemn

attacked by Claverhouse, upon the 1st of June, near Drumclog. Here Hackston was appointed one of the commanding officers (under Robert Hamilton, who commanded in chief), where he behaved with much valour and gallantry during that skirmish. After this he was a very useful instrument among that faithful remnant: as witness his repeated protests against the corrupt and Erastian party; and had an active hand in the most part of the public transactions among them, until that fatal day, the 22nd of June, when he and his troop of horse were the last upon the field of battle at Bothwell Bridge.

But this worthy and religious gentleman, being now declared a rebel to the king (though no rebel to Zion's King), and a proclamation issued wherein a reward of ten thousand merks was offered to any who could inform of or apprehend him, or any of those concerned in the death of Archbishop Sharp, was obliged to retire out of the way for about a year's space; in which time he did not neglect to attend the gospel in the fields, wherever he could have it faithfully dispensed.

League and Covenant, and the Glasgow Act, by which upwards of three hundred faithful ministers had been ejected from their churches, simply for non-submission to Prelacy. In demonstra-

But having run fast and done much in a little time, it could not be expected that he should continue long; and upon the 22nd of July, 1680, having for a few days been with that little party who attended Richard Cameron at Airmoss, they were surprised by Bruce of Earlshall, with Airlie's troop and Strachan's dragoons.

Here, being commander-in-chief of that little band, and seeing the enemy approaching fast, he rode off to seek some strength of ground for their better advantage, and the rest followed; but seeing they could go no farther, they turned back, and drew up quickly; eight horse being on the right, fifteen on the left, and the foot, not being forty, and many of them ill armed, in the middle. He then asked, if they were all willing to fight? They all answered, they were. Both bodies advanced, and a strong party of the enemy's horse coming hard upon them, their horse fired, killing and wounding several of them, both horse and foot. After this they advanced to the enemy's very faces, when, after giving and

tion of their detestation of all these Acts, they burned them publicly at the cross of Rutherglen, as their rulers had perfidiously burned the Covenants.

receiving fire, valiant Hackston being in the front, and finding the horse behind him broke, rode in among them, and out again without any damage. But being assaulted by several, with whom he fought a long time, they following him and he them by turns, he at length stuck in a bog; and the foremost of them, one Ramsay, an old acquaintance, followed him in, and they being on foot fought with small swords, without much advantage on either side. At length closing, he was struck down by three on horseback who came behind him, and falling, after he had received three sore wounds on the head, they saved his life.

He was, with the rest of the prisoners, carried to the rear, where they gave them all a testimony of being brave resolute men.* After this he was brought to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, where Dalziel† threatened to roast him for not satisfying him with answers. After this he and the other three prisoners were taken to Edin-

burgh, where, by order of the Council, they were received by the magistrates at the Watergate. Hackston being set on a horse's bare back, with his face backward, and the other three being laid on a goad of iron, they were carried up the street, with Mr. Cameron's head on a halbert before them, to the Parliament Close, where Hackston was taken down, and the rest loosed by the hands of the hangman.

He was immediately brought before the Council, where his indictment was read by the chancellor, and himself examined; which examination, and his answers thereunto, being elsewhere inserted at large,‡ it may suffice here to observe, that being asked if he thought the archbishop's death murder? he told them that he was not obliged to answer such questions; yet he would not call it so, but rather say it was not murder. Being further asked if he owned the king's authority, he replied, that though he was not obliged to answer that question, yet as he was

* Some of these bloody enemies said, that that handful were men of the greatest courage that ever they set their faces to fight against, although they had been at battles abroad; and that if they had been as well trained, horsed, and armed as they were, they would surely have put them to flight. And few of the enemy escaped, for the shots and strokes which they

received were deadly, of which few recovered. Though there were but nine of the Covenanters killed, yet there were twenty-eight of the enemy killed, or died of their wounds in a few days. (*Walker's Memoirs*, p. 56.)—*Howie*.

† See before, p. 497.

‡ See his letters and answers in the Cloud of Witnesses.—*Howie*.

permitted to speak, he would say something to it. There could be no lawful authority but what was of God; and no authority, stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God; and he knew of no authority nor justiciary this day in these nations but what was in direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God nor lawful; and their fruits were proving it, in that they were setting murderers, sorcerers, and such others, at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and were making it their whole work to oppress, kill, and destroy the Lord's people. Bishop Paterson asked if ever Pilate, and that judicature who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges? He said that he would answer no perjured prelate in the nation. Paterson replied, that he could not be called perjured, since he never took that sacrilegious Covenant. Hackston said, that God would own that Covenant when there was none of them to oppose it. Notwithstanding these bold, free, and open answers, they threatened him with torture; but this he nowise regarded.

Upon the 26th he was again brought before the Council, where he answered much to the same

purpose as before. The chancellor said he was a vicious man. He answered, that while he was so he had been acceptable to him; but now when otherwise, it was not so. He asked him if he would yet own that cause with his blood, if at liberty? He answered that, before him, both their fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood. Then he was called by all a murderer. He answered that God, to whom he referred it, should decide betwixt them who were most murderers in his sight, he or they. Bishop Paterson's brother in conference told him, that the whole Council found that he was a man of great parts, and also of good birth. He said, that for his birth he was related to the best in the kingdom, which he thought little of; and as for his parts, they were very small; yet he trusted so much to the goodness of that cause for which he was a prisoner, that if they would give God that justice as to let his cause be disputed, he doubted not to plead it against all that could speak against it.

Upon the 27th he was taken before the Justiciary, where he declined the authority of the king as being a usurper of the prerogative of the Son of God, whereby he had involved the land in ido!

atry, perjury, and other wickedness; and declined them as exercising under him the supreme power over the church, usurped from Jesus Christ; and therefore durst not with his own consent sustain them as competent judges, regarding them as open and declared enemies to the living God, and competitors for the throne and power belonging to him only.

In a letter to his Christian friend N—— he writes:—

“July 28, 1680.—Dear and Christian acquaintance, My love being remembered to you and all friends in Jesus Christ, these are to show you and all others that I know and love the truth, as it is this day owned by the smallest handful that pretend thereto; and that I was yesterday before the Lords of Justiciary. They charged me with several things. I declined the king's authority as an usurper of the prerogatives of the Son of God, whereby he hath involved the lands in idolatry, perjury, and other wickedness; and I declined *them* as exercising under him the supreme power over the church, usurped from Jesus Christ; who in carrying on their designs of confirming themselves in their usurpations of the crown of Christ, had shed so much innocent blood throughout the land: and that therefore I, as an owner of Christ's right and his kingly office, which they by their wicked decrees had taken from him, durst not with my own consent sustain them as competent judges, but declined them as open and stated enemies to the living God and competitors for his throne and power, belonging alone to him; whereupon I was dismissed, and at night my indictment to compear to-morrow before an assize was intimated. Therefore I entreat you will (for I know you have

been moving with God) cause other faithful friends set time apart and inquire the Lord's mind concerning me; and be earnest with him in my behalf, that he will glorify himself in me. You may send your letter to —— with a sure hand, who will give it to me. Wherever Mr. D. C. is, acquaint him with my case or send him this line, for I know the mind of God is with him; and desire him to write to me. I think I dare not misbelieve, but when fears assault me. I think there is a voice saying to me, *Fear not*. Let none stumble at our cause because of the late dispensation; it is God's cause, which was and is in our hands, though he has punished us with his fatherly chastisements because of sin amongst us. ‘Every tree that bringeth forth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.’ But that which decayeth and goeth backward, is laid by as useless. John Pollock has been in the Boots, but I am informed he is not discouraged, but is likely to be well again. My wounds are very sore, but blessed be God he keeps me in a good temper, both of body and mind. I am kindly enough used, wanting nothing. I recommend you, and all the faithful, to the protection of him who is the almighty God and everlasting Father. No more, but rests, yours in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ,

“DAVID HACKSTON.”

In a letter to his sister he expresses his humble confidence that God, in fulfilment of his promise, would support him under all his sufferings:—

“Loving Sister,—I received yours and the other with it, both to my contentment and satisfaction: it makes me afraid that the eyes of many should be on me. Let all look to God; I am frail, but Christ is strong: I have his promise of through-bearing, and assurance that he should honour me in his cause, before this. Lie low before the Lord,

and let others that are yet faithful be earnest on my behalf; and do it in faith: 'the prayers of the faithful avail much.' Have *you* nothing, and tell all friends to have nothing, to do with such as have ado with those that are sitting in that seat, and exercising that power which belongs alone to Christ. The stroke of the Lord's anger is ready to be poured forth; and those that have received greatest talents from God, and have made that use of them to strengthen enemies' hands by bonds, or otherwise owning them, shall be most remarkable in the stroke; and shall not be honoured to testify for Christ, despised Christ, robbed Christ, contemned Christ, by this generation. Remember me to all relations and friends, and give warning to all to flee to Christ's truths and interest. If the free grace of God be glorified in me, ought not all to praise him? 'Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners.' Many of this generation think they have so much grace that they cannot sin; but I must tell them, grace doth not warrant from sin, and they may so think of it."

On the 29th Hackston was brought to his trial, when the Council, in a most unprecedented way, appointed the manner of his execution; for they well knew his judges would find him guilty. Upon Friday the 30th, being brought again before them, they asked if he had any more to say. He answered, "What I have said I will seal." Then they told him they had something to say to him; and commanded him to sit down and receive his sentence. This he did, but told them that they were all murderers, for all the power

they had was derived from tyranny, and that, these years bygone, they had not only tyrannized over the church of God, but also ground the faces of the poor; so that oppression, perjury, and bloodshed were to be found in their skirts.

Upon this he was carried from the bar, and drawn backwards on a hurdle to the place of execution at the Cross of Edinburgh. None was suffered to be with him but two bailies, the executioner, and his servants. He was permitted to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people. Being come upon the scaffold, his right hand was struck off, and a little after his left; which he endured with great firmness and constancy. The hangman being long in cutting off the right hand, he desired him to strike on the joint of the left; which being done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and suffered to fall down a considerable way upon the lower scaffold, three times, with his whole weight, and then fixed at the top of the gallows. Then the executioner, with a large knife, cut open his breast, and pulled out his heart before he was dead, for it moved when it fell on the scaffold. He then stuck his knife in it, and

showed it on all sides to the people, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor." At last he threw it into a fire prepared for that purpose; and having quartered his body, his head was fixed on the Nether Bow, one of his quarters, with his hands, at St. Andrews, another at Glasgow, a third at Leith, and the fourth at Burntisland.

Thus fell this champion for the cause of Christ, a sacrifice unto prelatie fury, to gratify the lust and ambition of wicked and bloody men. Whether his courage, constancy, or faithfulness had the pre-eminence, it is hard to determine; but his memory is still alive, and it is better not to say any more of him, than either too much or too little.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID HACKSTON,

IN A LETTER TO HIS CHRISTIAN FRIEND N——.

"Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 26th, 1680.
—Dear Acquaintance, I know this late dispensation of Providence will occasion much sadness to you, and other lovers of the Lord's truth, now in this day; when so few, by their practice, prove themselves to be zealous for God or lovers of his truth—but instead of that growth in the graces of God's Spirit and steadfastness which should be in Christians, have made defection from the truth, and are fallen from their first love, to the strengthening the hands of usurpers of the crown of Christ, in their unlawful encroachments on the privileges of the

Son of God. Wherefore I entreat you and all others, as you would not offend God and provoke him to more anger, do not murmur, but bless and praise him, and submit to him in all humility; for if this be one of the steps of Zion's deliverance and God's glory, why should not we praise him for every thing? If we had the manner of our delivery at our carving, we would spoil it. He is the wisdom of the Father, who sits at the helm and orders all affairs. The faith of this would silence all suggestions from Satan, our own hearts, and misbelief. I desire you would charge all that have love or affection to me not to be sad on my account, but rather to rejoice on my behalf, that God hath so honoured me in all I have been trusted with: for as he took me when I was a slave to Satan and sin, and cast his love upon me, and plucked me as a brand out of the fire, and brought me into covenant with him, to promote and carry forward his work, without fear of what man can do unto me; and as he helped me to make the bargain with him upon good terms, which was a renouncing of my own strength and a resolution to do all in his strength; so now he hath been faithful in all things to me, and hath furnished me sufficiently for what he hath called me to, and hath passed by my many gross failings and breaches of my conditions to him, and hath done to me above what I could ask of him. O that I could commend him to all, and stir up all to fear, admire, and praise him, and believe on him! But the lukewarmness and want of love to God, and indifferency in Christ's matters (which in his condescendency to the church he hath reserved as his declarative glory), and neutrality in these things, are come to so great a height among professors, that I think God is laying a stumbling-block before them, one after another, that when they are fallen (whom he will have to fall) he may be glorified in his justice, by bringing that stroke of vengeance that seems to be hanging over these lands; because of the fearful



idolatry, perjury, bloodshed, blasphemy, and other abominations, the whole land is this day guilty of. Think it not strange that I say all are guilty; there are none free, nor shall be reputed free in the sight of God, but mourners in Zion. Lord grant repentance, and a spirit of mourning; brokenness and contrition of spirit is the only sacrifice well pleasing unto God; and I prove all guilty. First, our representatives (and so we in them) established these sins in our national decrees, which we have homologated in owning them ever after; and much more have we homologated their sins in contributing, one way or other, to the strengthening of their hands against God; as, alas, but few be free of this, this day! O that preachers would preach repentance, and professors would exhort one another to mourn in secret and together, because of sin; and with their mourning would believe: for these are very consistent together. I find flesh and blood great enemies to faith, and friends, yea, fosterers of sinful fears. It is above nature to believe, especially when dispensations seem to contradict our faith: but if any hath faith towards God concerning me, let not this brangle their faith, but rather strengthen it; there is nothing can contradict what God hath determined; but over the belly of all opposition he will perfect his work in and by me, either to a remarkable delivery or through-bearing, as he sees most for his own glory.

“Wherefore let us submit to his will, and lie before the throne in behalf of Zion and her children; and O that you yourself would, and desire others that are faithful, to hold up my case to Zion’s God, that he would glorify himself in me, and let your prayers be in faith: ‘To him that believeth, all things are possible.’ There are many feckless, misbelieving prayers, that prevail not with God because of unbelief. I know these sufferings will be a great stumbling to many, otherwise gracious, but let it not be so to you: I bless the Lord it is not (as yet) so to me, but rather the power, yea, the love

of God to me; for it was not altogether unexpected unto me: for (not to reflect upon any that have sealed that truth and cause, as we stated it, with their blood) I cannot deny but it was over the belly of conscience that I joined with some of our party; for some of them had not their garments clean of the late defections, and there was too much pride amongst us: neither dare I allow that taking of satisfaction for practices which are the homologating of the public sins, which we did about half an hour before our break;* which checked me exceedingly in the time. I think real sorrow would make men like the prodigal, to think themselves not worthy to be employed in that work; real evidences of reconciliation with God should be seen before admission to such an employment. O that all would take warning by my reproof, not to venture to follow any man over conscience! There were choice godly men amongst us, but one Achan will make Israel to fall. I fear the want of faith amongst us, first and last, and all amongst our late business: I know many mouths will be opened against me because of what I did before this business, but I dare not but speak it, this is a stumbling-block laid to drive them to more sin; and alas! that I did not more to purge us of every sin, especially known sin among us. Those that abode within, and came not out with us, let them remember Meroz’s curse; I am afraid God will think them not free of our blood for not joining to our help.

“And now, knowing ye will be anxious to know how it was then, and how it hath been since with me. First, we getting notice of a party out seeking us, sent two on Wednesday night late to know their motion, and lay on a muir side all night: and Thursday, about ten hours, we went to take some meat, and sent out other two, and

*The allusion here is to the differences amongst the insurgents before the battle of Bothwell Bridge. Hackston took the side of Robert Hamilton of Preston. See foot note on this subject in Life of Walter Smith.

desired them to consult with the first two who had not come to us, but were lying down to sleep, who all four returned and told us it was unnecessary to send any for intelligence, they having secured it. Whereupon, after we had gotten some meat, we came to a piece of grass and lay down, and presently we were all alarmed that they were upon us; and so making ready, we saw them coming fast on, and that about three or four hours in the afternoon; and each one resolving to fight. I rode off to seek a *strength* for our advantage, and being desired by a countryman to go into such a place for the best strength. I went, and they followed: but coming to it, I found we could go no further; and so turning and drawing up quickly, eight horse on the right hand with R. D. and fifteen on the left with me, being no more; the foot not being forty, and many of them ill armed, in the midst. I asked all, if they were willing to fight? who all said, Yes; especially I. G. The enemy advanced fast, whom I took to be above one hundred and twelve, well armed and horsed; who sending first about twenty dragoons on foot to take the wind of us, which we seeing, sent a party on foot to meet them, and the rest of us advanced fast on the enemy, being a strong body of horse coming hard upon us; whereupon when we were joined, our horse fired first and wounded and killed some of them, both horse and foot: our horse advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other; I being foremost, after receiving their fire and finding the horse behind me broken, I then rode in amongst them and went out at a side, without any wrong or wound; I was pursued by several, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they followed me, and sometimes I followed them; at length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, who was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance; we both being on foot fought it with small swords, without advantage to one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with three on horseback be-

hind me; and receiving three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life: which I submitted to. They searched me, and carried me to their rear and laid me down, where I bled much; where were brought several of their men sorely wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men. What more of our men were killed I did not see nor know; but as they told me after, the field was theirs. I was brought toward Douglas. They used me civilly, and brought me drink out of a house by the way. At Douglas, Janet Cleland was kind to me and brought a surgeon to me, who did but little to my wounds, only stanchd the blood.

“Next morning I was brought to Lanark, and brought before Dalziel, Lord Ross, and some others; who asked many questions at me, but I not satisfying them with answers, Dalziel did threaten to roast me; and carrying me to the Tolbooth, caused me to be bound most barbarously and cast me down, where I lay till Saturday morning without any, except soldiers, admitted to speak to me, or look at my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next morning they brought me and John Pollock, and other two of us, near two miles on foot, I being without shoes, where that party which had broken us at first received us. They were commanded by Earlshall. We were horsed, civilly used by them on the way, and brought to Edinburgh about four in the afternoon, and carried about the north side of the town to the foot of the Canongate, where the town magistrates were, who received us; and setting me on a horse with my face backward, and the other three bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron’s head carried on a halbert before me, and another head in a sack, which I knew not, on a lad’s back; and so we were carried up the street to the Parliament-close, where I was taken down and the rest loosed: all was done by the hangman. I was carried up to the Council, and first put into a room

alone, where the chancellor* came and asked if I knew him? I answered, Yes. He (after some protestations of love, to which I answered nothing) went his way; and then I was brought in before the Council, where the chancellor read a ditty against me. First anent the bishop's murder; to which I answered, I was obliged by no law, either of God or man, to answer to it: and neither to accuse myself nor reveal others by vindicating myself, or any other way. The advocate asked, Where I was the third day of May was a year? To whom I answered, I am not bound to keep a memorial where I am or what I do every day. The chancellor asked, if I thought it murder? To which I answered, though I was not bound to answer such questions, yet I would not call it so, but rather say it was no murder. The advocate said, Sir, you must be a great liar, to say you remember not where you was that day, it being so remarkable a day. I replied, Sir, you must be a far greater liar, to say I answered such a thing. Whereupon the chancellor replied, My lord advocate, he said only he was not bound to keep in memory every day's work.

* The chancellor asked, If I adhered to Mr. Cargill's papers, which they called the New Covenant taken at the Ferry? I answered, I would know what any would say against them. He asked, if I owned the king's authority? I told, though I was not bound to answer such questions, yet being permitted to speak, I would say somewhat to that. And first, that there could be no lawful authority but what was of God; and that no authority, stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God; and that I knew of no authority nor judicatory this day in these nations but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful;† and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were setting bugerers, murderers, sorcerers, and

such others at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and made it their whole work to oppress, kill, and destroy the Lord's people. The chancellor and all raged, and desired me to instance one such so set at liberty and employed. I answered to that, though it were enough to instance any such when I saw a judicatory to execute justice, yet I would instance one; and I instanced a bugerer, liberated at the sheriff court of Fife, and afterwards employed in their service. At which the chancellor raged, and said, I behoved to be a liar: but I offered to prove it. Bishop Paterson asked, if ever Pilatē and that judicatory, who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges? I answered, that I would answer no perjured prelate in the nation. He answered, that he could not be called perjured, because he never took that sacrilegious covenant. I answered, that God would own that covenant when none of them were to oppose it. They cried all, I was prophesying: I answered, I was not prophesying, but I durst not doubt but that God, who had such singular love to these lands as to bring them into covenant, in so peculiar a manner with him, would let it be seen that his faithfulness was engaged to carry it through in opposition to his enemies. Some asked, what I answered to that article of the Confession of Faith concerning the king? I answered, it was cleared in these two covenants. The advocate asked what I said of that article of the Covenant, wherein we are bound to maintain and defend the king? I desired him to tell out the rest of it, which was in defence of religion, but not in the destruction of religion. The chancellor threatened me with the Boots and other terrible things; and said I should not have the benefit of a sudden death. To which I answered, it would be but an addition to their cruelties used against God's people before, and that I was there a prisoner of Christ, owning his truths against his open enemies, and referred it to their own Acts of Parlia-

* The duke of Rothes.

† Hackston was the first of the sufferers who denied before the government the authority of the king.

ment and Council, to let their cruelty and opposition to God and his people be seen.

"After this they called for a surgeon, and removed me to another room, where he dressed my wounds. In which time the chancellor came and kindly asked, If ever I said to a shepherd on the Mounthill, that if I thought they would not put me to an ignominious death, I would refer myself to the chancellor? I said, No. He said, A shepherd came to him and said so. I said, that he or any other who had said so to him were liars. I was asked by some concerning our strength; to whom I told how few we were, and that surprised by such a strong party, and knowing with what cruel orders they came against us, we were forced to fight. After the dressing of my wounds I was brought back to them, and these things being written, were read over to me, to which I adhered: and being asked if I would sign them I said, No. The chancellor said he would do it for me. Some one of them asked at the same time concerning my being at some other business: to whom I answered, that though I was not obliged to answer such questions, yet I adhered to all that had been done in behalf of that cause against its enemies. After which I was sent to the Tolbooth, and have met since with all manner of kindness, and want for nothing. My wounds are duly dressed, which I fear may prove deadly, they being all in the head; the rest of my body is safe.

"In all these trials (I bless the Lord) I was stayed, unmoved; no alteration of countenance in the least, nor impatience appeared. Some of them have come to me and regretted that such a man as I should have been led away with Cameron. I answered, he was a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and as for me, I desired to be one of those despicable ones whom Christ choosed. They said it was a Quaker-like answer. I told it was the words of Christ and his apostles. Bishop Paterson's brother, unknown to me, had a long reasoning with

me, but I think not to truth's advantage. He told me that the whole Council observed that I gave them not their due titles: at which I smiled and made no reply. He said, I was ill to the bishop. I told, that I asserted the truth. He said, that he never took the Covenant, and so could not be perjured. I answered, Prelacy itself was abjured by the whole nation. He told me, that the whole Council found I was a man of great parts and also of good birth. I replied, that for my birth, I was related to the best in the kingdom, which I thought little of, and for my parts they were small: yet I trusted so much to the goodness of that cause for which I was a prisoner, that if they would give God that justice as to let his cause be disputed, I doubted not to plead it against all that could speak against it. It was cast up to me both at the Council and here, that there were not two hundred in the nation to own our cause. I answered at both times, that the cause of Christ had been often owned by fewer. I was pressed to take advice; I answered, I would advise with God and my own conscience, and would not depend on men, and refused to debate any more, since it was to no purpose, being troublesome to me and not advantageous to the cause. At the Council some said I was possessed with a devil; some one thing, some another. The chancellor said I was a vicious man: I answered, while I was so, I had been acceptable to him; but now, when otherwise, it was not so. He asked me if I would yet own that cause with my blood, if at liberty? I answered, both our fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before me. Then was I called by all a murderer. I answered, God should decide it betwixt us; to whom I refer it, who were most murderers in his sight, they or I?

"You have an account, as near as I can give, of what passed among us. Be you, and desire all others to be, earnest with God in my behalf; for I am weak, and cannot stand without constant supplies of the

graces of his Spirit. O I am afraid lest I deny him; I have rich promises, but I want faith. Pray and wrestle in my behalf, and in behalf of the rest. And show this to my friends in that cause with me, especially D. K. Let all lie before the Lord, that he would show us the cause of his anger against us: and let me know, with the first occasion, who of us were slain. Commend me to all friends, and let none stumble at the cause because of this. It was often in my mouth to almost all, 'that if we purged not ourselves of the public and particular sins among us, God would break us and bring a delivery out of our ashes.' Let none murmur at what we should think our glory. And let ministers and others be afraid to be more tender of men than God's glory. And however it be a stumbling to some, let it be a token of the love of God to his church, to you, and all that love his truth. Pray for the outlettings of all the graces of God's Spirit to me and all the rest. I have need of patience, submission, humility, love to, and zeal for God; hope and faith above all, without which I am but a frail worm, and will fall before these enemies of mine, inward and outward. And thus recommending you to his grace who hath bought us with his precious blood, and remembering my love to all friends, I am, yours in our sweet Lord and Sympathizer in our afflictions,

“DAVID HACKSTON.”

“P.S. You may let others see this, but have a care to keep it; because I have no double, *and it may be all my testimony*. Send nothing to me, for I am fully seen to, and have met with kindness from all sorts; only friends have not liberty to see me. My love to you and all friends. I said to Clerk Paterson, that I should have seen Mr. Car-

gill's papers before I had answered anent them.”

To this may be subjoined the following extract from a letter which he wrote to a Christian lady from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 28th July, 1680:—“The whole land is become guilty of idolatry, as it is established by the Acts of Supremacy, especially in the Act Explanatory; wherein all the declarative glory and prerogatives of Jesus Christ are given to the king: which is fearful idolatry, and ascribing that which he hath purchased with his precious blood, and received from his Father as his gift, and hath reserved as his peculiar glory; giving this, I say, unto a creature, whom by this blasphemous decree we have set up in the room of Jesus Christ, as governor and absolute head and judge in all ecclesiastic affairs: and by the same decree all acts and laws contrary to it are rescinded, and the whole word of God, contained in the scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments, are a law contrary to it, and so by this are rescinded. Now, besides this sin of idolatry, by the Act Rescissory all other acts, oaths, covenants, and engagements, that the lands are lying under, sworn to God and in his name, are rescinded and declared null; and in contempt of God, to whom and in whose name they were so solemnly sworn and so often renewed, are burnt by the hands of the hangman, through several places of these covenanted kingdoms. This is a legal perjury and breach of covenant unparalleled in sacred or profane history. Besides, in contempt of the presence of God, seen at the meetings of his people convened in his name, they have declared them rendezvouses of rebellion: and, by another Act, have accounted it presumption for a minister to preach without doors—thus contemning the call of Christ, whereby they set themselves above God.”

ROBERT KER OF KERSLAND.

ROBERT KER of Kersland, being born and educated in a very religious family, began early to discover more than an ordinary zeal for religion. But the first public appearance that we find he made for the cause and interest of true religion was in the year 1666, about November 26, when he, Caldwell, and some others of the Renfrew gentlemen, gathered themselves together and marched eastward to join Colonel Wallace and the little handful who renewed the Covenants at Lanark. Having heard that General Dalziel was by that time got betwixt them and their friends, they were obliged to disperse; but this could not escape the knowledge of the Council; for the laird of Blackstoun, one of their own number, upon a promise of pardon informed against the rest, and so redeemed his own neck by accusing his neighbour; but of this he had nothing to boast of afterwards.

Kersland was after this obliged to retire out of the way; and the next year he was forfeited in his life and fortune, and his estate given to Lieutenant-general Drummond, of Cromlie, and his

lands in Beith to William Blair of that Ilk; which estates they unjustly held till the Revolution.*

After this, to elude the storm, he thought fit to retire and go over to Holland, and there chose to live with his family at Utrecht, where he had the advantage of hearing the gospel and other excellent conversation. In that place he continued nearly three years. But his friends thinking it necessary that he should come home to settle some of his affairs, if possible, his lady returned in the end of 1669, and himself soon followed. To his unspeakable grief he found, when he came to Edinburgh, that she was ill of a fever in the house of a woman who was a favourer of the sufferers. And though he lodged in a more private place, and only used to come in the evenings to visit his sick lady, yet Cannon of Mardroge, who had not altogether cast off the mask (at least his treachery and apostasy were not then discovered), having got notice of it, soon gave information to the chancellor, and orders were procured from Lauderdale, then in town, to search

* For a particular account of this gift, see *Samson's Riddle*, &c., pp. 139, 144.

the house, on pretence that John Welsh was keeping conventicles in the Lady Kersland's chamber; but the design was for Kersland himself, as the sequel will declare.

Accordingly a party came, and finding no conventicle, were just going to retire when one Murray, having particular notice from Mardrogate, that when any company came to the room in the evening Kersland used to retire behind a bed, and having a torch in his hand provided for that end, said he behoved to search the room; and so went straight behind the bed and brought him out, charging him to render his arms. Kersland told him he had none but the Bible, which he had then in his hand; and that was enough to condemn him in those times. At parting with his lady she showed much calmness and composure, exhorting him to do nothing that might wound his conscience out of regard to her or her children, and repeated that text of Scripture, "No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven."

He was forthwith taken to the guard-house, and then to the Abbey, where a committee of the Council that same night was gathered for his examination. When he was brought be-

fore them, they examined him concerning the lawfulness of the rising at Pentland; which he in plain terms owned to be lawful and what he thought duty. upon which he was immediately imprisoned. When going away the chancellor upbraided him with what had passed betwixt him and his lady, which he suffered with much patience.

He was nearly three months prisoner in Edinburgh; and from thence was sent to Dumbarton Castle, where he continued near a year and a half. Then he was ordered to Aberdeen, where he was kept close prisoner, without fire, for three months space in the cold winter season. From Aberdeen he was brought south to Stirling Castle, where he continued some years; and then was a second time returned to Dumbarton, where he continued till October, 1677. The Council then confined him to Irvine, and allowed him some time to transport himself and his family, then at Glasgow, to that place.

Coming to his family at Glasgow, he was visited by many friends and acquaintances; and the same night, convoying the Lady Caldwell and her daughter, he was taken by some of the guards and kept in the guard-

house till next day; when the commanding officer would have dismissed him, but first he behoved to know the archbishop's pleasure, who immediately ordered him to be kept a close prisoner in the Tolbooth. The archbishop took horse immediately for Edinburgh; Lady Kersland followed after, if possible, to prevent misinformation. In the meantime a fire breaking out in Glasgow, the Tolbooth was in danger; and the magistrates refusing to let out the prisoners, the well-affected people of the town got long ladders and set the prisoners free, and Kersland among the rest, after he had been eight years prisoner. When the hurry was over, he inclined to surrender himself again a prisoner; but hearing from his lady of the archbishop's design against him, he retired all that winter.

In the spring and summer following he kept company with the persecuted ministers, heard the gospel preached in the fields, and was at communions, particularly that at Maybole. About the beginning of harvest, 1678, he returned to Utrecht, where he continued until the day of his death.

When near his departure his dear acquaintance, Sir Robert Hamilton, being with him, and

signifying to him that he might be spared, as another Caleb, to see the good land when the storm was over, he, among his last words, said to him, "What is man before the Lord? yea, what is a nation? As a drop of a bucket, or as the small dust of the balance; yea, less than nothing and vanity. But this much I can say in humility, that through free grace I have endeavoured to keep the post that God hath set me at. These fourteen years I have not desired to lift the one foot till the Lord showed me where to set down the other." And so, in a few minutes, he finished his course with joy, and fell asleep in Jesus, November 14, 1680, leaving his wife and five children in a strange land.

It were superfluous to insist here upon the character of the thrice renowned Ker. It is evident to all that he was a man of a great mind, far above a servile and mercenary disposition. He was for a number of years hurried from place to place, and guarded from prison to prison, but he endured all this with undaunted courage. He lost a good estate for the cause of Christ; and though he got not the martyr's crown, yet he beyond all doubt obtained the sufferer's reward.

DONALD CARGILL.

DONALD CARGILL seems to have been born about the year 1610. He was the eldest son of a most respected family in the parish of Rattray. After he had been some time in the schools of Aberdeen, he went to St. Andrews, where, having perfected his course of philosophy, his father pressed upon him much to study divinity in order to the ministry. But he, through tenderness of spirit, constantly refused, telling his father that the work of the ministry was too great a burden for his weak shoulders, and requested him to command him to any other employment he pleased. His father still continuing to urge him, he resolved to set apart a day of private fasting to seek the Lord's mind therein; and after much wrestling with the Lord by prayer, the third chapter of Ezekiel, and chiefly these words in the first verse, "Son of man, eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel," made a strong impression upon his mind, so that he durst no longer refuse his father's desire, but dedicated himself wholly to the ministry.

After being licensed, he got a call to the Barony Church of

Glasgow. It was so ordered by Divine Providence, that the very first text the Presbytery ordered him to preach from was these words in the third of Ezekiel already mentioned, by which he was more confirmed that he had God's call to this parish. It had been long vacant, by reason that two ministers of the Resolution party, Messrs. Young and Blair, had still opposed the settlement of such godly men as had been called by the people. But in reference to Mr. Cargill's call, they were, in God's providence, much deterred from their wonted opposition. Cargill, perceiving the lightness and unconcerned behaviour of the people under the Word, was much discouraged thereat, so that he resolved to return home and not accept the call, which when he was urged by some godly ministers not to do, and his reason asked, he answered, "they are a rebellious people." The ministers solicited him to stay, but in vain. But when his horse was ready, and he just going to begin his journey, being in the house of Mr. Durham, where he had saluted several of his Christian friends that came to see him take horse,

as he was taking farewell of a certain godly woman, she said to him, "Sir, you have promised to preach on Thursday; have you appointed a meal for poor starving people, and will you go away and not give it? If you do, the curse of God will go with you." This so moved him that he durst not go away as he intended; but sitting down, he desired her and others to pray for him. So he remained and was settled in that parish,* where he continued to exercise his ministry with great success, to the unspeakable satisfaction both of his own parish and of all the godly that heard and knew him, until, by the unhappy restoration of Charles II., Prelacy was again restored.

Upon the 29th of May following, the day consecrated in commemoration of the said Restoration, he had occasion to preach

in his own church, it being his ordinary week-day's preaching, when he saw an unusual throng of people come to hear him, who thought he had preached in compliance with that solemnity. Upon entering the pulpit he said, "We are not come here to keep this day upon the account for which others keep it. We thought once to have blessed the day wherein the king came home again, but now we think we shall have reason to curse it: and if any of you come here in order to the solemnizing of this day, we desire you to remove." And enlarging upon these words in Hosea ix. 1, "Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as other people: for thou hast gone a-whoring from thy God; thou hast loved a reward upon every corn-floor," he said, "This is the first step of our going a-whoring from God; and whoever of the Lord's

* After he became minister of the Barony Church of Glasgow, Cargill married in 1655 Margaret Brown, widow of Andrew Bethune of Blebo. To Bethune she had three sons and two daughters. She died 12th August, 1656, less than a year after her marriage with Cargill. The testament dative and inventory of the goods, gear, debts, and sums of money which pertained to her at the time of her decease, was faithfully made and given up by Robert Bethune of Bandone, tutor-in-law, and nearest of kin, being cousin on the father's side, to Andrew, John, David, Margaret, and Mary Bethune, lawful children of her marriage with the deceased Andrew Bethune of Blebo,

her first husband, conform to a retour and service of tutory, dated 8th July, 1653, in name and behalf of the said children, in respect of their pupilarity and tender age, who were decerned executors dative to the defunct's goods, gear, and debts, by decreet of the deputy of the Commissary of Glasgow, upon the 24th of March, 1657. The goods belonging to her were £133 6s. 8d. The debts owing to her were £1155 6s. 8d. The sum of the inventory and debts was £1288 13s. 4d. There was no division, as the defunct died within a year and day after her marriage with Mr. Donald Cargill. (*Register of Confirmed Testaments*, Glasgow, 28th March, 1657.)

people this day are rejoicing, their joy will be like the crackling of thorns under a pot; it will soon be turned to mourning. He (meaning the king) will be the wofullest sight that ever the poor Church of Scotland saw. Woe, woe, woe unto him! His name shall stink while the world stands, for treachery, tyranny, and lechery."

This did extremely enrage the malignant party against him; so that, being hotly pursued, he was obliged to abscond, remaining sometimes in private houses, and sometimes lying all night among broom near the city, yet never omitting any proper occasion of private preaching, catechising, visiting of families, and other ministerial duties. At length, when the churches were all vacated of Presbyterians by an Act of Council, 1662, Middleton sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him, who, coming to the church, found him not, he having providentially just stepped out of one door a minute before they came in at the other; whereupon they took the keys of the church door with them and departed. In the meanwhile the Council passed an Act of confinement, banishing him to the north side of the Tay, under penalty of being imprisoned and prosecuted

as a seditious person; but this sentence he no way regarded.

During this time, partly by grief for the ruin of God's work in the land, and partly by the toils and inconveniences of his labours and accommodation, his voice became so broken that he could not be heard by many together. This was a sore trial to him, and discouraged him from preaching in the fields; but one day, Mr. Blackadder coming to preach near Glasgow, he essayed to preach with him, and standing on a chair, as his custom was, he lectured on Isaiah xlv. 3, "I will pour water on him that is thirsty." The people were much afraid, knowing his voice to be sore broken, lest they should not hear by reason of the great concourse. But it pleased the Lord to loose his tongue, and restore his voice to such a distinct clearness, that none could easily exceed him; and not only his voice, but his spirit was so enlarged, and such a door of utterance given him, that Mr. Blackadder, succeeding him, said to the people, "Ye that have such preaching have no need to invite strangers to preach to you; make good use of your mercy." After this he continued to preach without the city, a great multitude attending and profiting by his

ministry, being wonderfully preserved in the midst of dangers, the enemy several times sending out to watch him, and catch something from his mouth whereof they might accuse him.

In the month of October, 1665, they made a public search for him in the city: but he, being informed, took horse, and rode out of town. At a narrow pass of the way he met a good number of musketeers. As he passed them, turning to another way on the right hand, one of them asked him, "Sir, what o'clock is it?" He answered, "It is six." Another of them, knowing his voice, said, "There is the man we are seeking!" Upon hearing this he put spurs to his horse, and so escaped.

For about three years he usually resided in the house of Margaret Craig, a very godly woman, where he lectured morning and evening to such as came to hear him. And though they searched strictly for him here, yet Providence so ordered it that he was either casually or purposely absent; for the Lord was often so gracious to him, that he left him not without some notice of approaching hazard. Thus, one Sabbath, going to Woodside to preach, as he was about to mount his horse, having one foot

in the stirrup, he turned about to his man and said, "I must not go yonder to-day." A party of the enemy came there at that time in quest of him; but missing the mark they aimed at, they fell upon the people, apprehending and imprisoning several of them.

Another of his remarkable escapes was on a search made for him in the city, where his enemies came to his chamber, but found him not, he being providentially in another house that night. But what is most remarkable, being one day preaching privately in the house of one Mr. Callender, they came and beset the house, and the people put him and another into a window, closing the window up with books. The search was so strict that they searched the very ceiling of the house, until one of the searchers fell through the lower loft. Had they removed but one of the books, they would certainly have found him. But the Lord so ordered that they did not; for as one of the soldiers was about to take up one of them, the maid cried to the commander that he was going to take her master's books, and he was ordered to let them alone. So narrowly did Cargill escape this danger.

Thus he continued until the

23rd of November, 1668, when the Council, upon information of a breach of his confinement, cited him to appear before them on the 11th of January thereafter. But though he was apprehended and brought before the Council and strictly examined, wherein he was most singularly strengthened to bear faithful testimony to his Master's honour and his persecuted cause and truths, yet by the interposition of some persons of quality, his own friends, and his wife's relations, he was dismissed, and presently returned to Glasgow, where he performed all the ministerial duties as when in his own church, notwithstanding the diligence of his persecutors in searching for him.

Some time before Bothwell, notwithstanding all the searches that were made for him by the enemy, which were both strict and frequent, he preached publicly for eighteen Sabbath days to multitudes, consisting of several thousands, within little more than a quarter of a mile of the city of Glasgow; yea, so near it, that the psalms when sung were heard in several parts of it; and yet all this time he was uninterrupted.

At Bothwell, being taken by the enemy, and struck down to

the ground with a sword, and seeing nothing but present death for him, having received several dangerous wounds in the head, one of the soldiers asked his name; he told him it was Donald Cargill. Another asked him if he was a minister; he answered he was; whereupon they let him go. When his wounds were examined, he feared to ask if they were mortal, desiring, in submission to God, to live, judging that the Lord had yet further work for him to accomplish.

Some time after the battle at Bothwell he was pursued from his own chamber out of town, and forced to go through several thorn hedges. But he was no sooner out than he saw a troop of dragoons just opposite to him. Back he could not go, soldiers being posted everywhere to catch him, upon which he went forward, near by the troop, who looked to him, and he to them, until he got past. On coming to the place of the water at which he intended to go over, he saw another troop standing on the other side, who called to him, but he made them no answer; and going about a mile up the water, he escaped, and preached at Langside next Sabbath without interruption. At another time, being in a house beset with

soldiers, he went through the midst of them, they thinking it was the goodman of the house, and escaped. It appears that it was about this time that he resolved to go over to Holland, but we have no certain account where or what time he stayed there; but from the following account, it could not be long.

After Bothwell he fell into deep exercise anent his call to the ministry; but by the grace and goodness of God he soon emerged out of it, and also got much light anent the duty of the day, being a faithful contender against the enemy's usurped power, and against the sinful compliance of ministers in accepting the Indulgence, with indemnities, oaths, bonds, and all other corruptions.

There was a certain woman in Rutherglen, about two miles from Glasgow, who by the instigation of some, both ministers and professors, was persuaded to advise her husband to go but once to hear the curate, to prevent the family from being reduced. But going the next day after to milk her cows, two or three of them dropped down dead at her feet, and Satan, as she conceived, appeared unto her; which cast her under sad and sore exercise and desertion, so that she was brought

to question her interest in Christ, and all that had formerly passed betwixt God and her soul, and was often tempted to destroy herself, and sundry times attempted it. Being before known to be an eminent Christian, she was visited by many Christians, but without success, crying out that she was undone; she had denied Christ, and he had denied her. After continuing a long time in this state she cried for Mr. Cargill, who came to her, but found her distemper so strong that for several visits he was obliged to leave her as he found her, to his no small grief. However, after setting some days apart on her behalf, he at last came again to her, and finding her no better, but still rejecting all comfort, still crying out that she had no interest in the mercy of God or merits of Christ, and had sinned the unpardonable sin, he, looking in her face for a considerable time, took out his Bible, and naming her, said, "I have this day a commission from my Lord and Master to renew the marriage contract betwixt you and him; and if ye will not consent, I am to require your subscription on this Bible, that you are willing to quit all right, interest in, or pretence unto him." Then he offered her pen and ink

for that purpose. She was silent for some time, but at last cried out, "O! salvation is come unto this house. I take him—I take him on his own terms, as he is offered unto me by his faithful ambassador." From that time her bonds were loosed.

One time Donald Cargill, Walter Smith, and some other Christian friends, being met in a friend's house in Edinburgh, one of the company told him of the general bonding of the Western gentlemen for suppressing field-meetings, and putting all out of their grounds who frequented them. After sitting silent for some time, he answered, with several heavy sighs and groans, "The enemy have been filling up their cup, and ministers and professors must have time to fill up theirs also; and it shall not be full till their enemies and they be clasped in one another's arms; and then, as the Lord lives, he will bring the wheel of his wrath and justice over them altogether."

Some time after the beginning of the year 1680 he retired toward the Firth of Forth, where he continued until that scuffle at Queensferry, in which worthy Haughhead was killed and he himself sorely wounded. But he escaped, and a

certain woman, finding him in a private place on the south side of the town, tied up his wounds with her head-cloths, conducted him to the house of Robert Puntens in Carlowrie, where a surgeon dressed them, and Mrs. Puntens gave him some warm milk, and he lay in their barn all night. From thence he went to the south, and next Sabbath preached at Cairnhill, somewhere adjacent to Loudon, in his blood and wounds; for no danger could stop him from going about doing good. His text was in Heb. xi. 32: "And what shall I more say, for time would fail me to tell of Gideon," &c. At night some persons said to him, "We think, sir, preaching and praying go best with you when your danger and distress are greatest." He said it had been so, and he hoped it would still be so, that the more his enemies and others did thrust at him that he might fall, the more sensibly the Lord had helped him; and then, as it had been to himself, he repeated these words from the 118th Psalm, "The Lord is my strength and song, and is become my salvation," which was the psalm he sung upon the scaffold.

After this he and Richard Cameron met and preached together in Darneid-muir and other

places, until Cameron was slain at Airsmoss. Then he went north, where in the month of September following he had a most numerous meeting in the Torwood near Stirling, at which he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against some of the most violent persecutors of that day, as formally as the present state of things would permit. Some time before this it is said that he was very distant, and spoke little in company; only to some he said he had a blast to give with the trumpet that the Lord had put in his hand, which would sound in the ears of many in Britain, and other places in Europe also. It is said that nobody knew what he was to do that morning except Mr. Walter Smith, to whom he imparted the thoughts of his heart.* When he began, some friends feared he would be shot. His landlord, in whose house he had been that night, cast his coat and ran for it. In the forenoon

he lectured on Ezek. xxi. 25-27, and preached on 1 Cor. v. 13, and then, having discoursed some time on the nature of excommunication, he proceeded to the sentence.† After this, in the afternoon, he preached from Lam. iii. 31, 32, "For the Lord will not cast off for ever."

The next Lord's day he preached at Fallow-hill, in the parish of Livingstone. In the preface he said, "I know I am and will be condemned by many for excommunicating those wicked men, but condemn me who will, I know I am approven of by God, and am persuaded that what I have done on earth is ratified in heaven; for if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my generation-work, it was that. And I shall give you two signs, that ye may know I am in no delusion. If some of these men do not find that sentence binding upon them ere they go off the stage, and be

* See Walker's Remarkable Passages of the Life of Mr. Cargill, &c., p. 8.—*Howie*.

† This sentence he pronounced with great solemnity, beginning thus: "I, being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do, in his name and by his Spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Charles II., king," &c. He then enumerates the grounds upon which the sentence proceeded. By the same authority, and in the same name, he excommunicated

James, duke of York, the duke of Lauderdale, the duke of Rothes, General Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie, lord advocate, specifying in each case the reasons for the sentence. (*Torwood Excommunication*: being the lecture and discourse going before; and the afternoon sermon following after; with the action of excommunication itself, pronounced at Torwood, September, 1680. By that faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr. Donald Cargill, 1741.)

obliged to confess it, and if these men die the ordinary death of men, then God hath not spoken by me."

About the 22nd of October following a long and severe proclamation was issued against him and his followers, wherein a reward of five thousand merks was offered for apprehending him. Next month Middleton, governor of Blackness, having been frustrated in his design at Queensferry, laid another plot for him by consulting one James Henderson there, who, by forging and signing letters in the name of Bailie Adam in Culross, and some other serious Christians in Fife, invited Mr. Cargill to come over and preach to them at the Hill of Beath. Accordingly Henderson went to Edinburgh with the letters, and after a most diligent search found Mr. Cargill in the West Bow. Mr. Cargill being willing to answer the call, Henderson proposed to go before and have a boat ready at the ferry when they came; and that he might know him, he desired to see

Mr. Cargill's clothes, Mr. Skeen and Mr. Boig being in the same room. In the meantime he had Middleton's soldiers lying at Muttonhole, about three miles from Edinburgh. Mr. Skeen, Archibald Stuart, Mrs. Muir, and Marion Hervey took the way on foot, Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig being to follow on horseback. Whenever they came to the place the soldiers spied them, but Mrs. Muir having escaped, went and stopped Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig, who fled back to Edinburgh.

After this remarkable escape Cargill, seeing nothing but the violent flames of treachery and tyranny against him above all others, retired for about three months to England, where the Lord blessed his labours to the conviction and edification of many. In the time of his absence the delusion of the Gibbites arose from one John Gibb, a sailor in Borrowstounness, who, with other three men and twenty-six women, vented and maintained the most strange delusions.* Some time after

* Gibb appears to have laboured under some mental derangement. He and his party, who called themselves "The Sweet Singers," denied the king's authority, denounced the payment of all taxes, protested against the ordinary names of the months and days of the week, and repudiated the division of the Old and New

Testaments into chapters and verses, and the metrical version of the Psalms. Anticipating the immediate end of the world, they devoted themselves to fasting, constantly singing the Penitential Psalms; and undertook a pilgrimage to the Pentland Hills in the expectation of seeing the city of Edinburgh enveloped in

Mr. Cargill returned from England, and was at no small pains to reclaim them, but with little success. After his last conference with them at Darngavel,* in Cambusnethan parish, he came next Sabbath and preached at the Underbank Wood, below Lanark, whence he went to Loudon Hill, where he preached upon a fast-day, the 5th of May, 1681. Here he intended only to have preached once, and to have baptized some children. His text was Matt. xix. 28, "Ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." When sermon was over, and the children baptized, more children were brought, whereupon friends pressed him to preach in the afternoon, which he did from these words, Luke xxiii. 28, "Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." In the meanwhile the enemy at Glasgow, getting notice of this meeting, seized all the horses in and about the town

that they could come by, and mounted in quest of him; yea, such was their haste and fury, that one of the soldiers who happened to be behind the rest, riding furiously down the street called the Stockwell, at mid-day, rode over a child and killed her on the spot. Just as Mr. Cargill was praying at the close, a lad alarmed them of the enemy's approach. They, having no sentinels that day, which was not their ordinary, were so surprised that many of them who had been at Pentland, Bothwell, Airmoss, and other dangers, were never seized so with fear, some of the women throwing their children from them. In this confusion Mr. Cargill was running straight on the enemy; but Gavin Wotherspoon and others gripped him and haled him to the moss, to which the people fled. The dragoons fired hard upon them, but there was none either killed or taken that day.

About this time some spoke to Mr. Cargill of his preaching and praying short. They said, "O sir, it is long betwixt meals,

flames, as their leader had wildly predicted. (*Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. ii. pp. 15-23. *Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. pp. 348-355.) They were gently dealt with by the government, as appears from the following note.

* About this time the four men who headed this sect were taken and imprisoned in the Tol-

booth and Correction-house of Edinburgh, but by the duke of York and his faction were soon liberated; after which the four men and two women went west to the Frost-moss, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, every one of them using expressions at that horrid action which are fearful to utter.—*Howie*.

and we are in a starving condition; all is good, sweet, and wholesome that you deliver, but why do you so straiten us." He said, "Ever since I bowed a knee in good earnest to pray I never durst preach and pray with my gifts; and when my heart is not affected, and comes not up with my mouth, I always think it time to quit it. What comes not from the heart I have little hope will go to the hearts of others." Then he repeated these words in the 51st Psalm, "Then will I teach transgressors thy ways."

From Loudon Hill he took a tour through Ayrshire to Carrick and Galloway, preaching, baptizing, and marrying some people, but stayed not long until he returned to Clydesdale. He designed after his return to have preached one day at Tinto Hill, but the lady of St. John's Kirk gave it out to be at Home Common. He being in the house of John Liddel, near Tinto, went out to spend the Sabbath morning by himself, and seeing the people all passing by, he inquired the reason, which being told, he rose and followed them five miles off. The morning being warm (about the 1st of June, 1681), and the heights steep, he was very much fatigued before he got to

the place, where a man gave him a drink of water out of his bonnet, and another between sermons, this being the only entertainment he got that day, for he had tasted nothing in the morning. Here he lectured on the 6th of Isaiah, and preached on these words (Rom. xi. 20), "Be not high-minded, but fear." From thence he went to Fife, and baptized many children, and preached one day at Daven Common, and then came to the Benty Ridge in Cambusnethan, where he received a call from the hands of two men to go back to Galloway, but got it not answered. To these two men he said: "If I be not under a delusion (for that was his ordinary way of speaking of things to come), the French and other foreigners, with some unhappy men in this land, will be your stroke. It will come at such a nick of time when one of these nations will not be in a capacity to help another. For me, I am to die shortly by the hand of those murderers, and shall not see it. I know not how the Lord's people that have to meet with it will endure it; but the foresight and forethought of it make me tremble." And then, as if it had been to himself, he said, "Short, but very sharp!"

Mr. Cargill in that short time

had run very fast towards his end,* which now hastened apace. Having left the Benty Ridge, he preached one day at Auchingilloch,† and then came to Dunsyre Common, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, where he preached his last sermon upon that text (Isa. xxii. 20), "Come, my people, and enter into your chambers."

Some time that night, through the persuasion of Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig, he went with the lady of St. John's Kirk as far as Covington Mill, to the house of one Andrew Fisher. In the meantime James Irvine of Bonshaw, having got a general commission, marched with a party of dragoons from Kilbride, and next morning by sun-rising came to St. John's Kirk, and having searched it, he searched also the house of one Thomson, and going to Coving-

* Sometimes he ran on foot, having lost several horses in his remarkable escapes, one of which was shot under him at Linlithgow Bridge.—*Howie*.

† The week before he was taken he married two persons, and being in the Leewood, John Weir and his wife brought him his dinner. Being pressed to eat, he said, "Let me alone; I cannot be pressed, for I took not that meal of meat these thirty years, but I could have taken as much when I rose up as when I sat down." (Vide *Walker's Relation*, p. 45).—*Howie*.

‡ At a meeting of the Privy Council, held at Edinburgh 7th April, 1682, "anent a petition presented by James Irving of Bonshaw, showing that, whereas the petitioner, being in his Majesty's service, in pursuance of an Act of Council appointing a reward to any person who should apprehend the person of Mr. Donald Cargill,

ton Mill he there apprehended Mr. Cargill, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Boig. Bonshaw, when he found them, cried out, "O blessed Bonshaw—and blessed day that ever I was born—that has found such a prize! A prize of five thousand merks for apprehending of him this morning!"‡ They marched hard to Lanark, and put them in jail until they got some refreshment, and then bringing them out in haste, got horses and set the prisoners on their bare backs. Bonshaw tied Mr. Cargill's feet below the horse's belly with his his own hand very hard, at which he looked down to him and said, "Why do you tie me so hard? Your wickedness is great: you will not long escape the just judgment of God; and, if I be not mistaken, it will seize you in this very place." This accor-

which accordingly the petitioner did, with great pains and loss of horses in searching for him, and seeing the Council are in use, for the encouragement of those who do hazard their life in apprehending so notorious traitors as the said Mr. Donald was, to grant the reward promised by his Majesty's proclamation: . . . and therefore humbly supplicating that the Council would recommend the petitioner to the lord high treasurer for his satisfaction in the matter above specified, in such manner and way as they shall think fit. The lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having heard and considered the foresaid petition, do recommend to the lord treasurer to cause course be taken for giving the petitioner his reward for taking the foresaid Mr. Donald Cargill, as is appointed by his Majesty's proclamation." (*Decrets of Secret Council*.)

dingly came next year to pass; for after he had got this price of blood [which was not till May, 1682], one of his comrades in a rage ran him through with a sword at Lanark, and his last words were, "G—d d—n my soul eternally, for I am gone!" "Evil shall hunt the violent man."

They came to Glasgow in haste, fearing a rescue of the prisoners; and while waiting at the Tolbooth till the magistrates came to receive him, John Nisbet, the archbishop's factor, said to Mr. Cargill in ridicule three times over, "Will you give us one word more?" (alluding to an expression he used sometimes when preaching). To whom Mr. Cargill said with regret, "Mock not, lest your bands be made strong. The day is coming when you shall not have one word to say, though you would." This also came quickly to pass; for not many days after he fell suddenly ill, and for three days his tongue swelled, and though he was most earnest to speak, yet he could not command one word, and died in great torment and seeming terror.

From Glasgow the prisoners were taken to Edinburgh, and on July 15, 1681, were brought before the Council. Chancellor Rothes (being one of those whom Cargill

had excommunicated at Torwood) raged against him, threatening him with torture and violent death, to whom he said, "My Lord Rothes, forbear to threaten me, for die what death I will, your eyes shall not see it." This accordingly came to pass; for he died in the morning of that day in the afternoon of which Mr. Cargill was executed.

When before the Council, he was asked if he acknowledged the king's authority, &c. He answered, that as the magistrate's authority is now established by the Act of Parliament and Explanatory Act, he denied the same. Being also examined anent the excommunication at Torwood, he declined to answer, as being an ecclesiastical matter, and they a civil judicatory. He owned the lawfulness of defensive arms in cases of necessity, and denied that those who rose at Bothwell were rebels; and being interrogated anent the Sanquhar declaration, he declined to give his judgment until he had more time to peruse the contents thereof. He further declared that he could not give his sense of the killing of the archbishop; but that the Scriptures say, upon the Lord's giving a call to a private man to kill, he might do it lawfully, and gave

the instances of Jael and Phinehas. These were the most material points on which he was examined.*

While he was in prison a gentlewoman who came to visit him told him, weeping, "That these heaven-daring enemies were contriving a most violent death for him—some a barrel, with many pikes, to roll him in; others an iron chair, red-hot, to roast him in." But he said, "Let you nor none of the Lord's people be troubled for these things, for all that they will get leave to do to me will be to knit me up, cut me down, and chop off my old head, and then fare them well: they have done with me and I with them for ever!"

He was again before the Council on the 19th, but refused to answer their questions, except anent the excommunication. There was some motion made to spare him, as he was an old man, and send him a prisoner to the Bass during life; which motion being put to a vote, was by the casting vote of the earl of Rothes rejected; who doomed him to the gallows, there to die like a traitor.

Upon the 26th he was brought before the Justiciary and indicted in common form. His confession being produced in evidence

against him, he was brought in guilty of high treason, and condemned, with the rest, to be hanged, on the following day, at the Cross of Edinburgh, and his head placed on the Nether Bow. When they came to these words in his indictment, viz., *having cast off all fear of God*, &c., he caused the clerk to stop, and pointing to the advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, said, "The man that hath caused that paper to be drawn up hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from mine infancy; but that man, I say, who took the Holy Bible in his hand, and said it would never be well with the land until that book was destroyed, he is the man that hath cast off all fear of God." The advocate stormed at this, but could not deny the truth thereof.

When they got their sentence announced by sound of trumpet, he said, "This is a weary sound, but the sound of the last trumpet will be a joyful sound to me and all that will be found leaning on Christ's righteousness."

Being come to the scaffold, he stood with his back to the ladder and desired the attention of the numerous spectators. After singing from the 16th verse of the

* See his examination in *Wodrow's History*.

118th Psalm, he began to speak to three sorts of people; but being interrupted by the drum, he said, with a smiling countenance, "Ye see we have no liberty to speak what we would, but God knoweth our hearts." As he proceeded he was again interrupted. Then after a little pause of silence he began to exhort the people; and to show his own comfort in laying down his life in the assurance of a blessed eternity, expressed himself in these words: "Now, I am as sure of my interest in Christ and peace with God as all within this Bible and the Spirit of God can make me; and I am fully persuaded that this is the very way for which I suffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many. Therefore I entreat you be not discouraged at the way of Christ, and the cause for which I am to lay down my life and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him as it can desire to be. And now this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever mine eyes did see. Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God, but ere long they shall be enraged one against another, to their own confusion." Here the drums did beat a third time. Then setting his foot on the

ladder, he said, "The Lord knows I go on this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind than ever I entered the pulpit to preach." When up he sat down and said, "Now I am near the getting of the crown which shall be sure, for which I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him that he hath brought me here, and made me triumph over devils, men, and sin. They shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done me, and I pray the sufferers may be kept from sin and helped to know their duty." Then having prayed a little within himself, he lifted up the napkin and said, "Farewell, all relations and friends in Christ; farewell, acquaintances and earthly enjoyment: farewell, reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproach, and sufferings. Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into thy hands I commit my spirit." Then he prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over as he was praying; and so he finished his course and the ministry that he had received of the Lord.

Take his character from Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, who was his contemporary:—"He was affectionate, affable, and tender-hearted to all such as he thought

had anything of the image of God in them; sober and temperate in his diet, saying commonly it was well won that was won off the flesh: generous, liberal, and most charitable to the poor; a great hater of covetousness; a frequent visitor of the sick; much alone, loving to be retired; and when about his Master's public work, laying hold of every opportunity to edify; in conversation still dropping what might minister grace to the hearers; his countenance was edifying to beholders; often sighing with deep groans; preaching in season and out of season upon all hazards; ever the same in judgment and practice. From his youth he was much given to the duty of secret prayer for whole nights together, wherein it was observed that both in secret and in families he always sat straight upon his knees, with his hands lifted up; and in this posture (as some took notice) he died with the rope about his neck."

Besides his last speech and testimony, and several other religious letters, with the lecture, sermon, and sentence of excommunication at Torwood, which are all published, there are several other sermons and notes of sermons interspersed among various hands, some of which have been

published. Yet if we may believe one who heard several of them preached, they are nothing to what they were when delivered; and however pathetic, yet they are doubtless far inferior to what they would have been had they been corrected and published by the worthy author himself.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD CARGILL.

"This is the most joyful day that ever I saw in my pilgrimage on earth; my joy is now begun, which I see shall never be interrupted. I see both *my* interest and *his* truth, and the sureness of the one and the preciousness of the other. It is nearly thirty years since He made it sure; and since that time (though there has fallen out much sin, yet) I was never out of an assurance of mine interest, nor long out of sight of his presence. He has dandled me, and kept me lively, and never left me behind, though I was oft-times turning back. O he has showed the wonderful preciousness of his grace, not only in the first receiving thereof, but in renewed and multiplied pardons! I have been a man of great sins, but he has been a God of great mercies. And now, through his mercies, I have a conscience as sound and quiet as if I had never sinned. It is long since I could have adventured on eternity, through God's mercy and Christ's merits; but death remained somewhat terrible, and that is now taken away; and now death is no more to me but to cast myself into my husband's arms, and to lie down with him. And however it be with me at the last, though I should be straitened by God or interrupted by men, yet all is sure and shall be well. I have followed holiness, I have taught truth, and I have been most in the *main* things; not that I thought the things concerning our times

little, but that I thought none could do any thing to purpose in God's great and public matters till they were right in their conditions. And O that all had taken this method, for then there had been fewer apostasies. The religion of the land, and zeal for the land's engagements, are coming to nothing but a supine, loathsome, and hateful formality ; and there cannot be zeal, liveliness, and rightness, where people meet with persecution and want heart-renovation. My soul trembles to think how little of regeneration there is amongst the ministers and professors of Scotland. O the ministers of Scotland, how have they betrayed Christ's interest and beguiled souls ! 'They have not entered in themselves, and them that were entering in they hindered.' They have sold the things of Christ, and liberties of his church, for a short and cursed quiet to themselves, which is now near an end ; and they are more one and at peace with God's enemies, after they have done all their mischiefs, than they were at first when they had put hand to them. And I much fear that though there were not one minister on all the earth, He would make no more use of them ; but there will be a dreadful judgment upon themselves, and a long curse upon their posterity.

"As to our professors, my counsel to them is that they would see well to their own regeneration, for the most part of them have that yet to do ; and yet let never one think that he is in the right exercise of true religion that has not a zeal to God's public glory. There is a small remnant in Scotland that my soul has had its greatest comfort on earth from. I wish your increase in holiness, number, love, religion, and righteousness ; and wait you, and cease to contend with these men that are gone from us, for there is nothing that shall convince them but judgment. Satisfy your consciences and go forward ; for the nearer you are to God, and the further from all

others, whether stated enemies or lukewarm ministers and professors, it shall be the better. My preaching has occasioned persecution, but the want of it will, I fear, occasion worse. However, I have preached the truths of God to others as it is written, 'I believed, and so I preached ;' and I have not an ill conscience in preaching truth, whatever has followed ; and this day I am to seal with my blood all the truths that ever I preached : and what is controverted of that which I have been professing, shall ere long be manifested by God's judgments in the consciences of men. I had a sweet calmness of spirit, and great submission as to my taking, the providence of God was so eminent in it ; and I could not but think that God judged it necessary for his glory to bring me to such an end, seeing he loosed me from such a work. My soul would be exceedingly troubled anent the remnant, were it not that I think the time will be short. Wherefore hold fast, for this is the way that is now persecuted.

"As to the causes of my suffering, the main is, 'Not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the Supremacy and Explanatory Act.' This is the magistracy that I have rejected, that was invested with Christ's power. And seeing *that* power taken from Christ, which is his glory, and made the essential of the crown, I thought this was as if I had seen one wearing my husband's garments after he had killed him. And seeing it is made the essential of the crown, there is no distinction we can make that can free the conscience of the acknowledger from being a partaker of this sacrilegious robbing of God ; and it is but to cheat our consciences to acknowledge the civil power, for it is not civil power only that is made of the essence of the crown : and seeing they are so express, we ought to be plain, for otherwise it is to deny our testimony, and consent to this robbery."

WALTER SMITH.

WALTER SMITH was son of Walter Smith, in the parish of St. Ninians, near Airth in Stirlingshire. He was an eminent Christian and a good scholar. He went over to Holland, where he studied some time under the famous Leusden, who had a great esteem and value for him, as being one both of high attainments and great experience in the serious exercise and solid practice of Christianity.

In 1679 we find that he made no mean figure among that little handful of the Lord's suffering remnant who rose in their own defence at Bothwell Bridge. For he was both chosen clerk to the council of war, and also a commanding officer among the honest party; and had the honour not only to witness and pro-

test against the sinful compliance of that corrupt Erastian party who then foisted themselves in amongst them, but was also one of three who were appointed to draw up the "Causes of the Lord's Wrath against the Land," of which the Hamilton Declaration was to be one of the last causes, with a new Declaration which they intended to have published at that time. Although both of these were undertaken, yet the Lord did not honour them to publish the same, as some of them, with great regret, unto their dying day did acknowledge.*

After the overthrow and dispersion of the Covenanters at Bothwell, in which the Erastian party among them had no little hand,† it appears that Walter

* See a more full account of this in Wilson's relation of Bothwell Bridge, p. 15.—*Howie*.

† Howie, in here attributing the failure of the attempt made against the tyranny of the government at Bothwell Bridge, 22nd June, 1679, to what he calls the Erastian party, makes an assertion which may be fairly contested. Before the battle a party headed by Robert Hamilton, brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston, and two ministers, Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Thomas Douglas, if not one or two more, were for the express condemnation of the Indulgence in the proclamation setting forth the grounds of their being in arms, and its insertion among their causes of fasting. This was resisted by a large number, headed by Mr. John Welsh, for-

merly minister of Irongray, one of the most intrepid of the field preachers. They included besides many leading laymen and sixteen ministers, all of whom condemned the Indulgence as Erastian, and not one of whom had accepted or would accept it. But they were opposed to excluding from their ranks in their struggle on behalf of civil and religious freedom those who, though differing from them as to the acceptance of the Indulgence and as to some other points, were willing to sacrifice their lives and estates in the same cause. This party was stigmatized by their opponents, surely very unjustly, the Erastian party. The unhappy dissensions created by these disputes contributed much to the defeat of those who had recourse to arms at Both-

Smith went over for some time to Holland, but did not stay long, for we meet with him again with Donald Cargill at Torwood, in September, 1680; after which he was very helpful to him in his conversation, and advice in difficult cases, and praying in families (when Cargill was fatigued with sore travel, being an old man, and going then often on foot), and many times on public preaching days precenting for him.

He had a longing desire to preach Christ and him crucified

well Bridge, by their wasting in contention their time and energies, which ought to have been employed in providing their men with arms and ammunition, and by keeping low their number, which did not exceed four thousand foot and two thousand horse; whereas "if we had agreed," says James Ure of Shargarton, who took the moderate side in those disputes, "we would have been the triple; but when they came the one day, they went away the next. The Lord took both courage and wisdom from us." (*McCrie's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 481.)

It is impossible to vindicate Hamilton and his friends in dragging into the camp of the insurgents this fatal element of strife. To insist, as they did, that it was their duty to introduce into the state of their quarrel, as appearing in arms, a condemnation of every thing in relation to the public interests of religion which was sinful or unscriptural, was to make the terms of admission into an association for the vindication of civil and religious rights as strict as the terms of church communion; "a principle," says Dr. McCrie, "which while it involved the party in that very confounding of civil and ecclesiastical matters against which they inveighed so loudly under the name of Erastianism, tended to rivet the chains of servitude on themselves and the nation. Into this error they appear to have

unto the world, and the word of salvation through his name. Mr. Cargill had the same desire; and for that end, it is said, had written to two ministers to meet him at Cumberhead, in Lesmahagow, in Clydesdale. But ere that day came the door was closed, for they were in the enemy's hands. However, Walter Smith followed the example of our blessed Lord and Saviour, by going about doing good in many places and to many persons, in spiritual edifying conversation, and was a

been betrayed, partly, by mistaken notions of the controversy which had formerly arisen respecting the Public Resolutions. What the more honest party at that period opposed, was the admitting to places of power and trust of such as had shown by their previous conduct that they were enemies to the reformation introduced into church and state, and would use the power intrusted to them to overturn it. This could not be said of those who had accepted or acquiesced in the Indulgence, and still less of those whom Hamilton's friends wrangled with so fiercely." (*Ibid.* pp. 452, 453.)

The insurgents at Bothwell Bridge were unfortunate in having Robert Hamilton for their commander-in-chief. "He appears," to quote again from Dr. McCrie, "to have been a pious man and of good intentions; but of narrow views, severe in his temper, and altogether unqualified, by want of military talents and experience, for the command which he assumed, or which was conferred on him by the small body which proved successful in the skirmish at Drumclog. He is charged, and apparently not without reason, with having been active in pushing Cargill, Cameron, and some other ministers, to those extremes which produced a breach between them and their brethren, with whom they had until of late acted in concert."

singular example of true piety and zeal; which had more influence upon many than most part of the ministers of that day.

A little before his death he drew up twenty-two rules for fellowship or society meetings, which at that time, partly by his instrumentality, greatly increased from the river Tay to Newcastle. These afterwards settled into a general and quarterly correspondence, that so they might speak one with another, when they wanted the public preaching of the gospel, and appoint general fasting days through the whole community, wherein their own sins, and the prevailing sins and defections of the times, were confessed—each society to meet and spend some time of the Lord's day together, when deprived of the public ordinances.* Mr. Cargill said that these society meetings would increase more and more for a time; but when the judgments came upon these sinful lands there would be few society meetings, when there would be most need—few mourners, prayers, and pleaders, because of carnality, security, darkness, deadness, and divisions.

But Walter Smith was now well

* The reader will find an account of these their transactions in their own register, now

nigh the evening of his life, and his labours both. For having been with Mr. Cargill when he preached his last sermon in Dun-syre Common, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, he was next morning, by wicked Bonshaw (who had formerly traded in fine horses betwixt the two kingdoms), apprehended at Covington Mill. He was, with the rest of the prisoners, carried from Lanark to Glasgow, and from thence taken to Edinburgh, where, upon the 14th of July, he was brought before the Council, and there asked if he owned the king and his authority as lawful? He answered: "I could not acknowledge the present authority the king is now invested with, and the exercise thereof, being now clothed with a supremacy over the church." Being interrogated, if the king's falling from the Covenant looses him from his obedience, and if the king thereby loses his authority? he answered, "I think he is obliged to perform all the duties of the Covenant, conform to the Word of God; the king is only to be obeyed in terms of the Covenant." Being further interrogated anent the Torwood excommunication, he declared

published of late under the title of Faithful Contentings Displayed.—Howie.

that he thought their reasons were just.

On the 19th of July he was again brought before them, and interrogated, if he owned the Sanquhar Declaration? It was then read to him, and he owned the same in all its articles, except that he looked not upon these persons as the formal representatives of the Presbyterian Church, as they called themselves. And as to that expression, "The king should have been denuded many-years ago," he did not like the word *denuded*, but said, "what the king has done justifies the people's revolting against him." As to these words, where the king is called an usurper and a tyrant, he said, "Certainly the king is an usurper," and wished he was not a tyrant.

Upon the 26th he was, with the rest, brought before the Justiciary, where they were indicted in common form, and their confessions produced as evidence against them. They were all brought in guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh upon the 27th, and their heads to be severed from their bodies, and those of Messrs. Cargill, Smith, and Boig to be placed on the Nether Bow, and the heads of

the others on the West Port; all which was done accordingly.

After Cargill was executed, Walter Smith was brought upon the scaffold, where he adhered to the very same cause with Mr. Cargill, and declared against the same usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, and died with great assurance of his interest in Christ, declaring his abhorrence of Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all other steps of defection.

HIS LAST WORDS.

He accosted the multitude to this purpose: "All ye beholders, who are come here upon various designs, I entreat you, be not mistaken anent the cause of my suffering this day; for however ye may be misinformed, yet it is of verity that we are brought here upon the matters of our God; because we testified against the supremacy, and would not consent to the setting of Christ's crown upon the head of him who had by usurpation aspired thereto, contrary to his former engagements." Upon this they caused beat the drums, which obliged him a little to silence; but beckoning with his hand, he said, "I shall only say something to three particulars: and *first*, anent *that* which some are apt to believe—that we are against authority. We detest that, and say that we own all the lawful exercise of authority; and we hope there are none that are Christians will allow us to own the unlawful exercise, or rather tyranny, of authority." At this the drums were again beat, and so he sung a part of Psalm ciii. from the beginning, and prayed, which done, he turned his face to the Cross and said, "I bless the Lord I am not surprised, neither terrified, with this death or the manner of it. I confess the thoughts of

death have been sometimes very terrible to me, when I have been reflecting upon my mis-spending of precious time ; yea, sometimes the strength of temptation and my own weakness have made me herein to raze the very foundation of my interest ; but my God builds faster than he permits the devil and my false heart to cast down. I have had some clouds ever since I came to prison, but, blessed be God, these are all removed ; for my God hath said to my soul, ' Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.' And the faith of this makes me not to fear grim death. Though it be called the king of terrors, yet it is not so to me, for this that you think a cruel and sudden death is but an inlet to life which shall be eternal ! Let none be offended at Christ and his way because of suffering, for his supporting grace will be all-sufficient. I truly forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of the Lord ; but as for the wrongs done to a holy God, I leave these to him who is the avenger of blood ; let him do to them as he may be glorified. Now I say no more, but pray that all who are in his way may be kept from sinning under suffering ; and that every one may prepare for a storm, which I do verily believe is not far off."

Then stooping down, he saluted some friends and said, " Farewell, all relations and acquaintances ; farewell, all ye that are lovers of Christ and his righteous cause." And beckoning to the multitude he said—farewell also. And so he went up the ladder with the greatest discoveries of alacrity and magnanimity ; and seating himself upon it he said, " Now this death of mine I fear not, for my sins are freely pardoned ; yea, and I will sin no more, for I am made through my God to look hell, wrath, devils, and sin eternally out of countenance. Therefore farewell, all created enjoyments, pleasures, and delights ; farewell, sinning and suffering ; farewell, praying and believing ; and welcome, heaven and singing ; welcome, joy in the Holy

Ghost ; welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—into thy hands I commit my spirit."

When the executioner was to untie his cravat, he would not suffer him, but untied it himself, and calling to his brother, he threw it down, saying, " This is the last token you shall get from me." After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and said, " I have one word more to say, and that is to all who have any love to God and his righteous cause, that they would set time apart, and sing a song of praise to the Lord for what he has done for my soul ; and my soul saith, To him be praise." Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying, and died in the Lord, with his face bending on Mr. Cargill's breast. These two clave to one another in love and unity in their life ; and between them, in their death, there was little difference. " Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."

The now glorified Walter Smith was a man no less learned than pious, faithful, and religious. His old master, the professor of divinity at Utrecht in Holland, when he heard of his public violent bloody death

of martyrdom, gave him this testimony, weeping and saying in broken English, "O Smith! the great, brave Smith! who exceeded all that ever I taught; he was capable to teach many, but few to instruct him." Besides some letters, and the fore-mentioned twenty-two rules for fellowship meetings, he wrote also *Twenty Steps of National Defection*; all which are now published; and if these, with his last testimony, be rightly considered, it will appear that his writings were inferior to few of the contendings of that time.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER SMITH.

"Dear Friends and Acquaintances,—As I desire, while in the body, to sympathize somewhat with you in lamenting your various cases, and the case of the church, whereof we are the sons and daughters; so I must lay this request upon you, and leave it with you, that ye take some of your time and set it apart particularly to solace your souls in blessing and magnifying your God and my God, for the lot he hath decreed and chosen out for poor unworthy me, from eternity, in time, and to eternity, in the immediate enjoyment of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, incomprehensible and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth; and that, because he hath made me a man and a Christian. And now I set to my seal to all his truths revealed in his word, and particularly these: 1st, That he is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But alas! who can think of him? who can hear of

him, or write of him aright? O he is God! he is God! 2nd, That he made man perfect; and though we have destroyed and incapacitated ourselves to do anything that is right while out of Christ, yet we are under the obligation of the whole law, which is the perfect rule of righteousness. 3rd, That my Lord (yea through free grace I can say, my Lord Jesus Christ), came to the world to save sinners; and though I cannot say that I have been the greatest of sinners, yet I can say that he hath covered, pardoned, prevented, and hid from the world sins in me that have been heinous by many aggravations. 4th, That 'except a man be born again he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' My friends, this is the new birth, this is regeneration, that I am speaking of, to which the great part, even of professors, I fear will be found strangers. 5th, I set to my seal to the truth of that precious promise, Josh. i. 5. repeated Heb. xiii. 5, 'For he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee,' together with all the other promises to that purpose; and I am sure he hath carried me through divers conditions of life, many various and singular difficulties, and damping discouragements. But omitting these things, whereof the profane persecutors may as much boast (as to the outward) as any, he hath led me through the several steps of soul exercise, and the pangs of the new birth, *unto* himself. This, this, my friends, is the cognizance and distinguishing character of a saint indeed; and by this, and this only, 'we pass from death to life.'

"And as I adhere to the Confession of Faith and work of reformation (as I shall afterwards speak to) so particularly, I set to my seal to these truths in the eighteenth chapter thereof, anent the assurance of grace and salvation. Alas! the ignorance of this generation is great! My dear friends, I leave this as my last advice to you, make use of that book which contains the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Practical Use of Saving Know-

ledge, Directory for Worship, the Causes of God's Wrath, &c. And let none think this work below them; for the spiritual enlightening of the mind, which requires the literal with it, is the first work of the Spirit after we first begin to come to ourselves, or rather to what we were in innocency and ought to be by grace. But as to this I do confidently refer you to Shepard's Sound Believer, which in my poor apprehension is the surest you can meet with. And, 6th, I set to my seal to the covenant of grace, particularly that clause of it, Isa. lix. 21, 'As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.' And here I leave my testimony against all atheists, speculative (if there be any such) and practical, and all mockers of godliness, all formalists and hypocrites, Quakers and enthusiasts, who either pretend to the Spirit, neglecting the word, or lean upon the word, neglecting the teaching of the Spirit. And what shall I more say, but by what of truth I have in experience seen, I am bold to believe what I have not seen; his testimony is a ground sufficient, and there can be no deceit under it.

"And now I am to die a martyr; and I am as fully persuaded of my interest in Christ, and that he hath countenanced me in that for which I am about to lay down my life, as I am of my being. And let the world and biassed professors say their pleasure, I am here in no delusion; I have the free and full exercise of reason and judgment; I am free of passion and prejudice, and, excepting that I am yet in the body, I am free of Satan's fire and fury: I have no bitterness nor malice at any living, so that what I am owning and dying for I am solidly and firmly persuaded to be truth and duty, according to my mean capacity. And this is the main point this day in controversy, upon which I was peremptorily

questioned and desired positively to answer, yea or nay, under the threatening of the boots, viz., Whether I owned the king's authority as presently established and exercised? which I did positively disown, and denied allegiance to him, as he is invested with the supremacy proper to Jesus Christ only. And who knoweth not that at first he was constituted and crowned a covenanted king, and the subjects sworn in allegiance to him as such by the Solemn League and Covenant? This was the authority wherewith he was clothed, and the exercise of it was to be for God, religion, and the good of the subjects; and is not all this, as to God and his people, overturned and perverted? But, secondly, the whole of this pleaded for authority at present is established on the ruin of the land's engagements to God and to one another. But I say no more as to this. Consider things seriously and ponder them deeply; zeal for God is much gone; look to it, and labour to recover it; your peace shall be in it as to duty, though Christ's righteousness, I see, is the only sure foundation.

"I leave my testimony against malignancy, ungodliness, and profanity, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, professed and owned by the reformed anti-erastian Presbyterian party in Scotland, whereof I die a member and professor, being fully satisfied and content with my lot. And as to my apprehending, we were singularly delivered by Providence into the adversaries' hand, and for what I could learn, were betrayed by none, nor were any accessory to our taking more than we were ourselves: and particularly let none blame the lady St. John's Kirk in this. I have no time to give you an account of the Lord's kindness and tenderness to us in restraining the adversaries' fury: for they began very brisk by making us lie all night bound, and expressly refused to suffer us to worship God, or pray with one another, until we came to Linlithgow. But the Lord hasteneth to come; beware of going back, wait for him,

be not anxious about what shall become of you, or the remnant; he is concerned, his intercession is sufficient; get him set up, and kept up in his own room in your souls, and other things will be the more easily kept in theirs. Be tender of all who have the root of the matter: but beware of compliance with any, whether ministers, or professors, or adversaries. As to my judgment, insignificant as it is, I am necessitated to refer you to the draught of a paper which I drew, at the desire of some societies in Clydesdale, entitled, 'Some Steps of Defection,' &c. Beware of a spirit of bitterness, peremptoriness, and ignorant zeal, which hath been the ruin of some, and will be the ruin of more if mercy prevent not.

I was withdrawn from by some, as having given offence to them by my protesting against their way in particular, wherein I am sure, as to the manner, they were wrong; and though they had been right, it was not a ground to have made such a separation from me, much less from those who joined with me; and if any division be longer kept up upon that account, they will find it a great iniquity, if rightly considered. I can get no more written, nor see I great need for it, for the testimonies of martyrs are not your rule. Farewell.

"WALTER SMITH."

"From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh,
July 27th, 1681."

ROBERT GARNOCK.

ROBERT GARNOCK* was born in Stirling, and baptized by the faithful Mr. James Guthrie. In his younger years his parents took much pains to train him up in the way of duty; but soon after the Restoration the faithful Presbyterian ministers being turned out, curates were put in their places, and with them came ignorance, profanity, and perse-

cution. Some time after this Mr. Law† preached at his own house in Monteith, and Mr. Hutchison‡ sometimes at Kippen. Having one Saturday evening gone out to his grandmother's house in the country, and having an uncle who frequented these meetings, he went along with him to a place called Shield Brae. Next Sabbath he went with him

* What relates to this worthy is extracted from the account of his life written by himself when in prison, yet in manuscript; what concerns his trial and martyrdom has been collected from history and other writings.—*Howie*.

† Mr. John Law, who was ordained minister at Campsie in 1656, ejected for nonconformity in 1662, and settled minister of the New or North Church, Edinburgh, in 1692. He died 26th December, 1712.

‡ Mr. George Hutchison, formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who also was ejected for nonconformity after the Restoration. In 1674 he died at Irvine, where he was indulged minister, aged about fifty-nine years. He was an eminent theologian, particularly excelling in the exposition of Scripture, as appears from his commentaries on the minor prophets, the book of Job, and the gospel of John, which have been published, and highly valued.

through great difficulty, being then but young, through frost and snow, and heard Mr. Law at Monteith; which sermon, through the Divine blessing, wrought much upon his mind. Thus he continued for a considerable time to go out in the end of the week for an opportunity of hearing the gospel, and to return in the beginning of next week to Stirling; but he did not let his parents know anything of the matter.

At one time he heard a proclamation read at the Cross announcing that all who did not hear or receive privileges from the curates were to be severely punished; which much troubled his mind, making him hesitate whether to go to a field preaching which was to take place on the next Sabbath. At last he resolved to go, in reference to which he says: "The Lord inclined my heart to go, and put that word to me, Go for once, go for all, if they take thee for that which is to come. So I went there, and the Lord did me good; for I got at that sermon that which, although they had rent me in a thousand pieces, I would not have said what I had said before. So the Lord made me follow the gospel for a long time; and though I knew little then what I meant, yet he put it in my heart still to keep by

the honest side, and not to comply or join with enemies of one kind or another; yea, not to watch, ward, or strengthen their hands any manner of way. When I was asked why I would not keep watch (or stand sentry) on the town, as it was commanded duty? I told them I would not lift arms against the work of God. If I ever carried arms it should be for the defence of the gospel."

Garnock now became a persecuted man, and was obliged to leave the town. His father being a blacksmith, he had learned the same trade, and went for some time to Glasgow to follow his occupation. From Glasgow he returned home, and from thence to Borrowstounness, where he had great debate, as he himself expresses it, "about that woeful Indulgence." "I did not know," he says, "the dreadful hazard of hearing them (that is, the Indulged), until I saw they preached at the hazard of men's lives. This made me examine the matter, until I found out that they were directly wrong and contrary to Scripture, had changed their head, had quitted Jesus Christ as their head, and had taken their commission from men, owning that perjured adulterous wretch Charles II. as head of the church; receiving their commis-

sion to preach in such and such places from him, and those bloody thieves under him."

From Borrowstounness he proceeded to Falkirk, and thence home to Stirling, where he remained some time under a series of difficulties. For after he got off when taken with others at the Shield Brae, while he was making bold to visit Mr. Skeen, he was arrested in the castle and kept all night, and used very barbarously by the soldiers; and at eight o'clock next morning was taken before the provost, who not being then at leisure, he was imprisoned till the afternoon. But by the intercession of one Colin M'Kenzie, to whom his father was smith, he was got out, and without so much as paying the jailor's fee. "I had much of the Lord's kindness at that time (says he), although I did not then know what it meant, and so I was thrust forth into my wandering again."

About this time Garnock intended to go to Ireland; but being disappointed, he returned to Stirling, where he was tossed to and fro for some time; and yet he remarks he had some sweet times in this condition, particularly one night when he was down in the Carse with one Baron Hendry. After this heavy trials

ensued unto him from professors of religion, because he testified against their compliance with the current of the times, upon which account he and the society meeting which he attended could not agree. This made him leave them and go to one in the country, which, he says, "was more sound in judgment, and of an undaunted courage and zeal for God and his cause; for the life of religion was in that society."

At this time he fell into such a degree of temptation by the devices of the enemy of man's salvation, that he was made to supplicate the Lord several times that he might not be permitted to affright him in visible shape, which he then apprehended he was attempting to do. But from these dreadful oppressions he was at last, through the goodness of God, happily delivered; although, as yet, he knew but little of experimental religion. And, says he, "The world thought I had religion; but to know the hidden things of godliness was yet a mystery to me. I did not know anything as yet of the new birth, or what it was spiritually to take the kingdom of heaven by violence." This serves to show that one may do and suffer many things for Christ and religion, and yet at the same time be a

stranger to the life and power thereof.

But anon he falls into another difficulty, for a proclamation being issued, that all betwixt thirteen and sixty were to pay poll-money, word was sent his father that if he would pay it, he should have his liberty, which was no small temptation. But this he absolutely refused, and also told his father plainly, when urged by him to do it, that if one plack (or four pennies) would do it, he would not give it. His father said he would give it for him; to whom he answered, if he did, he need never expect it, or any consideration for it, from him. For the result of the matter hear his own words: "And oh! but the Lord was kind to me then, and his love was better than life. I was tossed in my wanderings and banishment with many ups and downs till I came to Edinburgh, where I heard of a communion to be on the borders of England, and then I went to it. Oh! let me bless the Lord that ever trysted me with such a lot as that was; for the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of April, 1677, were the three most wonderful days with

the Lord's presence that ever I saw on earth. Oh! but his power was wonderfully seen, and great to all the assembly, especially to me. Oh! the three wonderful days of the Lord's presence at East Nisbet in the Merse; that was the greatest communion, I suppose, these twenty years; I got there what I will never forget while I live. Glory to his sweet name that ever there was such a day in Scotland; his work was wonderful to me, both in spirituals and temporals. Oh! that I could get him praised and magnified for it. He was seen that day sitting at the head of his table, and his spikenard 'sending forth a pleasant smell.' Both good and bad were made to cry out, and some to say with the disciples, 'It is good for us to be here.' They would have been content to have stayed there, and I thought it was a heaven begun to be in that place."

After this Garnock returned to Stirling, and got liberty to follow his employment for some time. But lo! another difficulty occurred; for while the Highland host was ordered west in the beginning of 1678,* the town was

* On the 24th of January that year the Highland host, amounting to ten thousand men, who were let loose to take vengeance on the refractory nonconformists of the west, assembled at Stirling. When Dundonald was regretting the

depopulating of the west by this host, Lauderdale, in his usual coarse manner, said, "It was better their country bore windlestraws and sandy laverocks than rebels against the king." (*Fountainhall's Historical Observes*, p. 94.)

called to arms, and all, excepting a very few, obeyed. He refused, and went out of town with these few, and kept a meeting. When he returned, his father told him he was passed for the first time, but it behoved him to mount guard to-morrow. He refused; his father was angry, and urged him with the practices of others. He told his father he would hang his faith upon no man's belt. On the morrow, when the drums beat to mount the guard, being the day of his social meeting, he went out of the town under a heavy load of reproach even from professors, who did not scruple to say that it was not principle of conscience he hesitated upon, but that he might have liberty to stroll through the country, which was no easy matter to bear. Orders were given to apprehend him; but at that time he escaped their hand, and wandered from one place to another until the beginning of August, 1678, when he came to Carrick communion at Maybole; and what his exercise was there himself thus expresses: "I was wonderfully trysted there, but not so as at the other. I went to the first table, and then went and heard worthy Messrs. Kid and Cameron, who never left the fields till they sealed and crowned

their testimony with their blood, preach at a little distance from the meeting. I cannot say but the Lord was kind to me there, on the day after, and on the fast day in the middle of the week after that, near the borders of Kilmarnock parish, where a division arose about the Indulgence, which to this day is never yet done away. After my return home I was made to enter into covenant with him upon his own terms, against the Indulgence and all other compliances; and because, through the Lord's strength, I had resolved to keep my bargain, and not to join with them, it was said I had got new light, and I was much reproached; yet I got much of the Lord's kindness when attending the preached gospel in the fields, to which I would sometimes go twenty miles."

Having thus wandered to and fro for some time, Garnock went to Edinburgh to see the prisoners, and returned to Stirling in the end of the week. Late on Saturday night he heard of a field-preaching; and seeing the soldiers and troopers marching out of the town to attack the people at that meeting, he made himself ready, and with a few others went towards it. They soon arrived near the place; but the sol-

diers coming forward, the people, seeing the enemy, turned off. Garnock, with a few armed men and the minister, took to a hill above Fintry, beside the Craigs of Ballglass. This little handful drew up in the best posture the time and place would allow, and sung a psalm, at which the soldiers were so affrighted that they afterwards said the very matches had almost fallen out of their hands. At last a trooper coming up commanded them to dismiss, but this they refused. This was repeated several times, till the captain of the foot came forward and gave them the same charge; which they also refused. Upon this he commanded a party of his men to advance and fire upon them, which they did once or twice. The fire was by this little company returned with much courage and agility, until the whole party and the commanding officer, consisting of forty-eight men and sixteen horsemen, fired upon the small handful, which amounted to not above eighteen that had arms, with a few women. After several volleys were returned on both sides, one of the sufferers stepped forward and shot one side of the captain's periwig off, at which the foot fled; but the horsemen, taking advantage of the rising

ground, surrounded the small party. They then fired on a young man, but missed him. However, they took him and some others prisoners. The rest fled. Garnock was hindermost, being the last on the place of action, and he says that he intended not to have been taken, but rather killed. At last one of the enemy came after him, on which he resolved either to kill or be killed before he surrendered, catching a pistol from one for that purpose. But another coming to his assistance the trooper fled, and so they escaped unto the other side of a precipice, where they stayed until the enemy had gone, who marched directly with their prisoners to Stirling.

After the fray was over Garnock stayed till evening, and spoke with some friends and the minister, who strongly dissuaded him from going into Stirling. But as he was now approaching the eve of his pilgrimage, with Paul in another case when going up to Jerusalem, he could not be prevailed upon, and so went to town. Having entered it about one in the morning, he went into a house at the foot of the Castle-hill, and there got his arms left with much difficulty; but as he was near the head of the Castle-

hill he was, by two soldiers who were lying in wait for those who had been at that meeting, apprehended and brought to the guard. He was then brought before Lord Linlithgow's son, who asked him if he was at that preaching? and on being told by Garnock that he was at no preaching, he said that he was a liar. Garnock replied, "I am no liar; and seeing you will not believe me, I will tell no more; prove the rest." Linlithgow said he would make him do it. But Garnock answered he should not. Then Linlithgow asked his name, trade, and his father's name, and where they dwelt? all which he answered. Then Linlithgow bade keep him fast. At night Garnock was much abused by the soldiers; some of them who had been wounded in the skirmish threatening him with torture, gagging in the mouth, &c., all which he bore with much patience. In the morning a servant came to examine him, but he refused to answer him. At last the commanding officer came to him and asked him if he was at that skirmish. He answered that for being there he was taken; "and whether," he said, "I was there or not, I am not bound to give you an account." So he went out, and in a little returned with

the provost, who thought to surprise him by asking, "Who of the Stirling folk were there?" He answered, "they were both your neighbours and mine; and further, though I had been there you might account me very imprudent to tell; for though you think it your duty to ask, yet it is not mine to answer, and you should rather commend me for so doing." After several other things anent that affair he was commanded to be kept a close prisoner, and none, not so much as his father, was allowed to speak to him; but he did not want company at that time, for, says he, "Oh! but I had a sweet time of it! The Lord's countenance was better unto me than all the company in the world."

The forementioned skirmish occurred May 8, 1679. Upon the 19th of the same month Garnock was put into the common prison amongst malefactors, where he got more liberty, having some others of the sufferers with him. However, they were very much disturbed by a notorious murderer, who, being drunk one time, thought to have killed him with a large plank or form. But happily the stroke did not hurt him, though he struck with all his force twice, whereby another was almost killed. This made

him and other five to lie sometimes upon the stairs, for they could have no other place; though they desired the thieves' hole, they could not obtain it. And thus they passed the time with much pain and trouble until June 10, that the Fife men were defeated at Bewly,* and numbers taken, who were brought in prisoners on the 11th, whereby they were very much thronged. Here Garnock continued till the battle at Bothwell on the 22nd, after which there was no small confusion by tendering and pressing of a bond of conformity against offensive arms, wherein he got his share during that time.

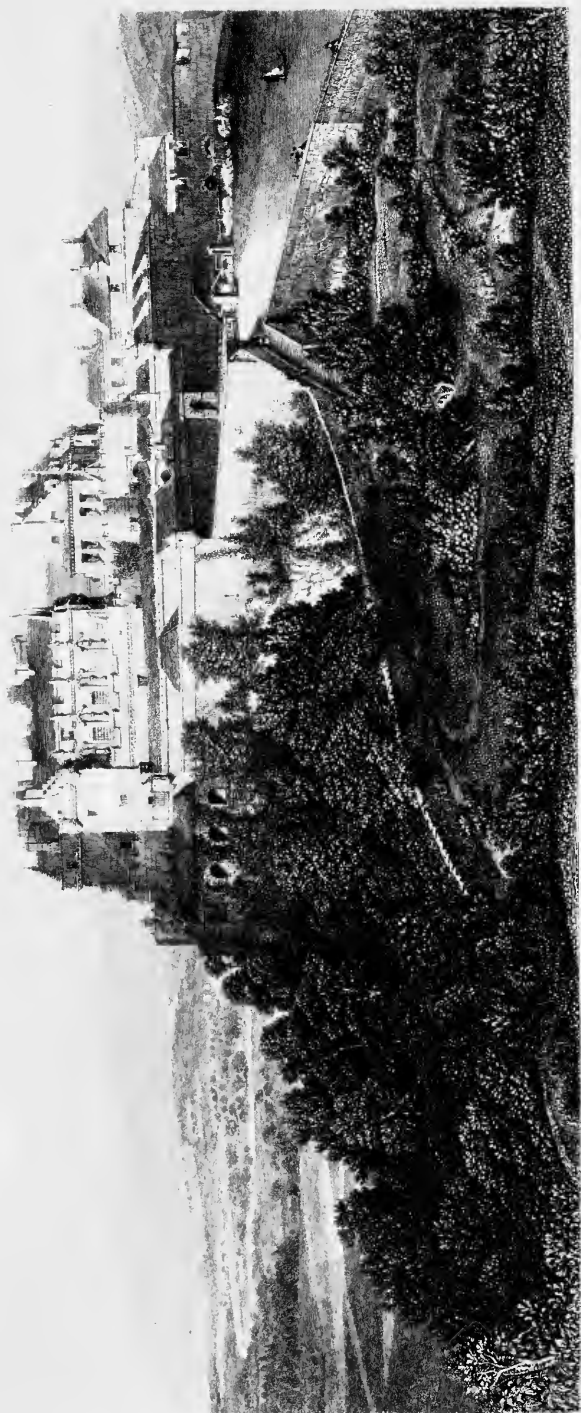
* This seems to have been the skirmish at Bewly Bog, only mentioned in history.—*Howie*.

† After the suppression of the Pentland rising no faith was kept with the prisoners. It was so also after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, when four hundred were killed, whilst twelve hundred, some say fifteen hundred, surrendered themselves. The prisons being already crowded, these prisoners were driven to Edinburgh, where on their arrival they were put, by the magistrates, in obedience to the orders of the Privy Council, into the Greyfriars churchyard, and guarded by a sufficient number of sentinels night and day. Here they were kept for nearly five months, wholly unprotected from the inclemency of the weather, standing during the day, and compelled during the night to lie on the damp ground, the soldiers having orders to fire upon any who should attempt to rise. The provisions allowed them by the government were bad in quality and very scanty, and it was with the greatest difficulty that any friend was allowed to bring any thing to them.

Upon the 13th of July he was brought forth, and in company with about one hundred more prisoners, under a strong guard of red-coats, taken from Stirling to Edinburgh, and put into the Greyfriars churchyard, amongst the Bothwell prisoners.† There he was more vexed—both by the enemy and his fellow-sufferers—than ever; a specimen of which is here given in his own words:

“Some of my neighbours desired the bond, so they put it to me, but I refused. However, the most part of them took it; nay, some of them supplicated for any bond. This made some of us conclude it was our duty to testify against it; which piece

The duke of Monmouth, before his departure from Scotland, procured the liberation of some hundreds of the prisoners, upon their subscribing a bond binding themselves not to take up arms without or against his Majesty's authority; a bond which became another bone of contention among the Presbyterians. About four hundred of the prisoners refused to subscribe the bond, and upwards of one hundred contrived to make their escape. Those who remained, by the beginning of winter, being about two hundred and fifty-seven, were doomed to be transported to Barbadoes and sold for slaves, and were shipped in *Leith Roads* on the 15th of November, 1679, in the vessel of an English captain about to sail for America, a profane and cruel wretch, who treated them with great barbarity. The ship having struck against a rock among the Orkney Isles, all the prisoners, except forty or fifty, perished, the captain refusing to open the hatches to allow them to do what they could to save their lives. The small number who escaped were sent as slaves to Jamaica and New Jersey.



of employment was put upon me, against which some of the prisoners objected. So I was rendered odious; but many a day the Lord was kind to me in that yard, and kept me from many a fear and snare; his love was sweet unto me. The men complained of us to the commanders, who sent and examined me on the bond and other things. They said I should be gagged, and every day I was vexed with them, until almost the whole prisoners petitioned for it. There was as good as seventy ministers sent into the yard to take it; and they said it was not a head to suffer upon. When they had done, they sent in two gentlewomen with the commission; and they set upon me. I told them, if every one of them had as much of it as I had, they would not be so busy to press it; for before this the bloody crew came to the yard, and called on me, and asked if I would take the bond. I said, No. They said, I would get no other sentence; so I was sore put to it. I would often have been at the doing of something; but the Lord would not suffer me. So, in his strength, I fought on against my own heart and them all, and overcame. But oh! the cross was sweet and easy unto me; none

need fear to venture on suffering in his way and strength. Oh! happy days, that ever I was trusted with such a thing! My bargaining with lovely Jesus was sweet unto me. It is true, 'affliction for the present seemeth not joyous but grievous; but afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness to those who are exercised thereby.' I never knew the treachery of ministers, and their dreadful hypocrisy and double dealing in the matters of God, before that time, and I could never love them after that; for they made many a one rack his conscience in taking that bond. I was brought out of the yard, October 25, with a guard of soldiers. When coming out, one Mr. White asked if I would take the bond? I, smiling, said, No. He, in way of jeer, said I had a face to glorify God in the Grassmarket. So I bade farewell to all my neighbours, who were sorry; and White bade me take good night with them, for I should never see them more. But I said, Lads, take good heart, for we may meet again for all this. So I was brought before their Council Court. They asked, if I would take the bond? I said, No. Some of them said, 'May be he does not know it;' but Hatton

said, 'He knows it well enough.' So one of them read it. I asked, if they would have me subscribe a lie to take away my life; for I never was in rebellion, nor intended to be so. They said they would make another bond for me. I answered, they needed not trouble themselves; for I was not designed to subscribe any bond at this time.

Q. "'Will you rise in rebellion against the king?'

A. "'I was not rising in rebellion against the king.'

Q. "'Will you take the bond never to rise against the king and his authority?'

A. "'What is the thing you call authority? They said, if they, the soldiers, or any other subject, should kill me, I was bound not to resist. I answered, that I will never do.'

Q. "'Is the archbishop's death murder?'

A. "'I am a prisoner, and so no judge.'

Q. "'Is Bothwell Bridge rebellion?'

A. "'I am not bound to give my judgment in that.'

"Then one of them said, 'I told you what the rebel rascal

would say; you will be hanged.' 'Sir,' I answered, 'you must first convict me of a crime.' They said, 'You did excommunicate prisoners for taking the bond.' I said, 'That was not in my power; and, moreover, I was not before them for that, and that they should prove it if they were able.' They said, 'They would hang me for rebellion.' I said, 'You cannot; for if you walk according to your own laws I should have my liberty.' They said, 'Should we give a rebellious knave like you your liberty? You should be hanged immediately.' I answered, 'That lies not yet in your power.' So they caused quickly to take me away, and put me in the iron-house Tolbooth. Much more passed that I must not spend time to notice.

"So they brought me to the iron-house, to fifteen of my dear companions in tribulation; and there we were a sweet company, being all of one judgment. There, serving the Lord day and night, in singleness of heart, his blessedness was seen amongst us; for his love was better than life. We were all with one accord trysted sweetly together, and oh, it was sweet to be in this company, and pleasant to those who came in to see us, until the indictments came in amongst us.

* Archbishop Sharp was put to death on the 3rd of May, 1679, at Magus Muir, by a few of the persecuted Presbyterians, incited by his cruelties as a persecutor. See before, pp. 509, 510.

There were ten got their indictments. Six came off, and four got their sentence to die at Magus Muir. There were fifteen brought out of the yard, and some of them got their liberty offered if they would witness against me. But they refused; so they got all their indictments; but all complied, save one, who was sentenced to die with the other four at Magus Muir."

In this situation Garnock continued till November 13, when he was, by the intercession of some friends, brought to the west galleries on the other side of the Tolbooth, where he continued some time, till called again before some of the Council. After this he was again committed to close prison for a time, till one night he was again called forth by one of the keepers, and Mr. John Blair being present, accosted him thus: "Why do you refuse the bond?" Garnock answered, "I have no time now for that matter!" "But out of that place," said Blair, "you shall not go, for the Covenants and the 13th of the Romans bind you to it." Garnock answered, "No, they just bind me to the contrary. What if Popery should come to the land, should we bind ourselves never to defend the true religion?" Blair said, "We were loosed

then." Garnock said, "No; Presbyterians are taken by their word, and they abide by it; and ere all were done, it should be a dear bond unto them. As for my part, I would rather go to the Grassmarket and seal it with my blood." After Garnock came down the keeper of the Tolbooth abused him in a very indiscreet manner, saying, that if there were no more men, he should be hanged; that he was an ignorant fool; neither ministers nor men could convince him; and bade take him off again to close prison, where he was again as much vexed with a company of bonders as ever, for they had not only become lax in principle but in duty also. So he roundly told them, "You are far from what you were in the iron-house, before you took the bond; then you would have been up at duty by two or three in the morning; now you lie in bed till eight or nine in the day." They said it was true enough, but said no more.

After these got their liberty, Garnock was associated with other prisoners, some of whom were kept in for debt. And then, he says, he would have been up by four in the morning, and made exercise amongst them three

times a-day; and the Lord was kind to him during that time. He resolved never to make any compliance, and in this he was made to eat meat out of the eater, and sweet out of the strong. But some gentlemen, prisoners for religion where he was before, prevailed with the keeper of the Tolbooth to have him back to them about the beginning of 1680. Here the old temptation to compliance and tampering with the enemy was afresh renewed; for the ministers coming in to visit these, when they could do no more, they brought them to the rooms to preach, and made him hear them; which he refused. At last they brought a minister, one of his acquaintance, who was to have preached in the field on the day he was taken. But hearing that he had made some compliance with the enemy, Garnock would not go to the next room to hear him make exercise till he knew the certainty of the matter; after which he came to another room, where they had some conference. "He asked after my welfare, and if I was going out of prison? I told him, I blessed the Lord for it, I was well, and was not going out yet. After some conversation anent field-preachings, particularly one by

Richard Cameron at Monkland, which he condemned, he asked why I did not hear ministers? I answered, I desire to hear none but what are faithful; for I am a prisoner, and would gladly be in the right way, not to wrong myself. He said, Wherein are they unfaithful? I said, In changing their Head, quitting the Lord's way, and taking on with covenant breakers and murderers of his people. He said, How could you prove that? I said, Their practice proves it. He said, These were but failings, and these would not perjure a man; and it is not for you to cast off ministers: you know not what you are doing. I said, I do not cast them off; they cast off themselves by quitting the holding of the ministry of Christ. He asked, How prove you that? I said, The 10th of John proves it; for they come not in by the door. You may put me wrong; but I think that also in Gal. i. 6 proves it: 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you.' You may read that at your leisure, how Paul had not his gospel from men, nor by the will of men. He said, Lay by these; but what is the reason you will not hear others? I said, I desire to hear none of these gaping for the Indulgence,

and not faithful in preaching against it."

They had then some conference anent Cameron and Cargill, in which the minister said that Mr. Cameron was no minister, and that Mr. Cargill was once one, but had quitted it; that they received their doctrines from men, their hearers, who said, You must preach such and such doctrines and we will hear you. To all this Garnock gave pertinent answers.

"The minister then said, 'Robert, do not think I am angry that you come not to hear me; for I desire not you, nor any of your faction, to come and hear me, for I cannot preach to all your humours.' I said, it was all the worse for that. He said that none of these faults would cast off a minister; they were but failings, not principles. I said I could not debate, but I should let any Christian judge whether it was no principle for a minister to hold Christ head of the church. I told him that there was once a day I would have ventured my life at his back for the defence of Christ's gospel, but not now; and I was more willing to lay down my life now for his sweet and dear truths, than ever I was. He said, the Lord pity and help me. I said I had much need of it; and so he went away and

rendered me odious. This, amongst other things, made me to go to God, and engage in covenant with his Son never to hear any of those who betrayed his cause, till I saw evidences of their repentance. And I would have been willing to have quitted all for that 'Chiefest among ten thousand.'"

Thus Garnock continued till, he says, he got bad counsel from some of his friends to supplicate for his liberty; and they prevailed so far as to draw up a supplication, and brought it to him to subscribe. But when taking the pen in his hand, "The Lord bade me hold," says he, "and one came and bade me take heed. So I did it not, for which I bless his holy name. But this lets me see there is no standing in me. Had it not been his free love I had gone the blackest way ever one did."

The night before Hackston of Rathillet was put to death, being down stairs, and hearing of the manner in which he was to be executed, Garnock went up (though it was treason to speak to him) and told him of it; which he could scarcely believe. But the keepers came up and assured him to the contrary, and threatened to put Garnock in the irons. Also, they got eight grey-coats

who watched Hackston all night, persuading him to the contrary, so that he might not know till at the place of execution.

It would appear that Garnock was not put in irons until some time after, that a young woman who was taken at Queensferry when Haughhead was killed, having liberty to come into the Lady Gilkerclough, then in prison, was conveyed out in a gentleman's habit. Of this he and another got the blame, though entirely innocent, and were laid in irons. The other got his liberty; but Robert continued alone, as they intended to send him off with some soldiers to Tangiers. But the Lord having otherwise determined, so many of the Council could not be convened as was required to make out an order; and so he was continued in prison, during which time he endured a sore conflict with those of his fellow-prisoners who still complied and got off. Others came in their place, who set upon him afresh; so that he, and any one who was of his judgment, could scarcely get liberty to worship God in the room without disturbance. Those who were faithful, and a comfort to him, were taken from him and executed, while he was still retained in prison.

To relate all the trials and difficulties he underwent during the time of his imprisonment, near the space of two years and a half, with his various exercises, and the remarkable goodness of God towards him all that time, would be more than can conveniently be accomplished at present. I shall only notice one or two very strange occurrences of divine Providence towards him, and his condition near the end of his narrative and life, which he thus records:—

“ I have no reason but to go through with cheerfulness whatever he puts me to for owning of his cause; for if it had not been his sweet love to me, I might have been a sufferer for the worst of crimes. For there is in me what is in the worst of creatures—a remarkable instance of which I was trysted with long since, which, while I live, I will not forget. Being at home working with my father, and having mended a chest-lock to an honest woman, I went with it to put it on. The woman not being at leisure, there was a gun standing beside me; and having oftentimes guns amongst my hands to dress, I took it up, and not observing that it was loaded, thinking the gun not good, tried to fire it, whereupon it went off, and the ball went up through a loft above, and almost killed a woman and a child. Had not Providence directed that shot, I had suffered as a murderer: and am I not obliged to follow and suffer for the ‘Chiefest among ten thousand,’ who has so honoured me a poor wretch? Many other things have escaped me; for I may not stay to mention what the Lord has done for me, both at field-preachings and other places. I have had a continued warfare, and my predomi-

nants grew mightily on my hand, which made my life sometimes heavy : but among the many sweet nights and days I have had, were the 23rd in the evening and the 24th in the morning of August, 1681. The Lord was kind to me. That was the beginning of mornings indeed, wherein I got some of the Lord's love, found an open door, and got a little within the court, and there was allowed to give in what I had to say, either as to my own soul's case, or the case of the church, which is low at this day. I have indeed had some sweet days since ; but I have misguided them, and could not keep in with him ; for my corruptions are so mighty, that sometimes I have been made to cry out, Woe is me that ever I was born, a man of strife and contention to many ! 'O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death ?' But the Lord maketh up all again with his love, so that I may have ups and downs in my case. I have forgotten some things particularly worthy of remark ; such as, one night I was set upon by a French captain, when out of town, but the Lord remarkably delivered me, and brought me back again. So the Lord has let me see I might have suffered for worse actions. So that I have no ground but to be for God while I live, and bless his name that ever honoured me with this dignity of suffering for his name and honourable cause.

"What will become of me is yet uncertain ; but considering what the land was doing in bringing in of Popery, the love I bear to the Lord and his righteous cause made me give in my protestation against the Parliament, which this present year, 1681, has made laws for the strengthening of Popery ; and I could do no less ; for the glory of God was dearer to me than my life.

"And now, for anything I know, I will be tortured and my life taken, and so will get no more written. As to any that read this, I beg of them to shun all that is evil in my life, as they wish to shun hell ; and if there be anything in it that is for use, I

request the Lord that he may bring it home upon them when I am gone, and make it useful for them that read it. So I bid you all farewell, desiring none of you may slight your time or duty as I have done ; but shun the appearance of evil, cleave to that which is good, and spend much of your time with God. Be not idle night nor day, and give not over much sleep unto yourselves. O sirs ! if you would be prevailed with to spend time for God, it would be the sweetest and most desirable service ever you took in hand. Oh ! be persuaded to fall in love with him, who is without compare 'the Chiefest among ten thousand, yea, altogether lovely.' Take him for your all, and bind yourselves hand and foot to his obedience. Let your ears be nailed to the posts of his doors, and be his servants for ever.

"And now, seeing I get no more time allowed me here on earth, I close with my hearty farewell to all friends, and pray the Lord may guide them in all truth, and keep them from the dreadful snares that are coming on this covenanted land of Scotland. So I bid you all farewell ; be faithful to the death. I know not certainly what may become of me after this, but I look and expect that my time in this world is now near an end, and so desire to welcome all that the Lord sends. Thinking presently to be called in before God's enemies, I subscribe this

"ROBERT GARNOCK.

"*Sept. 28, 1681.*"

Having now seen a little of the life and exercises of Robert Garnock, we come to notice somewhat anent his trial, death, or martyrdom, which now hastens apace. According to his own expectation above narrated, he was brought before the Council, October 1, where he disowned

the king's authority, refused them as his judges, and on the 7th was brought before the Justiciary and indicted, "That he did before the Council, on the 1st of October, decline the authority of the king and Council, and called the king and Council tyrants, murderers, perjured, and mansworn, declaring it was lawful to rise in arms against them; and gave in a most treasonable paper, termed 'A Protestation and Testimony against Parliamenters;' wherein he terms the members of Parliament idolaters, usurpers of the Lord's inheritance; and protests against their procedure in their hell-hatched acts; which paper is signed by his hand, whereby he is guilty of treason: and further, that the said Robert Garnock gave in a declaration to the Council, wherein he disowns the king's authority and government, and protests against the Council as tyrants. Therefore," &c. By such an explicit confession, his own papers being turned to an indictment, without any matters of fact against him, there was no difficulty of probation his own protest and declinature being produced before the Justiciary and assize to which he was remitted.

Before the assize was inclosed Robert Garnock, and other five

who were indicted with him, delivered a paper to the judges, containing a protestation and warning, wherein they advise them to consider what they are doing, and upon what grounds they pass a sentence upon them. They declare they are not rebels; they disown no authority that is according to the word of God and the Covenants the land is bound by. They charge them to consider how deep a sin covenant-breaking is; and put them in mind that they are to be answerable to the great Judge of all for what they do in this matter; and say they do this, since they are in hazard of their lives. It is a dangerous thing, they add, to pass a sentence on men merely because of their conscience and judgment, only because they cannot in conscience yield to the iniquitous laws of men; that they are free subjects, never taken in any action contrary to the present laws; that those whom they once thought should or would rule for God, have turned their authority for tyranny and inhumanity, and employ it both in destroying the laws of God and murdering his people against and without law, as they themselves can prove and witness; for after two years' imprisonment one of them most

cruelly and tyrant-like rose from the place of judgment, and drew a sword, and would have killed one of them, but Providence ordered it otherwise; however, the wound was yet to be shown. After reminding them of David Finlay, murdered at Newmills, James Mitchell's case, and James Lermond, who was murdered after he was three times freed by the assize. they add that, after such murders as deserve death, they cannot see how they can own them as judges; imploring them to notice what they do; assuring them that their blood will be heavy upon them: concluding with Jer. xxvi. 15; and charging them not to take innocent blood on their heads. This was subscribed at Edinburgh, October 7, 1681, by ROBERT GARNOCK, D. FARRIE, JA. STEWART, ALEX. RUSSELL, PAT. FORMAN, and C. LAPSLAY.

Notwithstanding all this they were brought in guilty, and sentenced to be executed at the Gallow-Lee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, upon the 10th October—Forman's hand to be cut off before, and the heads and hands of the rest after death, and to be set upon the Pleasance Port.

What Garnock's deportment and exercises were at the place of execution we are at a loss to

describe; but from what is already related we may safely conclude that, through divine grace, his demeanour was truly noble and Christian. But the reader may guess somewhat of his temper and disposition about that time from his last speech and dying testimony.

The foregoing sentence, in all its parts, was executed upon them all except Lapslay, who got off. And so they had their passage from the valley of misery into the celestial country above, to inhabit the land where "the inhabitants say not, I am sick, and the people that dwell therein are forgiven their iniquities."

Thus died Robert Garnock, in the flower of his youth, a young man, but old in experimental religion. His faithfulness was as remarkable as his piety, and his courage and constancy as both. He was inured to tribulations almost from his youth, and was so far from being discouraged at the cross of Christ that, in imitation of the primitive martyrs, he seemed rather ambitious of suffering. He always aimed at honesty; and notwithstanding opposition from pretended friends and professed foes, he was, by the Lord's strength, enabled to remain unshaken to the last; for though he was well-nigh tripped,

yet he was seldom foiled, never vanquished. May the Lord enable many to emulate him who now inherits the promise, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

The faithful and pious James Renwick was present, and was much affected at this execution; after which he assembled some friends, lifted the bodies in the night, and buried them in the West Kirk. They also got their heads down: but day approaching, they could not make the same place, and were obliged to turn aside to Laurieston's Yards (where one Alexander Tweedie, then in company with them, was gardener), where they in a box interred them. The gardener, it is said, planted a white rose bush above them, and a red one a little below them, which proved more fruitful than any bushes in all the garden. This place being uncultivated for a considerable time, they lay till October 7, 1728, when another gardener, trenching the ground, found them. They were lifted, and by direction were laid on a table in the summer-house of the proprietor, and a fair linen cloth being cut out and laid upon them, all had access to come and see them; where they beheld a hole

in each head, which the hangman made with his hammer when he drove them on the pikes. On the 19th they were put into a coffin, covered with black, and by some friends carried to the Greyfriars Churchyard, and interred near the Martyrs' Tomb, it being nearly forty-five years since their separation from their bodies. They were reburied on the same day, Wednesday, and about four o'clock afternoon, the same time that at first they went to their resting place, and attended, says one present, "by the greatest multitude of people, old and young, men and women, ministers and others, that ever I saw together." And there they lie, awaiting a glorious resurrection on the morning of the last day, when they shall be raised up with more honour than at their death they were treated with reproach and ignominy.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT GARNOCK.

Men and Brethren,—I, having received a sentence of death from men for adhering to the truth against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and Indulgences, first and last, and all that was contrary to sound doctrine, am now to leave a line behind me, as the Lord will help me to write, and to tell you, that however this generation may condemn me as having a hand in my own death, I declare that it is not so; for I die a Presbyterian in my judgment. For I, considering

how solemnly Scotland was bound to defend truth against all encroachments made thereon, with their lives and liberties, and how they of this nation had so easily broken their vows and engagements; and then seeing through the Scriptures how deep covenant-breaking draws, and what a great and heinous sin this is in the sight of God—could do no less than give in my protestation against all their proceedings; in their hell-hatched acts, that were so contrary to the word of God and our sworn covenants; and it is for that that I am come in your presence this day to lay down this life of mine, for which I bless the Lord that ever he honoured the like of me with a gibbet and a bloody winding-sheet, for his noble, honourable, and sweet cause. O will ye love him, Sirs! O he is well worth the loving, and quitting all for! O for many lives to seal the sweet cause with! If I had as many lives as there are hairs in my head, I would think them all too little to be martyrs for truth. I bless the Lord I do not suffer unwillingly, nor by constraint, but heartily and cheerfully. O but the Lord hath taken great pains on me, to train me up for this great work! I bless his holy name that ever he counted me worthy of such honour; his love hath been to me beyond many. I have been a long time a prisoner, and have been altered of my prison; I was among and in the company of the most part who suffered since Bothwell: and was in company with many ensnaring persons, tho' I do not question but they were godly folk, and yet the Lord kept me from hearkening to their counsel. Glory, glory be to his holy and sweet name. O but it is many a time a wonder how I have done such and such things! but it is he that hath done it; he hath done all things well, both in me and for me; holy is his name! O if I could get my royal King Jesus cried up, and all the world down! O will you fall in love with Christ! friends, what ails you at him and his sweet cause? I can assure you he is no hard master to serve. O he is lovely! 'He

is white and ruddy, the Chief among ten thousands.' I desire none of you to think I suffer 'as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters;' or that it is out of blind zeal that I am come here this day: no, for it was after serious consideration that I did it, and after great weights and pressures. It was great grief of soul to me to see my Master's truth so wronged, trampled on, and abused by a God-daring generation, and none to speak for him. And now my Lord is highly honouring me for that; glory to his great name for it; for he hath honoured me and my neighbours with irons, and the thieves' hole, which were sweet and refreshful to us, and then honoured us wonderfully to go in before these bloody men and get our sentences.

"Our interrogations are known; I have not time to write them. But I disowned *them* for disowning the Covenant, and adhered to my protestation given in against them; and now am I come to the Gallowlee to lay down my life, and to have my head cut off and put upon a post! It is known how barbarously I have been used by them, and how honourably such a silly wretch as I am hath been carried thro'; glory be to his sweet name for it. Indeed, it was the bargain betwixt Christ and my soul long since, that thro' his strength I should be for him, and at his bidding, whatever piece of work he put into my hand; and he promised 'that his grace should be sufficient for me,' and 'that his strength should be seen in my weakness,' and that go whither I would he would go with me—'thro' fire and water'—the flames would not scorch me nor the 'waters overflow me.' O take him, Sirs! for 'he is faithful who hath promised,' and he will perform. Now, as a dying martyr for Christ, I would leave it on all of you to make haste and prepare for strokes, for they are at hand; and do not think that they will not come because they are delayed. No, he will come, and that 'as a thief in the night,' and will surprise many of you, if not all. 'Watch and pray, that ye enter

not into temptation.' I would not have you secure, but take warning in time, before his wrath break forth. He hath waited long on Scotland's repentance : it is like he will not bear much longer. Do not sleep, as do others, but rise, make haste, 'put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand.' It is dangerous now to be out of God's gate ; it is not good siding with God's enemies . it will be dangerous to be found in their camp. I would not be in *their* stead for all the gold of Ophir, who have saved their lives with prejudice to the work and people of God. I would have them take warning. They say they have done nothing but what was lawful and right ; but they commit transgression, and (with the whore) wipe their mouth and say 'they have done no evil.' Indeed, they may put off men so, but they will not get God and their own consciences put off. They need never go about the bush, for I see not how any that are faithful, being once brought before them, can win honestly off ; for if ye will but say ye disown their authority, then your life must go. For they had as little to lay to my charge as to any, yet I could not win off with a good conscience, but to the gallows I must go ; and glory to *his* great name who hath honoured me, or that ever he gave me a head to be set on a post for his sweet name and cause. Now, as for what I own or disown, I being straitened by reason of the want of time, cannot get it set down here ; and another thing I see, that martyrs' testimonies are of no value, and very lightly esteemed.

"I give my testimony to the holy and sweet Scriptures, Covenants, Confession of Faith, which are according to the Scripture, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all that our worthies have done in defence of the gospel at Pentland, Loudon Hill, Bothwell Bridge, and Airs Moss . to Rutherglen Testimony, and Sanguhar Declaration, Ferry Papers, and Torwood Excommunication, the Fife Testimony,

D——ie, K——le, and P——s Protestations, and all that hath been done in defence of the gospel wherever it hath been done. And I, as a dying martyr for the truth, give my testimony against all the encroachments on our Lord's rights, in less or more, as Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and Indulgences first and last, and all that side with them. And I, as a dying witness for Christ, desire friends to the cause of Christ to beware of them ; 'for, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. They will neither enter the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor will they suffer others to go in thereat.' Beware of their fair speeches, for they and the devil thought to have made me break with my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, that noble bargain betwixt him and my soul. O ! but the professors of this generation are evil and bitter against the sweet way of the Lord and his poor people.

"Next, I give my testimony against all the enemies of God, and all that join with them in paying cess, locality, militia money, or whatever is for the strengthening of their hands. And now I leave it again on you, that ye would not brand me with having a hand in my own death : for I could not get my life saved unless I had taken upon me all the blood of the people of God, and owned *that* as lawful authority which had taken away my dear brethren's lives, and said that it was just and right what they had done. And indeed they seek no more of any, if they will but own them in what they do. They think they are right enough in taking away our lives, when they who are called Presbyterians own them, and their tyranny, to be authority. And now, when I am to go away, I would have you to lay to heart how deeply owning of them draws, and how much of the wrath of God ye draw on you in so doing. O Sirs ! I would have you beware, and look what a weighty business it is, and 'obey God rather than man.' I bless the Lord I am this day to step out of time into eternity ; and I am no more troubled than if I were to take a marriage

in the earth, and not so much. I bless the Lord I have much peace of conscience in what I have done. O! but I think it a very weighty business for me to be within twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled! Indeed the Lord is kind, and hath trained me up for this day, and now I can want him no longer. I will get my fill of love this night, for 'I will be with him in paradise, and get a new song in my mouth, the song of Moses and of the Lamb;' I will be in amongst 'the general assembly of the first-born,' and enjoy the sweet presence of God and his Son Jesus Christ, and 'the spirits of just men made perfect:' I am sure of it!

"O dear friends, I would, as one going to eternity, obtest you that you make good earnest in religion, and be restless until you get a clearness of an interest in Christ; for it is a dangerous time to live in the dark. I would have you consider what a weighty business it is to deny the Lord of glory before men. There have strange things of this nature fallen out in this our day. O! look to yourselves; I would entreat you to be for God, and he will be for you; confess him, and he will confess you. As good soldiers, endure hardness; wax valiant in suffering. Resist unto blood, for it is the cause of God that is at stake! O! there are none of you lamenting after God: ah! is there none of you that hath love to the Lord, and will take part with him against all his enemies? O! but it be sad to see you with such whole hearts, and so little grief among you for the robbery that the Lord of glory is getting. I declare my suffering is nothing; but when I see you who are professors, what an unconcerned people ye are, it makes my soul bleed to see you in such a frame when the church is in such a condition. I wish the Lord may help poor young ones that are brought up under you with the want of the gospel. O for the gospel back again to Scotland! Oh for one faithful minister in all the land! O but the harvest is great, and the labourers few! As for my part, now when I am going into eternity, I de-

clare I see not nor hear of a minister in all Scotland who is at the duty the Lord calls for at ministers' hands, in preaching against all sorts of sin 'in season, and out of season, rebuking, reproofing, and exhorting.' As for my part, I cannot join with them who are not so.

"Now, my Lord is bringing me to conformity with himself, and honouring me after my worthy pastor, Mr. James Guthrie; although I knew nothing when he was alive, yet the Lord hath honoured me to protest against Popery, and to seal it with my blood; and he honoured him to protest against Prelacy, and to seal it with his blood. The Lord hath kept me in prison to this day for that end. His head is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine must go on another. Glory, glory to the Lord's holy and sweet name for what he hath done for me. O set days apart, and bless his holy and never-enough-exalted name for what he hath done for me. O Sirs! his cross hath been all paved over with love all along, and it is sweeter now than ever. -O will ye be persuaded to fall in love with the cross of royal Jesus! O take him. Will ye be entreated to come and taste of his love? O sweet lot this day, for me to go to a gibbet for Christ and his cause! I think the thoughts of this day do ravish my heart and soul, and make me to fall out in wondering that I am within so few hours of that endless joy, that paradise, among these flowers and trees that are on each side of that 'pure river, clear as crystal,' where the tree is that 'bears twelve manner of fruits, and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.' O that I could leave this weight upon you; yea, with as great weight as it lies on my spirits, to see how few of you are travelling to that land. O be much above, and be here as strangers, I mean in respect of conformity to this world, though hated of it, and studying to live the life that our Lord hath commanded in his word: 'and suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy the pleasures of

sin for a season.' Now, I bless the Lord I am not, as many suspect me, thinking to win heaven by my suffering. No, no; I know there is no winning of it but through the precious blood of the Son of God. Now, ye who are the true seekers of God, and so the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent and run fast: time is precious: O make use of it and act for God, contend for the truth, stand for God against all his enemies. Fear not the wrath of men. Love one another. Wrestle with God, mutually, in societies. 'Confess your faults one to another: pray with one another; reprove, rebuke, exhort one another in love.' Slight no commanded duty; be faithful in your station, as ye will be answerable in the great day!

Now, having no more time, I bid farewell to you all. Farewell, holy and sweet Scriptures, wherewith I have been refreshed many a day. I would have you read much of them, and pray over them to the Lord, that ye may get his blessing with, and the right use of them. O! make use of your Bibles, my dear friends, so long as you have

them. Seek not counsel from men. Follow none further than they hold by truth. Now, I request you have a care; this land is like to come under great errors. Now, farewell, sweet reproaches for my lovely Lord Jesus; tho' once they were not joyous but grievous, yet now they are sweet; I bless the Lord for it. I heartily forgive all men for anything they have said of me; I pray that it may not be laid to their charge in the day of accounts. As for what they have done to God and his cause, I leave that to God and their own consciences. Farewell, all Christian acquaintances and relations, father and mother, brethren and sisters; farewell, sweet prison for my Lord Jesus Christ: it is now at an end: farewell, all crosses of one sort and another; and so farewell everything in time, reading, praying, and believing. Welcome, eternal life and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit!

“ROBERT GARNOCK.”

ROBERT M'WARD.

ROBERT M'WARD was born in Glenluce, in Galloway. After he had gone through his courses of learning at the university, he was

* M'Ward was enrolled a student of divinity in the New College of St. Andrews in 1643, under Samuel Rutherford, who formed a high opinion of his piety and talents. When Rutherford was in London attending, as one of the Scottish commissioners, the Westminster Assembly of Divines, M'Ward acted as his amanuensis for four years. He subsequently became regent of humanity in the Old College of St. Andrews. On 4th August, 1653, he was admitted a regent in the college of Glasgow

ordained minister of the gospel at Glasgow, where he continued in the faithful discharge of his duty until the year 1661,* when

(*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 240, 241); but in the beginning of the year 1655, in consequence of ill health, he demitted that office. (*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 285, 314.) In 1656 he was appointed successor to the celebrated Andrew Gray, as minister of the Outer High Church of Glasgow. Having joined the ranks of the Protesters, he was no favourite of Robert Baillie. But it is worthy of notice that Baillie, though writing about him with evident prejudice, says nothing against his piety and scholarship, but simply represents him

this good man and affectionate preacher began to observe the design of the then managers to overturn the whole covenanted work of reformation. In the month of February that year he gave a most faithful and seasonable testimony against the glaring defections of that time, in an excellent sermon in the Tron Church of Glasgow, which was afterwards the ground of a most severe prosecution. His text was in Amos iii 2: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth." He had preached upon it for some time upon the week days; and after he had run over personal abounding sins, and those of the city, he came to the general and national sins that were then abounding. Having enlarged upon these things with scriptural eloquence in a most moving way, he used a good many pertinent directions to his hearers to mourn, consider, repent, and return, to wrestle and pour out their souls before the Lord, and encouraged them to these duties from this: That God

would look upon these duties as their dissent from what is done prejudicial to his work and interest, and would mark them among the mourners in Zion. But what was most noticed was that with which he closed the sermon referred to: "For my part, as a poor member of the Church of Scotland, and an unworthy minister in it, I do this day call you who are the people of God to witness, that I humbly offer my dissent from all Acts which are or shall be passed against the Covenants and the work of Reformation in Scotland; and I protest that I am desirous to be free of the guilt thereof, and pray that God may put it upon record in heaven."*

The noise of this sermon quickly flew abroad, and Mr. M'Ward was brought to Edinburgh under a guard and imprisoned. Soon after he had an indictment given him by the king's advocate for sedition and treasonable preaching. What its nature was we may easily guess from the scope of his excellent sermon.

as from "inability of body unable for such a charge as Glasgow;" adding, "apparently the burden shortly will crush him, except he go on to do as he has done yet, frequently to let his place vaik." (*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 314.) M'Ward, however, recovered his health, and he laboured in Glasgow with apostolic zeal and fidelity till driven from his post by persecution.

* "Mr. Robert M'Ward," says Robert Baillie,

"in a set sermon of purpose, declared his grief for the Parliament's hard usage of the Covenant, wherein all honest men did concur with him; but in so high language, as entering a protestation in heaven against the Parliament's deed, whereof he took all his hearers for witnesses. such terms none did approve, yet for all that either one or other could say he did obstinately stand to all." (*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 467.)

He was allowed lawyers, whereby his process became pretty long and tedious; but upon the 6th of June he was brought before the Parliament, where he had a public opportunity of giving proof of his eminent parts and solid judgment. His charming eloquence was owned by his very adversaries; and he defended by Scripture and reason the expressions in his sermon before the bar of the House.* His excellent speech had not the influence that might have been expected; yet doubtless it had some, for the House delayed coming to an issue. He indeed expected a sentence of death, which no way damped him, but his Master had more work for him elsewhere.

Whether by orders from court to shed no more blood, or for some other reason, his affair was delayed for a time; and upon some encouragement given him of success, he, upon the Monday following, gave in a supplication to the Parliament, wherein he exchanges the words "protest" and "dissent," which he had used in his sermon, for those of "testifying, solemnly declaring, and bearing witness;" and yet at

* His speech is printed in Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 207.

† M^r Ward was found guilty by Parliament on the 7th of June, but his sentence was delayed

the same time declares he is not brought to this alteration so much for fear of his person as from an earnest desire to remove out of the way any or the least occasion of stumbling, that there may be the more ready and easy access, without prejudice of words, to ponder and give judgment of the matter; and withal, humbly prostrates himself at their honours' feet, to be disposed of as they shall think meet.

This supplication, with what went before, might have softened the persecutors (as Wodrow observes), and yet it had no effect; for Archbishop Sharp and his friends resolved now to be rid, as much as they could, of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers, and therefore he behoved to be banished, which was the highest thing they could go to, unless they had taken his life. Upon the 5th or 6th of July the Parliament gave him for answer: "That they pass sentence of banishment upon the supplicant, allowing him six months to tarry in the nation—one of which only in Glasgow—with power to receive the following year's stipend at departure."†

His Master having work for till the 12th or 14th of July. Instead of banishment he expected to be condemned to die on the scaffold, and he prepared his last speech, which is still preserved among the Wodrow MSS.

him elsewhere, he submitted to the sentence, and transported himself and his family to Rotterdam, where for a while, upon the death of Mr. Alexander Petrie (author of a "Compendious History of the Catholic Church, from the year 600 until the year 1600"), he was employed as minister of the Scots congrega-

* Mr. Alexander Petrie, formerly minister of Rhynd, in the neighbourhood of Perth, was admitted minister of the Scottish church in Rotterdam on 30th August, 1643, and died on 6th September, 1662. When M'Ward first arrived in Holland he occasionally preached for Petrie, and after his death supplied the congregation for some time at the request of the magistrates, as appears from the city treasurer's books, which, under the head of disbursements, contain the following entry:—"To Doctor Robert Macquire for performing the whole pastoral duties in the vacant Scottish church here during three months, the sum of one hundred and twenty-five guilders, due December 1st, 1662." (*Steven's Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 336.) Petrie was succeeded by Mr. John Hog or Hoog, who had been successively minister of Linton in Tweeddale, of the Canongate, Edinburgh, and of the parish of South Leith, and who was admitted minister of the Scottish church in Rotterdam on 31st December, 1662.

M'Ward, besides preaching also occasionally for Hoog, occupied himself in collecting and arranging the letters of Samuel Rutherford, which were first printed at Rotterdam in the year 1664, under his editorship, with an address by him to the "Christian Reader," containing some biographical notices of his venerated deceased friend. After this he went to Utrecht, where he resided several years. Whilst in that place he preached a sermon in the English church on the Wednesday mornings at nine o'clock, at which a collection was made on behalf of the poor. He sometimes preached for Mr. John Best, the regular minister; but as he never introduced the Lord's prayer at the conclusion of his prayer, as was the custom in the service of

tion, to the no small edification of many;* and that not only to such as had fled hither from the rage and fury of the bloody persecutors, but also to those who resorted to him and Mr. Brown for their advice in difficult cases, in carrying on and bearing up a faithful testimony against both right and left hand extremes,

that church, and refused to yield to the wishes of some of the more scrupulous members on that point; this so greatly offended them, that contrary to the wishes of their minister, who was more tolerant, they carried a resolution in the consistory, June 3, 1667, "That henceforth no minister shall be admitted to preach in this congregation that refuseth to say the Lord's prayer," &c.

In the year 1668 M'Ward returned to Rotterdam, where he now enjoyed the society of many kindred spirits, in the great number of banished Scottish ministers and others who had taken up their residence in that hospitable asylum. In that year he was in London, but returned to Holland without visiting Scotland. In 1669 he came to Scotland, and was married to the widow of John Graham, provost of Glasgow, after which he returned to Rotterdam. In 1670 he and two other ministers—Mr. John Nevay and Mr. Robert Trail—were complained against to the States General by Charles II., who demanded the expulsion of these ministers from their territories. But the States General refused at that time to comply with the demand. (*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 363; see also before, p. 429.) On the death of his friend, Mr. John Livingstone, which took place at Rotterdam on the 9th of August, 1672, M'Ward again visited his native country, and he finally left it for Holland in 1674, followed soon after by his wife and her son. On the 23rd of January, 1676, he was inducted second minister of the Scottish church in Rotterdam, which still enjoyed the services of Mr. John Hoog. But he was soon compelled to leave Rotterdam through the interference of the government of Charles II., as stated in the following paragraph.

with every other prevailing corruption and defection in that day; it being a day of "treading down in the valley of vision."

The rage of his persecutors followed him, even in a strange land. On the 27th of June, 1676, Charles II., by the influence of Sharp, wrote to the States General [requiring them, agreeably to an article in a treaty between the two countries], to remove James Wallace, Robert M'Ward, and John Brown out of their provinces [as persons guilty of lese-majesty against the king of Great Britain.*] But the States, considering that Messrs M'Ward and Brown had already submitted to the Scots law, and that, having received the sentence of banishment during life out of the king's dominion, they had come under their protection, could not be prevailed on to remove them out of these provinces, or cause them to be any further disquieted; and for this end sent a letter to their ambassador at the court of England, to signify the same to his Majesty. [But other letters having been sent from the English government to the States General, repeating the demand in stronger language, and the

English ambassador having been instructed to urge a speedy answer, the States General, on 6th July, 1677, passed a resolution requiring Wallace, M'Ward, and Brown to withdraw from the country.*]

Afterwards this famous man was concerned in ordaining Richard Cameron, when in Holland, in the year 1679; and sent him home with positive instructions to lift up and bear a free and faithful standard against every defection and encroachment made upon the Church of Christ in Scotland, particularly the Indulgences, against which Mr. M'Ward never failed to give a free and faithful testimony, as is evident from several of his writings, particularly from that in answer to Mr. Fleming.

He remained at Rotterdam until his death, which took place in December, 1681. It is said, that when in his last sickness, he desired Mr. Shields and some other friends to carry him out to see a comet or blazing star that then appeared: and when he saw it, he blessed the Lord that now he was about to close

* See before, p. 492. M'Ward retired to Utrecht or its immediate neighbourhood for some time, and returned to Rotterdam in 1678. But he does not appear to have ever again served as minister to the Scottish church in that city.

* M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, p. 363.

his eyes, and was not to see the woeful days that were coming on Britain and Ireland, but especially upon sinful Scotland.* After this he died, and entered into his Master's joy, after he had been for twenty years absent from his native country.†

It were altogether superfluous here to insist upon the character of this faithful minister and witness of Jesus Christ, seeing that his own writings do fully evidence him to have been a man of admirable eloquence, learning, and singular zeal and faithfulness. While remaining in Holland he wrote several works, which are said to be the following:—"The Poor Man's Cup of

* At that time the science of astronomy was so little cultivated in Scotland, that the appearance of a comet was regarded, as in other countries and in former ages, as portending wars and calamities, political and ecclesiastical changes, which were to afflict the world. In the winter of 1558 Knox records the appearance of a comet, called the "fyrie boosome," which was seen in the months of November, December, and January, soon after which "died Christern, king of Denmark, and war arose betwixt Scotland and England." (*Knox's Works*, vol. i. p. 254.) Shakspeare, in the first part of his "Henry VI.," describes comets as "importing change of times and states:" and says again:—

"Now shine it like a comet of revenge,
A prophet to the fall of all our foes."

Milton, in his "Paradise Lost," has sanctioned the prejudice that the comet, "from its horrid hair, shakes pestilence and war."

Cold Water, ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland," published about 1679: "Earnest Contendings for the Faith: being the answers written to Mr. Robert Fleming's first and second papers of proposals for union with the Indulged," &c., published in 1723; "Banders Disbanded;" with several prefatory epistles to some of Mr. Brown's works. He wrote also many other papers and letters, but especially a "History of the Defections of the Church of Scotland," which has never hitherto been published.‡ Some accounts bear that "Naph-tali" was written by him, but Wodrow says otherwise.§

† During his exile M·Ward maintained an extensive correspondence with the suffering Covenanters in Scotland. This correspondence, which throws much light on their history during the reign of Charles II., he carefully preserved, and it is now deposited among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It did not come into the possession of Wodrow till after the publication of his history; and he regrets that he had not seen it earlier, as it would have enabled him to set various matters in his history in a clearer light.

‡ Dr. Steven, in an interesting memoir of M·Ward, in his *History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, mentions some other pieces which were written by M·Ward, one of which is entitled *The True Non-conformist*, &c., 12mo, printed in the year 1671.

§ Naph-tali was written by the Rev. James Stirling, minister of Paisley, assisted by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees.



Covenanters' horse got to Stirling, but the foot were mostly killed on the spot; and in the chase, which, according to some historians, continued for the space of fourteen miles, the greater part of the Covenanters' army was either drowned, or cut off and killed by these cruel savages.

In this extremity the captain, as soon as he could get free of the bog, made the best of his way sword in hand through the enemy, till he had got safe to Colonels Hacket and Strachan, when all three rode off together. They had not gone far till they were encountered by about fifteen of the enemy, all of whom they killed, except two who escaped. When they had gone a little farther they were again attacked by about thirteen more, and of these they killed ten. But upon the approach of about eleven Highlanders more, one of the colonels said, in a familiar dialect,

* Although Montrose got off at this time, yet when he made another insurrection in 1650, he was fought and routed by a few troops, under the command of the forementioned Colonels Strachan, Hacket, and Ker, and he himself taken afterwards in the laird of Assen's bounds and brought to Edinburgh, where he was by the Parliament condemned to be hanged, May 31, on a gallows thirty feet high, three hours' space, his head to be cut off and placed on the Tolbooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom: which was executed accordingly. (See *The History of the Civil Wars*, p. 30; *Montrose's Memoirs*, p. 517,

“Johnny, if thou dost not somewhat now, we are all dead men;” to whom the captain answered, “Fear not; for we will do what we can before we either yield or flee before them.” They killed nine of them, and put the rest to flight.

About this time the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people; for Montrose having defeated the Covenanters at five or six different times, the Committee of Estates began to bethink themselves, and for that end saw cause to recall General David Leslie, with four thousand foot and one thousand dragoons, from England. To oppose him, Montrose marched southward; but was shamefully routed by Leslie at Philiphaugh, upon the 13th of September, 1645. Many of his forces were killed and taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with much difficulty.* After this Mr. William Guthrie

&c.)—*Howie*. Nicol, in his *Diary* (p. 11), gives the following account of Montrose's apprehension, after his complete defeat at the battle of Corbiesdale in the north:—“Within four days after this victory, this bloody traitor was taken and apprehended. After he had fled to the hills and remained there in great misery and famine, he came to a house and family whose master was called M'Cloyd, looking for protection at his hands, being one of his old acquaintances, and complier with him in his former plots and bloody courses; but this man's son, called Neill M'Cloyd, fearing the danger of the laws if he should conceal him, and hearing

and Captain Paton returned home to Fenwick.

Thus matters went on till 1646, when there arose two factions in Scotland, headed by the duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Argyll; the one of which aimed at bringing down King Charles I. to Scotland, and the other opposed it. However, the levies went on, whereby the duke, with a potent army, marched to England.

In the meanwhile Major-general Middleton came upon a handful of the Covenanters assembled at the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Mauchline, a small village in Ayrshire. At this place were William Adair, William Guthrie, and John Nevay, ministers, and the earl of Loudon, who solicited Middleton to let the people dismiss in a peaceable manner, which he promised to do. But, in a most perfidious way, he fell upon them on the Monday after, which occasioned some bloodshed on both sides;* for Captain Paton (being still suspicious of these malignants, notwithstanding all their fair promises) caused his people from Fenwick to take arms with them; and although they only acted on

the defensive, still it is said that the captain that day killed eighteen of the enemy with his own hand.

The duke of Hamilton and his army being defeated, and he himself afterwards beheaded, the English following up the victory, Cromwell and his men entered Scotland, and by them the Engagers were not only made to yield, but quite dispersed. Whereupon some of the stragglers came to the west for plunder, and took up their residence for some time in the muirs of Loudon, Eaglesham, and Fenwick, which made the captain again bestir himself. Taking a party of Fenwick men, he went in quest of them, and found some of them at a certain house in that parish called Lochgoin, and there gave them such a fright, though without any bloodshed, as made them give their promise never to molest or trouble that house, or any other place in the bounds again, under pain of death. And they went off without any further molestation.

Charles I. having been beheaded, January 30, 1649, and Charles II. called home from Breda, 1650, the Scotch Parlia-

of the large promises of money to the revealers and apprehenders of him, was induced thereby to seize him and take him prisoner in

his own house, and rendered him to the commanders of this army."

* See before, p. 428.

ment, upon notice of an invasion from the English, appointed a levy of ten thousand foot and three thousand horse, to be instantly raised for the defence of the king and kingdom; among whom the captain again took the field, for he was now become too popular to be hid in obscurity.

Accordingly, Cromwell and his army having entered Scotland in July, 1650, several skirmishes ensued betwixt the English and the Scots, when the latter were, upon the 3rd of September, totally routed at Dunbar. After this, the Act of Classes being repealed, both church and state began to act in different capacities, and to look as suspiciously on one another as on the common enemy. There were in the army, on the Protesters' side, Colonels Ker, Hacket, and Strachan; and of inferior officers, Major Stuart, Captain Arnot, brother to the laird of Lochridge, Captain Paton, and others. The contention came to such a crisis that Colonels Ker and Strachan threw up their commissions, and came to the west with some other officers, many of whom were esteemed the most religious and best affected in the army. They proceeded so far as to give battle to the English at Hamilton, but were worsted; the Lord's wrath having gone forth

against the whole land, because Achan was in the camp of our Scottish Israel.

The king and the Scotch army being no longer able to hold out against the English, shifted about and went for England; and about the end of August, 1651, Worcester surrendered to them. But the Parliamentary army following hard upon their heels, totally routed them upon the 3rd of September, which made the king flee out of the kingdom. After this the captain returned home, when he saw how fruitless and unsuccessful this expedition had been.

About this time he took the farm of Meadowhead, where he was born, and married Janet Lindsay, who only lived a very short time. Here he no less excelled in the duties of the Christian life in a private station, than he did while a soldier in the camp. Being under the ministry of Mr. William Guthrie, he was made a member of his session, and continued so till that bright and shining light in the church was extinguished by Charles II. That king having been restored, and the yoke of supremacy and tyranny wreathed by him about the neck of both church and state, matters grew even worse till the year 1666,

when, upon the excesses committed in the south and west by Sir James Turner, some people rose, under the command of Barscob* and other gentlemen from Galloway, for their own defence. Several parties from the shire of Ayr joined them, commanded by Colonel James Wallace from Auchens. Captain Arnot came with a party from Mauchline, Lockhart of Wicketshaw with a party from Carluke, Major Lermont with a party from above Galston, Neilson of Corsack with a party from Galloway, and Captain Paton, who now behaved to take the field again, commanded a party of horse from Loudon, Fenwick, and other places.

Being assembled they went eastward, and renewed the Covenants at Lanark; from thence they went to Bathgate, then to Colinton, and so on till they came to Rullion, near Pentland Hills, where they were, upon that fatal day, November 28, attacked by General Dalziel and the king's forces. At their first onset Captain Arnot, with a party of horse, fought a party of Dalziel's men with good success, and after him another party made the general's men flee; but upon their last encounter, about sun-

* John M'Clellan of Barscob.

set, Dalziel, being repulsed so often, advanced the whole left wing of his army upon Colonel Wallace's right, where he had scarcely three weak horse to receive them, and they were obliged to give way. Here Captain Paton, who was all along with Captain Arnot in the first encounter, behaved with great courage and gallantry. Dalziel, knowing him in the former wars, advanced upon him himself, thinking to take him prisoner. Upon his approach each presented their pistols. At their first discharge Captain Paton, perceiving the pistol-ball to hop down upon Dalziel's boots, and knowing what was the cause (he having proof armour), put his hand to his pocket for some small pieces of silver he had there for the purpose, and put one of them into his other pistol.† But Dalziel, having his eye on him in the meanwhile, retreated behind his own man, who by that means was slain. The colonel's men, being flanked on all sides by Dalziel's men, were broken and overpowered; so that the captain and other two horsemen from

† It was then a popular belief that Dalziel was in close compact with the Evil One, by whom he had been made proof against leaden bullets. But it was believed that the compact did not secure him against the fatal effects of a pistol loaded with a piece of silver.

Fenwick were surrounded five men deep, through whom he and the two men at his back had to make their way, when there was almost no other on the field of battle, having in this last encounter stood almost an hour.

Whenever Dalziel perceived him go off, he commanded three of his men to follow hard after him, giving them marks whereby they should know him. Immediately they came up with the captain, before whom was a great slough, out of which three Gallo-way men had just drawn their horses. They cried to the captain, what would they do now? He answered them, "What was the fray? he saw but three men coming upon them;" and having caused his horse to jump the ditch he faced about, and with his sword drawn in his hand stood still till the first, coming up, endeavoured to make his horse jump over also. Upon this he with his sword* clave the trooper's head in two, and the horse being injured, fell into the bog, with the other two men and horses. The captain then told them to take his compliments to their master, and tell him he was not coming that night; and so

came off, and got safe home at last.

After this Christ's followers and witnesses were reduced to many hardships, particularly such as had been any way accessory to the rising at Pentland, so that they were obliged to resort to the wilderness, and other desolate and solitary places. The winter following Paton and about twenty persons had a very remarkable deliverance from the enemy. Being assembled at Lochgoin upon a certain night for fellowship and godly conversation, they were warned (through a repeated dream of the enemy's approach) by the old man of the house, who had gone to bed for some rest on account of his infirmity, and that just within as much time as enabled them to make their escape, the enemy being within a short distance of the house. After they got off the old man rose up quickly, and met the soldiers with an apology for the state the house was then in (it being but a little after day-break), and nothing at that time was discovered.

About this time the captain sometimes remained at home, and sometimes in those remote

* This sword, or short shabble, yet remains. It was then, by his progenitors, counted to have twenty-eight gaps in its edge, which made them

afterwards observe that there were just as many years of the persecution as there were steps or broken pieces in its edge.—*Howie*.

places wherein he could best be concealed from the fury of his persecutors. He married a second wife, Janet Millar from Eaglesham (whose father fell at Bothwell Bridge); by whom he had six children, who continued to possess the farms of Meadowhead and Artnock in tack until the day of his death.

He frequented the pure preached gospel wherever he could obtain it, and was a great encourager of the practice of carrying arms for the defence thereof, which he took to be a proper means in part to restrain the enemy from violence. But things growing still worse, new troops of horse and companies of foot being poured in upon the western shires, on purpose to suppress and search out these field-meetings, this occasioned the rising in 1679; while, by these unparalleled severities, they were, like those of whom the apostle speaks, "destitute, afflicted, tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth" (Heb. xi. 37, 38).

The persecuted Covenanters, under the command of Mr. Robert Hamilton, having got the victory over Claverhouse on the 1st of June, 1679, at Drumclog

in Evandale, in which skirmish there were about thirty-six or forty of that bloody crew killed or wounded, went on the next day towards Glasgow in pursuit of the enemy; but that proving unsuccessful, they returned, and on June 3 formed themselves into a camp, and held a council of war. On the 4th they rendezvoused at Kyperidge, and on the 5th they went to Commissary Fleming's park, in the parish of Kilbride; when Captain Paton, who all this time had not been idle, came to them with a body of horsemen from Fenwick and Galston; and many others joined them, so that they were greatly increased.

They had hitherto been of one heart and one mind; but a party of horse from Carrick came to them, with whom were Mr. Welsh and some other ministers who favoured the Indulgence;* after which they never had a day to do well, until they were defeated at Bothwell Bridge, upon the 22nd of June following.

The Protesting party would not join with those of the Erastian side, till they should declare themselves for God and his cause, against all and every

* It is incorrect to say that Welsh and these ministers favoured the Indulgence. See before, p. 542.

defection whatever; but Mr. Welsh and his party found out a way to get rid of such officers as they feared most opposition from; for orders were given to Rathillet, Haughhead, Carmichael, and Smith, to go to Glasgow to meet with Mr. King and Captain Paton; and they obeyed. When at Glasgow, King and Paton led them out of the town, as they apprehended for the purpose of preaching, but upon inquiry where they were going, it was answered that according to orders sent privately to Mr. King and Captain Paton, they were to go and disperse a meeting of the enemy at Campsie. Upon going there they found no such thing; which made them believe it was only a stratagem to get free of Mr. King and the rest of the faithful officers.

The faithful officers were Robert Hamilton, David Hackston of Rathillet, Hall of Haughhead, Captain Paton in Meadowhead, John Balfour of Kinloch, Walter Smith, William Carmichael, William Cleland, James Henderson, and Robert Fleming. Their ministers were Donald Cargill, Thomas Douglas, John Kid, and John King. Richard Cameron was then in Holland. Henry Hall of Haughhead, John Paton in Meadowhead, William

Carmichael, and Andrew Turnbull, were ruling elders of the Church of Scotland.

Thus the Protesting party continued to struggle with the Erastian party, in which contentings Captain Paton had no small share, until that fatal day, June 22, when they were routed, and made to flee before the enemy. The captain at this time was made a major; and some accounts bear that the day preceding he was made a colonel. Wilson, in his history of Bothwell Bridge, says that he supposes John Paton, Robert Fleming, James Henderson, and William Cleland, were chosen to be colonels of regiments. However, as Paton did not enjoy this place long, we find him still afterwards called by the name of Captain.

After the defeat at Bothwell Bridge, Captain Paton made the best of his way homeward; and having had a fine horse, with all manner of furnishings, from the sheriff of Ayr, he gave it to one to take home to his master. However, it was robbed of all its fine mounting by an old intelligencer (of the same name as was supposed), which very much surprised the sheriff when he received the horse, and the captain when he got notice thereof. This

was a most base and shameful action, designing to stain the character of this honest and good man.

The sufferers were now exposed to new hardships, and none more so than Captain Paton, who was not only declared rebel by order of proclamation, but also a round sum was offered for his head, which made him be more hotly pursued, and that even in his most secret lurking places. In this time, a little after Bothwell, he had another most remarkable escape and deliverance from his bloodthirsty enemies, which fell out in this manner.

The captain, with a few more, was one night quartered in the forementioned house of Lochgoin,* with James Howie, who was one of his fellow-sufferers, at which time one Captain Inglis, with a party, lay at the dean of Kilmarnock's, who sent out parties on all hands to see whom they could apprehend; and that night a party, being out in quest of some of the sufferers, came to

Meadowhead, and from thence went to another remote place in the muirs of Fenwick, called Croilburn, but finding nothing, they went next to Lochgoin, as apprehending they would not miss their design there; and that they might come upon this place more securely, they sent about five men with one Sergeant Rae, by another way, by which the main body could not come so well up undiscovered.

The sufferers had watched all night, which was very stormy, by turns, and about day-break the captain, on account of his asthmatical disorder, went to the far end of the house for some rest. In the meanwhile George Woodburn went out to make observations, from which he was but a little time returned, when on a sudden, ere they were aware, Sergeant Rae came to the inner door of the house and cried out, "Dogs! I have found you now." The four men took to the spence—James and John

* This house was always a harbour to our late sufferers, both gentlemen, ministers, and private Christians, for which, and for their non-conformity to Prelacy, the family were not only harassed, pillaged, and plundered ten or twelve times during that period, but also both James Howie the possessor, and John Howie, his son, were, by virtue of a proclamation, May 5, 1679, declared rebels, and their names inserted in the fugitives' roll, and put up on the parish church doors, whereby they were exposed to close hid-

ing, in which they escaped many imminent dangers; and yet were so happy as to survive the Revolution, yet they never acceded to the Revolution church. The said James Howie, when dying, November, 1691, emitted a latter will or testament, wherein he not only gave good and satisfying evidence of his own well-being and saving interest in Jesus Christ, but also gave a most faithful testimony to Scotland's covenanted work of reformation, and that in all the parts and periods thereof.—*Howie.*

Howie happening to be then in the byre among the cattle. The wife of the house, Isabel Howie, seeing none but the sergeant, cried to take to the hills, and not be killed in the house. She took hold of Rae, as he was coming boldly forward to the door of the place in which they were, and ran him backward out of the outer door of the house, giving him such a hasty turn as made him fall on the ground. In the meanwhile, the captain being alarmed, got up, put on his shoes, though not very hastily, and they all got out, by which time the rest of the party was up. The sergeant fired his gun at them, which John Kirkland answered with his. The bullet passed so near the sergeant that it took off the knot of hair on the side of his head. The alarm being now general, the captain and the rest took the way for Eaglesham muirs, and the soldiers followed. Two of the men ran with the captain, and other two stayed by turns, and fired back on the enemy; the enemy fired on them likewise, but by reason of some wetness their guns had got in coming through the water, they were not so ready to fire, which helped the others to escape.

After they had pursued them some time, John Kirkland turned

about, and, stooping down on his knee, aimed so well that he shot a Highland sergeant through the thigh, which made the foremost stop as they came forward, till they were again commanded to run. By this time the sufferers had gained some ground, and being come to the muirs of Eaglesham, the four men went to the heights, in view of the enemy, and caused the captain, who was old and not able to run, take another way by himself. At last he got a mare upon the field, and took the liberty to mount her a little, that he might be more suddenly out of their reach. But ere he was aware, a party of dragoons going from Newmills was at hand; and what was more observable, he wanted his shoes, having cast them off before, and was riding on the beast's bare back; but he passed by them very slowly and got off undiscovered. At length he gave the mare her liberty, and went into another of his lurking places. All this happened on a Monday morning; and on the morrow these persecutors returned, and, plundering the house, drove off the cattle, and left almost nothing remaining.*

* In the time of this or another plunder shortly after this, some of the soldiers burned the Bible in the fire, in a most audacious manner.—*Howie*.

About this time the captain met with another deliverance. He had a child removed by death, and the incumbent of the parish, knowing the time when the corpse was to be interred, gave notice to a party of soldiers at Kilmarnock to come up and take him at the burial of his child. But some persons present at the burial persuaded him to return back, in case the enemy should come upon them at the churchyard, which he accordingly did when he was but a little distance from the church.

Paton was a great succourer of those sufferers himself, in so far as his circumstances could admit, several of his fellow-companions in the tribulation and patience of Jesus Christ resorting at certain times to him, such as David Hackston of Rathillet, Balfour of Kinloch, and Donald Cargill. It is said that Mr. Cargill dispensed the sacrament of baptism to twenty-two children in his barn at Meadowhead, some time after the engagement at Bothwell Bridge.*

Being now near the end of his race and weary pilgrimage, about the beginning of August, 1684,

* This seems to have been when Cargill made a tour through Ayrshire to Galloway. A little after they were surprised by the enemy on a fast-day near Loudon Hill, upon May 5, 1681.
—Howie.

Paton came to the house of Robert Howie in Floack, in the parish of Mearns (formerly one of his hiding places), where he was, by five soldiers, apprehended before he or any in the house were aware. He had no arms, yet the indwellers there offered him their assistance, if he wanted it. Indeed, they were in a condition to have rescued him; yea, he himself once in a day could have extricated himself from double that number. But he said it would bring them to further trouble; and as for himself, he was now become weary of his life, being so hunted from place to place, and being well stricken in years, his hidings became the more irksome. He was not afraid to die, for he knew well that, whenever he was apprehended, this would be the case, and he had got time to think thereon for many years; and for his interest in Christ, of that he was sure. The soldiers took him to Kilmarnock, but knew not who he was (taking him for some old minister or other), till they came to a place on the highway called Moor Yeat, where the good man of that place, seeing him in these circumstances, said, "Alas! Captain Paton, are you there?" Then, to their joy, they knew whom they had got into their hands. He

was carried to Kilmarnock (where his eldest daughter, being about fourteen years of age, got access to see him), then to Ayr, then back to Glasgow, and soon after to Edinburgh.

It is reported as a fact that General Dalziel met him here, and took him in his arms, saying, "John, I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way, before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty; but now it is too late. But be not afraid, I will write to his Majesty for your life." The captain replied, "You will not be heard." Dalziel said, "Will I not? If he does not grant me the life of one man I shall never draw a sword for him again." And it is said that after Paton and Dalziel had spoken some time together, a man came and said to the captain, "You are a rebel to the king;" to whom he replied, "Friend, I have done more for the king than perhaps thou hast done." Dalziel said, "Yes, John, that is true" (perhaps meaning at Worcester), and struck the man on the head with his cane till he staggered, saying he would teach him better manners than to use such a prisoner so. After this and more reasoning, the captain thanked him for his courtesy, and they parted.

His trial was not long delayed. Wodrow says that on April 16, 1684, the Council ordered a reward of £20 sterling to Cornet Lewis Lauder for apprehending John Paton, who had been a notorious rebel these eighteen years. Paton was brought before the Justiciary and indicted for being with the rebels at Glasgow, Bothwell, &c. The advocate passed his being at Pentland, and insisted on his being at Bothwell. The lords found his libel relevant, and for probation they referred to his own confession before the Council that he, John Paton, of Meadowhead in Fenwick, was taken in the parish of Mearns, in the house of Robert Howie, in Floack; that he haunted ordinarily in the fields and muirs; that he was moved by the country people to go out in the year 1666, and commanded a party at Pentland; that he joined with the rebels at Glasgow about eight days before the engagement at Bothwell, and commanded a party there, &c. The assize had no more to cognize upon but his own confession, yet brought him in guilty, and the lords condemned him to be hanged at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh on the 23rd of April. But by other accounts he was charged before the Council for being a rebel

since the year 1640; for being an opposer of Montrose; for being at Mauchline Muir, &c.

He was prevailed on to petition the Council, upon which he was respited to the 30th, and from that to May 9, when he suffered according to his sentence.* No doubt Dalziel was as good as his word; for it is said that he obtained a reprieve for him from the king, but that, coming to the hands of Bishop Paterson, it was kept up by him till Paton was executed, which enraged the general not a little. It seems that they had a mind to spare him; but, as he observed in his last speech, the prelates put an effectual stop to that. In the last eight days that he lived he got a room by himself, that he might more conveniently prepare for death, which was a favour at that time granted him above many others.

What Captain Paton's conduct or deportment at the place of execution was, we are now at a loss to know, only it is believed

it was such as well became such a valiant servant and soldier of Jesus Christ, an evidence of which we have in his last speech and dying testimony.

Thus another gallant soldier of Jesus Christ came to his end, the actions of whose life and demeanour at death do fully indicate that he was of no rugged disposition, as has been by some asserted of these our late sufferers; but rather of a meek, judicious, and Christian conversation, tempered with true zeal and faithfulness for the cause and interest of Zion's King and Lord. He was of a middle stature (as accounts bear), strong and robust, somewhat fair of complexion, with large eye-brows. But what enhanced him more was courage and magnanimity of mind, which accompanied him upon every emergent occasion; and though his extraction was but mean, it might be truly said of him that he lived a hero and died a martyr.

* "Captain Paton was hanged in the Grassmarket. He was willing to have taken the test, but a quorum of the Privy Council could not be had to reprieve him, 9th May, 1684." (*Fountainhall's Notes*, p. 92.) The editor adds in a foot note, "This was brutal enough, especially as a quorum would have been easily collected for the purpose of hanging him. An old judge, Lord Nairne, was dragged out of court to vote for Argyll's condemnation in 1682."

TESTIMONY OF JOHN PATON.

"Dear friends and spectators,—You are come here to look upon me a dying man, and you need not expect that I shall say much, for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, though I may say as much to the commendation of God in Christ Jesus as ever any poor sinner had to say. I have

been as great a sinner as ever lived ; strong corruptions, strong lusts, strong passions, a strong body of death, have prevailed against me ; yea, I have been chief of sinners. I may say, on every back-look of my way (though the world cannot charge me with any gross transgression this day, for which I bless the Lord), O ! what omissions and commissions, what formality and hypocrisy, that even my duties have been my grief and fear, lest thou, a holy God, had made them my ditties, and mayest do : my misimproved time may be heavy upon my head, and a cause of desertion ; and especially my supplicating the Council, who have, I think, laid their snares the closer to take away my life, though contrary to their own professed law. I desire to mourn for my giving ear to the counsels of flesh and blood when I should have been consulting heaven, and to reflect upon myself, though it lays my blood the closer to their door, and I think the blood of my wife and bairns. I think their supreme magistrate is not ignorant of many of their actings, but these prelates will not be found free when our God makes an inquisition for blood. I bless the Lord I am not come here as a thief or a murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, but hate bloodshed directly or indirectly. And now I am a poor sinner, and could never merit anything but wrath, and have no righteousness of my own ; all is Jesus Christ's, and his alone, and I have laid claim to his righteousness and his sufferings by faith in Jesus Christ. Through imputation they are mine, for I have accepted of his offer on his own terms, and sworn away myself to him to be at his disposal, both privately and publicly, many times. I seek mercy for all my sins, and believe to get all my challenges and sins sunk in the blood and sufferings of Jesus and his righteousness, and that he shall see of the travail of his soul on me, and the Father's pleasure shall prosper in his hand. I bless the Lord that ever he led me out to behold any part of his power in the gospel, in kirks, or fields, or any of his actings for

his people in their straits. 'The Lord is with his people while they be with him : ' we may set to our seal to this, and while they be united ; and O for a day of his power in cementing this distempered age ! It is sad to see his people falling out by the way, and of such a fiery spirit—that look to be at one lodging at night, especially those who profess to keep by our glorious work of reformation and solemn engagements to God, and to hold off the sins of these times. O hold off extremities on both hands, and follow the example of our blessed Lord and the cloud of witnesses in the 11th of the Hebrews. And let your way be the good old path, the word of God and best times of the church.

"Now, as to my interrogations, I was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwell. They asked me, how long I was at them ? I said, eight days : and the assize had no more to sentence upon, for the advocate said he would not pursue for Pentland by reason of an indemnity before the Privy Council. The Council asked me if I acknowledged authority ? I said, All authority according to the word of God. They charged me with many things, as if I had been a rebel since the year 1640, and at Montrose's taking at Mauchline Muir. Lord forgive them, they know not what they do.

"I adhere to the sweet Scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, and preached gospel by a faithful sent ministry—whereby he many times communicated himself to the souls of his people, and to me in particular, both in the kirks, and since on the fields, and in the private meetings of his people for prayer and supplication to him. I adhere to our solemn Covenants, National and Solemn League, Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagements to Duties, which became national. I adhere to our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Causes of Wrath, and to all the testimonies given by his people formerly and of late, either on fields or scaffolds, these years bygone—in so far as they are

agreeable to his word and the practice of our worthy reformers, and holy true zeal, according to his rule. I adhere to all our glorious work of reformation. Now I leave my testimony, as a dying man, against the horrid usurpation of our Lord's prerogative and crown-right—I mean that supremacy, established by law in these lands, which is a manifest usurpation of his crown, for he is given by the Father to be head of the Church, Col. i. 18, 19, 'And he is the head of the body, the church; who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead—that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell.' And against all Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and all that depends upon that hierarchy, which is a yoke that neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, which the poor remnant is groaning under this day, by that horrid cruelty rending their consciences by tests and bonds, taking away their substance and livelihoods by fines and illegal exactions, plunderings, and quarterings, and compelling them to sin by hearing, joining, and complying with these malicious curates. Matth. xxiii. 13, 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.' I leave my testimony against the Indulgence, first and last, for I ever looked on it as a snare, and so I never looked upon them [the indulged] as a part of the hopeful remnant of the church; and now it is sad to see how some of them have joined by their deeds in the persecution of the poor remnant, and almost all in tongue persecution.

"Now, I would speak a short word or two to three sorts of folk, but I think if one would rise from the dead he would not be heard by this generation, who are mad upon idols and this world. First, Those who have joined deliberately with the persecutors in all their robberies, and haling innocent souls to prison, death, and banish-

ment. The Lord will not hold them guiltless; they may read what the Spirit of God hath recorded of them in Jude, 11th verse, and downward, and Obadiah's prophecy. A second sort is, those who seem to be more sober and knowing, yet through a timorousness and fear have joined with them in all their corrupt courses for ease and their own things; do not think that these fig-leaves will cover you in the cool of the day; it is a hazard to be mingled with the heathen, lest we learn of them their way. O sirs, be zealous and repent; seek repentance from Christ, he purchased it with his blood; and do your first works, if ever there was any saving work on your souls; for he will come quickly, 'and who may abide the day of his coming.' O sirs, the noble grace of repentance grows not in every field; many could not get it, though they sought it carefully with tears. O, work while it is to-day, the night draweth on, and it may be very dark. The third sort is, those who have been most tender; and, O, who of us can say that we have out of love to his glory singly followed him: upon examination we fear we find it not so, but that we have come far short. We fear we find not him such as we would, nor he us such as he would. O we may say, 'From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no place clean.' None can cast a stone at another; we are all wounds, bruises, and defilements. We must put this work upon him who is the fountain to wash foul souls, who 'breaks not the bruised reed nor quenches the smoking flax.' Give him much ado, for we have much ado for him. O that there were no rest in our bones because of our sin. It is the Father's pleasure that he should see his seed, and the pleasure of the Lord prosper in his hand. O that he would make every one of us understand our errors and seek after the good old path, followed in the most pure times of our church, and get in to our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith in his righteousness, by imputation and virtue of his sufferings

for sinners, and keep by him. There is no safety but at his back ; and I beseech you improve time, it is precious when rightly improved ; ‘For ye know not when the Master calleth, at midnight or at cock-crowing.’ Dear friends, the work of the day is great, and calls for more than ordinary. O be oft at the throne, and give him no rest to make sure your soul’s interest. Seek pardon freely, and then he will come with peace ; seek all the graces of his Spirit, the grace of love, the grace of holy fear and humility. Oh ! but there is much need of this and the promised Spirit.

“Now, I desire to salute you, dear friends in the Lord Jesus Christ, both prisoned, banished, widow and fatherless, or wandering and cast out for Christ’s sake and the gospel’s : even the blessings of Christ’s sufferings be with you all, strengthen, establish, support, and settle you, and the blessing of him who was in the bush, which, while it burnt, was not consumed, and my poor blessing, be with you all. Now, as to my persecutors, I forgive all of them ; instigators, reproachers, soldiers, Privy Council, justiciaries, apprehenders, in what they

have done to me ; but what they have done in despite against the image of God’s name in me, who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them. But I wish they would seek forgiveness of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedness.

“Now, I leave my poor sympathizing wife and six small children upon the Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who hath promised to be ‘a Father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and the orphan’s stay ;’ be thou all in all unto them, O Lord. Now the blessing of God, and my poor blessing, be with them. And my suit to thee is, that thou wouldst give them thy salvation. And now farewell, wife and children ; farewell, all friends and relations ; farewell, all worldly enjoyments ; farewell, sweet Scriptures, preaching, praying, reading, singing, and all other duties. And welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I desire to commit my soul to thee in well-doing. Lord, receive my spirit.

“JOHN PATON.”

JOHN NISBET OF HARDHILL.

JOHN NISBET, born about the year 1627, was son to James Nisbet, and lineally descended from Murdoch Nisbet in Hardhill, who about 1500 joined those called the Lollards of Kyle ; but a persecution being raised against them, he fled over seas, and took a copy of the New Testament in writing. Some time after he returned home,

digged a vault in the bottom of his own house, unto which he retired, serving God, reading his new book, and instructing such as had access to him.

John Nisbet, having the advantage of a tall, strong, well-built body, and of a bold, daring, public spirit, went abroad and joined the army, which was of great use to him afterwards.

Having spent some time in foreign countries, he returned to Scotland, and swore the Covenants, when King Charles, at his coronation, swore them at Scone, in the year 1650.

Having left the army he married Margaret Law, who proved an equal, true, and kind yoke-fellow to him all the days of her life. By her he had several children, three of whom survived himself—viz., Hugh, James, and Alexander. In the month of December, 1683, she died, on the eighth day of her sickness, and was buried in Stonehouse churchyard. This behoved to be done in the night, that it might not be known; neither would any do it but such as might not appear in the day time. The curate having knowledge of it, threatened to take the corpse up, burn it, or cast it to the dogs; but some of the persecuted party sent him a letter, assuring him that if he touched the grave they would burn him and his family, and all he had; so he forbore.

John Nisbet early applied himself to the study of the holy Scriptures, which, through the grace of God, was so effectual that he not only became well acquainted with the most interesting parts of practical religion, but also attained no small degree

of knowledge in points of principle. This proved of unspeakable advantage in all that occurred to him in the after part of his life while maintaining the testimony of that day. He took the Hardhill in the parish of Loudon, in which station he behaved with much discretion and prudence. No sooner did Prelacy and Erastianism appear, at the restoration of Charles II., in opposition to our ancient and laudable form of church government, than he took part with the Presbyterian side. Having got a child baptized by one of the ejected ministers (as they were then called), the incumbent or curate of the parish was so enraged that he declared his resolution from the pulpit to excommunicate him the next Lord's day. But, behold, the Lord's hand interposed, for before that day came the curate was in eternity.

Being always active for religion, and a great encourager of field-meetings, Nisbet was, with the rest of Christ's faithful witnesses, obliged to go without the camp bearing his reproach. When that faithful remnant assembled together, and renewed the Covenant at Lanark, 1666, his conscience led him to join them, which being

known, and he being threatened for doing so, he resolved to follow these persecuted people, and so kept with them in arms till their defeat, upon the 28th of November, at Pentland hills, at which fight he behaved with great courage and resolution. He fought till he was so wounded, that he was stripped for dead among the slain; and yet such was the providence of God that, having more work for him to accomplish, he was preserved.

He had espoused Christ's cause by deliberate choice, and was indeed of an excellent spirit; and, as Solomon says, more excellent than his neighbour; his natural temper was likewise noble and generous. As he was travelling through a muir on a snowy day, one of his old neighbours, who was seeking sheep, met him, and cried out, "O Hardhill, are you yet alive? I was told you were going in a pilgrim's habit, and that your bairns were begging, and yet I see you look as well as ever." Then taking out a rix-dollar, he offered it to him. John seeing this, took out a ducat, and offered it to him, saying, "I will have none of yours, but will give you if you please, that you may see that nothing is wanting to him that fears the Lord. I never thought that you would have

gone so far with the enemies of God, as to sell your conscience to save your gear. Take warning, H——, go home and mourn for that, and all your other sins, before God; for if mercy do not prevent, you will certainly perish." The poor man thanked him, put up his money, and went home.

After his remarkable escape at Pentland, Nisbet returned home, where probably he continued (not without enduring many hardships) till the year 1679. His fame for courage, wisdom, and resolution among the sufferers was such that, when those who were assembled near Loudon Hill to hear the gospel, came in view of an engagement with Claverhouse, who attacked them that day at Drumclog, he was sent for by a man named Woodburn, in the Mains of Loudon, to come with all haste to their assistance. But before he and his friends got half-way they heard the platoons of the engagement, and yet they rode with such alacrity that they just came up as the firing was over. Upon their approach, Hardhill (for so he was commonly called) cried to them to jump the ditch, and get over upon the enemy, sword in hand, which they did with so great resolution and success, that

in a little they obtained a complete victory over the enemy, wherein Hardhill had a share by his vigorous activity in the latter end of that skirmish.

The suffering party, knowing now that they were fully exposed to the rage and resentment of their bloody persecuting foes, resolved to abide together: and for that purpose sent a party to Glasgow in pursuit of the enemy, of which Hardhill was one. After this he continued with them, and was of no small advantage to the honest party, till that fatal day, June 22, when they fled and fell before the enemy at Bothwell Bridge. "Here," says Wodrow, "he was a captain, if I mistake not; and being sent with his party along with those who defended the bridge, he fought with great gallantry, and stood as long as any man would stand by him, and then making his retreat just in time, through the goodness of

God he escaped from their hands at this time also."

After Bothwell he was denounced a rebel, and a large reward offered to such as would apprehend him; at which time the enemy seized all that he had, stripped his wife and four children, turning them out of doors, whereby he was reduced to the condition of those mentioned in Heb. xi. 38, "They wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."* Thus he lived for nearly the space of five years, suffering all manner of hardships, not accepting deliverance, that he might preserve to himself the free enjoyment of the gospel faithfully preached in the fields. Being a man of a public spirit, a great observer of fellowship meetings (alas! a duty too much neglected), and very staunch upon points of testimony, he became very popular among the more faithful part of our suffer-

* Numerous were the stratagems then employed by the persecutors to track the places to which the sufferers betook themselves for safety. One of these stratagems, for the discovery of Nisbet and his family when under hiding, is thus described by his son, Serjeant Nisbet:—"The enemy swore that if we were out of hell they should have some of us, and for that end they disguised one of themselves, a fair well-favoured young man, in women's clothes, like a gentlewoman; giving out that she was a cousin of our own, come from Ireland to invite us over there

to our friends, because they had heard of our troubles in Scotland. This gained credit amongst our friends who knew where we were." By this means they obtained the desired information, and a party of horse was despatched to seize upon the family; but before the party came up, Mrs. Nisbet, having been apprised of her danger, had removed herself and her children to a concealed and an inaccessible part of an adjacent morass, where her husband had hidden himself. (*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 337).

ers, and was by them often employed as one of their commissioners to the general meeting, which they had erected some years before this, that they might the better understand the mind of one another in carrying on a testimony in their broken state.

One thing very remarkable occurred. On Sabbath night (being that day eight days before he was taken), as he and four more were travelling, it being very dark, no wind, but a thick, small rain; no moon, for that was not her season; behold, suddenly the clouds clave asunder, toward east and west, over their heads, and a light sprang out beyond that of the sun, which lasted about the space of two minutes. They heard a noise, and were much amazed, saying one to another, What may that mean? But Hardhill did not speak, uttering only three deep groans. One of them asked him what it might mean? He said, "We know not well at present, but within a little we shall know better: yet we have a more sure word of prophecy, unto which we would do well to take heed." Then he groaned again, saying, "As for me, I am ready to live or to die for him, as he in his providence shall call me to it,

and bear me through in it; and although I have suffered much from prelates and false friends these twenty-one years, yet now I would not for a thousand worlds I had done otherwise. If the Lord spare me, I will be more zealous for his precious truths; and if not, I am ready to seal his cause with my blood; for I have longed for it these sixteen years, and it may be I will ere long get it to do. Welcome be his will, and if he help me through with it, I shall praise him to all eternity." This made them all wonder, he being a very reserved man; for although he was a strict observer of the Sabbath, a great examiner of Scripture, and a great wrestler in prayer, yet he was so reserved as to his own case and soul's concernment, that few knew how it was with him as to that until he came to prison.

All this and more could not escape the knowledge of the government, as is evident from Alexander Gordon of Earlston's answers before the Council, 1683; and we find that one of the articles that John Richmond suffered for at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19, 1684, was his being in company with John Nisbet. This made the search after him and other sufferers more determined. In the month

of November, 1683, having retired, amongst other of his lurking-places, unto a certain house called the Midland, in the parish of Fenwick, where other three of his faithful brethren were assembled for prayer and other religious exercises on a Saturday night (viz., Peter Gemmel, a younger brother of the house of Horsehill in the same parish, George Woodburn, a brother of the Woodburns in the Mains of Loudon, and John Fergushill from Tarbolton), they, hearing that Lieutenant Nisbet, and a party of Colonel Buchan's dragoons were out in quest of the wanderers (as they were sometimes called), resolved on the Sabbath morning to depart. But old John Fergushill not being able to go by reason of infirmity, they were obliged to return with him after they had got a little way from the house, and were the same day apprehended. The way and manner of this, with Nisbet's answers both at Ayr and before the Council at Edinburgh, as they stand in an old manuscript, given under his own hand while he was their prisoner, was as follows:—

“First, when the enemy came within sight of the house, we seeing no way of escape, John Fergushill went to the far end of

the house, and the other two and I followed; and ere we were well at the far end, some of the enemy were in the house. And then, in a little after, they came and put up their horses, and went to and fro in the house for more than an hour, and we four still at the far end of the house; and we resolved with one another to keep close till they should just come on us, and if it should have pleased the Lord to have hid us there, we resolved not to have owned them, but if they found us out, we thought to fight, saying one to another, it was death at length. They got all out of the house, and had their horses drawn forth, but in a little time came back, tittling one to another, and at last called for a candle to search the house with, and came within a yard of us with the light burning. According to our former resolution, we did resist them, having only three shot, and one of them misgiving, and they fired about twenty-four shot at us; and when we had nothing else, we clubbed our guns, till two of them were quite broke, and then went in grips with some of them; and when they saw they could not prevail, they all cried to go out and fire the house. Upon this we went out after them, and I received six

wounds in the going out; after which, they getting notice what I was, some of themselves cried out to spare my life, for the Council had offered 3000 merks for me. So they brought me towards the end of the yard, and tied my hands behind my back, having shot the other three to death. He that commanded them scoffingly asked me what I thought of myself now? I smiled, and said, - I had full contentment with my lot, but thought that I was at a loss that I was in time, and my brethren in eternity. At this he swore he had reserved my life for a farther judgment to me. When we were going towards Kilmarnock, the lieutenant (who was a cousin of his own), called for me, and he and I went before the rest, and discoursed soberly about several things. I was free in telling him what I held to be sin,

* This John Gemmel was brother to the martyr, and being lying of a fever in a house in the same parish, called Derwholling, he was that day apprehended by some of the same party, together with the goodman of the house, Thomas Wylie, and his son William Wylie, for reset. They were all taken to Ayr, where the said Thomas Wylie died. While in Ayr it is said that this John Gemmel dreamed one night that he should be banished, and his fellow sufferer Hardhill should be hanged; which accordingly came to pass. They were taken to Edinburgh and examined, and the aforesaid William Wylie was required to take the oath of allegiance, but refused. They ordered him to take the test oath: this he refused also. They asked his

and what I held to be duty; and when he came to Kilmarnock tolbooth, he caused slack my arms a little, and inquired if I desired my wounds dressed; and, at the desire of some friends in the town, he caused bring in straw and some clothes for my brother, John Gemmel,* and me to lie upon, but would not suffer us to cast off our clothes. On Monday, on the way to Ayr, he raged against me, and said that I had the blood of the three men on my head that were killed yesterday; and that I was guilty of all, and the cause of all the troubles that were come on the poor barony of Cunningham, first and last. But when we came near the town, he called me out from the rest, and soberly asked me what he should say to the superior officers in my behalf? I told him, that if the Lord would keep me from wronging

reasons. He said he had taken more oaths already than he had well kept, and if there should come a change of government, where stood he then? Bishop Paterson's brother came, and clapping his hands on his shoulder said, William, as sure as God is in the heavens you'll never see a change of government. But in this he proved a false prophet. However, he and John Gemmel were, with eleven more, banished to Barbadoes, and sold for slaves there, where they continued for about three years, and at last purchased their liberty, and returned home at the revolution. The first known person they saw after their landing at Irvine was Lieutenant Nisbet, by whom they had been apprehended.—*Howie*.

truth, I was at a point already in what he put me to as to suffering. When we first entered the tolbooth of Ayr, there came two and asked some things at me, but they were to little purpose. Then I was taken out with a guard, and brought before Buchan. He asked me: 1st, If I was at that conventicle? I told him I looked upon it as my duty. 2nd, How many armed men were there? I told him I went to hear the gospel preached, and not to take up the account of what men were there. 3rd, Where away went they? I told him it was more than I could tell. 4th, Do you own the king? I told him, while the king owned the way and work of God, I thought myself bound both to own and fight for him; and when he quitted the way of God, I thought I was obliged to quit him. 5th, Will you own the duke of York as king? I told him I would not, for it was both against my principles and the laws of the nation. 6th, Were you clear to join with Argyll? I said, No. He held me long, and spake of many things. We had the musters through hands, Popery, Prelacy, Presbyterianism, malignants, defensive and offensive arms, there being none in the room but ourselves. I

thought it remarkable, that all the time from Sabbath and to this present, I had and have as much peace and quietness of my mind as ever in my life. Oh! help me to praise Him! for he alone did it. Now, my dear friends and acquaintances, cease not to pray for me while I am in the body, for I may say I fear nothing but that through weakness I wrong truth. And my last advice is, that ye be more diligent in following Christian duties. Alas! that I was not more sincere, zealous, and forward for his work and cause in my day. Cease to be jealous one of another, and only let self-examination be more studied; and this, through his blessing, shall open a door to more of a Christian soul exercise; and more of a soul exercise, through his blessing, would keep away vain jangling, that does no way profit, but gives way to Satan and his temptations.

“When I came to Edinburgh, I was the first night kept in the guard. The next night I was brought into their council-house, where were present Drummond (earl of Perth), Linlithgow, and one Paterson, together with some others. They first said to me that they looked upon me as one acquainted with all that was

done amongst these rebellious persons; therefore the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council would take it as a great favour that I would be free in telling them what I knew that might most conduce to the peace and security of the nation. I told them, that when I came to particulars I would speak nothing but truth, for I was more afraid to lie than to die; but I hoped they would be so much Christians as not to bid me tell anything that would burden my conscience. Then they began thus. (1.) What did you in your meetings? I told them, we only sung a part of a Psalm, read a part of the Scripture, and prayed time about. (2.) Why call you them fellowship and society meetings? *A.* I wonder why you ask such questions, for these meetings were called so when our church was in her power. (3.) Were there any such meetings at that time? *A.* There were in some places of the land. (4.) Did the ministers of the place meet with them in these? *A.* Sometimes they did, and sometimes they did not. (5.) What mean you by your general meetings, and what do you do at them? While I was thinking what to answer, one of themselves told them more dis-

tingly than I could have done, and jeeringly said, looking to me, 'When they have done, then they distribute their collections.' I held my peace all the time. (6.) Where keep you these meetings? *A.* In the wildest muirs we can think of. (7.) Will you own the king's authority? *A.* No. (8.) What is your reason; you own the Scriptures, and your own Confession of Faith? *A.* That I do with all my heart. (9.) Why do you not own the king's authority? (naming several passages of Scripture, and that in the 23rd chapter of the Confession.) *A.* There is a vast difference—he being a Roman Catholic, and I being not only brought up in the Presbyterian principles from my youth, but also sworn against Popery. (10.) What is that to you? though he be Popish, he is not bidding you be a Papist, nor hindering you to live in your own religion. *A.* The contrary does appear; for we have not liberty to hear a gospel preaching, but we are taken, killed, and put to the hardest of sufferings. They said it was not so, for we might have the gospel if our wild principles would suffer us to hear it. I said, they might say so, but the contrary was well known through the land; for they

banished our faithful ministers, and thrust in such as live rather like profligates than like ministers, so that poor things neither can nor dare join with them. (11.) Are you clear to join with Argyll? A. No. Then one of them said, You will have no king but Mr. James Renwick; and asked if I conversed with any other minister upon the field than Mr. Renwick. I told them I conversed with no other. A number of other things passed that were to little purpose.

“Sirs, this is a true hint of any material thing that passed betwixt them and me. As for their drinking of healths, never one of them spoke of it to me, neither did any of them bid me pray for their king; but they said, that they knew I was that much of a Christian that I would pray for all men. I told them I was bound to pray for all, but prayer being instituted by a holy God, who was the hearer of prayer, no Christian could pray when every profligate did bid him; and it was no advantage to their cause to suffer such a thing.

“How it may be afterwards with me, I cannot positively say; for God is a free Sovereign, and may come and go as he pleaseth. But this I say, and can affirm,

that he has not quarrelled with me since I was prisoner, but has always waited on to supply me with all consolation and strength, as my necessity required; and now, when I cannot lay down my own head, nor lift it without help, yet of all the cases I ever was in, I had never more contentment. I can now give the cross of Christ a noble commendation. It was always sweet and pleasant, but never so sweet and pleasant as now. Under all my wanderings and all my toilings, a prison was still so terrifying to me, that I could never have been so sure as I would have been. But immediately at my taking, he so shined on me, and ever since, that he and his cross are to me far beyond whatever he was before. Therefore let none scare or stand at a distance from their duty for fear of the cross; for now I can say from experience, that it is as easy, yea, and more sweet, to lie in prison in irons, than it is to be at liberty. But I must forbear at present.”

Upon the 26th he was ordered by the Council to be prosecuted before the Justiciary. Accordingly, on the 30th, he was arraigned before that court, his own confession being the only proof against him, which runs thus: “John Nisbet of Hardhill, prisoner, confesses,

when examined before the Council, that he was at Drumclog, had arms, and made use of them against the king's forces, and that he was at Glasgow, and that he was at a field-meeting within these two months, betwixt Eaglesham and Kilbride," &c. This being read, he adhered to, but refused to subscribe it. The assize brought him in guilty, and the Lords sentenced him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, December 4, betwixt two and four in the afternoon, and his lands, goods, and gear, to be forfeited to the king's use.

It was inserted by the Council in his confession, that the reason why he could not join with Argyll was, that Colonel Cleland told him that Argyll and his party were against all kingly government. Wodrow thinks this false, and that it was only foisted in by the clerk of the Council, it not being the first time that things of this nature had been done by them. But he must have been in a mistake here; for in one of Hardhill's papers in manuscript, left behind him in way of testimony, he gives this as the first reason for his not joining with Argyll, and the second was to the same purpose with what Wodrow has observed, viz., because the societies could

not espouse his declaration, as the state of the quarrel was not concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottish Covenanters, and because it opened a door to a sinful confederacy.

His sentence was accordingly executed. He appeared upon the scaffold with a great deal of courage and Christian composure, and died in much assurance, and with a joy which none of his persecutors could intermeddle with. It was affirmed by some who were present at his execution, that the scaffold or gibbet gave way and came down, which made some present flatter themselves that, by some laws in being, he had won his life, as they used to say in such cases. But they were disappointed, for he was not to escape so: "to this end he was born." Immediately all was reared up, and the martyr executed.

After he wrote his last speech he was taken out immediately to the Council, and from that to the place of execution. All the way thither he had his eyes lifted up to heaven. He seemed to rejoice, and his face shone visibly. He spoke but little till he came to the scaffold, but when he came there, he stepped upon it, and cried out, "My soul doth mag-

nify the Lord, my soul doth magnify the Lord. I have longed these sixteen years to seal the precious cause and interest of precious Christ with my blood, who hath answered and granted my request, and has left me no more to do but to come here and pour out my last prayer, sing forth my last praises of him in time on this sweet and desirable scaffold, mount that ladder, and then I shall get home to my Father's house, see, enjoy, serve, and sing forth the praises of my glorious Redeemer for ever, world without end." Then he resumed the heads of his last testimony to the truth, and enlarged on what he owned and disowned; but the drums being beat, little could be heard; only with difficulty he was heard to say, "The covenanted God of Scotland hath a dreadful storm of wrath provided, which he will surely pour out suddenly and unexpectedly, like a thunderbolt, upon these covenanted lands, for their perfidy, treachery, and apostasy: and then men shall say, they have got well away that got a scaffold for Christ." He exhorted all to make use of Christ for a hiding place; "for blood shall be the judgment of these lands." He sang the first six verses of the 34th Psalm, and read the 8th chapter of the Romans,

and prayed divinely with great presence of mind, and very loud. Then he went up the ladder, rejoicing and praising the Lord, as allevidently saw; and so he ended the race which he had run with faith and patience, upon the 4th of December, 1685, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

He was a man of strong memory, good judgment, and much given to self-denial. It is said of him, that during his hidings in a cave, near or about his own house, he wrote out all the New Testament, which probably, according to some accounts, might be a transcription of an old copy, which one of his ancestors is said to have copied out in the time of Popery, when the Scriptures were not permitted to be read in the vulgar language.

Hardhill was always a man very particular upon the testimony of the day, which made some compliers censure him as one too harsh and rugged in point of principle. But this must be altogether groundless; for in one of the forementioned manuscripts he lets fall these words: "Now, as for misreports, that were so much spread of me, I declare, as a dying person going out of time to eternity, that the Lord never suffered me in the least to incline to follow any one of those per-

sons who were drawn away to follow erroneous principles. Only I thought it still my duty to be tender of them, as they had souls, wondering always wherefore I was right in any measure, and they got leave to fall in such a manner. I could never endure to hear one creature rail and cry out against another, knowing we are all alike by nature." And afterwards, when speaking of Argyll's declaration, he further says: "Let all beware of refusing to join with ministers or professors upon account of personal infirmities, which is ready to raise prejudice among persons. But it shall be found a walking contrary to the word of God, and so contrary to God himself, to join either with ministers or professors, that hold it lawful to meddle with sinful things; for the holy scriptures allow of no such thing. He is a holy God: and all that name the name of God must depart from evil."

There were also twenty-six steps of defection drawn up by him (yet in manuscript), wherein he is most explicit in proving from clear scripture proofs the sinfulness of the land's apostasy from God, both nationally and personally, from the public resolutions to the time of his death in 1685. He was by some thought

too severe in his design of killing the prisoners at Drumclog. But in this he was not altogether to blame; for the enemy's word was "No quarter," and the sufferers' was the same; and we find it grieved Robert Hamilton very much when he beheld some of them spared, after the Lord had delivered them into their hand. "Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us" (Ps. cxxxvii. 8). Yea, Hardhill himself seems to have had clear grounds and motives for this, in one of the above-mentioned steps of defection with which we shall conclude this narrative.

15thly, As there has been rash, envious, and carnal executing of justice on his and the church's enemies, so he has also been provoked to reject, cast off, and take the power out of his people's hand, for being sparing of them, when he brought forth and gave a commission to execute on them that vengeance due unto them (Ps. cxlix. 9). For as justice ought to be executed in such and such a way and manner as aforesaid, so it ought to be fully executed without sparing, as is clear from Joshua vii. 24. For sparing the life of the enemy and fleeing upon the spoil, 1 Sam. xv. 19, Saul is sharply rebuked; and though he excused himself, yet

for that very thing he is rejected from being king. Let the practice of Drumclog be remembered and mourned for. If there was not a deep ignorance, reason might teach this; for what master having servants, and putting them to do his work, would take such a slight at his servants' hands as to do a part of his work, and come and say to the master, that it is not necessary to do the rest; when the not doing of it would be dishonourable to the master, and hurtful to the whole family? Therefore was the wrath of God against his people, insomuch that he abhorred his inheritance, and hid his face from his people, making them afraid at the shaking of a leaf, and to flee when none pursueth, being a scorn and hissing to enemies, and fear to some who desire to befriend his cause. And O! lay to heart and mourn for what has been done to provoke him to anger, in not seeking the truth to execute judgment; therefore he has not pardoned. "Behold, for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your mother put away" (Isa. 1. 1).

TESTIMONY OF JOHN NISBET.

"I have always thought that to live for Christ, and die for Christ, is a sufficient

testimony for truth; yet now when I am within a few hours of eternity, to prevent mistakes, to satisfy my dear friends, and let them know how it is with me, and to let the world know what I die witnessing for and testifying against, I judge it proper to leave a few lines behind me.

"As for myself, it hath pleased the Lord Jehovah, of his superabundant goodness and infinite mercy, powerfully to determine my heart to close with and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, as he is made offer of in the everlasting gospel, for my King, Priest, and Prophet. And that conquest captivating of me to his obedience, who was an heir of wrath and a mass of sin and sinful corruption, is the fruit of electing love, according as it is manifested in the covenant of free, free, free grace, will evidently appear from these Scriptures following; which he, by the power and concurrence of his Holy Spirit, hath made effectual to the convincing, converting, strengthening, and enabling of me to be his, and to be for him through well and through woe, through good report and through bad report; and they are so many sweet cordials to my soul, when stepping out of time into eternity. Psalm ex. 3; Rom. ix. 11, 15, 16; 2 Thes. ii. 13; Prov. viii. 30: Rom. viii. 29, 35, 37; Eph. i. 13, 14, &c.*

"When I was grappling with sin, Satan, and the world, and my own wicked and deceitful heart, the enemies of my salvation, his words were as props and pillars to me: so that though I got my wounds, and was oft sorely beat; yet at the last I came off victorious, by the help of him who is God all sufficient to all who, through grace, lay hold on him for help. It is by him that I have fought the good fight, that I have finished my course, and that I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day. It is by him shining in his word that

* Numerous other passages of Scripture are quoted, which are here omitted.

I know all my manifold sins and transgressions are freely pardoned, and that I have a just right and title to what is expressed, 1 Cor. i. 30. So that now the guilt and condemning power of sin being fully pardoned by a judicial act of God's free and sovereign grace, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, especially applied and witnessed unto by the Holy Spirit, upon, and to my spirit, there is no room left me to doubt any more of my being freely justified by him, of my being in union with him, and in a state of grace; or the power, dominion, and filth of sin, original and actual, being subdued, taken off, and washed away by the virtue of the spirit of sanctification, being created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, and being sanctified throughout in soul, body, and spirit, and made meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light by him who loved me, and gave himself to the death for me, and redeemed me by power and price.

"Now, being in such a case of communion with him, I am pained till I be freed of the remains of a body of sin and death, till I be freed of the world and all things therein, and also of this natural life, and be possessed of himself, and with himself in his eternal inheritance, which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away; a place which he hath provided for all whom he hath chosen, for all whom he hath called, for all whom he hath justified, for all whom he hath sanctified: O, to be there, where I shall sin no more, where I shall be tempted no more, neither feel any more of the withdrawals of his Spirit's presence, and light of his glorious countenance: but shall be ever with him, see him as he is, and serve him for ever and ever.

"Now, my dear friends in Christ, I have always, since the public resolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their interest, thought it my duty to join with the Lord's people in witnessing against these sinful courses; and now we see clearly that it has ended in nothing else than making

captains, that we may return to Egypt by the open doors that are made wide to bring in Popery, and set up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land to defile it, and thereby to provoke him to pour down fierce wrath upon it, and the inhabitants thereof. Wherefore it is the unquestionable and indispensable duty of all who have any love to God, to his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, to the thriving of his kingdom, to their own soul's salvation, and to the following generation, to act a close, constant, and needy dependence on the Lord Jehovah's all-sufficiency, for light, for counsel, for direction, for strength and ability, to make conscience in bearing testimony for him, for his persecuted truth, work, and interest in these lands, which was sworn to with uplifted hands to God the searcher of hearts: and O, that herein all could act a faithful part for him who hath done so much for poor wretched us! when we were lying, dying, and rotting in our blood-red sins, when passing by us with his love and life-giving visit, saying unto us, Live, live. And on the other hand, to witness faithfully, constantly, and conscientiously against all that the enemies have done, or are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation; and banishing Christ out of these lands, by robbing him of his own crown-rights (for he, and he alone, is head of his own church), and by burning the covenants, which are the marriage bond betwixt him and these lands; and by persecuting his gospel-ministers and members, who are labouring to keep their garments clean, and their hands free of all the corruptions and compliances in these evil times: and however it be that many, both ministers and professors, are turning their backs upon Christ and his cross, reproaching and casting dirt upon you and the testimony of the day; yet let not this weaken your hands, stumble or discourage you from going on in the strength of the Lord your God, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and witness a good confession for him and his cause,

resisting unto blood, striving against sin ; and herein let your souls possess themselves with patience, for I assure you it will not be long to the fourth watch ; and then he will come with garments dyed in blood, to raise up saviours upon the mount of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau ; and then the house of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the malignants, Prelates, and Papists, shall be stubble, the flame whereof shall be great.

“ But my generation work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me, and washed me from all my sins ; to him who has counted me worthy to suffer for his name : and O, that I had many lives to lay down for him, and much blood to seal his noble and honourable cause with, even he who graciously pitied, and hath now given me the full assurance of being a member of his church triumphant, which is the new Jerusalem, and the city of the living God !

“ I die adhering to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the undoubted word of God, an unerring rule of faith and manners, and a firm foundation for principle and practice in the ways of godliness and true holiness. 2 Tim. iii. 16 : ‘ All Scripture is given by inspiration of God : and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.’ And the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, as agreeable thereunto, and safely founded thereupon. 2 Tim. i. 13 : ‘ Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.’ Heb. vi. 1 : ‘ Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God.’ The Sum of Saving Knowledge, the Directory for Church Government, in her doctrine, worship, and discipline. I own all the attained unto pieces of reformation in the church of Scotland, particularly betwixt the years 1638 and 1649 ; the Covenants National and Solemn League ;

the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. I own the protestation given by the remonstrators against the public resolutions, the Apologetical Declaration, and all the declarations hitherto emitted at Rutherglen, Sanquhar, and Lanark ; with all dying speeches and testimonies of those who have sealed the truth with their blood, so far as they agree with God’s holy word.

“ I own all the appearances in arms that have been at Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, Airmoss, and elsewhere, against God’s stated enemies and the enemies of the gospel, as it hath been preached by all Christ’s faithful ambassadors in Scotland since the reformation ; and now by that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. James Renwick ; and the testimony of the day, as it is stated and carried on by him and his adherents at home and abroad ; and kingly government, as appointed and emitted in the word of God, and entering covenant ways, and with covenant qualifications. But I am persuaded Scotland’s covenanted God will cut off the name of the Stuarts, because they have stated themselves against religion, reformation, and the thriving of Christ’s kingdom and kingly government in these lands. And although men idolize them much now, yet ere long there shall none of them be to tyrannize in covenanted Britain any more.

“ On the other hand, I die protesting against and disowning Popery in all its superstitious bigotry and bloody cruelty ; and Prelacy the mother of Popery, and all that depends upon that hierarchy ; and the unhinging and overthrowing of the glorious work of reformation by their woful Act Rescissory : burning the Covenant, turning out gospel-ministers, filling their rooms with profane, erroneous curates, and setting up Charles Stuart to be head of the church ; and so robbing Christ of his royal and incommunicable prerogatives, by their cursed Act of Supremacy.

“ I protest against the putting malignants in places of power and trust in church,

state, and armies; and all declarations anywhere published tending thereunto; and against all paying of stent, cess, and locality, to strengthen the enemies' hands to persecute Christ's people in fields, prisons, or any other ways; and robbing, plundering, or spoiling them of their goods; and all raising of the hue and cry after them: and all sinful oaths, such as the oath of supremacy, the bond of peace, the test, the oath of conformity, the abjuration oath, and the oath *super inquirendis*.

"I die testifying against the woful indulgences, the fruits and consequences of which have so much strengthened the enemy, increased our divisions, widened our breaches, deadened the spirits, and cooled the zeal of the Lord's people, stumbled and offended the weak, and in a great measure retarded the carrying on of a testimony for truth, by condemning the things contended for, and reproaching those that contend for truth.

"Wherefore I leave my testimony against all the accepters thereof, and all ministers and professors who are any way guilty of any of the woful defections and sinful compliances with the enemies of truth, or any way guilty of condemning, reproaching, and ridiculing Mr. James Renwick and his correspondents, or the testimony which they are carrying on. And let all such ministers and professors know, that this their practice at the best is a denying of Christ, and a shifting of his cross; therefore let them take warning and ponder these scriptures. Matt. x. 32: 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.' Ver. 33: 'But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' (See Luke xii. 8, 9). Ver. 37: 'He that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me.' Ver. 38: 'And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.' Matt. xvi. 24: 'Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross,

and follow me.' (See Mark viii. 34). Mark viii. 35: 'For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.'

"My dear friends, forbear your contentions and censuring one of another; sympathize with and love one another, for this is his commandment; keep up your sweet fellowship meetings, and desirable general meetings, with which my soul has been often refreshed; and what is agitated in them for carrying on of a testimony for truth and against defections, let it be managed with scripture light for direction, and with zeal tempered with knowledge, and with the spirit of meekness accompanied with patience and humility. Be always ready to give a reason of your faith, and be much denied to the world, to yourselves, and to your natural life; and when God in his providence calls you to lay it down for him, do it cheerfully, and embrace the cross of your sweet Lord Jesus with open arms; for he will not send any a warfare on their own charges.

"And scare not at his sweet, lovely, and desirable cross; for although I have not been able, because of my wounds (that I received at my taking), to lift up or lay down my head, but as I was helped, yet I was never in better case all my life; he has not given me one challenge since I came to prison, for any thing less or more; but on the contrary, he has so wonderfully shined on me with the sense of his redeeming, strengthening, assisting, supporting, through-bearing, pardoning, and reconciling love, grace, and mercy, that my soul doth long to be freed of bodily infirmities and earthly organs, so that I may flee to his royal palace, even the heavenly habitation of my God, where I am sure of a crown put on my head, and a palm put in my hand, and a new song put in my mouth, even the song of Moses and the Lamb, that so I may bless, praise, magnify, and extol him for what he hath done to me and for me. Wherefore I bid

farewell to all my dear fellow-sufferers for the testimony of Jesus, who are wandering in dens and caves. Farewell my children, study holiness in all your ways, and praise the Lord for what he hath done for me, and tell all my Christian friends to praise him on that account. Farewell, sweet Bible, and wanderings and contendings for truth. Welcome, death; welcome the city of my

God, where I shall see him, and be enabled to serve him eternally with full freedom; welcome, blessed company, and angels, and spirits of just men made perfect. But above all, Welcome, welcome, welcome our glorious and alone God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou art worthy. Amen.

“JOHN NISBET.”

ALEXANDER PEDEN.

ALEXANDER PEDEN was born in the parish of Sorn, in the shire of Ayr. After he had passed his courses of learning at the university, he was for some time employed as schoolmaster, precentor, and session-clerk, to Mr. John Guthrie, minister of the gospel, then at Tarbolton. According to Wodrow he was sometime also precentor at Fenwick. When Peden was about to enter into the ministry, he was accused by a woman as being the father of her child; but of this aspersion he was fully cleared by the confession of the real father. The woman, after suffering many calamities, put an end to her life, in the very same place where Mr. Peden had spent twenty-four hours seeking the divine

direction, while he was embarrassed with that affair.

A little before the Restoration he was settled minister at New Glenluce in Galloway, where he continued for about the space of three years, until he was, among others, thrust out by the violence and tyranny of those times.* When he was about to depart from that parish, he lectured upon Acts xx., from the 7th verse to the end, and preached in the forenoon from these words in the 31st verse, “Therefore watch, and remember, that, by the space of three years, I ceased not to warn every one,” &c.: asserting that he had declared unto them the whole counsel of God, and had kept back nothing, professing that he was free from

from their respective patrons, and collation from the bishop of the diocese in which they resided, before the 20th of September, under the penalty of deprivation. But he did not quit his post till compelled in March next year.

* Peden was one of that large number of ministers—nearly four hundred—who refused to comply with the Act of Parliament in May, 1662, requiring all ministers who had been inducted since 1649 to receive presentations

the blood of all souls. In the afternoon he preached from the 32nd verse, "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace," which occasioned a weeping day in that church. He many times requested them to be silent; but they sorrowed most of all when he told them they should never see his face in that pulpit again. He continued till night, and when he closed the pulpit door he knocked three times very hard on it with his Bible, saying three times over, "I arrest thee in my Master's name, that none ever enter thee but such as come in by the door as I have done." Accordingly, never did any one enter that pulpit until the Revolution, when one of the Presbyterian persuasion opened it.

About the beginning of the year 1666 a proclamation was emitted by the Council against him and several of the ejected ministers, wherein he was charged with holding conventicles, preaching, and baptizing children at Ralstoun in Kilmar-nock parish, and at Castlehill in Craigie parish, where he baptized twenty-five children. Upon his non-appearance at this citation, he was next year declared a rebel, and forfeited in both life and fortune.

After this he joined with that faithful party, which in the same year was defeated at Pentland; and with them he came the length of Clyde, where he had a melancholy view of their end, and parted with them there. Afterwards, when one of his friends said to him, "Sir, you did well that left them, seeing you were persuaded that they would fall and flee before the enemy," he was offended, and said, "Glory, glory to God, that he sent me not to hell immediately, for I should have stayed with them though I should have been all cut to pieces."

In the same year he met with a very remarkable deliverance; for he, Mr. Welsh, and the laird of Glerover, riding together, they met a party of the enemy's horse, whom there was no escaping. The laird fainted, fearing they should be taken. Peden, seeing this, said, "Keep up your courage and confidence, for God hath laid an arrest on these men, that they shall do us no harm." When they met they were courteous, and asked the way. Peden went off the way, and showed them the ford of the water of Titt. When he returned the laird said, "Why did you go? you might have let the lad go with them." "No,"

said he, "they might have asked questions of the lad, which might have discovered us; but as for me, I knew they would be like Egyptian dogs; they could not move a tongue against me, my time being not yet come."

He passed his time sometimes in Scotland and sometimes in Ireland, until June, 1673, when he was, by Major Cockburn, taken in the house of Hugh Ferguson of Knockdew, in Carrick, who constrained him to stay all night. Peden told them that it would be a dear night's quarters to them both: accordingly they were both carried prisoners to Edinburgh. There the said Hugh was find in 1000 merks for reset, harbour, and converse with him.

Some time after his examination he was sent prisoner to the Bass.* One Sabbath morning, being about the public worship of God, a young girl about the age of fourteen years came to the chamber door, mocking with loud laughter. He said, "Poor thing, thou laughest and mockest at the worship of God, but ere long God shall write such a sudden and surprising judgment on thee that shall stay thy laughing." Very shortly after that, as she

* The Act of the Privy Council, ordering Peden's imprisonment in the Bass, is dated 26th

was walking on the rock, a blast of wind swept her off to the sea, where she was lost. Another day, as he was walking on the rock, some soldiers were passing by, and one of them cried, "The devil take him." He said, "Fy, fy! poor man, thou knowest not what thou art saying; but thou shalt repent that." At this he stood astonished, and went to the guard distracted, crying out for Mr. Peden, saying, the devil would immediately come and take him away. Peden came, and spoke to and prayed for him, and next morning came to him again, and found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of great guilt. The guard being to change, they commanded him to his arms, but he refused, and said he would lift no arms against Jesus Christ, his cause, and people, adding, "I have done that too long." The governor threatened him with death next day by ten o'clock. He confidently said, three times over, that though he should tear him in pieces he should never lift arms in that way. About three days after the governor put him forth of the garrison, setting him ashore; and he, having a wife and children, took a house in

June, 1673. He continued a prisoner in the Bass upwards of four years.

East Lothian, where he became a singular Christian.

Alexander Peden was brought from the Bass to Edinburgh,* and sentence of banishment was passed upon him in December, 1678, along with other sixty prisoners for the same cause, to go to America, never to be seen again in Scotland under pain of death. After this sentence was passed, he often said the ship was not yet built which should take him and these prisoners to Virginia or any other of the English plantations in America. When they were on shipboard in the roads of Leith, there was a report that the enemy was to send down thumbkins to keep them in order, at which they were much discouraged. He went on deck, and said, "Why are you so discouraged? You need not fear; there will neither thumbkins nor bootkins come here; lift up your hearts, for the day of your redemption draweth near. If we were once at London, we will all be set at liberty." In their voyage thither they had the opportunity of commanding the ship and escaping, but would not adventure upon it

without his advice. He said, "Let all alone, for the Lord will set all at liberty in a way more conducive to his own glory and our own safety." Accordingly, when they arrived, the skipper who received them at Leith being to carry them no farther, delivered them to another to carry them to Virginia, to whom they were represented as thieves and robbers. But when he came to see them, and found they were all grave, sober Christians, banished for Presbyterian principles, he would sail the sea with none such. In this confusion, as the one skipper would not receive them, and the other would keep them no longer at his own expense, they were set at liberty. Some say the skipper got compliments from friends in London; others assure us that they got off through the means of the Lord Shaftesbury, who was always friendly to the Presbyterians. However, it is certain that they were all liberated at Gravesend, without any bond or imposition whatever; and in their way homeward the English showed them no small degree of kindness.

After they were set at liberty,

* On 9th October, 1677, an Act was passed by the Privy Council for the liberation of Peden from the Bass on his engaging to leave Scotland, England, and Ireland, never again to return. It

appears that at this time he was brought from the Bass and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he remained till December, 1678, as stated in the text.

Mr. Peden stayed in London and other places in England until 1679, when he came to Scotland. On that dismal day, the 22nd of June, when the Lord's people fell and fled before their enemies at Bothwell Bridge, he was forty miles distant, being near the border, where he kept himself retired until the middle of the day. when some friends said to him, "Sir, the people are waiting for sermon"—it being the Lord's day. To whom he said, "Let the people go to their prayers; for me, I neither can nor will preach any this day; for our friends are fallen and fled before the enemy at Hamilton, and they are hashing and haggling them down, and their blood is running down like water."

Shortly after this stroke at Bothwell Bridge he went to Ireland, but did not stay long; for in the year 1680, being near Mauchline in the shire of Ayr, Robert Brown, at Corsehouse in Loudon parish, and Hugh Pinaneve, factor to the earl of Loudon, stabling their horses in the house where he was, went to a fair at Mauchline. In the afternoon, when they came to take their horses, they got some drink; in the taking of which the said Hugh broke out into railing against our sufferers,

particularly against Richard Cameron, who was lately before that slain at Airmoss. Peden, being in another room, overhearing all, was so grieved that he came to the chamber door and said to him, "Sir, hold your peace; ere twelve o'clock you shall know what a man Richard Cameron was; God shall punish that blasphemous mouth of yours in such a manner that you shall be set up for a beacon to all such railing Rabshakehs." Robert Brown, knowing Mr. Peden, hastened to his horse, being persuaded that his word would not fall to the ground; and fearing also that some mischief might befall him in Hugh's company, he hastened home to his own house, and the said Hugh to the earl's, where, casting off his boots, he was struck with a sudden sickness and pain through his body, with his mouth wide open and his tongue hanging out in a fearful manner. They sent for Brown to take some blood from him, but all in vain, for he died before midnight.

After this, in the year 1682, Mr. Peden married that singular Christian, John Brown, at his house in Priesthill, in the parish of Muirkirk, in Kyle, to Isabel Weir. After marriage he said to the bride, "Isabel, you have

got a good man to be your husband, but you will not enjoy him long. Prize his company, and keep linen by you to be his winding sheet, for you will need it when ye are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one." * This sadly came to pass in the beginning of May, 1685.

In the same year, 1682, he went to Ireland again, and coming to the house of William Steel in Glenwhary, in the county of Antrim, he inquired at Mrs. Steel if she wanted a servant for threshing of victual. She said they did, and asked what his wages were a day and a week. He said the common rate was a common rule, to which she assented. At night he was put to bed in the barn with the servant

lad, and that night he spent in prayer and groaning. Next day he threshed with the lad, and the next night he spent in the same way. The second day the lad said to his mistress, "This man sleeps none, but groans and prays all night; I can get no sleep with him; he threshes very well, and not sparing himself, though I think he hath not been used to it; and when I put the barn in order he goes to such a place and prays for the afflicted Church of Scotland, and names so many people in the furnace." He wrought the second day. His mistress watched and overheard him praying, as the lad had said. At night she desired her husband to inquire if he was a minister, which he did, and desired him

* Peden was not without apprehensions that such might be his own fate. When harassed without intermission by persecution, he sometimes envied those of his fellow-sufferers who had obtained the martyr's crown. In a sermon which he preached about this time at Glenluce, from Luke xxiv. 21, he exclaimed, "Happy are they who have got cleanly through the storm since the year sixty. Happy are they that have got through at Pentland, Bothwell, and Airmoss. Happy they that have died on scaffolds, gibbets, or on the seas. Oh, the blood of the saints will be the seed of the church in after ages in Scotland." Then, as if girding himself in the strength of his Lord and Saviour to suffer for him whatever might be appointed, he broke forth, "What is it that has carried through the sufferers for Christ these twenty-two years in Scotland? It is the 'fellowship of his sufferings' (Philip. iii. 10). It is the filling up of Christ's sufferings in Scotland

according to the ancient decree in heaven. For my part I seek no more if he bids me go. He bade many, from 1660 to the year of Pentland engagement, go forth to scaffolds and gibbets for him, and they sought no more but his commission; they went, and he carried them well through." Then, referring to his bidding, in 1666 at Pentland, so many go to the fields and die for him, and so many to scaffolds and die for him, to his bidding so many in 1679 at Bothwell; and so many in 1680 at Airmoss to act similarly, all of whom seeking no more but his commission went, and he carried them well through; the preacher added, "This cup of suffering hath come all the way down from Abel to this year 1682 in Scotland. Our Lord hath held this cup to all the martyrs' heads, wherever he had a church in the world; and it will go to the lips of all the martyrs that are to suffer for Christ, even to the sounding of the last trumpet."

to be free with him, and he should not only be no enemy to him, but a friend. Mr. Peden said he was not ashamed of his office, and gave an account of his circumstances; and he was no more set to work or to lie with the lad. He stayed some considerable time in that place, and was a blessed instrument in the conversion of some and the civilizing of others. There was a servant lass in that house whom he could not look upon but with frowns; and at last he said to William Steel and his wife, "Put her away, for she will be a stain to your family; she is with child and will murder it, and will be punished for the same." This accordingly came to pass, for she was burned at Carrickfergus—the usual punishment of malefactors in that country.

In the year 1684, being in the house of John Slowan in the parish of Connor, in the same county of Antrim, about ten o'clock at night, sitting by the fireside discoursing with some honest people, he started to his feet and said, "Flee off, Sandy, and hide yourself, for Colonel — is coming to this house to apprehend you; and I advise you all to do the like, for they will be here within an hour;"

which came to pass. When they had made a most inquisitive search without and within the house, and gone round the thorn-bush where he was lying praying, they went off without their prey. He came in and said, "And has this gentleman given poor Sandy and thirpoorthings such a fright? For this night's work God shall give him such a blow within a few days as all the physicians on earth shall not be able to cure;" this likewise came to pass, for he soon died in great misery, vermin issuing from all the pores of his body, with such a nauseous smell that none could enter the room where he lay.

At another time, when he was in the same parish, David Cunningham, minister in the meeting-house there, one Sabbath-day broke out into very bitter reflections against Mr. Peden. Mr. Vernon, one of Mr. Cunningham's elders, being much offended thereat, told Peden on Monday what he had said. Peden, taking a turn in his garden, came back, and charged him to go tell Mr. Cunningham from him, that before Saturday night he should be as free of a meeting-house as he was. This accordingly came to pass; for he got a charge, that same week, not

to enter his meeting-house under pain of death.

One time, travelling alone in Ireland, it being a dark mist and night approaching, he was obliged to go to a house belonging to a Quaker, where he begged the shelter of his roof all night. The Quaker said, "Thou art a stranger; thou art very welcome, and shalt be kindly entertained; but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting." Peden said, "I will go along with you." The Quaker said, "Thou mayest if thou pleasest, but thou must not trouble us." He said, "I shall be civil." When they came to the meeting, as their custom was, they sat for some time silent, some with their faces to the wall, and some covered; and, there being a void in the loft above, there came down the appearance of a raven, and sat on one man's head, who rose up and spoke with such vehemence that the foam flew from his mouth. It went to a second, and he did so likewise. Peden, sitting next the landlord, said, "Do you not see? You will not deny yon afterwards." He answered, "Thou promised to be silent." From a second it went to a third man's head, who did as the former two. When they dismissed, on the

way home, Peden said to his landlord, "I always thought there was devilry amongst you, but I never thought that he had appeared visibly, till now I have seen it. Oh! for the Lord's sake, quit this way, and flee to the Lord Jesus, in whom there is redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of all your iniquities." The poor man fell a weeping, and said, "I perceive that God hath sent thee to my house, and put it in thy heart to go along with me, and permitted the devil to appear visibly amongst us this night. I never saw the like before; let me have the help of thy prayers, for I resolve, through the Lord's grace, to follow this way no longer." After this he became a singular Christian; and when dying blessed the Lord that in mercy he sent the man of God to his house.

Before he left Ireland he preached in several places, particularly one time near the fore-mentioned Mr. Vernon's house, in the year 1685, where he made a most clear discovery of the many hardships his fellow-sufferers were then undergoing in Scotland; and of the death of Charles II., the news of which came not to Ireland till twenty-four hours thereafter.

After this he longed to be out of Ireland, partly through a fearful apprehension of the dismal rebellion that broke out there about four years after, and partly from a desire he had to take part with the sufferings of Scotland. And before his departure from thence, he baptized a child of John Maxwell, a Glasgow man, who had fled over from the persecution; which was all the drink money, as he expressed it, that he had to leave in Ireland.

After he and twenty Scots sufferers came aboard ship, he went on deck, and prayed (there not being then the least wind), where he made a rehearsal of times and places when and where the Lord had heard and helped them in the day of their distress, and now they were in a great strait. Waving his hand to the west, from whence he desired the wind, he said, "Lord, give us a loaf-ful of wind; fill the sails, Lord, and give us a fresh gale, and let us have a swift and safe passage over to the bloody land, come of us what will." When he began to pray, the sails were hanging all straight down, but ere he ended they were all blown full, and he and the sufferers got a very swift and safe passage over. In the morning after they landed, he lectured ere

they parted on a brae-side; where he had some awful threatenings against Scotland, saying, "The time was coming that they might travel many miles in Galloway, Nithsdale, Ayr, and Clydesdale, and not see a reeking house, or hear a cock crow. He further added, "My soul trembles to think what will become of the indulged, backsliding, and upsitting ministers of Scotland; as the Lord lives, none of them shall ever be honoured to put a right pin in the Lord's tabernacle, nor assert Christ's kingly prerogative as Head and King of his church."

After his arrival in Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1685, he met with several remarkable deliverances from the enemy. One time, fleeing from them on horseback, he was obliged to cross a water, where he was in imminent danger. After he got out he cried, "Lads, do not follow, for I assure you ye want my boat, and so will drown; and consider where your landing will be;" which affrighted them from entering the water. At another time, being also hardly pursued, he was forced to take a bog and moss before him. One of the dragoons, being more forward than the rest, ran himself into that dangerous bog, where

he and the horse were never seen more.

About this time he preached one Sabbath night in a sheep-house, the hazard of the time affording no better. That night he lectured upon Amos vii. 8: "Behold, I will set a plumb-line in the midst of my people Israel." In this lecture he said, "I'll tell you good news. Our Lord will take a feather out of Antichrist's wing, which shall bring down the Duke of York, and banish him out of these kingdoms. And there shall never a man of the house of Stuart sit upon the throne of Britain after the Duke of York, whose reign is now short; for their lechery, treachery, tyranny, and shedding the precious blood of the Lord's people. But oh! black, black will the days be that will come upon Ireland! so that they shall travel forty miles and not see a reeking house, or hear a cock crow." When ended, he and those with him lay down in the sheep-house, and got some sleep; and early next morning he went up a burnside, and stayed long. When he came back he sung the 32nd Psalm, from the seventh verse to the end, and then repeated that verse—

"Thou art my hiding-place, thou shalt
From trouble keep me free ;

Thou with songs of deliverance
About shalt compass me."

"These and the following," he said, "are sweet lines, which I got at the burnside this morning, and I will get more to-morrow; and so will get daily provision. He is never behind with any who put their trust in him, and we will go on in his strength, making mention of his righteousness and of his only." He met with another remarkable deliverance, for the enemy coming upon him and some others, they were pursued by both horse and foot a considerable way. At last, getting some little height between them and the enemy, he stood still and said, "Let us pray here, for if the Lord hear not our prayers and save us, we are all dead men." Then he began, saying, "Lord it is thy enemy's day, hour, and power; they may not be idle. But hast thou no other work for them, but to send them after us? Send them after them to whom thou wilt give strength to flee, for our strength is gone. Twine them about the hill, Lord, and cast the lap of thy cloak over Old Sandy, and thir poor things, and save us this one time; and we'll keep it in remembrance, and tell it to the commendation of thy goodness, pity, and compassion, what

thou didst for us at such a time." And in this he was heard, for a cloud of mist intervened immediately betwixt them; and in the meantime, a post came to the enemy to go in quest of Renwick, and a great company with him.

At this time it was seldom that Mr. Peden could be prevailed on to preach: frequently answering and advising people to pray much, saying, "It was praying folk that would get through the storm; they would yet get preaching, both meikle and good; but not much of it until judgment was poured out to lay the land desolate."

In the same year, 1685, being in Carrick, John Clark of Moorbrook, being with him, said, "Sir, what think you of this time? Is it not a dark and melancholy day? Can there be a more discouraging time than this?" He said, "Yes, John, this is a dark, discouraging time, but there will be a darker time than this; these silly, graceless creatures, the curates, shall go down; and after them shall arise a party called Presbyterians, but having little more than the name, and these shall, as really as Christ was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem on Mount Calvary bodily—I say they shall as really

crucify Christ in his cause and interest in Scotland, and shall lay him in his grave, and his friends shall give him his winding sheet, and he shall lie as one buried for a considerable time. Oh! then, John, there shall be darkness and dark days, such as the poor Church of Scotland never saw the like, nor shall ever see, if once they were over; yea, John, they shall be so dark, that if a poor thing would go between the east sea-bank and the west sea-bank, seeking a minister to whom he would communicate his case, or tell him the mind of the Lord concerning the time, he shall not find one." John asked "where the Testimony should be then?" He answered, "In the hands of a few, who will be despised and undervalued of all, but especially by these ministers who buried Christ; but after that he shall get up upon them, and at the crack of his winding-sheet as many of them as are alive, who were at his burial, shall be distracted and mad with fear, not knowing what to. Then, John, there shall be brave days, such as the Church of Scotland never saw the like; but I shall not see them, though you may."

About this time, as Peden was preaching in the day-time in the

parish of Girvan, and being in the fields, David Mason, then a professor, came in haste, trampling upon the people to be near him. At this he said, "There comes the devil's rattle-bag; we do not want him here." After this the said David became officer and informer of that district, running through, rattling, and summoning the people to their unhappy courts for nonconformity; at which he and his got the name of "the devil's rattle-bag." After the Revolution he complained to his minister that he and his family got that name. The minister said, "You well deserve it; and he was an honest man that gave you it; you and yours must enjoy it; there is no help for that."

It is very remarkable that, being sick, and the landlord where Peden stayed being afraid to keep him in his house (the enemy being then in search of hiding people), he made him a bed among the standing corn; at which time a great rain fell out, insomuch that the waters were raised, and yet not one drop was to be observed within ten feet of his bed, while he lay in that field.

Much about the same time he came to Garfield, in the parish of Mauchline, to the house of

Matthew Hogg, a smith by trade. He went to the barn, but thought himself not safe there, foot and horse of the enemy searching for wanderers, as they were then called; and he desired the favour of his loft, being an old waste house two storeys high. Hogg refused. Peden then said, "Weel, weel, poor man, you will not let me have the shelter of your roof; but that same house will be your judgment and ruin yet." Some time after this the gable of that house fell, and killed both him and his son.

Peden's last sermon was preached in the Collimwood, at the Water of Ayr, a short time before his death. In the preface he said, "There are four or five things I have to tell you this night, and the *first* is, A bloody sword, a bloody sword, a bloody sword for thee, O Scotland, that shall pierce the hearts of many. *2dly*, Many miles shall ye travel and see nothing but desolation and ruinous wastes in thee, O Scotland. *3dly*, The most fertile places in thee shall be as waste as the mountains. *4thly*, The woman with child shall be ripped up and dashed in pieces. And *5thly*, Many a conventicle has God had in thee, O Scotland; but ere long God will

hold a conventicle that will make Scotland tremble. Many a preaching has God bestowed on thee; but ere long God's judgment shall be as frequent as these precious meetings were, wherein he sent forth his faithful servants to give warning of the hazard of thy apostasy from God, in breaking, burning, and burying his covenant, persecuting, slighting, and contemning the gospel, shedding the precious blood of his saints and servants. God sent forth a Welwood, a Kid, a King, a Cameron, a Cargill, and others to preach to thee; but ere long God shall preach to thee by fire and a bloody sword. God will let none of these men's words fall to the ground, whom he sent forth with a commission to preach these things in his name." In the sermon he further said, that a few years after his death there would be a wonderful alteration of affairs in Britain and Ireland, and Scotland's persecution should cease; upon which every one would believe the deliverance was come, and consequently would be fatally secure; but they would be very far mistaken, for both Scotland and England would be scourged by foreigners (a set of unhappy men in these lands taking part

with them), before any of them could pretend to be happy, or get a thorough deliverance; which would be more severe chastisement than any other they had met with, or could come under, if once that were over.

After much wandering from place to place, through Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway (his death drawing near), Peden came to his brother's house in the parish of Sorn, where he was born, where he caused dig a cave, with a willow bush covering the mouth thereof, near to his brother's house. The enemy got notice, and searched the house narrowly several times, but found him not. While in this cave he said to some friends—1. That God would make Scotland a desolation; 2. That there would be a remnant in the land whom God would spare and hide; 3. They would be in holes and caves of the earth, and be supplied with meat and drink; and when they came out of their holes, they would not have freedom to walk for stumbling on dead corpses; and, 4. A stone cut out of the mountain would come down, and God would be avenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land, for their wickedness;

and then the Church would come forth with a bonny bairn-time at her back of young ones. And he wished that the Lord's people might be hid in their caves, as if they were not in the world; for nothing would do until God appeared with his judgments. He also gave them a sign, that if he were but once buried they might be in doubt; but if oftener than once, they might be persuaded that all he had said would come to pass; and earnestly desired them to take his corpse out to Airsmoss, and bury him beside Ritchie (meaning Richard Cameron), that he might have rest in his grave, for he had got little during his life. But he said, bury him where they would, he would be lifted again; but the man who would first put hands to his corpse, four things would befall him—1. He would get a great fall from a house; 2. He would fall in adultery; 3. In theft, and for that he should leave the land; 4. He would make a melancholy end abroad for murder; all which came to pass. This man was one Murdoch, a mason by trade, but then in the military service, being the first man who put hands to his corpse.

Peden had for some time been too credulous in believing the

misrepresentations of some false brethren concerning James Renwick, whereby he was much alienated from him. This exceedingly grieved Renwick, stumbled some of his followers, and confirmed some of his adversaries, who boasted that Peden was turned his enemy. But now, when dying, he sent for Renwick, who came to him in all haste, and found him lying in very low circumstances. When he came in, he raised himself upon his elbow, with his head on his hand, and said, "Are you the James Renwick there is so much noise about?" He answered, "Father, my name is James Renwick, but I have given the world no ground to make any noise about me, for I have espoused no new principles or practices but what our reformers and covenanters maintained." Peden caused him sit down and give him an account of his conversion, principles, and call to the ministry; all which Renwick did in a most distinct manner. When ended, Peden said, "Sir, you have answered me to my soul's satisfaction; I am very sorry that I should have believed any such evil reports of you, which not only quenched my love to, and marred my sympathy with you, but led me to express myself so bitterly

against you, for which I have sadly smarted. But sir, ere you go, you must pray for me, for I am old, and going to leave the world." This Renwick did with more than ordinary enlargement. When he ended, Peden took him by the hand, and drew him to him and kissed him, saying, "Sir, I find you a faithful servant to your Master; go on in a single dependence upon the Lord, and you will get honestly through and clear off the stage, when many others who hold their heads high will lie in the mire, and make foul hands and garments." And then he prayed that the Lord might spirit, strengthen, support, and comfort him in all duties and difficulties.

A little before his death Peden said, "Ye will all be displeased at the place where I shall be buried at last, but I discharge you all to lift my corpse again." At last, one morning early he left the cave, and came to his brother's door. His brother's wife said, "Where are you going? The enemy will be here." He said, "I know that." "Alas! sir," said she, "what will become

of you? you must go back to the cave again." He said, "I have done with that, for it is discovered; but there is no matter, for within forty-eight hours I will be beyond the reach of all the devil's temptations, and his instruments in hell and on earth, and they shall trouble me no more." About three hours after he entered the house the enemy came, and having found him not in the cave, searched the barn narrowly, casting the unthreshed corn, searched the house, stabbing the beds, but entered not into the place where he lay. Within forty-eight hours after this, after a weary pilgrimage, he became an inhabitant of that land where the weary are at rest, being then past sixty years of age.*

He was buried in the church of Auchinleck, in the aisle of David Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck; but a troop of dragoons came and lifted his corpse, and carried it two miles to Cumnock gallows-foot (after he had been forty days in the grave), where he lies buried beside other martyrs.†

* Peden died on the 28th of January, 1686.

† Mr. Alexander Shields, in a paper containing an account of the sufferings of the parish of Auchinleck, says, "Mr. Peden's corpse was raised after it had lain buried several days in

Auchinleck kirkyard, carried to Cumnock, and buried at the gallows-foot that had been set up for honest men. Ochiltree younger bade cast his corpse on a thorn bush, and lie there; another bade him rise and preach." (*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xxxvii. 4to, No. 1.)

Thus died Alexander Peden, so much famed for his singular piety, zeal, and faithfulness, and indefatigableness in the duty of prayer, but especially exceeding all we have heard of in latter times for that gift of foreseeing and foretelling future events, both with respect to the church and nation of Scotland and Ireland, and particular persons and families, several of which are already accomplished. A gentleman of late, when speaking in his writings of Mr. Peden, says, "Abundance of this good man's predictions are well known to have already come to pass." And although these things are now made to stoop or yield to the force of ridicule, the sarcasms of the profane, and the fashions of

an atheistical age and generation; yet we must believe and conclude with the Spirit of God, that the secrets of the Lord both have been, are, and will be, with them who fear his name.

There are some few of Peden's sermons in print, especially two preached at Glenluce in 1682, the one from Matt. xxi. 38, and the other from Luke xxiv. 21; which prophetic sermons, though in a homely style, are of a most zealous and spiritual strain, now reprinted in a late collection of sermons.* As for those papers handed about under his name, anent James Renwick and his followers, they are, with good reason, looked upon as altogether spurious.

* The collection, printed at Glasgow 1779, and edited by Howie, includes sermons, preached mostly in the time of the persecution, by Messrs.

William Guthrie, Michael Bruce, John Welwood, Richard Cameron, Donald Cargill, Alexander Peden, John Welsh, and Alexander Shields.

JOHN BLACKADER.

JOHN BLACKADER was a lineal descendant, and the only representative, of the house of Tulliallan.* After having undergone

* His grandfather was Adam Blackader of Blairhall, who married Helen, daughter of the celebrated Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and one of the Lords of Session, by his first wife, Catherine Masterton of

his course of classical learning, he was ordained on June 7, 1653, minister of the gospel at Traquair, near Dumfries, where he

Grange, and not by the daughter of Knox, whom he secondly married. Adam left behind him, as the only surviving fruit of that marriage, a son John, who married in 1615 Barbara, daughter of William Strang, minister first at

continued faithfully to discharge the trust committed to his care, until he was, with many others of his faithful brethren, thrust out by that Act commonly called the Drunken Act of Glasgow, in the year 1662. At that time a party came from Dumfries to seize him; but he had gone out of the way. His wife and children, to whom the soldiers were extremely rude, were forced to retire to Barndennoch, in the parish of Glencairn, about ten miles distant.* There he and his numerous family met with further troubles; for in the year 1665 a party of Sir James Turner's men came thither in quest of him; but happily he and his wife were at Edinburgh. With great fury, and terrible oaths and execrations, they turned out the children from their beds in the middle of the night, caused one of them † to hold the candle till they searched Blackader's books and papers, and took what they listed. They stabbed the beds with their swords, threatened to roast the children on the fire, and caused one of them to

Kirkliston, then at Irvine, and afterwards principal of the University of Glasgow. Of this marriage John, the subject of this memoir, was born in December that year. He studied at Glasgow under his uncle, Principal Strang. Late in life he inherited the title of knight baronet, which, however, he never assumed. (*Crichton's Memoirs of Blackader*, pp. 14, 15.)

run near half a mile in a dark night in his shirt.

After this Blackader went and preached in the fields, where he had numerous meetings, particularly at the Hill of Beath, in Fife, in the year 1670. He had before been by the Council's letter put to the horn; and after this he came west, about the year 1675, and preached in the parish of Kilbride and other places. The same year, being at the Cow Hill in Livingstone parish, he went out one evening, in the month of August, to a retired place. When he came in again he seemed somewhat melancholy. Being asked by some friends what was the reason, he said that he was afraid of a contagious mist that should go through the land in many places that night, which might have sad effects, and death to follow; and as a precaution he desired them to keep doors and windows as close as possible, and to notice where it stood thickest and longest. This they did, and it was upon a little town called the Craigs, wherein were but a few families; within

* The children were put into cadgers' creels. On their way one of them cried out, "I'm banish't, I'm banish't." A person asking, "Who has banish't ye my bairn?" he answered, "Byte-the-sheep has banish't me."

† Adam, who wrote an account of his father's sufferings, which is preserved among the Wodrow MSS.

four months after, thirty corpses went out of that place, and great dearth and scarcity followed for three years' space after.

Blackader stood out against the Indulgence, and preached sometimes with Mr. John Dickson, they being both of one sentiment. He continued under several hardships until the year 1678, when he went over to Mr. M'Ward in Holland.* He continued some time there, and having returned home, he was about Edinburgh at the time of Bothwell Bridge. After that battle he was of no small use to the prisoners, in dissuading them from taking the Bond and from other compliances, which he did by letters.

After he had endured a series of hardships, and surmounted a number of difficulties, Blackader came to discharge his last public work at a muir side, at Newhouse, in the parish of Livingstone, March 28, 1681. He lectured upon Micah iv. 9, where he asserted, "that the nearer the delivery, our pains and showers would come thicker and sorer upon us, and that we had been in the fields; but ere we were

delivered we would go down to Babylon; that either Popery would overspread the land, or else would be at the breaking in upon us, like an inundation of water." He preached upon 1 Thess. iii. 3; and amongst other things, desired people to take good heed what ministers they heard, and what advice they followed; and praying, he said that he was as clear and willing to hold up the blessed standard of the gospel as ever; and blessed the Lord he was free of every bond and imposition. "The Lord rebuke, give repentance and forgiveness," said he, "to those ministers who persuaded the poor prisoners to take the Bond; for their perishing at sea is more shocking to me than some thousands of them that have been slain in the fields."

He went to Edinburgh, and was apprehended by Major Johnston upon the 6th of April following, and brought first to General Dalziel, then to the guard, and then before a committee of Council, consisting of the chancellor, general, advocate, and Bishop Paterson. The chancellor asked if he had excommunicated the king, or was at Torwood? He answered, he was not there these four years. *Chan.* But do you approve of

* About the end of May, 1680, he embarked for Holland with his eldest son, William, whom he intended to graduate as a physician at Leyden. He returned to Scotland at the end of September. (*Martyrs of the Bass*, p. 354.)

what was done there? *Ans.* I am not free to declare my inward sentiments of things and persons; and therefore I humbly beg to be excused. You may form a libel against me, and I shall endeavour to answer it as I can. *Chan.* But we hear you keep conventicles since the indemnity. *Ans.* I am a minister of the gospel, though unworthy, and under the strictest obligation to exercise my ministry, as I shall be answerable at the great day. I did, and so do still, count it my duty to exercise my ministry, as I am called thereunto. *Chan.* But you have preached in the fields; that is to say, on muirs and hillsides; I shall not ask you if you have preached in houses, though there is no liberty even for that. *Ans.* I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference between preaching in houses and in the fields, but as it may best serve the conveniency of the hearers; nor know I any restriction as to either in the Word. My commission reaches to houses and fields, within and without doors. *Chan.* We doubt not but you know and have

seen the laws discharging such preaching. *Ans.* I have; and I am sorry that ever any laws were made against preaching the gospel. *Chan.* Not against the gospel, but against rebellion. The Chancellor asked if he kept conventicles in Fife? which he did not deny. He was then carried to the guard.

The Council sat in the afternoon, but he was not again called before them; but without a further hearing was sentenced to go to the Bass. Accordingly, April 7, he was carried thither.* On the way, at Fisherrow, there happened to be a gathering of the people; when the captain, apprehending it might be for his rescue, told Mr. Blackader that if they attempted anything of this kind he would instantly shoot him through the head. He told the captain that he knew nothing of any such design.

He continued at the Bass till the end of the year 1685, when he contracted a rheumatism from the air of the place.† A motion was made for his liberation on bail on this account, but it never took effect; and so he entered

all the rooms of the prisoners were ordinarily full of smoke, like to suffocate and choke them, so as my father and the other prisoners were necessitated many a time to thrust head and shoulders out of the windows to recover breath. They were obliged to drink the twopenny ale

* He was conveyed to the Bass at six o'clock in the morning by a party of life guards, and arrived at that place of confinement at about five o'clock in the afternoon.

† "The Bass," says Blackader's second son, Adam, "was a base, cold, unwholesome prison;



Illustration by J. H. Stoddard.

into the joy of his Lord, about the beginning of the year 1686.* As the interest of Christ always lay near his heart through his life, so amongst his last words he said that the Lord would yet arise and defend his own cause in spite of all his enemies.

Thus died John Blackader, a pious man and a powerful preacher. There are several well-vouched instances of the Lord's countenancing his ministry while in the fields, and of the remarkable success of his sermons, which were not so low and flat but the pious learned might admire them; nor so

learned but the plainest capacity might understand them. In a word, he was possessed of many singular virtues. His going through so many imminent dangers with such undaunted courage was remarkable, and his love to God and his church exemplary.

We have seen only two of his many pathetic sermons, which are very extensive, upon the sufferings of Christ, from Isa. liii. 11—"He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied." The reader will find them in a small collection of sermons lately published.†

of the governor's brewing, scarcely worth a half-penny the pint; and several times were sorely put to it for want of victual, for ten or twelve days together, the boats not daring to venture to them by reason of stormy weather."

* He had then completed the seventieth year of his age. He was interred in the churchyard of North Berwick, where a handsome tombstone with a suitable inscription still marks his grave.

† While a prisoner on the Bass, Blackader wrote memoirs of himself, commencing with his ordination as minister of Traquair, in the Presbytery of Dumfries, in 1653. This volume is preserved among the Wodrow MSS., and forms the groundwork of Crichton's "Memoirs of Blackader." Blackader had five sons and two daughters. 1. William, his eldest son, was born in 1647, studied medicine, and graduated at Leyden in 1680. He came over from Holland with the earl of Argyll in his unfortunate expedition in 1685, and was taken prisoner in Orkney. He narrowly escaped being brought

to the scaffold. After the Revolution he became physician to King William III., and died without issue about the year 1704. 2. Adam, followed the mercantile profession. Simply for hearing his father preach he was repeatedly imprisoned: first in Stirling, when he was seventeen years of age, and afterwards in Blackness in the year 1684. He was eight or nine years in Sweden, and married a lady of that kingdom, by whom he had surviving issue. 3. Robert, studied theology at the University of Utrecht, and died in Holland in 1689. 4. Thomas, appears to have been a merchant, and died in Maryland, New England. 5. John, entered the army, in which he rose to the rank of a colonel of the 26th, or Cameronian regiment. He died deputy-governor of Stirling Castle in 1729. His life and diary have been published. One of Blackader's daughters died in Glencairn when a child. The other, Elizabeth, was married in 1687 to Mr. Young, writer in Edinburgh, by whom she had surviving children, and died in 1732.

JAMES RENWICK.

JAMES RENWICK was born in the parish of Glencairn, in Dumfriesshire, February 15, 1662. His parents, though not rich, were exemplary for piety. His father, Andrew Renwick, a weaver by trade, and his mother, Elizabeth Corsan, had several children, who died young; for which, when the latter was pouring forth her motherly grief, her husband used to comfort her with declaring that he was well satisfied to have children, whether they lived or died young or old, provided they might be heirs of glory. With this she could not attain to be satisfied; but she had it for her exercise to seek a child from the Lord, that might not only be an heir of glory, but might live to serve him in his generation. Whereupon, when James was born, she took it as an answer of prayer, and reputed herself under manifold engagements to dedicate him to the Lord, who satisfied her with very early evidences of his accepting that return of his own gift, and confirmed the same by very remarkable appearances of his gracious dealings with the child. For, by the time he was two years of age, he was observed to be aim-

ing at prayer, even in the cradle, wherewith his mother conceived such expectations and hopes, that the Lord would be with him and do good by him, as that all the reproaches he sustained, the difficulties and dangers that he underwent to his dying day, never moved her in the least from the confidence that the Lord would carry him through and off the stage, in some honourable way for his own glory. His father, also, before his death on February 1, 1679, obtained the same persuasion, that James' time in the world would be but short, but that the Lord would make some eminent use of him.

After James Renwick had learned to read the Bible, when about six years old, the Lord gave him some sproutings of gracious preparation, training him in his way, exercising him with doubts and debates as to the Maker of all things, how all things were made, and for what end, and with strange suppositions of so many invisible worlds, above and beneath; with which he was transported into a train of musing, and continued in this exercise for about the space of two years, until, by prayer and

meditation on the history of the creation, he came to a thorough belief that God made all things, and that all which he made was very good. And yet, after he came to more maturity, he relapsed into a deeper labyrinth of darkness about these foundation truths, and was so assaulted with temptations of atheism, that, being in the fields, and looking to the mountains, he said that if these were all devouring furnaces of burning brimstone, he would be content to go through them all, if so be he could be assured there was a God. Out of this, however, he emerged, through grace, into the sweet serenity of a settled persuasion of the being of a God, and of his interest in him.

From his younger years he made much conscience of obeying his parents, whose order (if they had spoken of putting him to any trade) he would no way decline; yet his inclination was constant for his book, until Providence propitiously furnished him with means of greater proficiency at Edinburgh; for many were so enamoured of his hopeful disposition, that they earnestly promoted his education. When he was ready for the university, they encouraged him in attending gentlemen's sons, for the

improvement both of their studies and his own; but this association of youths, as it is usually accompanied with temptations to vanity, enticed him, with some others, to spend too much of his time in gaming and recreations. It was then (for no other part of his life can be instanced) that some who knew him not took occasion from this extravagance to reproach him with profanity and flagitiousness, which he ever abhorred, and disdained the very suspicion thereof. When his time at the college drew near an end, he evinced such a fear of offending God, that upon his refusal of the oath of allegiance then tendered, he was denied his share of the public solemnity of laureation with the rest of the candidates, but received it privately at Edinburgh. After this he continued his studies, attending for a time on private and persecuted meetings for gospel ordinances.

But upon a deplorable discovery of the unfaithfulness even of nonconformist ministers, he was again for some time plunged into the depths of darkness, doubting what should be the end of such backsliding courses, until, upon a more inquisitive search after such ministers as were most free from these defec-

tions, he found more light: his knowledge of the iniquity of these courses was augmented, and his zeal increased. And being more confirmed, when he beheld how signally the faithful ministers were owned of the Lord, and carried off the stage with great steadfastness, faith, and patience (especially that faithful minister and martyr, Donald Cargill, at whose execution he was present, July 27, 1681), he was so moved that he determined to embark with these witnesses in the cause for which they suffered. He was afterwards so strengthened and established in this resolution, getting instruction about these things in and from the Word, so sealed with a strong hand upon his soul, that the temptations, tribulations, oppositions, and contradictions he met with from all hands to the day of his death, could never shake his mind to doubt the least concerning them.

Accordingly, in this persuasion, formed upon grounds of Scripture and reason, he, in October, 1681, came to a meeting with some of these faithful witnesses of Christ, and conferring about the testimonies of some other martyrs lately executed (which he was very earnest always to gather and keep on record), he refreshed

them greatly by a discourse, showing how much he was grieved and offended with those who heard the curates, pleaded for cess-paying, and defended the owning of the tyrants' authority, &c., and how sad it was to him that none were giving a formal testimony against these things; and in the end added that he would think it a great ease to his mind to know and be engaged with a remnant that would prosecute and propagate their testimony against the corruptions of the times to the succeeding generations, and would desire nothing more than to be helped to be serviceable to them.

At his first coming among them he could not but be taken notice of: for while some were speaking of removing the bodies of the martyrs lately executed at the Gallowlea, Renwick was very forward to promote it, and active to assist therein. Also, when the sincere seekers of God, who were scattered up and down the land, and adhered to the Testimony, as Cameron and Cargill left it towards the end of 1681, began to settle a correspondence in general, for preserving union, understanding one another's minds, and preventing declension to right and left hand

extremes,* and had agreed upon emitting that declaration published at Lanark, January 12, 1682.† Renwick was employed in proclaiming it, but had no hand in the penning thereof, otherwise it might have been more considerably worded than what it was; for though he approved of the matter of it, yet he always acknowledged there were some expressions therein rather unadvised.

After the publishing of this declaration, the next general meeting, finding themselves reproached and informed against, both at home and abroad, as if they had fallen from the principles of the Church of Scotland, thought it expedient to send Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun

to Holland to vindicate themselves, and to crave that sympathy which they could not obtain from their own countrymen. This at length, through mercy, proved so encouraging, that a door was opened to provide for a succession of faithful ministers, by sending some there to be fitted for the work of the ministry. Accordingly, Renwick, with some others, went to Holland. His comrades were ready, and sailed before, which made him impatiently haste to follow; yet, at his departure, he affirmed to a comrade that, as they did not depart together, he saw something should fall out, which should obstruct their coming home together also. This was verified by the falling off of Mr.

* The reference here is to the Society people, or that section of the Presbyterians, the followers of Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, who separated from the rest, and formed themselves into distinct societies in various parts of the country, where they lived, particularly in the south and west: hence the designation by which they were known. They were united by frequent correspondence, and general meetings were from time to time held in different places, consisting of delegates from each particular society. They declined to hold fellowship, not only with the Indulged ministers, but even with those who, though they would not themselves have accepted the Indulgence, yet could not see it to be unlawful to hold communion with the Indulged. They also renounced the government of King Charles, and openly proclaimed war against him as a tyrant and usurper. An historical account of their proceedings, from the year 1681 to 1691, collected by Mr. Michael

Shields, clerk to their general meetings, under the title of "Faithful Contendings Displayed," has been published. To the Society people the Cameronians, or Reformed Presbyterians, trace their ecclesiastical descent.

† It is entitled, "The Act and Apologetic Declaration of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland," published at Lanark, January 12, 1682. It ratifies and approves the Rutherglen and Sanquhar declarations; rescinds and annuls whatsoever hath been done by Charles Stewart or his accomplices in prejudice to our ancient laws and liberties in the Parliaments since the year 1660, particularly the late Parliament, held at Edinburgh, 28th July, 1681, by a commissioner, James, duke of York, professedly popish, with all the acts and laws there enacted, as that abominable, unparalleled, and soul-perjuring test. This declaration is printed in "Testimony Bearing Exemplified," Paisley, 1791, pp. 250-255.

Flint* (however forward at that time) to a contrary course of defection.

When he went over, he was settled at the University of Groningen, where he plied his studies so hard, and with such proficiency, that from the necessities of his friends in Scotland, who were longing for his labours, and his own ardent desire to be at the work, in a short time he was ready for ordination. To hasten this, his dear friend Robert Hamilton, who merited so much of those who reaped the benefit of Renwick's labours afterwards, applied to Mr. Brakel, a godly Dutch minister, who was much delighted at first with the motion, and advised that it should be done at Emden; but this could not be obtained, because the principal man there who was to have the management of the affair was Cocceian in his judgment. Whereupon Hamilton solicited the Classes of Groningen to undertake it, which they willingly promised to do: and calling for the testimonials of Mr. Renwick, and two others who went over at that time, Renwick's were produced (being

providentially in readiness when the others were wanting), and though in a rude dress, were sustained. The Classes being convened, they were called in and had an open harangue, wherein open testimony was given against all the forms and corruptions of their church; whereat they were so far from being offended, that after a solemn and serious consideration, they declared it was the Lord's cause, and, cost what it would, though all the kings of the earth were against it, they would go through with it. They all three should have passed together, but upon some differences arising, the other two were retarded. It was the custom of the place that every one that passes must pay twenty guilders for the use of the church; but the Classes declared that they would be at all the charges themselves.

The next difficulty was, that being told it was impossible for any to pass without subscribing their Catechism, and observing that their forms and corruptions were therein justified, Mr. Renwick resolutely answered that he would do no such thing, being engaged by a solemn covenant to the contrary. This was like to spoil all; but at length they condescended that he should

* Mr. John Flint, who after the Revolution was minister of Lasswade, and subsequently of Edinburgh. (*Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 315.)

subscribe the Confession and Catechism of the Church of Scotland, a practice never before heard of in that land, which was accepted. The day of ordination being come, Mr. Renwick was called in a very respectful way. After spending some time in prayer, the examination began, which lasted from ten in the morning to two o'clock in the afternoon. Then his friends, who were attending in the church, were called in (amongst whom was his honoured friend Mr. Hamilton, and another elder of the Church of Scotland), to witness the laying on of hands, which, after the exhortation, they performed with prayer, the whole meeting melting in tears; and thereafter he had a discourse to the Classes. With this solemnity they were so much affected, that at dinner, to which he and his friends were invited, the president declared the great satisfaction all the brethren had in Mr Renwick; that they thought the whole time he was before them, he was so filled with the Spirit of God, that his face seemed to shine, and that they had never seen or found so much of the Lord's spirit accompanying any work as that ordination.

But no sooner were these difficulties over, than others of a

more disagreeable aspect began to arise, which, if they had appeared but one day sooner, might have stopped the ordination, at least for a time. On the very next day Mr. Brakel told them that a formal libel was coming from the Scottish ministers at Rotterdam, containing heavy accusations against the poor Society people in Scotland, which they behoved either to vindicate, or else the ordination must be stopped; but this being too late as to Renwick, it came to nothing at last.

After Renwick's ordination he had a most longing desire to improve his talents for the poor persecuted people in Scotland, who were his brethren; and having received large testimonials of his ordination and learning (particularly in the Hebrew and Greek tongues) from the Classes, and finding a ship ready to sail, he embarked at the Brill; but waiting some days for a wind he was so discouraged by some profane passengers pressing the king's health, &c., that he was forced to leave that vessel, and take another bound for Ireland. A storm compelled them to put into Rye harbour, in England, about the time when there was so much noise of the Ryehouse plot, which created him no small

danger: but, after many perils at sea, he arrived safe at Dublin, where he had many conflicts with the ministers there, anent their defections and indifference; and yet in such a gaining and gospel way, that he left convictions on their spirits of his being a pious and zealous youth, which procured him a speedy passage to Scotland. In this passage Renwick had considerable dangers, and a prospect of more, as not knowing how or where he should come to land, all ports being then so strictly observed, and the skipper refusing to let him go till his name should be given up. But at last he prevailed on to give him a cast to the shore, where he began his weary and uncertain wanderings through an unknown wilderness, amongst unknown people, it being some time before he could meet with any of the Societies.

* The condition of the followers of Cameron and Cargill at this time was extremely deplorable. The step which had been taken by this section of the Presbyterians in throwing off their allegiance to Charles, and in proclaiming war against him, infuriated the government, and unchained the rage of a fiercer tempest of persecution. More terrible laws were enacted against them. All were forbidden to harbour them under severe penalties. The most were frightened from extending to them any relief, and such as did so were in danger of being involved in the same fate with those whom they befriended. Savage troopers, like bloodhounds, were let loose upon them. Many of them got out of the country, and thus escaped the tempest; others fled to the

In September, 1683, Renwick commenced his ministerial work in Scotland, taking up the testimony of the standard of Christ where it was fixed, and had fallen at the removal of the former witnesses, Cameron and Cargill, which, in the strength of his master, he undertook to prosecute and maintain against the opposition from all hands, that seemed unsupportable to sense and reason. In the midst of these difficulties, he was received by a poor persecuted people, who had lost all the worldly enjoyment they had for the sake of the gospel.* His first public meeting was in the moss at Dar-meid, where, for their information and his own vindication, he thought it expedient not only to let them know how he was called to the ministry, and what he adhered to, but, besides, to unbosom himself about the then

wilderness, to moors and mosses, to dens and caves, where their lives were in constant jeopardy. Hired spies and informers were everywhere abroad to track their steps, and to discover their hiding-places. Many were thus taken and put to death. Many were shot in the fields. Others perished from cold and famine. Thus, as we shall see, were the people driven to greater extremities. "Having neither ability to fight nor possibility to flee, nor probability to hide themselves, nor means of sustentation to preserve themselves alive by hiding, they were forced to fall upon such expedients to prevent their utter extermination, as in other circumstances they would never have thought upon." (*Shields' Life of James Renwick*, pp. 56, 57.)

puzzling questions of the time, particularly concerning ministers, defections, &c.; showing whom he could not join with, and his reasons for so doing; and in the end telling them on what grounds he stood, and resolved to stand upon, even to the length of (the Lord assisting him) sealing them with his blood.

After this the father of lies began to spue out a flood of reproaches, to swallow up and bury his name and work in contempt, which were very credulously entertained and industriously spread, not only by the profane, but even by many professors. Some said he had excommunicated all the ministers in Scotland, and some after they were dead; whereas he only gave reasons why he could not keep communion with some in the present circumstances. Others said that he was no Presbyterian, and that his design was only to propagate schism; but the truth was he was a professed witness against all the defections of Presbyterians from any part of their covenanted work of reformation. Again, other ministers alleged that he was a sectarian, Independent, or Anabaptist, or they knew not what. But when he had sometimes occasion to be among them in and about New-

castle and Northumberland, they were as much offended as any at his faithful freedom in discovering the evils of their way, and declared that they never met with such severe dealing from any Presbyterian before.

But the general outcry was, that he had no mission at all. Some slandered him, saying that he came only by chance, at a throw of the dice; with many other calumnies, refuted by the foregoing relation. Others gave out that he and his followers maintained the murdering principles, and the delirious and detestable blasphemies of Gibb, all which shameless and senseless fictions he ever opposed and abhorred. Yea, some ministers, more seemingly serious in their essays to prejudice the people against him, said that they had sought and got the mind of the Lord in it, that his labours should never profit the Church of Scotland, nor any soul in it, assuring themselves that, ere it were long, he would break and bring to nothing himself and them that followed him; comparing them to Jannes and Jambres who withstood Moses. Under all these reproaches he was remarkably supported, and went on in his Master's business, while he had any work for him to do.

In the meanwhile, from the noise that went through the country concerning him, the Council got notice: and thereupon, being enraged at the report of his preaching in the fields, they raised a hotter and more cruel persecution against him than can be instanced ever to have been against any one man in the nation; nay, than ever the most notorious murderer was pursued with. For, having publicly proclaimed him as a traitor, rebel, &c., they proceeded to pursue his followers with all the rigour that hellish fury and malice could suggest or invent; and yet the more they opposed, the more his followers grew and increased.

In 1684 his difficulties from enemies, and discouragements from friends opposed to him, and manifold vexations from all hands, began to increase more and more; yet all the while he would not intermit one day's preaching, but was still incessant and undaunted in his work. This made the ministers inform against him, as if he had intruded upon other men's labours; alleging that, when another minister was to preach in a place, he unexpectedly came and preached in the same parish; and for that purpose instanced one time near Paisley; whereas

he went upon a call from several in the district, without knowing then whether there was such a minister in that country. It is confessed that he had sometimes taken the churches to preach in, when either the weather, instant hazard at the time, or respect to secrecy and safety, did exclude from every other place. But, could this be called intrusion, to creep into the church for one night, when they could not stand, nor durst they be seen, without?

The same year, in prosecution of a cruel information against him, the soldiers became more vigilant in their endeavours to seek and hunt after him; and from them he had many remarkable deliverances. Particularly in the month of July, as he was going to a meeting, a country man, seeing him wearied, gave him a horse for some miles to ride on, when they were surprised by Lieutenant Dundas and a party of dragoons. The two men with him were taken and pitifully wounded. He escaped their hands, and went up Dugavel Hill; but was so closely pursued (they being so near that they fired at him all the time), that he was forced to leave the horse, losing thereby his cloak-bag, with many papers. Seeing

no other refuge, he was fain to run towards a heap of stones, where, for a little moment, getting out of their sight, he found a hollow place into which he crept. Committing himself by earnest ejaculation to God, in submission to live or die, and believing that he should be reserved for greater work, that part of Scripture often came into his mind, "Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity" (Ps. vi. 8), together with these words, "For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps. xci. 11). In the meantime the enemy searched up and down the hill, yet were restrained from looking into that place where he was. Many such sore and desperate chases he and those with him met with; often continuing whole nights and days without intermission in the wildest places of the country, for many miles together, without so much as a possibility of escaping the rage of those who pursued them.

The same year, on the 4th of September, letters of intercommuning were issued against him, commanding all to give him no reset or supply, nor furnish him

with meat, drink, house, harbour, or anything useful to him; and requiring all sheriffs to apprehend and commit to prison his person wherever they could find him; by virtue of which the sufferers were reduced to incredible straits, not only in being murdered, but also from hunger, cold, harassings, &c. In this perplexity, being neither able to flee nor fight, they were forced to publish an apologetical representation, showing how far they might, according to the approved principles and practices, and covenant engagements of our reformers, restrict and reduce to practice that privilege of extraordinary executing of judgment on the murdering beasts of prey, who professed and prosecuted a daily trade of destroying innocents. When this declaration was first proposed, Renwick was somewhat averse to it, fearing the sad effects it might produce; but considering that the necessity of the case would admit of no delay, he consented and concurred in the publication thereof. Accordingly it was fixed upon several market crosses and parish church doors, November 8, 1684.*

* "The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent Intelli-

gencers and Informers," has been the subject of much criticism. Its authors and adherents were regarded by the government then, and they

After the publication of this declaration, rage and reproach seemed to strive which should show the greatest violence against the publishers and owners of it. The Council issued a proclama-

tion for discovering such as owned or would not disown it; requiring that none above the age of sixteen travel without a pass, and that any who would apprehend any of them should have

have ever since been represented by a certain class of writers, as a species of infernal monsters who ought to be exterminated. In it they declare that such as "make it their work to imbrue their hands in our blood," councillors, military officers, militiamen, troopers, informers, &c., "shall be punished by us according to our power and the degree of their offence."

This declaration we are far from intending to vindicate. Its authors indeed express "their abhorrence of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from them." They qualify their denunciations of vengeance as being intended to apply only to the most bloody of their persecutors. They "condemn any personal attempts, upon any pretext whatever, without previous deliberation, common or competent consent, without certain probation by sufficient witnesses, the guilty person's confession, or the notoriousness of the deeds themselves." They "discharge any of their emissaries whatsoever to stretch forth their hands beyond the certainly known degrees of any of the foresaid person's offences." But notwithstanding these qualifications and precautions, the declaration seems to countenance assassination, and its tendency in the then exasperated state of men's minds was to stimulate the more fiery tempered to its commission. But while such a dreadful remedy cannot be approved, reflection on the terrible oppression endured by these men ought in justice to mitigate the severity of our censure, and turn our execration, not on the sufferers, but on the government who, by their furious violence, had driven them to desperation. They were a grievously outraged, not a bloodthirsty people. Their aim, even by this measure, was to restrain the bloody severity of which they were the victims, by threatening to avenge it, and only two or three instances have been adduced in which it led to murder.

Had these "wild hillmen," as they were stigmatized, been dealt with in any tolerable

measure, as a sovereign ought to treat his subjects, Charles II. would have found them, somewhat pragmatICAL it might be, but still men of warm-hearted loyalty—the more loyal to him that they would not at any price cast away their loyalty to the Captain of their salvation, the King of kings. Instead of disowning the reigning family, they would have shed for it the last drop of their blood. This was proved by the zeal and devotion with which, at the Revolution, when toleration was granted them by a wise and paternal government, which well understood the real cause of all the calamities in the preceding reigns, they supported King William. In the beginning of the year 1689, when his throne was threatened by an invasion from Ireland and by intestine war, they raised a regiment consisting of their own party, called Lord Angus' Regiment, still represented by what is called the Cameronian Regiment, regarding the support of King William's interest, in opposition to that of James VII., as the "defence of religion, their country, and themselves."* The defence of Dunkeld by that regiment, on their being sent in August, 1689, under the able generalship of Colonel William Cleland, to the north against the Highlanders, and the decisive victory which they gained over a Highland army of nearly five thousand men, while they did not number eight hundred, is one of the most valorous achievements recorded in history.† In the fatal battle at Steinkirk, in Flanders (August, 1692), where the same regiment fought for King William and his allies, and where many of them fell, they maintained their position with unconquerable fidelity, even when deserted by the allies; and fought against a greatly superior force on the part of France with a courage and determination which almost turned the tide of battle in their favour.

* Minutes of the Society People.

† A narrative of this conflict, collected from the testimony of several officers of that regiment, &c., was published at the time.

500 merks for each person ; and that every one should take the oath of abjuration ; whereby the temptation and hazard became so dreadful, that many were shot instantly in the fields ; others, refusing the oath, were brought in, sentenced, and executed in one day ; yea, spectators at executions were required to say whether these men suffered justly or not. When Renwick, with a sad and troubled heart, observed all these dolorous effects and more, he was often heard to say that, though he had peace in his end and aim by it, yet he wished from his heart that the declaration had never been published.

Neither was the year 1685 anything better. For it became now the enemy's greatest ambition and emulation who could destroy most of these poor wandering mountain men, as they were called ; and when they had spent all their balls they were nothing nearer their purpose than when they began, for the more they were afflicted the more they grew. " The bush did burn, but was not consumed, because the Lord was in the bush."

* It is entitled "The Protestation and Apologetic Admonitory Declaration of the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland against the proclaiming James, duke of York, king of Scotland, England, France, and

Charles II. being dead, and the duke of York, a professed Papist, being proclaimed in February, 1685, Renwick could not let go this opportunity of witnessing against the usurpation by a Papist of the government of the nation, and his design of overturning the covenanted work of Reformation and introducing Popery. Accordingly, he and about 200 men went to Sanquhar, May 28, 1685, and published that declaration, afterwards called the Sanquhar Declaration.*

In the meantime the earl of Argyll's expedition taking place, Renwick was much solicited to join with them. He expressed the esteem he had for Argyll's honest and laudable intention, and spoke very favourably of him, declaring his willingness to concur, if the quarrel and declaration were rightly stated ; but because it was not concerted according to the ancient plea of our Scottish Covenants, he could not agree with them, which created unto him a new series of trouble and reproach, and that from all hands, and from none more than the Indulged.

Ireland, the lawfulness of the present pretended Parliament, and the apparent inlet of Popery, &c., published at Sanquhar." (*Testimony Bearing Exemplified*. Paisley, 1791. Pp. 260-268.)

In the year 1686 Renwick was constrained to be more public and explicit in his testimony against the designs and defections of the time, wherein he met with more contradictions and opposition from all sides, and more discouraging and distracting treatment, even from some who once followed him; and was much troubled with letters of accusation against him from many hands. One of the ministers that came over with Argyll wrote a very vindictive letter against him; which letter he answered at large. He also was traduced, both at home and abroad, by Alexander Gordon, who sometime joined with that suffering party; but by none more than Robert Cathcart, in Carrick, who wrote a most scurrilous libel against him, and from which Renwick vindicated himself in the plainest terms. But this not satisfying the said Robert Cathcart, he, in the name of his friends in Carrick and the shire of Wigtown, though without the knowledge of the half of them, took a protest against Renwick's preaching or conversing within their jurisdiction, giving him occasion, with David, to complain, "They speak vanity, their heart gathereth iniquity; yea, mine own familiar friend, in

whom I trusted, hath lifted up his heel against me."

Notwithstanding the obloquy he sustained from all sorts of opposers, he had one faithful and fervent wrestler on his side, Alexander Peden; and yet, a little before Peden's death, these reproachers so far prevailed as to instigate him to a declared opposition against Renwick, which not only contributed to grieve him much, but was also an occasion of stumbling to many others of the well affected, and to the confirmation of his opposers.* Yet, nevertheless, Renwick proceeded in his progress through the country, preaching, catechizing, and baptizing. In travelling through Galloway he encountered a most insolent protestation given in against him by the professors between the rivers Dee and Cree, subscribed by one Hutchison; which paper he read over at a public meeting in that district (after a lecture upon Psalm xv., and a sermon from Song ii. 2), giving the people to know what was done in their name, with some animadversions thereon, as having a tendency to overturn several pieces of our valuable reformation; exhorting them, if there were any there who con-

* See Peden's Life, p. 621, *supra*, for an account of the interview between these good men.

curred therein, that they would speedily retract their hand from such an iniquity.

Shortly after this, while his work was increasing daily on his hand, and his difficulties multiplying, the Lord made his burden lighter by the help of David Houston from Ireland and Alexander Shields, who joined with him in witnessing against the sins of the time, which, as it was very refreshing to him, and satisfied his longing desires and endeavours, so it enabled him withal to answer those who said that he neither desired to join with another minister, nor so much as to meet with any other for joining. The first charge was now confuted, and as for the other, it is well known how far he travelled, both in Scotland and England, to meet with ministers who would unite with him, but was superciliously refused. He once sent a friend for that purpose to a minister of great note in Glendale in Northumberland, but in vain. At another time, in the same country, before that, happening to be in a much respected gentlewoman's house where providentially Dr. Rule came to visit, Renwick overheard him in another room discharging her by many arguments not to entertain or countenance Ren-

wick, if he should come that way; whereupon he sent for the doctor, letting him know that the same person was in the house, and that he desired to discourse with him on that head, but this he refused.

After this, one informed against him to the Holland ministers, who returned back with Mr. Brakel's advice to Renwick and others; but as it savoured of a Gospel spirit, not like that of his informer, it was no way offensive to him. Mr. Koelman, another famous Dutch divine, and a great sympathiser once with Renwick and that afflicted party, by false information turned also his enemy. It was more grievous that such a great man should be so credulous, but all these things never moved him, being fully resolved to suffer this and more for the cause of Christ.

In 1687 a proclamation was issued, February 12, tolerating the moderate Presbyterians to meet in their private houses to hear the indulged ministers, while the field-meetings were to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law. A second proclamation was given, June 28, allowing all to serve God in their own way, in any house. A third was emitted, October 5, declaring that all preachers and

hearers at any meeting in the open fields should be prosecuted with the utmost severity that law would allow; that all dissenting ministers who preach in houses should teach nothing that might alienate the hearts of the people from the government; and that the privy councillors, sheriffs, &c., should be acquainted with the places set apart for their preaching. This proclamation, it seems, was granted as an answer to an address for toleration given in, in name of all the Presbyterian ministers, July 21, 1687.

Renwick now found it his duty, not only to declare against the granters, but also against the accepters of this Toleration; warning the people of the hazard of their accession to it. At this the indulged were so incensed, that no sooner was their meeting well settled, than they began to show their teeth at him, calling him an intruder, a Jesuit, a white devil, going through the land carrying the devil's white flag, and saying that he had done more hurt to the Church of Scotland than its enemies had done these twenty years. They also spread papers through the country, as given under his hand, to render him odious; which in truth were nothing else than

forgeries, wherein they only revealed their own treachery.

Yet all this could not move Renwick, even when his enemies were shooting their arrows at him. Being not only the butt of the wicked, but the scorn of professors, who were at their ease, and a man much wondered at every way, yet he still continued at his work, his inward man growing more and more, when his outward man was much decayed; and his zeal for fulfilling his ministry and finishing his testimony still increasing the more, the less peace and accommodation he could find in the world. At the same time he became so weak that he could not mount or sit on horseback; so that he behoved to be carried to the place of preaching, but never in the least complained of any distemper in the time thereof.

In the meanwhile the persecution against him was so furious, that in less than five months after the Toleration fifteen most desperate searches were made for him; to encourage which a proclamation was made, October 18, wherein a reward of £100 sterling was offered to any who could bring in the persons of him and some others, either dead or alive.

In the beginning of the year

1688, being now near the end of his course, he ran very fast, and wrought very hard, both as a Christian and as a minister. And having for some time had a design to emit something in the way of testimony against both the granters and the accepters of the Toleration, which might afterwards stand on record, he went towards Edinburgh, and on his way at Peebles he escaped very narrowly being apprehended. When at Edinburgh, he longed and could have no rest till he got that delivered, which he, with the concurrence of some others, had drawn up in form; and upon inquiry, hearing that there was to be no presbytery or synod of tolerated ministers for some time, he went to Mr. Hugh Kennedy, a minister of great note among them, who, he heard, was moderator, and delivered a protestation into his hands; and then, upon some reasons, emitted it in public as his testimony against the Toleration.

From thence he went to Fife, and preached some sabbaths; and upon the 29th of January he preached his last sermon at Borrowstounness. Then he returned to Edinburgh, and lodged in a friend's house on the Castle-hill, who dealt in uncustomed goods, and, wanting his wonted

circumspection (his time being come), John Justice, a custom officer, discovered the house that very night. Hearing him praying in the family, he suspected who it was, attacked the house next morning, February 1, and pretending to search for uncustomed goods, the party got entrance. When Mr. Renwick came to the door, Justice challenged him in these words, "My life for it, this is Renwick." After which he went to the street, crying for assistance to carry the dog Renwick to the guard.

In the meantime Renwick and other two friends essayed to make their escape at another door, but were repelled by the officers. Thereupon he discharged a pistol, which made the assailants give way; but as he passed through them, one with a long staff hit him on the breast, which doubtless disabled him from running. Going down the Castle Wynd, towards the head of the Cowgate, having lost his hat, he was taken notice of and seized by a fellow on the street, while the other two escaped.

He was taken to the guard, and there kept for some time; and Graham, captain of the guard, seeing him of a little stature and comely youthful countenance, cried, "What! is

this the boy Renwick that the nation hath been so much troubled with?" At the same time Bailie Charters coming in, with great insolency accused him of licentious practices, to which he replied with deserved disdain. He was then carried before a quorum of the Council, and when Graham delivered him off his hand he was heard to say, "Now I have given Renwick up to the Presbyterians, let them do with him what they please." What passed before the Council could not be learned.

He was committed close prisoner, and laid in irons, where, as soon as he was left alone, he betook himself in prayer to his God, making a free offer of his life to him, requesting through-bearing grace, and that his enemies might be restrained from torturing his body; all which requests were signally granted, and by him thankfully acknowledged before his execution.

Before he received his indictment he was taken before the chancellor, in the viscount of Tarbet's lodging, and there examined concerning his owning the authority of James II., the cess, and carrying arms at field-meetings, when he delivered

himself with such freedom and boldness as astonished all present. The reason why he was interrogated anent the cess was, that a pocket-book was found upon him, which he owned, containing the notes of two sermons he had preached on these points. There were also some capitals in the same book; and because the committee was urgent to know the names, he, partly to avoid torture, and knowing they could render the persons no more obnoxious, ingenuously declared the truth of the matter; which ingenuousness did much allay their rage against him. Being asked by the chancellor what persuasion he was of? he answered, Of the Protestant Presbyterian persuasion. Again, how it came to pass that he differed so much from other Presbyterians, who had accepted of the toleration, and owned the king's authority, and what he thought of them? He answered, that he was a Presbyterian, and adhered to the old Presbyterian principles, principles which all were obliged by the Covenants to maintain, and which were once generally professed and maintained by the nation, from 1640 to 1660; from which they had apostatized for a little liberty, they knew not

how long, as you yourselves have done for a little honour. The chancellor replied, and the rest applauded, that they believed these were the Presbyterian principles, and that all Presbyterians would own them as well as he if they had but the courage. However, on February 3 he received his indictment upon the three foresaid heads, viz., his disowning the king's authority, his holding the unlawfulness of paying the cess, and the lawfulness of defensive arms; all which he was to answer to on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a list of forty-five persons, out of which the jury was to be chosen, and a list of the witnesses to be brought against him.

After receiving his indictment his mother got access to him, to whom he spoke many savoury words. On Sabbath, February 5, he regretted that now he must leave his poor flock, and declared, that if it were his choice, he could not think of it without terror to enter again into and venture upon that conflict with a body of sin and death; yet if he were again to go and preach in the field, he durst not vary in the least, nor flinch one hairbreadth from the testimony, but would look on himself as obliged

to use the same freedom and faithfulness as he had done before. In a letter, on February 6, he desired that the persons whose names were deciphered might be acquainted with it; and concluded, "I desire none may be troubled on my behalf, but that they rather rejoice with him, who with hope and joy is waiting for his coronation-hour." Another time his mother having asked him how he was, he answered, he was well, but that since his last examination he could scarcely pray. At which she looked on him with an affrighted countenance, and he told her that he could hardly pray, being so taken up with praising, and ravished with the joy of the Lord. When his mother was expressing her fear of fainting, saying, "How shall I look upon that head and those hands set up among the rest on the port of the city?" He smiled, telling her she should not see that; for, said he, "I have offered my life unto the Lord, and have sought that he may bind them up; and I am persuaded that they shall not be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one hair of my head farther." He was at first much afraid of the tortures, but now, having obtained a persuasion that these

were not to be his trials, through grace he was helped to say the terror of them was so removed that he would rather choose to be cast into a cauldron of burning oil than do anything that might wrong truth. When some other friends were permitted to see him, he exhorted them to make sure of their peace with God, and to study steadfastness in his ways; and when they regretted their loss of him, he said they had more need to thank the Lord that he should now be taken away from these reproaches, which had broken his heart, and which could not be otherwise wiped off, even though he should get his life without yielding in the least.

Monday, February 8, he appeared before the Justiciary, and when his indictment was read, the justice-clerk asked him, if he adhered to his former confession, and acknowledged all that was in the libel? He answered, "All, except where it is said I have cast off all fear of God: that I deny, for it is because I fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here standing ready to be condemned." Then he was interrogated, if he owned authority, and James II. to be his lawful sovereign? He answered, "I own all authority

that hath its prescriptions and limitations from the word of God, but I cannot own this usurper as lawful king, seeing both by the word of God, and likewise by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland until he swear to defend the Protestant religion (which a man of his profession could not do), such an one is incapable to bear rule." They urged, Could he deny him to be king? Was he not the late king's brother? Had the late king any children lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be his successor by Act of Parliament? He answered, that he was no doubt king *de facto*, but not *de jure*; that he was brother to the other king, he knew nothing to the contrary: what children the other had he knew not; but from the word of God, which ought to be the rule of all laws, or from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be shown that he had, or ever could have any right. The next question was, If he owned and had taught it to be unlawful to pay cesses and taxations to his Majesty? He answered, "For the present cess, enacted for the present usurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppressive to the subject, for the

maintenance of tyranny, and because it is imposed for suppressing the gospel. Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, to have brought every one a coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the three children, if so they had been required by that tyrant?"

Next they moved the question, If he owned that he had taught his hearers to come armed to their meetings, and in case of opposition to resist? He answered, "It were inconsistent with reason and religion both to do otherwise: you yourselves would do it in the like circumstances. I own that I taught them to carry arms to defend themselves, and resist your unjust violence." Further, they asked, If he owned the note-book, and the two sermons written therein, and that he had preached them? He said, "If ye have added nothing, I will own it; and am ready to seal all the truths contained therein with my blood." All his confession being read over, he was required to subscribe it. He said, "I will not do it, since I look on it as a partial owning of your authority." After refusing several times, he said, "With protestation, I will subscribe the

paper, as it is my testimony, but not in obedience to you."

Then the assizers were called in by fives, and sworn, against whom he objected nothing, but protested that none might sit on his assize who professed Protestant or Presbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation. He was brought in guilty, and sentence passed that he should be executed in the Grassmarket on the Friday following. Lord Linlithgow, justice-general, asked, If he desired longer time? He answered, that it was all one to him; if it was protracted, it was welcome; if it was shortened, it was welcome; his Master's time was the best. He was then returned to prison. Without his knowledge, and against his will, yea, after openly refusing to the advocate to desire it, he was reprieved to the seventeenth day, which gave occasion to several to renew their reproaches.

Though none who suffered in the former part of this dismal period spoke with more fortitude, freedom, and boldness than Mr. Renwick, yet none was treated with so much moderation. The lenity of the Justiciary was much admired beyond their ordinary; for they allowed him to say what he pleased without

threatening and interruption, even though he gave none of them the title of lord except Linlithgow, who was a nobleman by birth. And though his friends (which was not usual after sentence), were denied access, yet both Papists and Episcopalists were permitted to see him. Bishop Paterson often visited him; nay, besought another reprieve for him, which would easily have been granted had he only petitioned for it. The bishop asked him, "Think you none can be saved but those of your principles?" He answered, "I never said nor thought that none could be saved except they were of these principles; but these are truths which I suffer for, and which I have not rashly concluded on, but deliberately, and for a long time have been confirmed that they are sufficient points to suffer for." The bishop took his leave, declaring his sorrow for his being so tenacious, and said, "It was a great loss he had been of such principles, for he was a pretty lad." Again, the night before he suffered, he sent to him to signify his readiness to serve him to the utmost of his power. Renwick thanked him for his courtesy, but knew nothing he could do, or that *he* could desire.

Mr. M'Naught, one of the curates, paid him a visit in his canonical habit, which Mr. Renwick did not like. The curate, among other things, asked his opinion concerning the Toleration and those that accepted it. Renwick declared that he was against the Toleration, but as for them that embraced it, he judged them to be godly men. The curate leaving him, commended him as one of great gravity and ingenuity. Dalrymple, the king's advocate, came also to visit him, and declared that he was sorry for his death, and that it should fall out in his short time. Several Popish priests and gentlemen of the guard, with some of the tolerated ministers, were permitted to converse with him. A priest, at leaving him, was overheard saying he was a most obstinate heretic; for he had used such freedom with him that it became a proverb in the tolbooth at the time, "Begone, as Renwick said to the priests."

Several petitions were written from several hands, of the most favourable strain that could be invented, and sent him to subscribe, but all in vain; yea, it was offered to him, if he would but let a drop of ink fall on a bit of paper, it would satisfy, but he would not. In the meantime

he was kept so close that he could get nothing written. His own testimony, which he was writing, was taken from him, and pen and ink removed. However, he got a short paper written the night before, which is to be found in the "Cloud of Witnesses," as his last speech and testimony.

On Tuesday, the 14th, he was brought before the Council on account of The Informatory Vindication; but what passed there cannot be learned, farther than their signifying how much kindness they had shown him in that they had reprieved him without his application, a thing never done before. He answered with extraordinary cheerfulness, rejoicing that he was counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of his Master. A friend asking him how he was, he said, "Very well; and he would be better within three days." He told his mother that the last execution he was witness to was Robert Gray's; and that he had a strong impression in his mind that his should be the next. He often said that he saw need for his suffering at this time, and that he was persuaded his death would do more good than his life for many years could have done. Being asked what he thought

God would do with the remnant behind him, he answered, "It would be well with them, for God would not forsake nor cast off his inheritance."

On the day of his execution the chief jailor begged that, at the place of execution, he would not mention the causes of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Renwick told him that what God would give him to speak he would speak, and nothing less. The jailor told him that he might still have his life, if he would but sign that petition which he offered him. He answered, he never read in Scripture or in history that martyrs petitioned for their lives when called to suffer for truth, though they might require their persecutors not to take their life, and remonstrate against the wickedness of murdering them; but in the present circumstance he judged it would be found a receding from truth, and a declining from a testimony for Christ.

His mother and sisters having obtained leave to see him, after some refreshment, in returning thanks he said, "O Lord, thou hast brought me within two hours of eternity, and this is no matter of terror to me more than if I were to lie down in a bed of roses; nay, through grace, to

thy praise I may say I never had the fear of death since I came to this prison, but from the place where I was taken I could have gone very composedly to the scaffold. O ! how can I contain this, to be within two hours of the crown of glory !” He exhorted them much to prepare for death ; “ for it is,” said he, “ the king of terrors, though not to me now, as it was sometimes in my hidings ; but now let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. Would ever I have thought that the fear of suffering and of death could be so taken from me ? But what shall I say to it ? ‘ It is the doing of the Lord, and marvellous in our eyes.’ I have many times counted the cost of following Christ, but never thought it would be so easy ; and now, who knows the honour and happiness of that ? ‘ He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father.’” He said many times, “ Now I am near the end of time I desire to bless the Lord : it is an inexpressibly sweet and satisfying peace to me that he hath kept me from complying with enemies in the least.” Perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her to remember that they who loved anything

better than Christ were not worthy of him. “ If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived.” Then he went to prayer ; wherein he ran out much in praise, and pleaded much in behalf of the suffering remnant, that the Lord would raise up witnesses that might transmit the testimony to succeeding generations, and that he would not leave Scotland, asserting with great confidence of hope that he was strengthened in the hope of it, that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

At length, hearing the drums beat for the guard, he fell into a transport, saying, “ Yonder is the welcome warning to my marriage : the bridegroom is coming : I am ready ; I am ready.” Then taking his leave of his mother and sisters, he entreated them not to be discouraged, for, ere all were done, they should see matter of praise in that day’s work. He was taken to the low council-house, as was usual, where after his sentence was read, they desired him there to speak what he had to say. He said, “ I have nothing to say to you, but that which is written in Jer. xxvi. 14, 15, ‘ As for me,

behold I am in your hand." He was told that the drums would beat at the scaffold all the time, and therefore they desired him to pray there; but he refused, and declared he would not be limited in what he would say, and that he had premeditated nothing, but would speak what was given him. They offered him any minister to be with him, but he answered, "If I would have had any of them for my counsellors or comforters, I should not have been here this day. I require none with me but this one man," meaning the friend that was waiting upon him.

He went from thence to the scaffold with great cheerfulness, as one in a transport of triumphant joy, and had the greatest crowd of spectators that has perhaps been seen at any execution; but little was heard, on account of the beating of the drums all the time without intermission, from his first ascending the scaffold until he was cast over. Yet, from the friends and others permitted to attend him, some of his last words were collected.

When he first went on to the scaffold, some forbade him to speak anything, because the people could not hear; which he took no notice of. There was a

curate standing at the side of the scaffold, who, tempting him, said, "Own our king, and we shall pray for you." He answered, "I will have none of your prayers; I am come here to bear testimony against you, and such as you are." The curate said, "Own our king and pray for him, whatever you say against us." He replied, "I will discourse no more with you: I am within a little to appear before him who is King of kings and Lord of lords, who shall pour shame, contempt, and confusion upon all the kings of the earth who have not ruled for him."

Then he sang Psalm ciii., read Rev. xix.; then prayed, commending his soul to God through the Redeemer, and his cause to be vindicated in his own time, and appealed to the Lord if this was not the most joyful day he ever saw in the world, a day that he had much longed for. He insisted much in blessing the Lord for honouring him with the crown of martyrdom, an honour which the angels were not privileged with, being incapable of laying down their lives for their princely Master. He complained of being disturbed in worshipping God, but, said he, "I shall soon be above these clouds; then shall I enjoy thee, and glorify

thee, without interruption or intermission, for ever." Prayer being ended, he spoke thus to the people, much to the purpose of his written testimony :

"Spectators, I come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Christ, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer. Nay, I bless the Lord that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer anything for him ; and I desire to praise his grace that he hath not only kept me from the gross pollutions of the time, but also from the many ordinary pollutions of children ; and for such as I have been stained with, he hath washed and cleansed me from them in his own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for these three things : 1. For disowning the usurpation, and tyranny of James duke of York. 2. For preaching that it was unlawful to pay the cess expressly exacted for bearing down the Gospel. 3. For teaching that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themselves in their meeting for the persecuted Gospel ordinances. I think a testimony for these is worth many lives ; and if I had ten thousand I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same.

"Dear friends, I die a Presbyterian Protestant ; I own the Word of God as the rule of faith and manners ; I own the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Public and Family Worship, Covenants, National and Solemn League, Acts of General Assemblies, and all the faithful contendings that have been for the Covenanted Reformation. I leave my testimony approving the preaching in the fields, and defending the same by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all those truths that have been sealed by bloodshed, either on scaffold, field, or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, against all profanity, and everything contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness ; particularly against all usurpations and encroachments made upon Christ's right, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone must bear the glory of ruling in his own kingdom the church ; and in particular against the absolute power affected by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah, and against his toleration flowing from this absolute power."

Here he was ordered to have done. He answered, "I have near done;" and then said, "Ye that are the people of God, do not weary to maintain the testimony of the day in your stations and places; and whatever ye do, make sure of an interest in Christ; for there is a storm coming that shall try your foundation. Scotland must be rid of Scotland before the delivery come: and you that are strangers to God, break off your sins by repentance, else I will be a sad witness against you in the day of the Lord."

Here they made him desist and go up the ladder, where he prayed, and said, "Lord, I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses the seed of thy Church, and return again and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am ready. The bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made herself ready." The napkin being tied about his face, he said to his friend attending, "Farewell, be diligent in duty, make your peace with God through Christ; there is a great trial coming. As to the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me not to weary nor be discouraged in maintaining the testimony, and

the Lord will provide you teachers and ministers, and when he comes he will make these despised truths glorious in the earth." He was turned over with these words in his mouth, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of truth."

Thus died the faithful, pious, and zealous James Renwick, on the third day over the twenty-sixth year of his age; a young man, and a young minister, but a ripe Christian and renowned martyr of Christ, for whose sake he loved not his life unto the death; by whose blood, and the word of whose testimony, he overcame, and thus got above all snares and sorrow, and, to the conviction of many that formerly reproached him, was as signally vindicated (as he was in his life shamefully reproached), from all the aspersions, obloquies, and calumnies that were cast upon him for prosecuting that testimony for truth, which now he sealed with his blood in such a treasure of patience, meekness, humility, constancy, courage, burning love, and blazing zeal, as did very much confound enemies, convince neutrals, confirm halters, comfort friends, and astonish all.

He was of stature somewhat low, of a fair complexion, and

like another young David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance. Most men spoke well of him after he was dead; even his murderers as well as others said that they thought he went to heaven. Malignants generally said that he died a Presbyterian. The viscount of Tarbet, one of the councillors, one day in company, when speaking of him, said, "He was one of the stiffest maintainers of his principles that ever came before us. Others we used always to cause one time or other to waver, but him we could never move. Where we left him there we found him; we could never make him yield or vary in the least. He was the man we have seen most plainly and pertinaciously adhering to the old way of Presbyterian government, who, if he had

lived in Knox's days, would not have died by any laws then in being. *He was the last that on a scaffold sealed his testimony for religion, liberty, and the Covenanted work of Reformation in Scotland.**

Besides what hand Renwick had in the Informatory Vindication, and the forementioned Testimony against the Toleration, both of which have long ago been published, a collection of very valuable prefaces, lectures, and sermons of his, in two volumes, by some well-wishers to the same cause and testimony, has also been of late published; as also another collection of very choice letters, written by him from July 8, 1682, to the day of his death, February 17, 1688. There is also a treatise of his upon the admission of ruling-

* In less than a year after, the long period of twenty-eight years' persecution was mercifully brought to a close by the expulsion of King James VII. from the throne of Britain and Ireland, and the bloodless accession of William, prince of Orange, to the sovereign power in the three kingdoms. Judging from the analogy of divine providence, Robert M'Ward, even before the death of Charles II., proclaimed the fate of that monarch and of his brother, the duke of York. "They have all joined," says he in a letter to Mr. John Carstairs, "in breaking in pieces the people of the Lord and afflicting his heritage; their fingers are dropping with the blood of his saints, for which the great God in whose sight it is precious will make inquisition; but above all, all of them have put to their wicked hands to pull the crown off his

head who is King in Zion, and wrest the sceptre out of his hand, and have set the one upon the head and have put the other into the hand of this usurper, and have entailed the royal prerogative of Christ on whosoever shall succeed to him in the government. Thus the throne is become a throne of iniquity with a witness; and because they have by law eternized their hostility and hatred against Christ, I nothing doubt but he who hath by an anterior and eternal law established the Mediator's throne, shall leave the usurper neither son nor nephew in the streets, nor any remaining in his dwelling." (*Wodrow's MSS.*, vol. lvii. folio no. 15.)

The following ten lives of ministers and others who suffered during the persecution, but who survived the Revolution, may be regarded as supplementary, or an appendix to the preceding.

elders, which the reader will find affixed to his Life and Vindication of his Testimony, written by Mr. Shields.

“Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us” (Heb. xii. 1). “These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of Lamb” (Rev. vii. 14). “I saw, under the altar, the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?” (Rev. vi. 9, 10). “Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus” (Rev. xiv. 12)

N. B.—In Scotland, during these twenty-eight years of persecution, according to calculation, above 18,000 people suffered death, or the utmost hardships and extremities. Of these 1700 were shipped to the plantations,

besides 750 who were banished to the northern islands, of whom 200 were wilfully murdered.* Those who suffered by imprisonment, confinement, and other cruelties of this nature, were computed at or above 3600, including 800 who were outlawed, and 55 who were sentenced to be executed when apprehended. Those killed in several skirmishes or on surprise, and those who died of their wounds on such occasions, were reckoned to be 680. Those who went into voluntary banishment to other countries were calculated at 7000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood, without process of law, besides 362 who were by form of law executed. The number of those who perished through cold, hunger, and other distresses contracted in their flight to the mountains, and who sometimes even in the article of death were murdered by the bloody soldiers, cannot well be calculated, but will certainly make up the number above specified.

Yet the more they were oppressed, the more they grew, the blood of the martyrs being always the seed of the church. Yea, to the honour of truth, and the praise of that God whom

* That is, lost in shipwreck, or by the carelessness and cruelty of the seamen.

they served, they were so far from being spent, wasted, or eradicated, that at the Revolution they could raise a regiment in one day, without beat of drum, the ancient motto of the Church of Scotland, *Nec tamen consumebatur*, being verified now as evidently as ever: "Behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed."*

TESTIMONY OF JAMES RENWICK.

"My dear friends in Christ, it hath pleased the Lord to deliver me into the hands of men; and I think fit to send you this salutation, which I expect will be the last. When I open my heart upon it, before God, I dare not desire to have escaped this lot;

* Yet too flattering a view of the state of matters at the Revolution ought not to be given. The persecution under the Stewarts, it is true, protracted and ruthless though it was, did not thoroughly crush the Presbyterians, nor even the comparatively small section of them who held the opinions of Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick. But it left them like the thinned and broken ranks of an army which had endured a tedious and bloody campaign. The calamities, temporal and spiritual, which the persecution inflicted on Scotland cannot be told; and had it been protracted much longer, the object of the persecutors would have been completely gained. The poverty, wretchedness, immorality, and crime which were allowed to become rampant in Scotland, whilst the most resolute and persevering efforts were made to crush its liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, are thus strikingly portrayed by Fletcher of Salton, writing in 1698:—"There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church-boxes, with others, who by living upon bad food fall into various diseases) 200,000 people begging from door to door. These are not only no way

for no less could have been for his glory and the vindication of his cause on my behalf: and as I am free before him of the profanity which some, either naughty, wicked, or strangers to me, have reported that I have been sometimes guilty of, so he hath kept me from the womb free of the ordinary pollutions of children, as those that have been acquainted with me through the tract of my life do know. And now my blood shall either more silence reproaches, or more ripen them for judgment: but I hope it shall make some more sparing to speak of those who shall come after me; and so I am the more willing to pay this cost for their instruction, and my successors' ease. Since I came to prison the Lord has been wonderfully kind to me, he hath made his word to give me light, life, joy, courage, and strength; yea, it hath dropped with sweet smelling myrrh unto me, particularly these passages and promises, Gen. xxii. 12, latter part of the verse, 'For now I know that thou

advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it formerly was, by reason of the present great distress, yet in all times there have been about 100,000 of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land or even those of God and nature. . . . No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who if they give not bread, or some kind of provision, to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them), but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen both men and women perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together." (*Fletcher's Political Works*, pp. 144-146.)

fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son. Neh. viii. 10, latter part of the verse, 'Neither be ye sorry, for the joy of the Lord is your strength.' Job iii. 17, 'There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest.' Ver. 18, 'There the prisoners rest together, they hear not the voice of the oppressor.' Job. xxiii. 10: 'But he knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold.' Ver. 11, 'My foot hath held his steps, his way have I kept, and not declined.' Ver. 12, 'Neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips, I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food.' Ver. 13, 'But he is in one mind, and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth.' Ver. 14, 'For he performeth the thing that is appointed for me: and many such things are with him.' Psal. cv. 19: 'The word of the Lord tried him.' Luke xxi. 12: 'But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings for my name's sake.' Ver. 13, 'And it shall turn to you for a testimony.' Ver. 19, 'In your patience possess ye your souls.' Heb. xii. 23: 'To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.' James i. 12: 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.' 1 Pet. v. 7: 'Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you.' Ver. 8, 'Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour.' Rev. iii. 8: 'I know thy works: behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it; for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.' Ver. 10, 'Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from

the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Ver. 11, 'Behold, I come quickly hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.' Ver. 12, 'Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; and I will write upon him my new name.' Rev. xix. 20. 'And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.' Ver. 21, 'And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceedeth out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.' And many other scriptures.

"O what can I say to the Lord's praise! It was but little that I knew of him before I came to prison: I have found sensibly much of his divine strength, much of the joy of his Spirit, and much assurance from his word and Spirit concerning my salvation; my sufferings are stated upon the matters of my doctrine, for there was found with me the sum of my last two sermons at Braid's-craigs, which I wrote after I preached them; the former whereof was upon Psal. lxxvi. 10: 'Be still and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.' And the latter upon Heb. x. 38: 'Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.' And so I was examined upon the application made therein unto the sins of the time: all which I owned once and again, as it is to be seen in my indictment: and I being tried, and an assize set, I adhered to my former confession explicitly; so my sentence of death was drawn forth upon these heads:

“First, Because I could not own James VII. to be my lawful sovereign.

“Secondly, Because I taught the unlawfulness of paying the cess, expressly exacted for the suppressing the faithful and free preaching of the gospel.

“Thirdly, Because I taught that it was the people’s duty to carry arms at the preaching of the gospel, now when it is persecuted, for defending themselves, and resisting of unjust violence.

“I think such a testimony is worth many lives, and I praise the Lord for his enabling me to be plain and positive in all my confessions: for therein I found peace, joy, strength, and boldness. I have met with many assaults in prison, some from the indulged party, and others from some of the prelatie; but by the strength of God I was enabled to stand, that they could neither bow me nor break me. I was also assaulted by some of the Popish party (I suppose they were some of the ecclesiastic creatures), but they found none of their own stuff in me. I told them, after sundry debates, that I had lived and should die an enemy to their way. However, some that knew me not, reproached me with Jesuitism. I was pressed by sundry to seek a reprieve, and my answer was always, that I adhered to my former confession, and if they pleased to let that appointed time of my death stand, let it stand: and if they pleased to protract it, let them protract it; for I was ready and willing both to live and die; howbeit there came a reprieve for eight days, but I had no hand in it. They still urged, would I but say that I desired time for conference with some persons anent my principles: I answered, that my time was in the Lord’s hand, and I was in no hesitation or doubt about my principles myself: I would not be so rude as to decline conference with any, so far as it might not be inconvenient for me in my present circumstances, but I will seek it with none. I have no more to say on this head, but my heart doth not smite me for any thing in

the matters of my God, since I came to prison. And I can further say to his praise, with consciousness of integrity, that I have walked in his way, and kept his charge, though with much weakness and many infirmities, whereof ye have been witnesses.

“Now, my dear friends in precious Christ, I think I need not tell you, that as I have lived, so I die in the same persuasion with the true reformed and covenanted presbyterian church of Scotland: that I adhere to the testimony of the day, as it is held forth in our Informatory Vindication, and in the Testimony against the present toleration; and that I own, and seal with my blood, all the precious truths, even the controverted truths, that I have taught. So I would exhort every one of you to make sure your personal reconciliation with God in Christ: for I fear many of you have that yet to do; and when ye come where I am, to look pale death in the face, ye will not be a little shaken and terrified, if ye have not laid hold on eternal life. I would exhort you to much diligence in the use of means, to be careful in keeping up your societies, to be frequent and fervent in secret prayer, to read much the written word of God, and to examine yourselves by it. Do not weary to maintain, in your places and station, the present testimony; for when Christ goes forth to defeat antichrist, with that name written on his thigh and on his vesture, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS, he will make it glorious in the earth: and if ye can but transmit it to the posterity, ye may count it a great generation-work. But beware of the ministers that have accepted of this toleration, and all others that bend that way; and follow them not, for the sun hath gone down upon them. Do not fear that the Lord will cast off Scotland; for he will certainly return again, and show himself glorious in our land. But watch and pray, for he is bringing on a sad overthrowing stroke, which shall make many say, That they have easily got through, that have got a scaffold for Christ; and do not regard the

present sufferings of this world, for 'they are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed.'

'I may say to his praise, that I have found his cross sweet and lovely unto me, for I have had many joyful hours, and not a fearful thought since I came to prison; he has strengthened me to brave man and face death, and I am now longing for the joyful hour of my dissolution; and there is nothing in the world that I am sorry to leave but you: but I go to better company, and so I must take my leave of you all. Farewell, beloved sufferers and followers of the Lamb; farewell, Christian intimates; farewell, Christian and comfortable mother and

sisters; farewell, sweet societies; farewell, desirable general meetings; farewell, night-wanderings in cold and weariness for Christ; farewell, sweet Bible, and preaching of the gospel; farewell, sun, moon, and stars, and all sublunary things; farewell, conflicts with a body of sin and death. Welcome, scaffold for precious Christ; welcome, heavenly Jerusalem; welcome, innumerable company of angels; welcome, general assembly and church of the first-born; welcome, crown of glory, white robes, and songs of Moses and the Lamb; and above all, welcome, O Thou blessed Trinity, and one God! O eternal One! I commit my soul into thy eternal rest.

JAMES RENWICK.

ALEXANDER MONCRIEFF.

IN virtue of an Act of the General Assembly, 1642, appointing a list of six able men for the planting of vacant churches, Alexander Moncrieff was pitched

* Alexander Moncrieff was the second son of Matthew Moncrieff, portioner of Kintullo, afterwards called Culfargie, and in 1840 Barnhill, a considerable estate on the banks of the Earne, in the parish of Dumbarrie, Perthshire. The father of Matthew, whose name was Alexander, was the third son of William Moncrieff of that Ilk, and he acquired the lands of Kintullo, which he transmitted to his heirs. Matthew, who, on his father's death became portioner of Kintullo, and whose name appears in the session register of Dumbarrie, had three daughters—Isabell, Anne, and Elizabeth; and two sons, William, who was a colonel or lieutenant-colonel in the army, and Alexander, who was minister of Scoonie, in Fife, and who married Anne Murray, daughter of Mr. Murray of Woodend. Alexander had two sons, 1. Matthew, who became the colonel's heir (*Playfair's British Family Antiquity*, vol. viii. 4to), and who was the father of Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, his

upon for the church of Scoonie in Fife; and upon September 26, 1643, he was received there with great contentment.☉

After this he had an active successor, and one of the first four seceders (*Fraser's Life of Ebenezer Erskine*, p. 535). 2. William, who became minister of Largo, and was a beloved friend of Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling. After referring to the sufferings of Alexander Moncrieff of Scoonie, Wodrow says: "I wish his worthy son [Mr. Moncrieff of Largo] at present a reverend and useful minister in this church, could be prevailed with to give us a life of this holy person." In 1712, Alexander Moncrieff, afterwards minister of Abernethy, resided with his uncle for some time at Largo, and greatly profited from his domestic exercises and public ministrations. Moncrieff of Largo was held in high estimation by pious Christians in Edinburgh, and "he was earnestly invited to accept of a charge in that city; but his delight in retirement, and love to his people in Fife, prevailed against every argument that could be urged for his translation." (*Ibid.* pp. 209, 210.)

hand in carrying on the work of reformation at that time; and was nominated in the commission for the affairs of the Kirk. In the years 1650 and 1651 he made no small appearance among those called Protesters; and had a particular hand in the "Western Remonstrance," and in the "Causes of God's Wrath," which were drawn up about that time.

During Cromwell's usurpation he suffered much for his loyalty in praying for the king, upon account of which his house was often searched and rifled by the English, and he himself obliged to hide. Upon the Sabbath he had spies set upon him, and was closely watched whither he went after preaching. He was frequently pursued, and one time a party of horse came after him, yet by a special providence (though attacked once and again by them) he escaped. A little after, however, he was seized by them in a neighbouring congregation and imprisoned some time.

After he was liberated he was pitched upon as a person of great courage and magnanimity to present the Protestation and Testimony against the Toleration, and the errors and sectaries that then prevailed in church and state, given in October, 1658,

to General Monck, drawn up and signed by himself, Samuel Rutherford, James Guthrie, and many others. This he did with great firmness, for which he was exposed to new extremities; but what return he had for all his faithfulness and loyalty to the king comes immediately to be discovered. For no sooner was King Charles II. restored and settled in his dominions than this worthy and good man was involved in a new series of sufferings. Being assembled at Edinburgh, with James Guthrie and eight others of his brethren, in August, 1660, where they drew up that humble supplication and address to the king, commonly called "The Paper of the 23rd of August," they were all imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh except Mr. Hay of Craignethan, who escaped.

He continued under confinement until July 12, 1661, when, much about the same time with James Guthrie, he had his indictment and charge, which runs much upon his having had a share in the "Remonstrance," and in forming the "Causes of God's Wrath." Refusing to retract anything in them, he was brought before the Parliament several times; and their prosecution for his life was so hot that the earl

of Athole, and others in Parliament, particularly interested and concerned in this good man and his wife, being importuned by her to appear for him in Parliament, dealt with her to endeavour to prevail with him to recede from some of his principles, otherwise they told her it was impossible to save his life. This excellent woman answered, that they all knew she was happy in a good husband, and she had a great affection for him, and had many children; yet she knew him to be so steadfast to his principles, where his conscience was concerned, that nobody needed deal with him on that head. For her part, before she would contribute anything that would break his peace with his Master, she would rather choose to receive his head at the cross. About the same time, two ladies of the first quality were pleased so far to concern themselves in his case, as to provide a compliment in plate (which was not unusual at that time), and send it to the advocate's lady. Afterwards they went and visited her on his behalf, but were told by her it was impossible to save his

life, and the compliment was returned.

Yet it was so overruled in Providence, that Moncrieff being much respected, and his hardships being almost universally regretted, upon account of his eminent piety, integrity, and uprightness, several of all ranks and of different persuasions, unknown to him, began to make application and interpose in his favour, so that the spirit of some of his most violent persecutors began to abate. His process lingered, till, after a tedious imprisonment, he fell sick, and obtained the favour of confinement in Edinburgh. The Parliament passed this sentence upon him, "That he, the said Alexander Moncrieff, be for ever incapable of exercising any public trust, civil or ecclesiastic, within the kingdom, until, in the next session of Parliament, further orders be taken concerning him, and discharge him in the meantime to go to his parish." And all this was for owning before them his accession to the "Remonstrance" and "Causes of God's Wrath." *

After this sentence, when liv-

* "August 11, 1662, the arch-bishop [Sharp] came to St. Andrews, and before he returned to Edinburgh he filled honest Mr. Alexander Moncrieff's place at Scoonie by intruding Mr.

John Ramsay, a minister in Angus, upon that parish, none of the heritors countenancing the intrusion, save Durie, the avowed enemy of Mr. Moncrieff." (*Row's Life of Robert Blair*, p. 418).

ing peaceably about eight or nine miles from his own parish, people began to resort to him, and hear him preach; whereupon, by virtue of an Act made against him, he was charged to remove twenty miles from his house and charge, and seven or eight from a bishop's seat or royal burgh. He was then with his family forced from his house, and obliged to wander in a great storm: and yet when he had removed to a place at a competent distance, even then he got a second charge to remove farther, till he was obliged to go to a remote place in the Highlands, where his God, who had all along countenanced and supported him wonderfully in his troubles, honoured him to be instrumental in the conversion of many.

The persecution somewhat abating, he removed to Perth, for the education of his children, where he continued preaching the gospel. A few at first, but afterwards a great many attended his ministry. He was again informed against, and a party of the horse-guards were sent to apprehend him, but he escaped, though his house was narrowly searched. This forced him from his family, and he was obliged to lurk a good while after this.

At length he came with his

family to Edinburgh, where he preached the gospel many years, under a series of persecutions. He was intercommuned in the year 1675, and his house, and many other places in and about the city, were narrowly searched for him; yet he was always marvellously hid, of which many instances might be given. When he went to the country, many a time parties of the guard were sent in quest of him, and sometimes he would meet them in his return, and pass through the midst of them unknown. When he was one time lodged in a remote part of the suburbs of Edinburgh, a captain with a party searched every house and chamber of the close, but never entered the house in which he was, though the door was open.

Again, when he was lurking in a private house without the walls of Edinburgh, a party was sent to apprehend him. Providentially he had gone out to walk. The party, observing him by his gravity to be a minister, said one to another, "That may be the man we are seeking." "Nay," said another, "he would not be walking there." On another occasion, when he was advertised that the soldiers were coming to search for him in his own house, he lingered till

a minister came to him, who said, "Sir, you must surely have a protection from heaven, that you are so secure here, when the town is in such disorder, and a general search to be made." Immediately he departed, and in a little after, Moncrieff went out, and was not well down stairs before the guard came up and searched his house. He took a short turn in the street, and came back just as the guard went off.

But the persecution growing still worse, he was obliged to disperse his family for some time. He was solicited, when in these circumstances, to leave the kingdom, and had an ample call to Londonderry in Ireland; yet he always declined to leave his native country, and in his pleasant way used to say that he would suffer where he had sinned, and essay to keep possession of his Master's house till he should come again. He had a sore sickness about the beginning of June, 1680, in which time he uttered many heavenly expressions. But he recovered, and continued in this the house of his pilgrimage till harvest, 1688, when he died, and got above all sin and sorrow, after he had endured a great fight of affliction, to obtain a crown of eternal life.

He was mighty in prayer, and had some very remarkable and strange returns thereof. His memory was savoury a long time after his death. Many could bear witness that God was with him of a truth. He left many seals of his ministry in Fife, and was a most faithful and pains-taking minister. His sufferings are a little hinted at in Mr. Robert Fleming's "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," though neither he nor his persecutors are named. The story runs thus:—

"The first relates to a considerable family in this country, who made it their business to trouble and persecute the minister of that parish, an eminently holy and faithful man. Yea, upon account of his faithfulness, the old laird of that house did pursue him out of malice, with a false libel, before the synod, either to get him broken and put out of the parish, or at least to crush his spirit and weaken him in the exercise of his ministry; but in this he was disappointed, the Lord clearing the innocence of his servant and the malice of the other. For that gentleman, while he went to the stable where his horses were, being then at the Synod on that account, was in the place stricken with sickness, forced to hasten

home and take his bed, and was there seized with horror of conscience, which made him often cry, entreating most earnestly for his minister whom he had thus persecuted, and often said, "Oh! to see his face," telling his friends that if he would not come to him, they should carry him to his house. But his lady did, out of malice, in a most rude and violent way, hinder the minister's access to him; and thus that poor gentleman died in great horror and anguish.

"After his death his lady still pursued the quarrel with no less malice, until she also fell sick, and had much terror upon her conscience, crying out for the minister, who was providentially absent, so that she was denied in that which she kept back from her husband. But he came to her before her death, and she confessed, with much bitterness, her wrong to him. After this a young man, who had been their chaplain, and engaged by them to appear as a witness against that godly man, was so terrified in his conscience that he could get no rest till he went to

the next Synod to acknowledge that horrid sin, in bearing false witness against his minister; but being by some kept from a public appearance, he went to another part of the country, where it is reported he died distracted.

"Last of all, the young laird, who succeeded in that estate, would needs pursue the quarrel; and finding more access through the change of the times, he did so endeavour, with some who were in power, that an order was passed for banishing him out of that parish; and although he was then otherwise accused upon account of the public cause, yet it was known that the violent persecution of that gentleman was the main cause of that sentence, as those who had a hand in passing it did confess; for he had solemnly sworn, that if he lived there that minister should not be in that place. Returning to his house a few days after, and boasting how he had kept his word and got his minister cast out of his parish, he was suddenly struck by the Lord with a high fever, which plucked him away in the very strength of his years."

ANGUS MACBEAN.

ANGUS MACBEAN was born about the year 1656. After he had spent some time at the grammar-school with great proficiency, he went to the University of Aberdeen; where he began to distinguish himself, no less for his great regard to practical religion, although he was yet of the episcopal persuasion, than for his extraordinary parts and abilities in learning.

About this time the bishops, having found their mistake in sending men of little learning and less religion to the south and west of Scotland, where the people were much disaffected towards them, applied to the professors of divinity to name some of the greatest abilities to be sent to these parts. Accordingly, Professor Menzies singled out Angus Macbean from amongst all his students, to be sent to the town of Ayr; but he did not continue long there, having got a call to be minister of Inverness, which he accepted of, and was there admitted, December 29, 1683. Here he proved a very pathetic and zealous preacher, and one of the most esteemed of that way. He usually once a week lectured on a large portion

of Scripture, which was not the custom in that apostate and degenerate age.

But notwithstanding of his being in the highest esteem among the prevailing party, the constancy shown by the sufferers for the cause of truth, and the cruelty used towards them, made such deep impression on his mind as could never afterwards be rooted out or effaced. As a natural consequence of the Toleration granted by the duke of York, the mass was openly set up in the castle of Inverness, against which Macbean preached publicly, and warned the people of the imminent danger the nation was then in. At this the priest was so incensed, that he sent Macbean a letter, challenging him to a public dispute. This letter he received in a crowd on the weekly market, where he usually walked with some constables to prevent common swearing. He went to a shop, and there wrote such an answer to the priest as determined him to send him no more challenges. The report of this having spread, some of King James' officers being there, entered into a resolution to go to church next Lord's

day, and take him out of the pulpit in case he uttered aught against that way. Of this he was informed late on Saturday, and was importuned by some friends to abstain from saying anything that might exasperate them. But he preached next day on Col. i. 18, and proved that Christ was the sole King and Head of his church, in opposition to the usurpation of both Popery and Erastianism; whereupon the officers got all up to execute their design, which the good man did not observe till he turned himself about, for they sat in a loft on the left side of the pulpit. Upon this he said, with an authority that put them out of countenance, "For these things I am become the song of drunkards:" on which they all sat down, for it was when drinking that they had formed that wicked design.

From the Popish controversy he was led to a more serious inquiry into the merits of what was then the real controversy; and after serious wrestling with God, and earnest prayer for light and direction from him, in which he spent several nights in his garden, he at length determined fully to declare for the truth, whatever might be the consequence. Accordingly, in June, 1687, he declined to sit in the Presbytery,

but continued to preach. In August the Presbytery were informed, not only that he absented himself wilfully, but that he disowned the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, &c., and appointed a committee to converse with him. They reported at a subsequent diet, that Macbean declared plainly to them that he had no freedom to meet them in their judicatories any more; that it was over the belly of convictions that he had entered into the ministry under bishops; and that these convictions were returning with greater force upon his conscience, so that he could not overcome them; that he was convinced Presbytery was the only government which God owned in these nations; that he was fully determined to make all the satisfaction he could to the Presbyterians; to preach for them and in their favour; and that though he should be dispensed with by bishop and Presbytery from keeping their meetings, he could not promise that in his preaching he would not give ground of misconstruction to those that owned Prelacy. At the same time his colleague, Gilbert Marshall, further reported that Macbean, both in his public lectures and sermons, did so reflect upon the government of the church, as

was like to make a schism at Inverness: and therefore he had caused cite him to that meeting, to answer for his reproachful doctrine that could not be endured. Macbean did not appear before them; nevertheless the magistrates prevailed with the Presbytery to desist from proceeding against him at that time; but shortly thereafter the Presbytery referred him to the Synod of Moray, which appointed a committee to join with the Presbytery of Inverness to deal with him.

In the meantime, Macbean went to church without his canonical habit, publicly renounced Prelacy, declared himself a Presbyterian, and, as he found not freedom in the exercise of his charge in that place, he demitted it. He preached his farewell sermon on Job xxxiv. 31, 32. The Scriptures he advanced and insisted on, as warrants for his conduct, were Isa.

* John Macgilligen, before the restoration of Charles II., was minister of Foddertie, a parish partly in Ross-shire, partly in the shire of Cromarty, and in the Presbytery of Dingwall. On his ejection in 1662, for non-conformity to Prelacy, leaving Foddertie, he took up his residence in a house of his own at Alness, and continued to preach wherever he found opportunity in that part of the country. He in consequence became the victim of almost unremitting persecution, and for several years lay a prisoner in the Bass. King James VII. having issued in July, 1687, a third indulgence, which was accepted by the

viii. 11-14, Jer. xv. 18 21, 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18; and to prove that Christ was sole Head of the church, Eph. v. 23, Col. i. 18, 1 Peter ii. 7. Next Lord's day he went to Ross, and there in Mr. Macgilligen's meeting-house* preached the truths he formerly opposed; and sometimes thereafter he preached at Inverness.

On this surprising change, a great opposition among the prevailing party soon appeared against him, which was the less to be wondered at, as he embraced every opportunity of declaring for the cause of truth which they were so violent against, and the Presbytery of Inverness sent one of their number to inform the bishop of Moray, then at Glasgow, of the whole affair. But the bishop dying at that time, the archbishop of St. Andrews took the affair into his cognisance, and procured an order from the Council to bring him to Edinburgh. In conse-

most of the Presbyterian ministers, granting liberty to all his subjects "to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired or built for that use" (*Wodrow's History*, vol. iv. p. 426), though field-meetings were strictly prohibited, and all the laws and acts of Parliament against them were left in full force; a meeting-house was built on Macgilligen's own ground at Alness, where he preached without further hindrance. It was here that Mr. Macbean occasionally assisted his friend in the public services of the Sabbath.

quence of this he was carried south in January, 1688, in very tempestuous weather, and was called before the Council, where he made a noble and bold stand in defence of the truths he had so solemnly professed. One of the questions asked of him was, If he thought the king's power was limited? To which he answered, that he knew no power but the Almighty's to be unlimited. And though the Council could not then find wherewith to attack him anent the State, yet, to please the bishops, he must be imprisoned; and upon the 27th of February thereafter, the archbishop of St. Andrews convened him before himself, the bishop of Moray, and five doctors and ministers in Edinburgh, where, in virtue of his metropolitan capacity, he deposed him from the exercise of his pastoral office, and deprived him of all benefits that might accrue to him, since the time of his wilful desertion; with certification that if he should transgress therein, the sentence of excommunication should pass against him.

Macbean was thereupon remanded back to prison, and though the inhabitants of Inverness wrote, earnestly soliciting him to make some compliance, that they might be favoured

with his return, yet he valiantly withstood their entreaties; and by his answer, dated July, 1688, he dissuaded them from insisting on it, as what he assured them would never happen, and condemned himself in the strongest manner for his adherence to Prelacy, declaring against it in the most express way, as anti-scriptural as well as tyrannical. His confinement, and the fatigue of his journey having given such a shock to his constitution that his life was in danger, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, offered a bail bond for 10,000 merks to the Earl of Perth, then Chancellor, that they would present him when called upon, provided he was set at liberty; but this was refused, though he was in a very languishing condition in the tolbooth. Here he remained till the Earl of Perth ran away, when the Edinburgh mob set the prisoners at liberty. After this he continued about Edinburgh till February, 1689, when he joyfully finished his course in the Lord, in the thirty-third year of his age. Some days before, news came that the Parliament of England had settled the crown on King William III., who put an end to those bloody times, and that tyrannical Government.

Angus Macbean, without all doubt, was a man both pious and learned, although at first brought up in the prelatical persuasion. When near his death, he frequently compared himself in this particular to Moses, who from Mount Pisgah saw the land of promise, but for his sinful

compliance, as he always called it, would not be allowed to enter therein. He had some time before his death a firm belief of the amazing deliverance which the church and nation was soon to meet with, and left this mortal life, rejoicing in the hope of the glory of God.

THOMAS HOG.

THOMAS HOG was born in the beginning of the year 1628, in the burgh of Tain, in the county of Ross. His parents were careful to give their son a liberal education, for which purpose he was early sent to school. From the commencement of his study of letters he discovered an uncommon genius, and soon made such proficiency as rendered him respected during his youth. He was much addicted to the harmless diversions of that age, yet they did never abate his progress in study, nor his detestation of anything immoral, or unbecoming the character of a scholar. He was put to the university in the New Town of Aberdeen, where he made great proficiency, and at last was admitted Master of Arts, with the universal

approbation of the regents of the college.

About this time a very remarkable incident confirmed Hog's aversion to drunkenness, and his belief in an overruling Providence. Having accompanied a merchant of Aberdeen (one of his acquaintance who was going on a voyage) to a ship at the mouth of the Dee, upon his return with two burgesses who had gone on the same errand, and through the importunity of one of them, they all turned aside to take a bottle in an inn by the way. There he tarried till he thought they had drunk sufficiently, when, finding they were not disposed to go home, he laid down his share of the reckoning, and was going away; but they being averse to part with him and

resolute in their cups, laid hold on him; when, being full six feet high, and proportionably strong and vigorous, he soon twisted himself out of their grips, and went off. Having come home to his chamber, he went to bed at his usual hour; but though in good health, he could get no rest till one o'clock, when he fell asleep, and rested quietly till the morning, and then arose. On coming forth to his class, one met him, weeping, and told him, that the two men whom he had left last night, after continuing a while at their cups, fell a contending, and then a fighting, in which the one killed the other. He asked, "At what time?" and being told, "just at one," he adored that Providence which had both seasonably disposed him to leave them, and made him uneasy whilst the sin was thus being committed.

But though Mr. Hog was adorned with these natural and acquired accomplishments which constitute a truly amiable person, heightened with the lustre of an unblamable life; yet, as he himself acknowledged, he remained a stranger to the saving operations of the Spirit of God, till the arm of the Lord was gloriously revealed in the revival of the work of Reformation during

1638 and following years, when the influences of his grace were poured out upon many through the nation. Still his conversation was strictly moral, and he frequented societies, conversed and prayed with them, was diligent in the use of means; and in reference to the public state of religion and reformation, he was sound, bold, and resolute, in his straits acknowledging the Lord, bringing these his difficulties before him, to which he thought that he got some notable returns. Yet upon all these he himself declared, that if he was then in a state of grace and salvation, he was not in that state afterwards; for that the whole of the following work, which by the Spirit and word of God was wrought on his heart, was founded on a strong and clear conviction of his having been at that time out of Christ, notwithstanding all the fore-mentioned attainments.

What the manner and means of his saving conversion were, we are at a loss to describe; only we find that he was under a very deep and severe law-work, and that his convictions were very close, particular, and pointed, setting his sin before him. During this work, which was of long continuance, whole clouds of sin were charged home upon

him, without end or measure, so that he was brought well nigh to despair. He was then chaplain to the Earl of Sutherland, and the work of God flourished in several souls about that house, and amongst them was the butler, who was at the same time under the same law exercise, and yet the one did not know of the other's condition; but the countess, who was an eminent Christian, wanted not some discerning of what was a working with them both, and particularly with Mr. Hog, as will appear by what follows.

One time when Mr. Hog was sitting alone in his chamber in extreme anguish, nothing but wrath in his view, a horrible temptation was thrown in like a thunderbolt. It seemed as if some one were saying, "Why do you continue under such intolerable extremity of distress? Put rather an end to a miserable life immediately." Upon this suggestion he resented the temptation and tempter with indignation. His penknife, at which the enemy pointed, lying well sharpened upon the table, lest the assault should have been renewed, he rose up, and threw it over the window, after which he sat down, and fell a musing upon the intricacies of his distress. While in the midst of this terrible

whirlpool, the countess, contrary to her custom (though she had been ever affable at table), knocked gently at the door, and invited him to go and partake with her of a present of summer fruit. He went with her, and behaved so, that nothing could be known concerning his former troubles. He discovered by her kind speech and behaviour, that she was either impressed with his danger, or that she suspected somewhat of the matter with him. After this entertainment he returned to his room, and found the temptation mercifully removed.

As to the manner of his relief we learn in general, that from a conviction of actual sin he was carried up to the fountain-head, original sin, and to a conviction of unbelief as the seat of this fountain, according to Rom. xi. 32, John iii. 18, 36. The Lord having in this manner laid a solid, clear, and excellent foundation, Mr. Hog was at length blessed with faith's views of the glory of Christ in his offices and person; which did so ravish his soul as to render him most willing through grace to forego, endure, and, in the strength of Jesus, to adventure upon anything in his cause, and for his sake.

But the most considerable

adventure while in this family, was his being the instrument in converting a young gentleman, of the name of Munro, who frequented the house, and who, though of a sober deportment, was void of real religion. He took great pleasure in Mr. Hog's company, but wasted his time with idle, frothy, and useless discourse. Mr. Hog bore with him for some time, but pitying his case, used all means possible with him, till by divine grace he was wholly brought over from a state of nature into a state of grace. If he had visited Mr. Hog often before, he made many more visits to him after this; but never gave him occasion to impeach him, for the gentleman became eminently gracious; and as an evidence that this free dealing was blessed, the good man in his after conduct did so excel in the virtues opposite to his former blemishes, that he was esteemed for accommodating differences; and several gentlemen did submit their contests to him, and acquiesced in his sole determination.

After Mr. Hog was settled at Kiltarn this gentleman paid him a visit, when, after mutual salutations, he addressed Mr. Hog as follows:—"Sir, my course is well-nigh finished, and I am

upon my entrance into a state of eternal rest. The Lord hath his own way of giving the watchful Christian previous warning concerning the end of the warfare (2 Peter i. 14); and I, being so privileged, have been seriously pondering where it may be most convenient to breathe out my last, and quietly lay down this tabernacle; and seeing, after deliberation, I can find no place so fit as with you, I have adventured to come and die with you." At this time the gentleman was in good health, and ate his meat as well as ever; whereupon Mr. Hog endeavoured to divert him from these thoughts; but he firmly persisted in his persuasion; and, accordingly, in a few days he was seized with a fever, whereof he died.

Mr. Hog was licensed to preach the gospel in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and ere one year elapsed several parishes were competing for him, some of which could have yielded him a greater living than what he ever had. But he preferred Kiltarn to the rest, because he understood that sovereign grace was pursuing some elect vessels there; and he knew that several gentlemen in the neighbourhood, especially the Baron of Fowlis, were friends to religion. Accordingly, he was

ordained minister there in 1654 or 1655, with the unanimous consent and approbation of all concerned.

Mr. Hog, being thus settled, heartily applied himself to his work, taking heed to himself and his doctrine, that he might both save himself and them that heard him. He exhibited a good example before them in all manner of temperance and Christian virtues, but was more especially remarkable in his public character. His concern and sympathy for the ignorant was great. The bulk of the people of that parish, through the long infirmity of their former pastor, and the intervening vacation, being neglected in their examination, became very ignorant, but he was at great pains in distributing catechisms and other elementary books among them; and going from house to house, he prayed with, exhorted, and instructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. His deportment was attended with as much dignity, proper to that function, as had been observed in any; and no wonder, for few were favoured with so many testimonies of the divine presence in the discharge of their ministry; as witness, the judicious and famous John Munro of Ross,

Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. Angus Macbean, minister at Inverness, William Bulloch, his own servant, Christian Mackintosh, a poor woman in the depths of soul distress, Mr. John Welwood, and others, who were either converted or confirmed by him while in this parish, or after his ejection, while he was settled at Knockgoudy, in Moray. There was no instance more remarkable than that of Monro of Lumlair, an heritor in that parish, who was at first dreadfully offended at some reprehensory expressions of Mr. Hog, which yet were made the means of his thorough conversion, so that he ever looked on Mr. Hog after as his best friend, and laid himself out to promote the success of his ministry.

So soon as it pleased the Lord thus to bless Mr. Hog's parochial labours with a gracious change wrought upon a considerable number of the people, he took care to unite the more judicious in societies for prayer and conference. These he kept under his own inspection, and did heartily concur with them; for he himself was much in the exercise of that duty, and had several notable returns to prayer, of which we have several instances.

1. A good woman having come

to him with this sore lamentation, that her daughter was distracted, Mr. Hog charged one or two devout persons (for he frequently employed such on extraordinary occasions) to set apart a day and a night for fasting and prayer, and then join with him in prayer for the maid next day. Accordingly, when this appointment was performed, she recovered her senses as well as before.

2. A daughter of the laird of Park, his brother-in-law, who lodged with him, was seized with a high fever, which left little hope of life. Mr. Hog loved the child dearly, and while he and his wife were jointly supplicating the Lord in prayer, acknowledging their own and the child's iniquity, the fever instantly left her. This passage was found in his own diary, which he concludes with admiration upon the goodness of God, to whom he ascribes the praise of all.

3. In like manner, a child of the Rev. Mr. Urquhart having been at the point of death, those present pressed Mr. Hog to pray, for he was now become so esteemed that none other would in such cases do it while he was present; upon which he solemnly charged them to join with him, and having fervently wrestled in prayer and supplication for some

time, the child was restored to health. A like instance is found of a child of Kimmundy's in his own diary.

4. One David Dunbar, who lived at a distance, being in a frenzy, came to Mr. Hog's house in one of his fits. Mr. Hog caused him to sit down, and advised with Mr. Fraser of Brea, and some others present, what could be done for the lad. Some were for letting blood, but Mr. Hog said, "The prelates have deprived us of money wherewith to pay physicians, therefore let us employ Him who cures freely," and then laid it on Mr. Fraser to pray; who put it back on himself. So after commanding the distracted person to be still, he prayed fervently for the poor man, who was immediately restored to his right mind. This is faithfully attested by those who were eye and ear witnesses.

5. Mr. Hog, having once gone to see a gracious woman in great extremity of distress, both of body and mind, prayed with her and for her, using this remarkable expression among many others, "O Lord, rebuke this temptation, and we in thy name rebuke the same:" and immediately the woman was restored both in body and mind. And yet, notwithstanding the Lord

had honoured him in such a manner, it is doubtful if any in his day more carefully guarded against delusions than he did, it being his custom, whenever he bowed a knee, to request to be saved from delusions.

But as Mr. Hog was sent of God to be an ambassador of peace to some, so he was also a messenger of wrath to others. Of this we have several instances, but none more particular than the following, of a certain gentleman in the parish, who had one dead in his family, whom he intended to bury in the kirk. On account of the vulgar superstition, the General Assembly had by an Act prohibited the same; and Mr. Hog being a strenuous defender of the Act of the church, the gentleman was nonplussed what to do. But William Munro, a strong, hectoring fellow, engaged to make his way good against all opposition, and succeeded so far, that the people with the corpse were entering the churchyard when Mr. Hog got notice. He went out and set his back to the door through which the corpse was to pass, and began to reason with the people to convince them of their error in breaking through good order. This had not the desired effect, for the

fellow laid violent hands on Mr. Hog to pull him from the door; but he, having the spirit of a man as well as of a Christian, turned on his adversary, wrested the key out of his hand, and told the assailant that, were he to repel force with force, he would probably be no gainer; and then said to the people, "This man hath grieved the Spirit of the Lord, and you shall see either his sudden repentance, or a singular judgment befall him." Accordingly the poor wretch, continuing in his wicked courses, met with the foretold judgment in a few months after that. Having made a violent attack upon some one, the person assaulted drew out the wretch's sword and dagger, and thrust him through the belly, so that his bowels burst out, and he died most miserably.

Another instance of this kind occurred while Mr. Hog was lecturing in the laird of Letham's house, in the county of Moray. During the time of worship he observed a servant laugh once and again; and, after an admonition, the third time; at which Mr. Hog paused a little, and then with an air of severity said, "The Spirit of God is grieved by one in the company for mocking at these great truths; therefore I am bold to say, that such

shall be visibly and more suddenly punished than any here could wish." After they had supped and retired to their apartments, a message came to his chamber, telling him, that the forementioned mocker was seized with a sudden sickness, and cried bitterly for him. Upon this Mr. Hog arose, quickly cast on his gown, and came down stairs to see him, without losing a minute's time; but ere he got to him the poor creature was dead.

Mr. Hog was in judgment on that side called the Protesters, and therefore was, in 1661, deposed by the Synod of Ross because he would not decline that party judicially. Afterwards, when he knew that he was to be put out of the charge at Kiltearn in 1662, he had a farewell sermon to his congregation, in which, with the apostle Paul, he took God and their own consciences to witness that he had not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God to them; and added that the storm would be of a long continuance; but after all, the sky would clear, and he would live to see it, and be called to his own charge again as minister of Kiltearn, and die with them. He further said, "If any of you shall decline from the good way, and these truths wherein

ye have been taught, and shall comply with the wicked designs now carried on, I take heaven and earth to witness against you; I take the stones of these walls I preached within, every word that was spoken, and every one of you, to be witnesses against another." With many other words he exhorted them; and his labours were not altogether in vain; for there was not a parish in Scotland that complied less with the corruptions of the times.

After Mr. Hog's ejection, John Card, who was converted by his ministry, told him that he should go to Moray. Of this he had no thoughts then, but in a little the laird of Park offered him Knockgoudy, near Auldearn, to labour and dwell in. This he accepted, and went thither, where he was a very useful instrument in the hand of the Lord, in turning many souls to him, as has been already said. Finding his private ministry so blessed with success, he adventured to give the sacrament in this place; which was a bold attempt, considering the severity of the laws at that time. But this solemnity being remarkably blessed with the divine presence and glory, the communicants returned to their habitations with unspeakable joy, and among the rest

one Macleod, who came from Ross-shire, and understood nothing of the English language. But Mr. Hog understanding the Gaelic language, Macleod told him that he came hither obeying the command of his exalted Redeemer, and understood what was preached there in the English, as well as if every word had been spoken in his own tongue. When Mr. Hog interpreted this to the rest, they were filled with wonder, and the good man was allowed to communicate, which he did with joy.

In 1668 he was imprisoned for the truth at Forres, upon a complaint for keeping conventicles, &c.; and there he was wonderfully strengthened and comforted, having great joy in his sufferings. Upon his account many prayers were put up by many in Moray; and their prayers, as one saith of the church's prayers for Peter while in the like case, set God a working. The effect was that Mr. Hog, contrary to his own knowledge or expectation, was set at liberty without any concession on his part.

He was again apprehended

* The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Public Affairs, on receiving intelligence of Hog's imprisonment in the north, ordered him to be transported from sheriff to sheriff to the to'-booth of Edinburgh; and the Council at their

about the beginning of the year 1677, for the same cause, in the north, and sent to Edinburgh. He said to some in company, "I thank my God this messenger was most welcome to me;" and giving a scratch with his nails on the wall, he said, "I trust in the living God, that before my conscience shall get that much of a scratch, this neck shall go for it." Accordingly, when tried, he submitted himself joyfully to a prison, rather than bind himself from preaching; and was sent to the Bass,* where, by the air of the place and his close confinement, he fell into a bloody flux, whereof he was in great danger. A physician being called, gave it as his opinion that unless the prisoner was liberated from that place there was no hope of his life; but Mr. Hog would not address that mongrel court at any rate. However, the doctor of his own accord did it without his knowledge, giving in a petition to the Council, expressed in the strongest terms that he could devise. The petition being read, some of the lords interceded for Mr. Hog, and said that he lived more quietly, and travelled not

meeting on 1st February, 1677, approved of the Committee's proceedings. Being brought to Edinburgh he was called before the Council, and refusing to come under an obligation not to preach, he was sent a prisoner to the Bass.

the country so much as other Presbyterians did. Upon this Archbishop Sharp, taking up the argument, said that the prisoner did, and was in a capacity to do, more hurt to their interests sitting in his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do by travelling from this corner of the land to the other: and if the justice of God was pursuing him, to take him off the stage, the clemency of the government should not interpose to hinder it; and it was his opinion, that if there was any place in the prison worse than another, he should be put there. This motion, being seconded by the prelates, was put to vote and carried, "to the closest prison in the Bass;" which was speedily put in execution. When the keeper intimated this to Mr Hog, he said, that it was as severe as if Satan himself had penned it. His servant, William Bulloch, being with him when he carried him down to that low nasty dungeon in the Bass, fell a weeping, and cried, "Now, master, your death is unavoidable." But the good man, directing his eyes up, said, "Now that

* By an order of the Privy Council, dated 19th July, 1679, Hog and seven other ministers were brought from the Bass to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, that the Council might give them an opportunity of taking the bond to live peaceably, which included refraining from preaching

men have no mercy, the Lord will show himself merciful; from the moment of my entering this dungeon I date my recovery." And so it fell out, for the next day he recovered surprisingly, and in a short time was as well as ever. Yet afterwards, when speaking of the archprelate, he never showed any resentment, but merrily said, "Commend him to me for a good physician."

In the end of 1679, being brought to Edinburgh before the Council, and refusing to take the bond to live peaceably, he was remanded back to prison, and afterwards liberated; but on what conditions we do not learn.*

About the year 1683, falling again under the displeasure of the Government for holding private conventicles, he was banished by the Privy Council, and ordained to depart the kingdom in forty-eight hours, unless he gave caution not to exercise any part of his ministry, under the penalty of 5000 merks, over and above performance. These conditions he would by no means submit to, and therefore retired to Berwick, and from thence to

the gospel in the fields. This engagement all of them declining to make, they were sent back to the Bass, but were afterwards set at liberty upon their granting bond to appear before the Council when called, under the penalty of a certain sum for each. (*Martyrs of the Bass*, pp. 117, 118.)

London, with the design on the first opportunity of going from thence to Carolina; but the pretended plot, called the Presbyterian plot, then falling out, he was thrown into prison, where he continued some time. His money being nearly spent (for, besides his own and his servant's maintenance, he paid ten shillings sterling weekly to the keeper for a place by himself, and not to be put down among thieves and felons), he said to his servant, "William, I'll set to-morrow apart for prayer, and see that no person be allowed to come in to interrupt me." Accordingly, he rose early, and continued close at meditation and prayer till twelve o'clock, when a person in the habit of a gentleman desired to speak with him. William Bulloch told him that his master had retired; but he still interceded to see him; upon which William, seeing the man of a grave aspect, reported his desire to his master, who invited him to his room. Mr. Hog received him courteously. The other entertained him with a discourse about suffering for a good God and a good cause, and showed that "our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, are not to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed." After this he rose and embraced Mr. Hog

most lovingly, exhorted him to continue in well-doing, and then took out of his pocket a white paper and gave it to him. Mr. Hog, finding its weight, understood it was money, and said to the stranger, "Upon what account, sir, do you give me this money?" The other answered, "Because I am appointed by your great and exalted Master to do so." Mr. Hog asked his name, and upon his refusing to tell it, said, "Sir, it is not curiosity that prompts me to ask, but I hope to be enlarged, and then I shall account it my duty to call for you at your dwelling in this city, for I suppose you are a citizen of London." The other replied, "You must ask no more questions, but 'be faithful to the death, and thou shalt have a crown of life.'" Then he retired, and Mr. Hog never saw nor heard of him any more. On opening the paper, there were five pounds sterling in it, which to the good man was sweeter than if he had got £1000 settled on him yearly.

After he was set at liberty, being at London in 1685, when the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, and Argyll in Scotland, he plainly told some of his acquaintances that God would never honour either of these men to be instruments of deliverance.

And much about the same time some Protestants at Court, knowing that he was in the city, and that he was endued with a prophetic spirit, drew King James II.'s attention so far, that he wanted Mr. Hog to be consulted concerning affairs at that juncture. This being communicated to him, he concealed his mind till he consulted the Lord by prayer. In the meantime he made ready for his departure, and then told them what he charged them to report faithfully, that if King James had seriously adhered to the principles of our reformed religion, his throne should have been established in righteousness, and if he would yet turn from Popery, matters might be well with him, but if otherwise, the land would spue him out. When this was reported, the king ordered that he should be speedily apprehended, but he, having foreseen this, escaped by flight to Holland.

When in Holland he was soon introduced to the Prince of Orange, who had him in great esteem, and let him into the secret of his resolution to deliver these nations from Popery and tyranny. As to the Indulgence, Mr. Hog agreed with worthy Mr. M^r Ward and Mr. Brown, but was far from clearness to withdraw

from all Presbyterian ministers, who either had not taken the benefit of the Indulgence, or, having taken it, were exposed to suffering for their integrity.

In 1688 Mr. Hog returned to Scotland, where he stayed till 1691; when his old parishioners, finding the way cleared, sent commissioners to accompany him back to his parish of Kiltarn, where he was received with great joy in June or July that year. But his constitution being broken, he was unable to discharge his function much in public after that; however, his conversation became still more heavenly. King William III. as a reward to his merit, resolving to have this good man near him, sent him a commission to be one of his chaplains, which was no mean evidence of his esteem for him, and the truth of his prediction concerning him. But before that honour was bestowed upon him, he was seized with the trouble, or rather the complication of troubles, whereof he died.

His sickness was considerably long, and accompanied with great pain. One time his judicious servant, hearing the heavy moans he made, asked whether it was soul or bodily pain that extorted such heavy groans from him? To this he composedly replied,

“No soul-trouble, man, for a hundred and a hundred times my Lord hath assured me that I shall be with him for ever; but I am making moan for my body;” and thereupon he entertained him agreeably concerning the Lord’s purging away sin from his own children (Isa. xxvii. 9). At another time he said, “Pity me, O ye my friends, and do not pray for my life; you see I have a complication of diseases upon me; allow me to go to my eternal rest;” and then, with deep concern of soul, he cried, “Look, O my God, upon mine affliction, and forgive all my sins.” “And yet,” says his servant, “never was his conversation more heavenly and spiritual than when thus chastised.” Towards his end he was much feasted with our Saviour’s comfortable message to his disciples, “I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God” (John xx. 17). To the writer of some remarkable passages of his life he said, that he could not give a look to the Lord but he was persuaded of his everlasting love. And to Mr. Stuart, who succeeded him in that place, at another time he said, “Never

did the sun in the firmament shine more brightly to the eyes of my body than Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined on my soul.” “Some time after,” continues the same writer, “when I understood that he was very low, I made him my last visit, and when I asked him how he did, he answered, ‘The unchangeableness of my God is my rock.’ Upon Sabbath evening (for I stayed with him that week), when I came from the church his speech was unintelligible to me, but his servant desired me to pray, and commit his soul and body to God. After prayer I retired a little, and when I returned I found all present in tears at his dissolution, especially his wife and his faithful servant, William Bulloch.” Mr. James Hog and the forementioned writer of these remarkable passages add, that as he had many times foretold that his Lord and Saviour was coming, so in the end he cried out, “Now he is come! My Lord is come! Praise, praises to him for evermore! Amen.” And with these words death closed his eyes, upon the 4th day of January, 1692: he was about sixty years of age.*

* On his death-bed Hog felt so deeply concerned that the parishioners of Kiltarn should, after his departure, be provided with a pious

and devoted minister, that he desired his grave to be dug in the threshold of his church, with a tombstone bearing the following inscription,

Mr. Hog was of a tall stature, and remarkable for his courage and fortitude of mind. He was most temperate in his diet and sleep; gluttony, he said, was a great incentive to lust, and rising betimes is not only good for the health, but best adapted for study, wherein he took great pleasure. His more serious work, his necessary diversions, as visiting of friends, and even meaner things, were all gone about by the rule of duty. He was sought unto by many for his good and faithful

which might serve as a warning to the people in the choice of a minister :—

THIS . STONE . SHALL . BEAR . WITNESS .
AGAINST . THE . PARISHIONERS . OF . KILTEARN .
IF . THEY . BRING . ANE . UNGODLY . MINISTER .
IN . HERE .

(*Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 189.)

advices, and in prayer he was most solemn and fervent; the profoundest reverence, the lowest submission, and yet a marvellous boldness and intimacy with God attended his engagements in this exercise. It might be truly said of him, as of Luther, when he prayed, “It was with so much reverence as if he was praying to God, and with so much boldness as if he had been speaking to his friend.” Though the Lord did not bless him with children, he gave him the powerful assurance of that promise, Isa. lvi. 5, I will give thee “a name better than of sons and of daughters;” which he signally fulfilled to him in making him the instrument of begetting many sons and daughters to the Lord.

ROBERT FLEMING.

ROBERT FLEMING was born at Bathans, in East Lothian, in the year 1630. He was son to Mr.

* On the 14th of September, 1625, Mr. James Fleming presented to the presbytery of Haddington a letter from the archbishop of St. Andrews, bearing that he had been duly presented by Lord Yester to the kirk and stipend of Bathans, which is now called Yester. He exhibited, also, two testimonials—one from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and another from that of Melrose—testifying to his having undergone his trials for the ministry, and to his good behaviour among

James Fleming, minister of the gospel there,* who being a very godly and religious man, took

them. On the 16th of November following he was ordained minister of Bathans. (*Records of the Presbytery of Haddington*.) He is described by John Livingstone, in his “Memorable Characteristics,” as “an ingenuous single-hearted man.” He was opposed to Prelacy and the ceremonies, though he does not appear to have suffered on that account. In the controversy between the Resolutioners and the Protesters he took the side of the former. (*Baillie's Letters*, vol.

great care of his education, and for that purpose sent him first to the college of Edinburgh, where he completed the course of philosophy with great applause, and made great progress in the learned languages. Being removed to St. Andrews, he passed his course of theology in that university, under the conduct of Samuel Rutherford.

His natural parts being very great, his understanding quick and penetrative, his judgment clear and profound, his fancy rich, his memory strong, and his expressions masculine, they did with such a grace take with them who were not acquainted with his accents and idioms; and to all these his acquired learning was answerable, the culture of which he, through the divine blessing, improved with great diligence. History, the eye of learning, he singularly affected, especially sacred history, the right eye. But to him all history was sacred, seeing he considered God's actions

more than man's therein. Nor did he value any man but for the knowledge of God, wherewith he himself was much acquainted, for his conversion to God was very early.

Before he was fully twenty-three years old he was called to a pastoral charge, and was settled at Cambuslang in Clydesdale, where he served the Lord in the ministry till after the Restoration of Charles II., when that storm arose which drove out so many, and particularly that Act, commonly called the Glasgow Act, whereby nearly 400 faithful ministers were ejected, of whom the world was not worthy.

He had taken to wife Christina Hamilton, justly famed for her person, gifts, and graces. By her he had seven children, and with them and himself sweetly committed unto his God's provision, he humbly received the honour of his ejection. Of the children, the Lord received three of them to himself before their

iii. p. 184.) He was twice married. A tradition long existed that his first wife was a daughter of Knox the Reformer. His grandson, Mr. Robert Fleming, son of Robert Fleming whose memoir is given in the text, says in a preface to "Practical Discourse," occasioned by the death of King William, "My grandfather did, indeed, marry the daughter of the first Mr. Knox, usually called the Reformer; but my father was by a second match. (*Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 83.) How this tradi-

tion arose it is impossible now to ascertain; but it has been shown by Mr. Laing, in his preface to vol. vi. p. lxix., of Knox's works, to be wholly without foundation. James Fleming of Bathans had two brothers, Bartholomew and John, both merchants in Edinburgh. A daughter of Bartholomew, who after the death of her father in 1624 was brought up by her uncle John, became the wife of the famous John Livingstone. Fleming of Bathans died in April, 1653. (*Lamont's Diary*, p. 33.)

mother ; two of them died after her, and the other two survived their father for some time. As for his worldly substance, his share seemed according to Agur's desire, and with Luther he said, that to his knowledge he never desired much of it, or was very careful for or about it ; for during the most tragical days his table was spread and his cup filled, and his head anointed with fresh oil, his children were liberally educated, and in his work he was profusely rich ; but of his own laying up he had no treasure but in heaven. His own testimony of his life was this, that it was made up of seeming contrarieties, great outward trouble, and great inward comfort ; "and I never found," said he, "more comfort than when under most affliction."

For some time after his ejection he lived at Edinburgh, Fife,

* Eluding the vigilance of his persecutors Fleming escaped to London, where, in 1674, he received the melancholy tidings of the death of his wife. Shortly after he ventured to return to Scotland. He made a second visit to London, and occasionally preached to his countrymen who were settled in the English metropolis. In 1677 he accepted an invitation to become colleague to Mr. John Hoog in the Scottish church of Rotterdam. Having left his children in Scotland, he was extremely desirous, after an absence from them of about one year and a half, to see them, and at his earnest request he obtained the consent of the Kirk Session, at their meeting on 19th December, 1678, to his embracing the first opportunity of going to Scotland. Soon

and other places, until September, 1673, when all the ministers in and about Edinburgh were called to appear before the Council to hear their sentence, and repair to the places of their confinement. He and some others not appearing, were ordered to be apprehended, wherever they could be found. This made him shift as well as he could for some time,* till he was at last apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he was during the time of Bothwell battle. A little after he was, with some others, called before the Council, and though they were willing to find bail for their appearance when called, yet because they refused to live peaceably, and not to rise against the king, or any authorized by him, they were remanded to prison. He was, however, liberated † [in October, 1679], and returned to

after his arrival in Scotland, having preached to some of his suffering Presbyterian friends, he was, by the order of the Privy Council, arrested and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as stated in the text.

† Patrick Walker in his remarks says, that while Fleming was in prison he dealt earnestly with Messrs. King and Kid, then under sentence of death, to give a healing testimony in favour of the indulged ; and that he was liberated upon the terms of the indemnity. However, be this as it will, to derogate from nothing due to the memory of Mr. Fleming, it is well known that, though he never actively indulged himself, yet he ran into some extremes in coalescence with the indulged ; which was no small grief at that

Holland, where he assumed his duties as minister of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam.

And here again his activity in the ministry was such as was to be expected from such a large soul, comprehensive of the interest of God and his church. What a writer he was need not here be told; but in preaching he might be called a Boanerges, and a Barnabas also, for converse, and for all things useful. What might Cambuslang testify of him? What might Edinburgh and adjacent places, where, after his ejection, he lived and laboured? What might Rotterdam say, where, from the year 1679 till towards his end, he was a most bright and shining light? There was no time wherein we may suppose that he had no good design going on. It is well known that the sun of his life did set on an excellent design, which was that of sending forth a treatise concerning the ways of the Holy Ghost's working upon the souls of men.

As he was religious, so he was said to be of a peaceable and friendly disposition, not affecting controversy much. When speaking of the differences amongst some brethren, he would say, time to faithful Mr. M'Ward, as witness his Earnest Contendings. (*Howie.*)

"I am amazed to see good men thus tear one another in the dark; nor can I understand how they should have grace in a lively exercise, who value their own particular designs above the interest of the catholic Church." Nor is it to be forgotten what he said to one of his own begotten sons in the faith, "I bless God," said he, "that in fifteen years' time I have never given any man's credit a thrust behind his back; but when I had grounds to speak well of any man, I did so with faithfulness, and when I wanted a subject that way, I kept silence."

And, according to his practice, his life was a life of worship extraordinary. His solemn dedication of himself to his God was frequent; his soliloquies with him almost perpetual. Spending his days and years after this manner, we find it was his custom, from the fifteenth or sixteenth year of his age, to set apart the first day of every year for renewing his covenant with God; and if interrupted that day, to take the next day following. For the first years of his life we cannot give any particular account of the manner of his doing this; but we may guess what it was from the few instances following:—

"1691. In the entry of this new year, as I have now done for many years most solemnly, I desire again to renew my personal engaging of myself to the Lord my God, and for him, and with my whole heart and desire to enter myself into his service, and take on his blessed yoke, and humbly to lay claim, take, and embrace him (O him!) to be my God, my all, my light, and my salvation, my shield, and exceeding great reward. 'Whom have I in heaven but thee, O Lord, or in the earth whom I desire besides thee?' And now, under thy blessed hand, my soul desires, and does here testify my trusting myself, and securing my whole interest, my credit, my conduct, my comfort, my assistance, and my poor children, and to leave myself herein on thy gracious hand, on my dearest Lord, whilst in time. This I write the 2nd day of January, 1691.

"1692. In the entry and first day of this new year, I desire, as formerly, to enter in this hidden record a new surrender and offering of myself to my dear Lord and Master, who hath been wonderfully tender and gracious to me, and hath brought me by his immediate conduct through the days and years of my pilgrimage past; hath still cared for his poor servant, and given more singular mercies and evidences of respect than to many else; and now, as still formerly, hath taken me through this last year with singular evidences of his presence and assistance; and as I trusted myself to my Lord, so he hath graciously answered; for which, and his special grace hitherto, I desire to insert this witness of my soul's blessing the Lord my God.

"And now I do here, with my full and joyful consent, testify my giving up myself again to the Lord, and to his work and service here, and wherever he shall call me, with desire to consecrate my old age to my God and the guide of my youth. I love my Master and his services, and let my ears be nailed to the posts of his door, as one who would not go free from that blessed

yoke and service; and lay in hope the whole assistance hereof on his grace and help. To him I commit myself, my ways, my works, and services, which with my whole desire I offer to my Lord, in whose hand I desire to secure my credit for the gospel's sake, my comfort and enlargement in this day of deep trouble and anguish, together with my poor children, and the whole interest of my family and concerns, desiring to put myself with humble confidence, and all that is dear to me, under his care and conduct. O my soul, bless thou the Lord! This I write the 1st of January, 1692. 'My Lord and my God.'

"1694. In the first day, and Monday, of this new year, as I have done formerly, through most of my life past, so now I desire to renew my dedication and engagement to the Lord my God, and to join in the same witness with what herein hath been formerly, with my whole heart and desire, and to offer to my dearest Lord praise, in remembrance of what he hath been through the year past and in the whole of my life, whose gracious tender conduct hath been so wonderful (and well hast thou, Lord, dealt with thy servant, according to thy word) in all that hath befallen me.

"And now I do again, by a surrender, witness my entire commitment of myself, my poor children, my credit for the gospel, my conduct and comfort in so extraordinary a juncture, to my dearest Lord, to his gracious and compassionate care and providence; together with my works, and any small design to serve him and my generation; and I do entreat new supplies of his grace and strength, to secure and make his poor servant, if it were his blessed will, yet more abundantly forthcoming to him. And with hopes of acceptance, I write this, 1st January, 1694. *Post tenebras spero lucem.*"

But now, drawing near his end, in the same year, 1694, upon the 17th of July, Robert Fleming took sickness, and on the 25th

died.* On his first arrest he said to such as were about him, "Oh! friends, sickness and death are serious things." But till the spark of his fever was risen to a flame, he was not aware his sickness was to be fatal; for he told a relation that if it should be so it was strange, seeing the Lord did not hide from him the things that he did with him and his; yet before his death he was apprehensive of its approach. Calling to him a friend, he asked, "What freedom find you in prayer for me? Seems God to beckon to your petitions, or does he bring you up, and leave dark impressions on your mind? This way," said he, "I have often known the mind of the Lord." His friend telling him that he was under darkness in the case, he replied, "I know your mind, trouble not yourself for me; I think I may say, I have been long above the fear of death."

All the while his groans and struggling showed him to be under no small pain; but his answers to inquiring friends certified that the distress did not enter his soul. Always he would say, "I am very well," or, "I

was never better," or, "I feel no sickness;" while he seemed to be sensible of everything besides pain. But the malignant distemper wasting his natural spirits, he could speak but little, though what he spoke was all of it like himself. Having felt indisposed for his wonted meditation and prayer, he said to some near him, "I have not been able in a manner to form one serious thought since I was sick, or to apply myself unto God; he has applied himself unto me, and one of his manifestations was such as I could have borne no more." Opening his eyes after a long sleep, one of his sons asked how he did? He answered, "Never better." "Do you know me?" said his son. To this, with a sweet smile, he answered, "Yes, yes, dear son, I know you." This was about two hours before he died. About an hour afterwards he cried earnestly, "Help, help, for the Lord's sake;" and then breathed weaker and weaker, till he gave up the ghost, and after he had seen the salvation of God, he departed in peace, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Thus died Robert Fleming,

* Fleming died in London, whither he had come on one of the repeated visits which he made to England. He was succeeded in the Scottish Church at Rotterdam by his son of the same

name, who afterwards became minister of the Presbyterian church in Lothbury, London, and was the author of various works, including his famous treatise on "The Rise and Fall of the Papacy."

after he had served his day and generation. His works yet declare what sort of a man he was. Besides the forenamed treatise, the "Confirming Work of Religion," his "Epistolary Discourse," and his well-known book, the "Fulfilling of the Scriptures,"* he left a writing behind him under this title, "A Short Index of some of the Great Appearances of the Lord in the Dispensations of his Providence to his Poor Servant." And although the obscurity of the hints leaves us somewhat in the dark, yet, as they serve to show forth his Master's particular care over his servant, who was most industrious in observing the Lord's special providences over others, and as they may perhaps give some further light into the different transactions of his life, they are here inserted.

"1. How near I was brought to death in my infancy, given over and esteemed a burden to my friends, so as my death was made desirable to them, I being the refuse of my father's children ; yet even I was then God's choice, and in a most singular way restored.

"2. That remarkable deliverance, in receiving a blow by a club when a child, which was so near my eye as endangered both my sight and life.

"3. The strange and extraordinary impression I had of an audible voice in the

church at night, when, being a child, I had got up to the pulpit, calling me to make haste.

"4. That I, of all my father's sons, should be spared, when other three were so promising, and should thus come to be the only male heir surviving of such a stock.

"5. That solemn and memorable day of communion at Greyfriars, in the entry of the year 1643, where I had so extraordinary a sense of the Lord's presence, yea, whence I can date the first sealing evidence of my conversion, now forty years past.

"6. The Lord's gracious and signal preservation and deliverance given me at Dunbar fight.

"7. The solemn times and near approaches of the Lord to my soul ; the first at Elve, when I went there ; and the other a little after my father's death, in the high study.

"8. The Scripture, Acts xii., was given me to be my first text, and how I was unexpectedly and by surprise engaged therein.

"9. The great deliverances at sea going to Dundee, the first time in company with the duke of Lauderdale, the other in company with Mr. Gray of Glasgow.

"10. The extraordinary dream and marvellous vision I had, twice repeated, with the inexpressible joy after the same.

"11. These memorable impressions and passages about my health, when it seemed hopeless, at my first entry upon the ministry, and the strange expression of Mr. Simpson of Newmills.

"12. The Lord's immediate and wonderful appearance for me in my first entry to the ministry, with that extraordinary storm on the day of my ordination, and the amazing assault which followed the same, wherein Satan's immediate appearance against me was so visible.

"13. The great and conspicuous seal given to my ministry from the Lord, in the conversion of several persons, with that marvellous power which then accompanied the Word on the hearts of the people.

* This work, which was highly prized by our fathers, has passed through several editions.

"14. That signal appearance of the Lord, and his marvellous condescension in my marriage-lot, and in the whole conduct of the same.

"15. My deliverance from so imminent hazard of my life, in the fall from my horse at Kilmarnock.

"16. The Lord's marvellous assistance at the two communions of Cathcart and Dunlop, with the great enlargement I had in the last of these two places, at the last table.

"17. That as the entry to my charge was with such a bright sunshine, so no less did the Lord appear at my parting from that place.

"18. The Lord's special providence as to my outward lot after my removal thence, in many circumstances that way.

"19. The gracious sparing my wife so long, when her life was in such hazard in 1665 and 1672.

"20. The preservation I had in going over to Fife in 1672, and the settlement I got there.

"21. The dream at Boussay, wherein I got such express warning as to my wife's removal, with the Lord's marvellous appearance and presence the Thursday after, at St. Johnston's.

"22. That extraordinary warning I got again of my dear wife's death, and the manner of it, at London, in 1674.

"23. These two remarkable Scripture places given me at West Nisbet, on my return from London, 1674, viz., that in Romans iv. in the forenoon, and that in Psalm cxv. in the afternoon.

"24. Those great and signal confirmations given me at my wife's death, and that great extraordinary voice, so distinct and clear, which I heard a few nights after her death.

"25. These special confirmations given me at my leaving my country at West Nisbet, Redesdale, Stanton, and the first day at sea from Shields.

"26. These solemn passages to confirm my faith, from Hebrews xi. and Exodus xxxiii., and at other times at London, and the last night there before I went away.

"27. These extraordinary and signal times I had at my first entering at Rotterdam.

"28. These two marvellous providences that did occur to me at Worden, and about the business of William Mader.

"29. The marvellous sign given me of the state of my family, in what happened as to the sudden withering of the tree, and its extraordinary reviving again, at the first entry to my house at Rotterdam.

"30. The great deliverance from fire in the High Street.

"31. The good providence in returning my diary after it had been long lost.

"32. The special providence in preserving my son from perishing in water.

"33. The surprising relief when cited by the Council of Scotland to appear, with that sweet resignation to the Lord which I had then under such a pungent trial.

"34. The remarkable warning I was forced to give, that some present should be taken away by death before next Lord's-day.

"35. The Lord's immediate supporting under a long series of wonders (I may truly say), for which I am obliged in a singular way to set up my Ebenezer, that hitherto hath the Lord helped.

"36. The remarkable appearance of the Lord with me (which I omitted in its place) in the strange providence relating to Mr. Monypenny's death in Prestonpans.

"37. The solemn providence and wonder in my life; my fall under the York coach in August, 1654, when the great wheel went over my leg, so as I could feel it passing me without hurting, far less breaking my leg, as if it had been thus carried over in a just poise, to let me see how Providence watched over me.

"38. The comfort God gave me in my children, and those extraordinary confirmations I got from God upon the death of those sweet children whom God removed from me to himself."

Now, reader, go and do thou likewise, for "blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing" (Matt. xxiv.).

ALEXANDER SHIELDS.

ALEXANDER SHIELDS, son of James Shields of Haughhead, in the Merse, was born in 1660 or 1661. Being sent to school when capable of instruction, he made such proficiency, that in a short time he entered upon the study of philosophy, under Sir William Paterson, then regent of the college of Edinburgh (afterwards clerk to the bloody Council), where his progress was no less remarkable. Having received the degree of Master of Arts, and that with no small applause, and having furnished his mind with no small degree of the auxiliary branches of learning, he began to think upon the study of divinity in view for the ministry. But finding little encouragement this way for any who could not in conscience join with Prelacy, or the prevailing defections of those called the Indulged, he took a resolution, and went over among others to Holland, shortly before or after Bothwell, for the further improvement of his studies, where he continued for a short time, and then returned to his native country.

Upon his going to London, to be an amanuensis to Dr. Owen, or some one of the English divines

who was writing books for the press, he had a letter of recommendation to Mr. Blackie, a Scots minister, who, appointing him to speak with him at a certain season, had several ministers convened unknown to him, and did press and enjoin him to take license. Being carried into it in that sudden and surprising way, he accepted of it from the Scots dissenting ministers at London, but without any imposition or sinful restriction. However, the oath of allegiance becoming in a little time the trial of that place, Shields studied, as he had occasion, to show its sinfulness; which these ministers took so ill that they threatened to stop his mouth; but he refused to submit himself thereunto.

It was not long that he could have liberty here to exercise his office; for, upon the 11th January, 1685, he was, with some others, apprehended at a private meeting in Gutter Lane by the city-marischal, who came upon them at unawares, and commanded them to surrender in the king's name. Shields, being first in his way, replied, "What king do you mean? by whose authority do you disturb the peaceable

ordinances of Jesus Christ? Sir, you dishonour your king in making him an enemy to the worship of God." To this the marischal said, he had other business to do than to stand prating with him. Shields made an attempt to escape, but was not able, and he and his companions were brought before the lord mayor, who threatened to send him to Bridewell. However, bail was offered and admitted for him, to answer at Guildhall upon the 14th. Upon that day he attended, with a firm resolution to answer; but while he went out for a refreshment, he was called for, and none answering, his bail-bond was forfeited, which afterwards gave him no small uneasiness when his bail's wife said to him, "Alas! why have you ruined our family?" To prevent further damage, he appeared on the 20th, when he was arraigned in common form and examined, Whether he was at Bothwell, and if he approved of Archbishop Sharp's death? and several other questions were put to him. To these he replied, that he was not obliged to give an account of his thoughts, and that he came there to answer to his indictment, and not to such questions. Upon this he was taken to Newgate by a single officer, without any *mittimus*, or any

express order unto what prison he should be committed. By the way, he says, he could have escaped, had he not been led or betrayed there by flattery. It was some days before his *mittimus* came, by which he was ordered to be kept in custody till the next quarter-session, which was to be at Guildhall on the 23rd of February following.

But Charles II. dying in this interval, he was, March 5, with other seven who were apprehended with him, put on board the *Kitchen* yacht for Scotland, and landed at Leith on the 13th; and the next day was examined before the Council, where he pled liberty of thought, telling them to prove the accusation, and waiving a direct answer anent owning the king's authority. This led to his slip afterwards, as, in his impartial relation of his sufferings, he observes among other reflections: "In this I cannot but adore the wisdom of the Lord's conduct, but with blushing at the folly of mine. I was indeed determined, I think, by a sovereign hand, and led upon this not usually trodden path by truth's confessors beyond my ordinary genius or inclination, to fence with these long weapons, declining direct answers, which is the most diffi-

cult road, and most liable to snares; and wherein it is more hard to avoid wronging truth than in the plain and open-hearted way." However, he was remanded back to prison till the 23rd, when he was brought before the Justiciary, and interrogated, Whether he would abjure the Apologetical Declaration, and own the authority of James VII.? Being still reserved, he was sent back till the 25th, and from thence continued till the day following, which he calls the day of his fatal fall, the just desert of his former blind and bold approaches to the brink of those precipices over which he had looked, and was now left to fall. Here he was again examined to the effect aforesaid, and withal threatened with the most severe usage if he did not satisfy them. On this he gave in a minute in writing, wherein after a short preamble he says, "The result of my thoughts is: in the sincerity of an unfeigned conscience, and in the fear of God, I do renounce and disown that and all other declarations, in so far as they declare war against the king expressly, purposely, or designedly, and assert that it is lawful to kill all employed by his Majesty, or any, because so employed in church, state, army, or

country." When they read this, they said it was satisfactory, and required him to hold up his hand. This he still refused, till allowed to dictate to the clerk what words he should swear. This being done, after protesting that it might not be construed in any other sense than the genuine words he delivered in the minute, he did subscribe and swear. What induced him to this, he says, was, "They gave it in his own meaning; and so far was his mind deceived, that by a quibble and nice distinction he thought the word might bear, that this was not a disowning of that nor any declaration that ever he saw, save one of their pretending; nor that either, but 'in so far,' or 'if so be;' which different expressions he was taught to confound by scholastic notions infused into him by the court, and some of the Indulged ministers while in prison." Upon his so doing, the Justiciary dismissed him, but, on pretence he was the Council's prisoner, he was sent back to his now more weary prison than ever. For he had no sooner made this foolish and unfaithful step of compliance (as he himself expresses it), than his conscience smote him, and continuing so to do, he aggravated his fall in such a sort as he wanted words to express.

Yet after all this his dangers were not over; for having written a letter to John Balfour, to be by him transmitted to some friends in Holland, declaring his grief and sorrow, and his mind anent his former compliances, it fell into the enemies' hands; whereupon he was again [apprehended, imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh], and brought before the Lords of Council; and though much threatening ensued, yet he owned the letter, and declared his sorrow for what he had formerly done. After this they appointed him to confer with the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, and the bishop of Dunkeld. With them he had a long reasoning, and, among other things, they objected that all powers were ordained of God, be they what they will. He answered, "All power is ordained of God, by his provident will, but every power assumed by man is not so by his approbative and preceptive will." One of the prelates said, that even his provident will is not to be resisted. He answered, that the holy product of it cannot, and may not, but the instrument he made use of sometimes might be resisted. It was urged that Nero was then reigning when this command of non-resistance was

given. He answered, that the command was given in general for our instruction how to carry in our duty under lawful magistrates. Then they asked him how he would reconcile his principles with that article in the "Confession of Faith," "That difference in religion," &c. He answered, "Very easily; for though difference in religion did not make void the magistrate's power, yet it might stop his admission to that power where that religion he differed from was established by law."

He was continued till August 6, when he was again before the Justiciary, and indicted; which made him write two letters, one to the advocate, and the other to his old regent, Sir William Paterson; which he thought somewhat mitigated their fury. Whereupon he drew up a declaration of his sentiments, and gave it in to the Lords of Council, upon which much reasoning between them ensued. After two conferences, wherein he was asked many questions, in the third he condescended to sign the oath of abjuration, which they had so much insisted he should again take, as he had at their command torn his name from the first; only it was worded thus, "If so be such things are

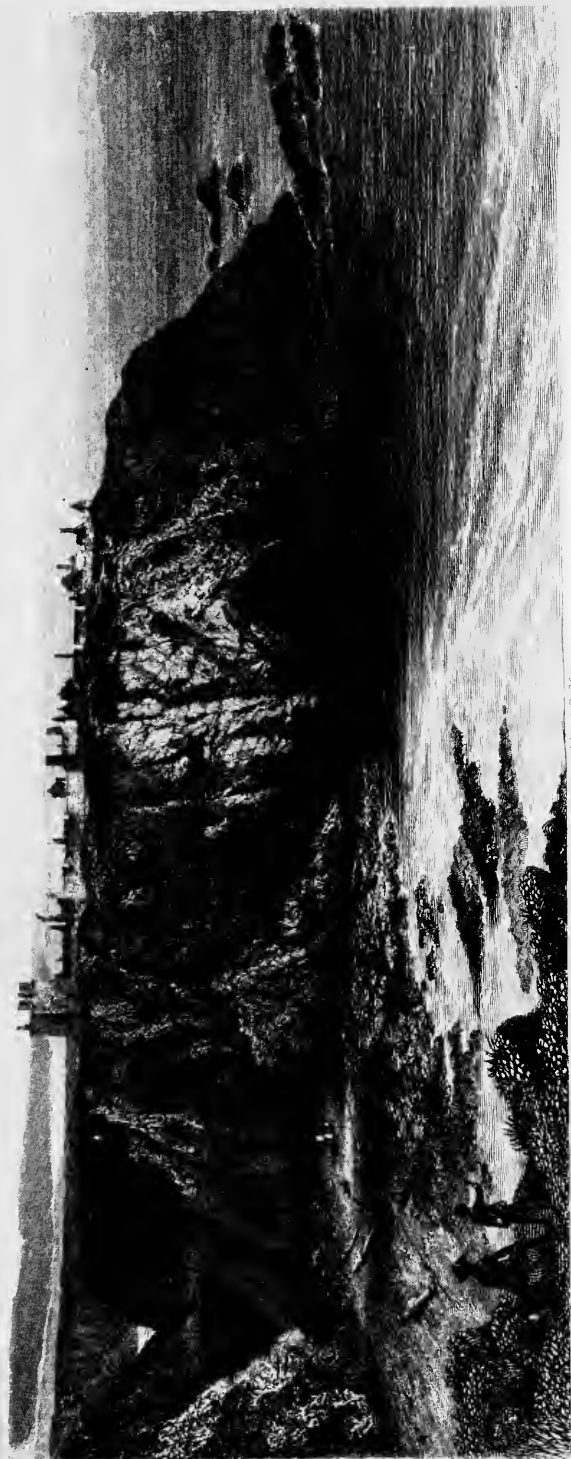
there inserted ;” which he told them he was sure was not the case. This with difficulty was granted. As he subscribed, he protested before them, “ That none were to think by this that he justified the Act of Succession, or the abrogation of the ancient laws about it, or the want of security for religion and liberty, or that he acknowledged the divine approbation of it.” When all was over he was detained till next day, when he was sent to

the Bass, and doubtless would have suffered, had he not got out in women’s clothes and escaped.*

After his escape, without seeking after any other party whatsoever, Shields went straight to James Renwick, and the faithful contending remnant then in the fields ; and upon the 5th of December, 1686, he attended a meeting for preaching at the wood of Earlstoun in Galloway, after which he continued with Renwick for some time. During

* In terms of a recommendation of the Privy Council, 7th August, 1685, to General Dalziel, Shields was carried by a party of his Majesty’s forces to the Bass, in which he remained till the autumn of the year 1686, when, with other ministers imprisoned there, he was brought to Edinburgh, where they were offered their liberty, provided they would engage to live orderly. All of them, when brought before the Council, refusing to come under this engagement, were recommitted to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and it was from this prison, not from the Bass, as Howie asserts in the text, that Shields made his escape, disguised in women’s clothes, on Friday, 22nd October, 1686. The escape of Shields greatly chagrined the government, and they were assiduous but unsuccessful in their endeavours to discover the party or parties implicated. On 26th October Waus, keeper of the tolbooth, was closely examined before a committee of Council, but without eliciting any certain information as to Shields’ escape. Major Learmont’s wife and family had visited Shields in prison ; and their house was immediately searched by Waus, who found that all the family had fled. A number of persons who were suspected were seized or called before the Council. Major Learmont, who was then a prisoner in the Bass, on being examined by the deputy-governor of the Bass, on 31st October, by the orders of the Privy Council, declared on oath that he knew nothing of his wife and family’s

departure from Edinburgh ; and on 4th November Elizabeth Hamilton, his wife, deponed on oath that she had no knowledge of Shields making his escape, and had no hand in it, nor furnished him with clothes, money, or anything else in order thereto ; only, she confessed, that once when she was with him in the prison, she spoke drollingly to him about it ; that she knew not whither he went after his escape, nor any person who had been accessory to it ; that she had never seen him since, except once at the Burrow Loch in the fields, and that she knew not where he was. On the 18th of November, the magistrates of Edinburgh and the keepers of the tolbooth having been called before the Council to answer for the escape of Shields, the lords concluded that he had escaped through negligence, and that he was not kept in such strict custody he ought to have been ; and that, albeit the magistrates of Edinburgh might be now found answerable for the said keepers, yet they refrained from pronouncing sentence against them, expecting that they would take better care for the security of their prisons for the future ; but declared the place of the masters of the said tolbooth vacant, and ordained the magistrates of Edinburgh forthwith to supply the said prison with such a master or masters, for whom and their servants they were to be answerable thereafter. (*Warrants of Privy Council in her Majesty’s General Register House, Edinburgh.*)



DUNNOTAR CASTLE.

this time he ceased not, both in public and private, to give full proof and evidence of his hearty grief and sorrow for his former apostasy and compliances. Upon the 22nd he came to their general meeting, where he gave them full satisfaction in espousing all and every part of their testimony, and likewise made a public confession of his own guilt; wherein he acknowledged that he had involved himself in the guilt of owning the so-called authority of James VII., showing the sinfulness thereof, and taking shame to himself; his guilt in taking the oath of abjuration, and his relapsing into the same iniquity, the sinfulness of which he held forth at great length; and spoke so largely to these particulars, as discovering the heinousness of that sin, as made Renwick say, "I think none could have done it, unless they had known the terrors of the Lord;" and again, "I thought it both singular and promising to see a clergyman come forth with such confession of his own defections, when so few of that set are seen in our age to be honoured with the like."

After this, when Renwick and the united societies had resolved upon publishing their Informatory Vindication, Shields went

over to Holland to have the same printed, about the beginning of the year 1687; but it appears that he was necessitated to return home before the work was finished.

After Renwick's death Shields continued for some time in the fields, preaching in Crawford Muir, at Disinkorn Hill in Galston parish, and many other places. About the end of the same year, 1688, when Kersland and the united societies, who had during the interregnum of the government thrust out some of the curates, and demolished some of the Popish monuments of idolatry, were obliged to publish a vindication of themselves in these proceedings (which they did at the Cross of Douglas), Mr. Shields, being present, did sing some verses in the beginning of the 76th Psalm,

"In Judah's land God is well known," &c.;

and while expatiating on the same, he said that this psalm was sweetly sung by the famous Mr. Robert Bruce, at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the dispersion of the Spanish Armada a hundred years before.

Upon Sabbath, the 3rd of March, 1689, when he, Mr. Linning, and Mr. Boyd renewed the Covenants at Borland Hill in Lesmahago, Mr. Shields stood

up again before a vast confluence of people, and declared his unfeigned sorrow for his former sin of compliances, to the affecting of all the multitude, and the abundant satisfaction of the godly there present, who had been grieved therewith.*

At and after the Revolution he was of much service to the army, and greatly esteemed by William III. On his return home, he, with the foresaid Messrs. Linning and Boyd, presented a large paper of proposals to the first General Assembly after the Revolution,† craving a redress of their grievances, and likewise showing on what terms they and their people could and would join with them.‡ But this paper being judged by the com-

mittee [of overtures] of this Assembly to contain § “peremptory and gross mistakes, unreasonable and impracticable proposals, and uncharitable and injurious reflections, tending rather to kindle contention than compose divisions,” it never once got a hearing, but was thrown over the bar of that Assembly. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the three foresaid brethren, being resolved to unite with them at any rate, gave in another, called the shorter paper,|| importing their submission, casting down all their former proposals and desires at the Assembly’s feet, “to be disposed of as their wisdom should think fit;”¶ which paper he, through their insinuation, was brought

* A particular account of the renovation of the Covenants on this occasion is given from Shields’ Diary, in Wodrow’s *Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 187–189, and in the minutes of the Society People, published under the title of “Faithful Contendings Displayed.”

† This Assembly sat down October 16, 1690.

‡ In this paper they earnestly desired the General Assembly, in order “that this happy and desirable union might be holy and comfortable,” to condescend to them in some things, which they humbly conceived were “very needful, just to be sought, and easy to be granted.” But they concluded the paper with stating that, though what they desired should not be granted by the Assembly, they “intended not to separate from the church, but to maintain union and communion in truth and duty, with all the ministers and members of this church that did, and in so far as they did, follow the institutions of Christ,” resting satisfied, as an exoneration of

their conscience, with having given in that paper as their “testimony against all the corruptions, defections, and offensive courses” which they had mentioned.

§ In giving their judgment the committee began by stating that the paper contained a great many sad truths, but several gross and peremptory mistakes, &c.

|| They were desired by a sub-committee to draw up this shorter paper. Both the larger and the shorter paper were transmitted by the committee of overtures to the Assembly, on 25th October; but only the shorter paper was read. The vote for the admission of these brethren was carried unanimously. After their admission Shields would have addressed the Assembly, but he was not encouraged to proceed. He therefore sat down. “Some of our friends,” says he, “were exceedingly offended at my silence.”

¶ The larger paper given in was of similar import, as we have shown.

to subscribe.* Of this, it is said, that he sadly repented† afterwards; for having dropped his former testimony at their feet, who trampled on it; and though they did not rend him, yet they soon found out a way to get rid of him. Soon after the Revolution he was settled minister at St. Andrews,‡ where he continued in the discharge of his office until the year 1699, when he, with Messrs. Borland, Stobo, and Dalgleish, were pitched upon to go over with their countrymen to the national settlement at Darien in America, [which excited much interest at the time, and was very popular in Scotland]. There, by letters under his own hand, he gave a particular account of matters, from which it is evident that his spirit was quite sunk with the divisions, impiety, and unrighteousness of too many of that handful, and at last was sadly crushed with the fatal disappointment of the undertaking, through the conduct of the existing government; which, had it been faithfully and well

managed, might have been of great advantage to this nation, as well as to the Christian religion. While in Caledonia he preached mostly on Acts xvii. 26, 27: God “hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.”

One time, as he and the rest of the ministers made a tour up the country, upon their return they were bewildered in the woods. Hearing the noise of the sea, they got at last to the shore, and being obliged to pass through various windings and bendings of the coast, under lash of the swelling surges, they were sometimes compelled to climb upon their hands and feet over the steep and hard rocks, until at last Mr. Shields was like to faint; which troubled them much. Their provisions and cordials being spent, at length they came to a welcome spring of fresh water gushing out of the rock by

* The proceedings of the General Assembly relating to the admission of Messrs. Shields, Linning, and Boyd, the only ministers which the Society People then had, are minutely detailed by Shields in his Diary, quoted by Wodrow in his *Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 198-200.

† Patrick Walker says, that Mr. Shields much lamented his silence before the Assembly, and of his coming so far short of his former resolutions;

and if ever he saw such an occasion, he would not be slack. Messrs. Linning and Boyd had too much influence upon him, being in haste for stipends and wives. *Reminiscences of the Lives of Messrs. Semple, &c.*, first edition, p. 78. (*Howie*.)

‡ Shields was ordained second minister at St. Andrews, September 15, 1697. (*Selections from the minutes of the Synod of Fife*, p. 213.)

the seaside. "This well," says Mr. Borland, "was to us as the well was to Hagar in the wilderness. By this well we rested a little; and Mr. Shields having drank of it, was refreshed and strengthened, and, with the help of the Lord, we were enabled to proceed on our journey." After this Mr. Shields and Mr. Borland escaped death very narrowly, the ship sinking in the harbour of Kingston a very little after they were gone out of it.

Shields died of a malignant fever, June 14, 1700, in a Scots-woman's house at Port Royal, in Jamaica, not long after he left Caledonia.* A kind country-woman, Isabel Murray, paid the expense of his funeral. His last sermon was from the last words of Hosea: "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in

them: but the transgressors shall fall therein."†

Thus the so much famed Alexander Shields, after he had tasted somewhat of the various vicissitudes of life and fortune, was obliged to die in a strange land. He was a man of low stature, ruddy complexion, quick and piercing wit, full of zeal, whatever way he intended, of a public spirit, and firm in the cause he espoused; pretty well skilled in most branches of learning, in arguing very ready, only somewhat fiery; but in writing on controversy he exceeded most men in that age.

His works are—The Hind let Loose; Mr. Renwick's Life, and the Vindication of his Dying Testimony; his own Impartial Relation; the Renovation of the Covenant at Borland Hill. There are also some lectures and sermons of his in print; a Vindication of our Solemn Coven-

* Before he left Scotland, Shields made his testament, which is dated Greenock, 15th August, 1699. His property then consisted chiefly of arrears of salary due to him as chaplain to Colonel Ferguson's regiment for upwards of three and a half years, and arrears of salary due to him as minister of St. Andrews. He constituted his dear mother, Helen Fisher, and his two brothers, John and Michael Shields, his lawful heirs conjunctly and severally, bequeathing to them in equal shares all that should belong to him at the time of his death.

The testament and inventory of his goods, gear, and debts due to him, were given up on

3rd July, 1701, by John Shields, portioner, Ersletoun, his brother-german, the only executor appointed by him in his testament then in life. Besides the arrears of salary before mentioned, there was due to him a considerable sum by the company of Scotland trading in Africa and the Indies, for his services as minister of the Gospel in their expedition to Darien. (*Edinburgh Register of Confirmed Testaments.*)

† See a more full account of Mr. Shields, both while in Caledonia and Jamaica, in the "History of Darien," lately republished, pp. 42-49. (*Howie.*) See also M'Crie's "Memoirs of Veitch," &c., index.

ants; and several of his Religious Letters, both before and after the Revolution. After his death, Mr. Linning published an essay of his on Church Communion. But how far this agrees with his conduct at the Revolution, or what coherency it hath with his other writings,

or if Mr. Linning had any hand therein, is not our province to determine at present. There are also three pocket volumes of his Journals yet in manuscript, which were, among other valuable papers, redeemed from destruction after Mr. Linning's death.

JOHN DICKSON.

JOHN DICKSON, born of creditable parents, and as some say, related to Mr. David Dickson, was sent to the grammar-school, and from thence to the university; where, after he had gone through his course of learning, he studied divinity, and then passed his trials for the ministry; and being found duly qualified for that office, he was licensed. Some time before the Restoration he was ordained and settled minister of Rutherglen,* where he continued for some time a most faithful, diligent, and painful preacher of the Gospel.

Very soon after the restoration of Charles II., Prelacy beginning to advance in Scotland, he was, upon the 13th of October, 1660, brought before the Committee of

Estates, and by them imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, information having been given in against him by Sir James Hamilton of Elistoun, and certain of his parishioners, of some expressions he had used in a sermon, reflecting upon the government and Committee of Estates, and tending to sedition and division. For this he was kept in prison till the Parliament met, and his church declared vacant; and though he got out at this time, yet he was exposed to much trouble and suffering afterwards.

After this John Dickson was obliged to wander from place to place, with the rest of those who could not in conscience comply with the current of defection and apostasy at that time; preaching to such as employed him;

* This was in the year 1656. (*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 314.)

wherein he ceased not to show the sinfulness of bonding, cess-paying, and the Indulgence. He likewise wrote a faithful warning to the shire of Fife, showing in the most affecting and striking manner the hazard and evil of such compliances.*

In 1670 he preached at Glen-vail, and on the 18th June of that year he and Mr. Blackader preached to a numerous congregation at Beath Hill, in Dunfermline parish, Fifeshire. While they were at public worship there, upon the Lord's day, a lieutenant of militia came up on horseback to the people, and made a great deal of disturbance, intending to frighten, and if possible to scatter them; whereupon one, more courageous than the rest, stepped forward to him, and after entreating him to remove peaceably, took his horse by the bridle, pulled out a pistol, and told him that he would shoot him dead if he were not silent; and he was there compelled to sit on horseback till public worship was over, after which he had his liberty to go where he pleased. For this horrid insult (as the persecutors were pleased to call it), a decret was obtained by

the king's advocate, on the 11th of August, against Mr. Dickson, Mr. Blackader, and several other ministers, wherein they were charged with holding conventicles in houses and in fields; and not compearing, they were, in absence, denounced and put to the horn, which obliged them to wander up and down the country, sometimes preaching in the fields where they had opportunity.

John Dickson thus continued in the midst of imminent hazards. For by virtue of a new modelled Council, June 4, 1674, there were orders to send out parties in quest of all conventicle-preachers (as those were called who accepted not of the Indulgence), amongst whom were Messrs. Dickson, Welsh, and Blackader. For Mr. Welsh four hundred pounds sterling were offered, and one thousand merks for Mr. Dickson and each of the rest; nay, the soldiers and their assistants were indemnified, if any slaughter was committed in apprehending them. By this Mr. Dickson was exposed to new dangers, but he escaped the fury of the persecutors for some time.

After Bothwell battle, the persecution becoming still hotter,

* It was no doubt such faithful freedom that made that defamatory scribbler say, in his Presbyterian eloquence, that he said in a sermon

at Gallashields, that cess-paying to Charles II. was as bad as sacrificing to devils. See p. 15. (*Howie.*)

and the searches more frequent, he was apprehended in the year 1680, and brought prisoner to Edinburgh by some of the guards, under caution to answer before the Council, September 1, who ordered him to be sent to the Bass, where he continued prisoner near the space of seven years.

While prisoner in the Bass he wrote a most excellent letter to some friends, where he not only bewails and laments the apostasy of these lands from God, demanding what our noble forefathers would think or say were they then alive to behold it, but also gives many practical and suitable directions how to behave in following Christ and owning his cause under the cross, and walking in the furnace of affliction and tribulation.

On getting out of the Bass,* he returned very soon after the Revolution to his flock at Rutherglen, where he again exercised his ministerial function, and that upon all hazards. In 1698, October 4, at the sitting down of the Synod at Ayr, he preached a very free and faithful sermon, upon the duty and qualification of a faithful watchman, from these words, "I have set watchmen

upon thy walls, O Jerusalem" (Isa. lxii. 6).

Although Mr. Dickson acceded to the Revolution Church, yet he was much grieved when he beheld how far inferior the glory of the second temple was to the first; which does most evidently appear from his own words, in a letter written a little before his death in 1700, and which may stand here for his dying testimony:—

"The conception you have of the dispensation of the Lord towards this poor plagued church, and the temper of the spirits of professors under this dispensation, is not different from what many of the Lord's people are groaning under. There is palpably a sensible difference betwixt what the church now is, and what it was many years ago; yea, what it hath been within these few years. The church hath lost much ground, and is still upon the losing hand, and it seems will continue so until it pleaseth the Lord to pour down his Spirit from on high, or else, by some sharp awakening dispensation, rouse up drowsy souls out of the lethargy wherein they are fallen. It is many years since the sun fell low upon Scotland; many a dismal day hath it seen since 1649. At that time our Reformation mounted towards its highest horizon, and since we left off building on that excellent foundation laid by our honoured forefathers, we have still moved from ill to worse, and are like to do so still more, unless our gracious God prevent it, until we slide ourselves out of sight and sense of a reformation. We have been lately trysted with a wonderful deliverance from the slavery of a heaven-daring enemy, but not one line of reformation is pencilled upon our deliverance. We have the shell of ordinances and

* He appears to have obtained his liberty towards the end of the year 1686. (*Martyrs of the Bass*, p. 348.)

church government, but want the kernel, the great things of Christ's law ; as to contend for his interest is wrapt under a cloud. It is a long time since our Covenant and solemn engagements looked pale. They have lost colour and verdure since the rescinding of our vows to God. These covenants are turned skeletons, fearsome and affrighting, and former respect to them is like gradually to dwine away under a consumption. There are some few things that made them the glory of nations that are turned to a shadow.

"(1.) They were the fruits of many prayers, fasting, tears, wrestling, and indefatigable labours of the greatest and best men that ever breathed in our nation, recovering a people sunk into antichristian darkness, to enjoy liberty due to them by Christ's purchase.

"(2.) The renewing them so many times in old King James's reign spoke out the fervency of these worthy spirits in ardour and affection to them, as so many jewels of so great value, that they were set as gems and pearls in Christ's crown, to wear so long as his interest remained in the church.

"(3.) The blessings accompanying the entering unto and renewing these Covenants were so fluent in all church-ordinances, both secret, private, and public, that whatever was planted in so fruitful a soil of such blessing and influence of the Spirit, could not but grow up as calves in the stall, fat and full of sap.

"(4.) These Covenants were to our forefathers like the rending of their own clothes, as Elisha did, and taking up Elijah's mantle, and clothing themselves with it (2 Kings ii. 12, 13); enjoying of Moses's spirit (Deut. xxiv.): and like Joshua (chap. xxiv.) when dying, leaving a testimony of remembrance to posterity, by engaging them in these Covenants.

"(5.) So long as our church cleaved to these our Covenants, it fell out with them as it did with King Asa (2 Chron. xv. 2); the Lord was with them while they were

with him. But our fathers' offspring forsaking God, he forsook them ; from that day that our Covenants were so ignominiously treated, unto this day, all calamities as to our religious concerns have fallen upon us.

"(6.) The late sufferings of all who shed their heart's blood upon the fields and scaffolds, their imprisonments and banishments, were all dyed with the crimson blood of the Covenant. From that day of the force and fury of enemies, the giddy church, straying in the wilderness, is much fallen out of sight either of pillar or cloud or fire. Our intermixtures are turned pernicious to the glory and honour of Christ's house, which should not be a den of buyers and sellers. Although the sufferings of our late brethren seemed to be heavy to bear, yet two prime truths were sealed with their blood (and that of the best, as of our honourable nobles, faithful ministers, gentry, burghers, and commons of all sorts), which were never before sealed, either by the blood of our primitive martyrs or our late martyrs in the dawning of our Reformation. The two truths were, Christ's headship in the church in despite of supremacy and bold Erastianism, and our Covenants; which two truths were in the mouths of all our Worthies when mounting their bloody theatres and scaffolds; ascending, as it were, up unto God in a perfumed cloud of transporting joy, that they were honoured to suffer upon such clear grounds. That supremacy was so aghasted by our Covenants that no rest could it have till it got the gravestone laid upon them, and so conjured all who tasted the liquor of that supremacy, that the thoughts of getting the buried Covenants out of the grave were more terrible to them than the devils, who are now in the place of our vows to God, managing their diabolical games in these places where the Covenants were most in honour and request, the one burned, and the other rising in its room. Much blood and treasure have been spent to set the flourishing crown upon Christ's

head in Scotland ; Declarations, Acts of Councils and Parliament, Remonstrances, Engagements, Vows, and Covenants ; but the sealing blood of the late martyrs was the copestone of all. The primitive martyrs sealed the prophetic office of Christ with their heart's blood ; the reforming martyrs sealed his priestly office with theirs ; and last of all, our martyrs have again so sealed his kingly office. They indeed have cemented it upon his royal head, so that to the end of the world it shall not drop off again.

“ Let us never dream of a reviving spirit among us till there be a reviving respect to these solemn vows to God. If there was but a little appearance of that spirit which actuated our worthy forefathers in our public assemblies and preachings, ye would see a wonderful alteration in the face of affairs : the fields, I assure you, would look white, near to harvest. If you would trace our defections, from the breach of the Act of Classes in 1650, all along to this day of our being bound in the grave of neutrality, and all to edge up the spirit of the people to a due sense of our woeful and irrevocable-like backsliding from God (who had acted many wonders for Scotland), would you not find a perfumed smoke of incense springing from our altar in savoury and soul-refreshing blessings ? But, ah ! when shall this day dawn ? So long as the common enemy are gaining their long wished for hopes, ministers in their public preaching must confine themselves to their nick-named faith and repentance, without noticing any encroachments upon Christ's proper rights to his church in the glorious work of reformation ; test-constructed fire-brands and seditions, which, in running the full career, may gradually drop into superstition through neutrality, and thence plunge into an abyss of the shadow of Popery.

“ But to sum up shortly all my present thoughts of the time in this one : I cannot see an escape of the church, in its present circumstance, from a sharp and more trying furnace than ever it has yet met with. Come

the trial from what airt it will, it fears me ; our principles are so slippery, and the truths of God so superficially rooted in us, that when we are thrown into the furnace many of us shall melt into dross. It is many years since I heard one of the greatest seers in our nation, in horror and with fear, dreading the heavy judgments of God upon the biased professors of the west of Scotland. But all this I say (not diminishing my hopes of the Lord's reserving his purchased inheritance in his own covenanted land), though Malachi be affrighted at the day of his coming, and be made to cry out, Who may abide it, when he sits refiner and purifier of the sons of Levi (Mal. iii. 1, 2, 3), a remnant shall be left, that shall be as the teil tree or the oak, whose seed is in them when they cast their leaves ; so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof.

“ To revive a reflection upon two stupendous passages of Providence I know would have an embittering relish to many professors in our country side. The one is upon the last Indulgence, wherein professors, by bond and penalty, obliged themselves to produce their minister before the Council when called. For this was a restriction so narrow that all the freedom and faithfulness of ministers in their office was so blocked up, that either conscience towards God in discharging of necessary duties behoved utterly to be buried, or else the life of their minister exposed to sacrifice. And if this be not an universal evil to be mourned over, let conscience and reason judge ; yet this is looked upon to be but a snare, in these gloomy times, of inconsiderable moment, though it was the brat clecked by that supremacy, which not only hath wounded our solemn vows to death, but bound the freedom and faithfulness of the church seers, as to the public interest of Christ, in their graves.

“ The other stupendous providence is the obliterating the rich blessing of the gospel in our late suffering times ; when blessings not only accompanied those solemn field meet-

ings, but extraordinary influences, in gifts of freedom and faithfulness, were poured down upon these ministers, who went out with their lives in their hands, setting their faces as flints against the heaven-daring violence done to the Mediator. I call to mind a circumstance with perpetuated remembrance, that in one shire of this kingdom there were about thirty ministers who cheerfully offered up their services to Christ, all by turns, out of Edinburgh. Each of these, when they returned to Edinburgh, being questioned what pleasure, what delight, and what liberty they had in managing that hazardous task, they answered, that so soon as they set foot on these bounds, another spirit came upon them; and no other reason could they give for it, but that God wrought so mightily; they looked upon it as *genius loci*, that God sensibly at that time was in that county working wonders. But the most part of all these are in their places, resting in their graves, and their works do follow them.

“Thus, in answer to yours, I have given you some of my confused thoughts of the present times, wishing you God’s blessing in sucking honey out of the eater.”

Thus lived and died worthy John Dickson, in a good old age, in the year 1700, after he had by his longevity seen some-

what of the glory both of the first and second temples, and emerged out of all his troubles, having got a most perspicuous view of our national apostasy, our breach of Covenant, and other defections, past, present, and to come, with the Lord’s goodness and mercy towards his own remnant; and all this from the top of Mount Pisgah, when he was about to enter upon the confines of Immanuel’s land in glory.

Of his works we have only his Synod Sermon and the foresaid letters in print. If there be any other, it is more than is known at present, except the foresaid Warning to the Indulged in the shire of Fife, which was some time ago also published. These, however, show him to be a most pathetic writer, and one who makes as striking and lively impression upon his mind as any man of his time.

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON OF PRESTON.

ROBERT HAMILTON (afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton), brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston, was born about the year 1650. He was probably a son of Sir Walter Hamilton the reformer,

and lineally descended from the famous Sir John Hamilton of Preston, who was commissioner for East Lothian at the black Parliament held in Edinburgh, 1621, where he most

boldly voted against the ratification of the five articles of Perth. For this, and because he would not recall his vote, the king's commissioner, the marquis of Hamilton, and the secretary, thought to have disgraced him, but found themselves utterly disappointed. Although they sent the bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards Lord Scone, for that purpose, he would not yield; and when desired by the secretary to absent himself, he told him that he would stay and bear witness to the truth, and would render his life and all he had before he would recall one word he had spoken, and that they should find him as true to his word as any Hamilton in Scotland.

Robert Hamilton having received a liberal education (as is usual for men in such circumstances), the Lord in his free and sovereign mercy, and by the efficacious working of the Holy Spirit, inclined his heart, before he was twenty-six years of age, to fall in love with his service; and for that purpose he made him attend the free and faithful though persecuted Gospel, at that time preached in the fields, whereby in a short time he came to espouse the true covenanted testimony of the Church of Christ in Scotland, for which he was,

through divine grace, enabled to be a true and faithful witness to his life's end.

The first of his public appearances in defence of that noble cause wherein he had embarked, was in 1679, when, after consulting with Donald Cargill, he, with Thomas Douglas and Hackston of Rathillet, drew up that declaration, afterwards called the Rutherglen Declaration, which they published on May 27 at the market cross of that burgh, after they had extinguished the bonfires, that day being kept as a holy anniversary day for the restoration of Charles II. After this he returned with that little handful to Evandale, where he was by them appointed to command-in-chief, June 1st, at the skirmish of Drumclog; and wherein he showed much bravery in putting Claverhouse and that bloody crew to flight, killing thirty-six or forty of them, Claverhouse himself narrowly escaping. But the Erastian party coming up shortly after this, occasioned them and Mr. Hamilton their general no small disturbance, they being to them "a snare upon Mispah, and a net spread upon Tabor." And although he most strenuously opposed them in all their sinful course of defection and com-

pliances, yet he was treacherously betrayed into giving his consent to publishing the Hamilton Declaration. For they promised that they would be faithful in all time coming in preaching against the Indulgence and all the land's defections; that what was ambiguous in that declaration should be, at the honest party's desire, explained; what was wrong should be left out, and what was wanting should be supplied before it was printed or otherwise published (save the reading of it that day); but one word of this they never fulfilled or kept.

But it were a task too tedious here to enumerate all the struggles and contendings among them at that time; only it is to be remarked that it was through his great, I may say deserved confidence in Cargill's faithfulness, who was the principal minister among those called the protesting party, that Mr. Hamilton was again so pitifully ensnared by the corrupt party in subscribing the declaration to the duke of Monmouth, when they were about to engage with the enemy. For they being intent upon supplicating, the honest party consented only that an information should be drawn up by Mr. Cargill and Mr. Morton

and sent to the duke, of his own and his father's rebellion against God by their blasphemy, persecution, and usurpation in church and state; but the corrupt party drawing up their own supplication, sent one of their party with it in the one hand, and pen and ink in the other, to Mr. Hamilton to subscribe, just as they were going to engage the enemy. Mr. Hamilton asked if it was Mr. Cargill's work? He answered yes; whereas Cargill knew nothing of it. Being in haste, and having no doubt of Cargill's veracity, he did that which was matter of great grief to him afterwards, as he himself, in a letter from Holland dated 1685, doth fully testify.

After the defeat at Bothwell Bridge Mr. Hamilton was, by the Erastian party and their accomplices, most horribly stigmatised and reproached, as that he had betrayed them to the enemy, sold them for money, swept the priming off the cannon at the bridge, &c. But from all these reproaches he has been sufficiently vindicated by Wilson, in his *Impartial Relation of Bothwell Bridge*.

Shortly after the battle he went over to Holland; his estate was forfeited in 1684, and he was sentenced to be executed whenever apprehended. During his

stay he was of great service and use to his countrymen, and had the honour to be employed by them as commissioner of the persecuted true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland, having received commission to represent their case, and crave the sympathy of foreign churches. It was by his skill, industry, and faithfulness that he prevailed with the Presbytery of Gröningen, in 1683, to ordain the famous and faithful James Renwick a minister of the gospel for the persecuted church in Scotland: and afterwards with the Presbytery of Emden, to ordain Mr. Thomas Linning a minister of the gospel for the same church.

Mr. Hamilton, by virtue of his commissions, which about that time he had received from the united societies,* went through several places of Germany in the end of 1686. An old manuscript, given under his own hand, dated March 10, 1687, bears that through many hazards and difficulties he arrived about October 10 at Basel, in Switzerland, from whence he went to Geneva, about November 16; and so into Berne, Zurich, and other places in Hol-

land and the Helvetian Cantons, not without many imminent hazards and dangers. In these places he conferred with most of their professors and other learned men, craving their judgment and sympathy towards his mother church, and the poor persecuted people in the kingdom of Scotland.†

Mr. Hamilton returned home at the Revolution of 1688, about which time his brother, Sir William Hamilton of Preston, died, and he fell heir to his estates and honours. And although after that he was designated by the name of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, yet because he could not in conscience enter into, possess, or enjoy that estate, unless he had owned the title of the prince and princess of Orange as king and queen of these three covenanted nations, and in consequence of that the Prelatical government as then established upon the ruins of the cause and work of God in these nations, he never entered or intermeddled with his brother's estate in any manner of way. With Moses he made that noble choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people

* In the hands of some friends are yet to be seen two of these commissions in Latin, wrote on parchment, one of which is a very beautiful copy on copperplate. (*Howie.*)

† See a more full account of his negotiations in the Netherlands for the suffering remnant in a large letter of his, published in *Faithful Contendings*, pp. 186-220. (*Howie.*)

of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; and did esteem a steadfast adherence to the cause of Christ, with all the reproaches that followed thereon, greater richest than all his brother's estate. Out of true love to Jesus Christ, his covenanted cause, interest, and people, he laid his worldly honour in the dust, continuing still a companion in the faith, patience, affliction, and tribulation, of that poor, mean, and despised handful of the Lord's witnesses in these lands, who still owned and adhered to the state of the Lord's covenanted cause in Scotland.

A little after his return from Holland, when Messrs. Linning, Shields, and Boyd were drawing and enticing those who had formerly been faithful to, and owning and suffering for the Lord's covenanted cause, into a conformity and compliance with the defection of that time, at a general meeting held at Douglas, 6th November, 1689, Sir Robert Hamilton gave a faithful protestation against these proceedings, and particularly their owning the government while sworn to Prelacy, in opposition to our laudable establishment and covenanted work of reformation. He also protested against the raising of the Angus regiment, which he

took to be a sinful association with malignants: and likewise against joining with Erastian ministers at that time (from whom they had formerly most justly withdrawn), without any evidence of repentance for the many gross sins and defections they were guilty of. And after these three ministers aforesaid had yielded up the noble cause, and drawn many of the owners thereof into the same state of compliance with themselves, he had the honour to be the chief instrument, in the Lord's hand, of gathering together out of their dispersion such of the old sufferers as had escaped these defections, and in bringing them again into a united party and general correspondence, upon the former laudable and honest state of the Testimony.

Sir Robert Hamilton had also a principal hand in drawing up and publishing a faithful Declaration at Sanquhar, August 10, 1692, for which he was apprehended by some of the old persecuting soldiers at Earlstoun, upon the 10th of September following, and by them carried to Edinburgh, and there and elsewhere kept prisoner till the 5th of May, 1693. When he was brought before the Council, September 15, 1692, there were present the

viscount of Tarbet, president Lothian, Ker, General Livingston, Lord Linlithgow, Lord Breadalbane, and Sir William Lockhart, solicitor. He was examined concerning the Declaration, but he declined them, and all upon whom they depended, as incompetent judges, because they were not qualified according to the word of God and our solemn Covenants. Being interrogated, if he would take the oath of allegiance? he answered, "No, it being an unlimited oath, not founded upon our covenants." If he would own the authority of King William and Queen Mary? he answered, "I wish them well." But being asked again, if he would own them and their government, live peaceably, and not rise against them? he replied, "When they are admitted according to the laws of the crown, and the Acts of Parliament 1648 and 1649, founded upon our sacred Covenants, then I shall give my answer;" whereupon some of them turned hot, and Lothian said that they were pursuing the ends of the Covenant. Sir Robert replied, "How can that be, when joining with and exalting the greatest of its enemies, whom by covenant we are bound to extirpate?" Another answered that the king had taken the coro-

nation oath. Sir Robert asked, "What religion was established when that oath was taken?" They said Prelacy was abolished; but he returned, "Presbytery was not established, so that the king is not bound in religion, save to Prelacy, in Scotland." Being urged to the last question, he adhered to his former answers: at which some of them raged and said, that he would give no security for obedience and peaceable living. To this he made answer, "I marvel why such questions are asked at me, who have lived so retired hitherto, neither plotting with York, France, or Monmouth, or any such, as the rumour was; nor acting anything contrary to the laws of the nation enacted in the time of the purity of Presbytery." Lothian said, "We are ashamed of you." He replied, "Better you be ashamed of me, than I be ashamed of the laws of the church and nation, whereof you seem to be ashamed." Lothian said, "You desire to be involved in troubles." Sir Robert answered, "I am not so lavish of either life or liberty; but if the asserting of truth is an evidence thereof, it might be thought more strange."

He was remanded back to prison, where he continued until

the 5th of May, 1693, when he was liberated. The day before his liberation he gave in a most faithful protestation and declination to the Privy Council and Parliament of Scotland, with another letter of the same nature to Sir James Stuart, the advocate. Upon his coming forth, he was so far from yielding one jot that he left another protestation in the hands of the keepers of the Tolbooth, showing that, for his adhering to, and appearing for the fundamental laws and laudable constitution of our church and covenanted nation, he had been unjustly apprehended and kept for eight months close prisoner; and that for his own exoneration and truth's vindication he left this protestation,* disdaining all engagements to live peaceably, which were a condemning himself of former unpeaceableness, which he positively denies. In coming to any terms respecting oaths or bonds with those who had broken covenants, overturned the Reformation, and destroyed the people of God, or engaging unto a sinful peace with them, or any in confederacy with them, he declared

that he came out of prison merely because of finding open doors, and desired his protestation to be inserted in the ordinary register.

From his liberation to the day of his death he continued most faithful in contending earnestly for "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints" (Jude 3), and did greatly strengthen and encourage the rest of the suffering remnant, with whom he continued in Christian communion, both by his pious and godly example, and seasonable counsel and advice with respect to principles, and what concerned the salvation of their souls, for the right carrying on of the testimony for the cause that they were owning. Some years before his death he was taken ill with the stone, by which he endured a very sharp and sore affliction with a great deal of Christian patience and holy submission to the will of God; and when drawing near his journey's end he gave a faithful testimony to the Lord's noble and honourable cause, which he had so long owned and suffered for. Sir Robert having been most unjustly branded † for running to

* See the above mentioned declarations, protestations, and declinations, with some of his many religious letters, since published in a pamphlet, entitled the "Christian Conduct." (*Howie*.)

† Even Walker and others, who have pretended great regard for the principles and memory of some of our late sufferers, such as Messrs. Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick. (*Howie*.)

some extremes in principles, both before and after the Revolution, a copy of his own dying testimony may perhaps be the best vindication that can be produced. It is as follows :—

“Though I have many things that might discourage me from showing myself this way at such a time, when the Lord’s controverted truths, his covenanted reformation, and the wrestlings of his faithful and slain witnesses, are things so much flouted at, despised, and buried, not only by the profane, but, alas ! even by the ministers and professors of this generation ; yet I could not but leave this short line to you, who of all interests in the world have been my greatest comfort. Being now come to the utmost period of my time, and looking in upon my eternal state, it cannot be readily apprehended by rational men that I should dare to write anything but according to what I expect shortly to be judged, having had such a long time to consider on my ways, under a sharp affliction. As for my case, I bless God it is many years since my interest in him was secured ; and under my afflictions from all airts he hath been a present help in time of my greatest need. I have been a man of reproach, a man of contention ; but praise to him it was not for my own things, but for the things of my Lord Jesus Christ. Whatever were my infirmities, yet his glory, the rising and flourishing of his kingdom, was still the mark I laboured to shoot at. Nor is it now my design to vindicate myself from the calumnies that have been cast upon my name ; for when his slain witnesses shall be vindicated, and his own glory and buried truths raised up, in that day he will assuredly take away the reproaches of his servants, and will raise and beautify the name of his living and dead witnesses. Only this I must add ; though I cannot but say that reproaches have broken my heart,

yet with what I have met with before, and at the time of Bothwell battle, and also since, I had often more difficulty to carry myself humbly under the glory of his cross than to bear the burden of it. Oh ! peace with God and peace of conscience is a sweet feast !

“Now, as to his public cause, that he hath honoured you in some measure to side with, stand fast therein. Let no man take your crown, for it is the road he will take in coming to this poor land ; and praise him for honouring such poor things as you are, as to make you wish well to his cause when church and state and all ranks have turned their backs upon it. My humble advice to you as a dying brother is, to stand still and beware of all tampering with these betrayers of the royal interest and concerns of Christ’s kingdom, and listen to no conferences with the ministers and professors of this generation, till the public defections of this land, the doleful source of all our ruin and misery, that sin of the public Resolutions, the compliance with Prelacy, the church-ruining and dividing Indulgences and Toleration, the present sinful course of vindicating all these defections, and burying all the testimonies against the same ; I say until these be acknowledged, and publicly rejected and disowned, both by church and state.

“I die a true Protestant, and to my knowledge a Reformed Presbyterian, in opposition to Popery, Prelacy, and malignancy, and whatever is contrary to truth and the power of godliness, as well against flattering pretenders to unwarrantable zeal on the right hand, as against lukewarmness on the left ; adhering with my soul to the holy sweet Scriptures, which have often comforted me in the house of my pilgrimage, our Confession of Faith, our Catechisms, the Directory for Worship, Covenants, National and Solemn League and Covenant, Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, with the Causes of God’s Wrath, and to all the faithful public testimonies given against

defections of old or late, particularly those contained in the Informatory Vindication, and that against the Toleration, and the two last Declarations emitted since that fatal Revolution; which testimonies I ever looked upon as a door of hope of the Lord's returning again to these poor backsliding lands.

"And now, my dear friends, let nothing discourage you in that way. The Lord will maintain his own cause, and make it yet to triumph. The nearer to the day it may be the darker, but yet "in the evening time it shall be light;" and the farther distant ye keep from all the courses and interests of this generation, the greater will your peace and security be. Oh! labour to be in Christ, for him and like him. Be much in reading of the Holy Scriptures, much in prayer and holy unity among yourselves. Be zealous and tender in keeping up your private fellowship for prayer and Christian conference, as also your public correspondence and general meetings. Go to them and come from them as those intrusted, really concerned and weighted, with Christ's precious controverted truths in Scotland; and labour still to take Christ along with you to all your meetings, and to behave yourselves as under his holy and all-seeing eye when at them, that ye may always return with a blessing from his rich hand.

"Now, farewell, my dear Christian friends; the Lord send us a joyful meeting at his own right hand, after time; which shall be the earnest desire, while in time, of your dying friend,

"R. HAMILTON.

"BORROWSTOUNNESS, *Sept. 5, 1701.*"

And so, after he had come through many tribulations, and at last endured a series of sore bodily afflictions, in all which he was still kept faithful in testifying for the word of Christ's patience, he yielded up his life to

that God who gave him his being, at Borrowstounness, October 21, being then fifty-one years of age. "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth."

Thus died another of Christ's faithful witnesses, Sir Robert Hamilton, who for soundness in the faith, true piety, the real exercise of godliness, a conversation becoming the gospel, and a true understanding of the right state of the Lord's cause, in every part thereof, accompanied with a true love and affection to, and zeal according to knowledge for the same, with steadfastness and stability to the last, maintained his cause against every opposition. He was equally superior to the influence of fear or flattery, and was preferable to most of the same rank in that age; and without flattery it may be said he was an honour to the name of Hamilton and to his nation. The faithful Mr. Renwick called him *Mi pater*, "my father," and ever had a high esteem and regard for him, as the contents of most part of his letters bear. Yea, in the very last letter he wrote, he accosts him thus: "If I had lived, and

been qualified for writing a book, and if it had been dedicated to any, you would have been the man; for I have loved you, and I have peace before God in that; and I bless his name that ever I have been acquainted with you." And indeed he was not mistaken in him, for he was one who both professed and practised truth, was bold in Christ's cause, and had ventured life, wealth, reputation, and all, in defence thereof.

He was of such constancy of life and manners, that it might be truly said of him, as was said of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, *In omni vita sui similis, nec ulla unquam in re mutatus fuit: Itaque vere fuit vir bonus, nec fictum aut simulatum quicquam habuit.* "In every part of his life he was consistent, showing no tendency to fickleness in anything; so that he was truly a good man, free from all falsehood or dissimulation."

WILLIAM VEITCH.*

WILLIAM VEITCH was born at Roberton, in the shire of Clydesdale, seven miles from Lanark, on 27th April, 1640. He was the youngest son of Mr. John Veitch, who was minister of that place for about the space of forty-five years. His brothers were, John Veitch, who was minister of Westruther, in the shire of Berwick, above fifty-four years; James Veitch, who was ordained minister in Mauchline, in the shire of Ayr, in 1656; and David Veitch, the most eminent of them all, who was sometime minister at Govan, near Glasgow, and was contemporary and

co-presbyter with the famous James Durham, and to whom Samuel Rutherford gave this testimony at his trials: "That the like of Mr. David Veitch, in his age, for learning and piety, he had never known."

William, being laureate at Glasgow in the year 1659, resolved to follow the study and practice of physic, as having so many brethren in the function of the ministry, and Episcopacy being apparently settled in the kingdom. But being then in the family of Sir Andrew Kerr of Greenhead, John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum (who fre-

* In writing this life Howie has mainly made use of MS. Memoirs of Veitch written by him-

self, which have been published by Dr. McCrie, with numerous notes.

quented that house, as did other godly ministers), by many arguments dissuaded him from his intended design, and exhorted him to follow the footsteps of his brothers, who were then much esteemed in the church.

About the beginning of 1663 he went to Moray, where he was some time chaplain to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder; but at the instigation of Murdoch M'Kenzie, then bishop of Moray, he was obliged, about September, 1664, to leave this family. He returned to his father, then dwelling at Lanark, having been ejected from his own parish by the prelates: at which time he became acquainted with Marion Fairlie, whom he married; and who, being a woman eminent for religion, proved a great blessing to him afterwards.

In the year 1666 he was solicited and prevailed upon by Mr. John Welsh of Irongray to join the honest party, who were so oppressed by the inhuman cruelties of Sir James Turner and his forces, then lying at Dumfries. Accordingly, after the Galloway forces had taken Sir James prisoner, William Veitch and Major Joseph Learmont went west and joined them on a hill above Galston. Next day they sent him with forty or fifty horse

to take up quarters in the town of Ayr.

After some respite, they marched up the Water of Ayr towards Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, Dalziel and his forces having come as far as Strathaven in quest of them; but hearing they were at Lanark, he turned his march after them. In the meantime, the honest party being above 1500 horse and foot, it was thought proper that the National and Solemn League and Covenant should be renewed, which they did with great solemnity. Hearing that Dalziel approached, they concluded that it would be best to abide some time there, as the heavy rains had made the Clyde impassable for him, except by boat, which was broken, and as fifty of their number might be able to stop his passage at the river; which might serve as a dash upon the enemy, and an encouragement for friends to join them at that place. But unhappily a letter came from Sir James Stuart (advocate after the Revolution), to Messrs Welsh and Semple, to come as near Edinburgh as possible, where they would get men and other necessities. This made them break their resolution, and march for Bathgate, where, both night and snow coming on, they

concluded to go forward to Collington.

Having taken up their quarters, they consulted how they should do in answer to Sir James Stuart's letter, and at last voted Mr. Veitch to go to Edinburgh and converse with him anent the promised supply. This, against his own mind, he undertook at the importunity of Colonel Wallace, and having disguised himself with an old hat and cloak and a baggage horse, Mr. M'Cormick convoyed him on his road, minding him of several things to communicate to Sir James Stuart. He had gone but a little way when he met a brisk young fellow, riding with a drawn sword in his hand, who asked which way he came? He said, "Biggar way." "But," says he, "Did you not see all Collington on fire? I fear my house will be burnt, for I hear the Whigs are come." Mr. Veitch declared his ignorance of this; and so they parted. Near Greenhill Park he met three women, who told him that if he went by Greenhill House he was a dead man, for there Lord Kingston was placed with a party to intercept all the Whigs coming to the city. This made him take a bye-road to Libberton Wynd. A little farther he espied a sen-

tinel on horseback, which obliged him to take Dalkeith way. But coming thither, some colliers told him there was no getting to the city, all the ports being shut, and guards set upon them. This put him to a stand. Reason said, "You must turn back;" credit cried, "You must go forward or lose your reputation." And so he proceeded till he was taken by two sentinels, and carried to the Potterrow Port, where he was examined by the captain of the guard, and instead of being let into the city, was sent with a file of musketeers back to Lord Kingston. Mr. Veitch in this sad dilemma had no other comfort but to put up his desires to God, that he would direct him what to do or say, if he had a mind to spare him any longer. He was examined by Kingston, to whom he gave soft answers. In the meantime, an alarm arising that the Whigs, as they called them, were approaching, Kingston called them to their arms, whereupon Mr. Veitch asked for arms, saying he would go against them in the first rank. This made Kingston say he was a brave fellow.

After the hurry was over, with great difficulty he got off into the city; but finding nothing could be done there, the next

morning, hearing that the western forces marched toward Pentland Hills, he ventured to return by Libberton way toward the House o' Muir. When passing through Roslin Muir, on his way to Glen-cross Water, a party of Dalziel's horse had almost taken him. But being within cry of Captain Paton, now lieutenant of the rear guard of the western army, he beat back Dalziel's horse, and delivered Veitch, saying. "Oh! sir, we took you for a dead man, and repented sore we sent you on such an unreasonable undertaking." As they rode toward Pentland Hills they perceived their friends leaving the highway, marching their main body towards the hill, and a select body to the top. General Dalziel's coming from Currie through the hills occasioned this.

It was now about twelve o'clock, the 28th of November, 1666. It having been snow and frost the night before, the day was pretty clear, and sunshine. In half-an-hour Dalziel's select party, under Drummond, fell upon their select party, but was beaten back, to the great consternation of their army, hundreds of whom, as they were marching through the hills, threw down their arms and ran away; Drummond himself afterwards ac-

knowledging, that if they had pursued this advantage, they had utterly ruined Dalziel's army. Robert M'Lelland of Barmagechan, and Mr. John Crookshanks commanded the first party, who took some prisoners; Major Learmont commanded the second party, who beat the enemy again. The duke of Hamilton narrowly escaped by the dean of Hamilton laying his sword upon the duke's back, which warded off the countryman's blow. Dalziel sending up a party to rescue him, Major Learmont's horse was shot under him, but he, starting back to a dike, killed one of the four pursuers, mounted his horse, and came off in spite of the other three. The last encounter was just as daylight was going, when the Covenanters were broken, and Mr. Veitch fell in amongst a whole troop of the enemy, who turned his horse in the dark, and violently carried him along with them, not knowing but he was one of their own. But they falling down the hill in the pursuit, and he wearing upwards, and the moon rising clear, for fear of being discovered he was obliged to steer off; which they perceiving, cried out, and pursued, discharging several shots at him. But their horses sinking, they could not make the hill, and so

he escaped, and came that night to a herd's house in Dunsyre Common, within a mile of his own habitation.

A little after this William Veitch met with another remarkable deliverance at the laird of Auston's, when the enemy were there in pursuit of his son-in-law, Major Learmont. After this he was obliged to abscond, and went to Newcastle, where he continued some time. Here he took the name of William Johnstone, his mother being of that family. After a considerable time of trouble, for he had the flux through the fatigue and cold he had got in the winter, he went home to visit his wife, where he again narrowly escaped, and returned to Newcastle. From thence he was invited to London, where he preached sometimes for Mr. Blackie, particularly one Sabbath, on these words, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes" (Luke xix. 42). After the blessing was pronounced, some of the auditors cried "Treason, treason!" which surprised Mr. Blackie and the people, till one Colonel Blood stood up and said, "Good people, we have nothing but reason, reason:" and so he

took off Mr. Veitch, which ended the business.

Thus William Veitch travelled from place to place; sometimes at London, sometimes at Nottingham, Chester, Lancaster, sometimes in Northumberland, especially in Redesdale, till the year 1671; when he was persuaded to bring his wife and family to that county, which he did, and settled for some time within the parish of Rothbury. But no sooner was he settled here, though in a moorish place, than the Popish gang stirred up enemies against him on account of his little meeting; which obliged him to remove five miles farther up the country, to a place called Alnham-hall, where many out of curiosity frequented his preaching. Anabaptists also, who kept seventh-day Sabbaths, were punctual attenders.

Here he had no small success in the reformation of people's morals, several instances of which, for brevity's sake, must here be omitted. But the devil, envying these small beginnings, again stirred him up enemies, particularly one Justice Lorrain, who, at the instigation of the clergy, issued warrants to apprehend him. This failing, Lorrain in one of his drinking fits promised to go in person next Sabbath;

and put an end to these meetings. But not many hours after he, by an unusual and strange accident, got his leg broken, so that he could not travel for many weeks.

This design being frustrated, Parson Ward of Kirk Harle went to the bishop of Durham, and returned well armed, as he thought, against William Veitch, having orders to excommunicate him. But being detained by another curate, they drank all night together; and that he might be home against Sabbath, he so tired his horse that he was not able to get him on alone. He hired the herdman of Alnham to lead him, taking his club to drive him on; but while he was unmercifully beating the poor beast, it, without regard to his coat, canon, or the orders he carried, kicked him on the cheek, till the blood gushed out. The boy that led the horse, seeing him fall, ran to a gentlewoman's house hard by, who sent out two servants with a barrow, and carried him in, where he had his wounds dressed. He lay there several weeks under cure, so they were again disappointed.

Having continued there four years, Veitch removed to Stanton Hall, where he found the country filled with Papists, and the parish church of Long Hors-

ley with a violent persecutor, Mr. Thomas Bell. This man, though he was his own countryman, and had received many favours from Mr. Veitch's brother, yet was so maliciously set against him, that he vowed to some professed Papists who were urging him on against those meetings, that he should either ruin Mr. Veitch or he him. And as the event proved, he was no false prophet; for he never gave over till he got Major Oglethorpe to apprehend him, which he did on January 17, 1679.

After various changes he was brought to Edinburgh, and taken before a committee of the Council, February 22, where Sharp was president. Sharp put many questions to him, to see if he could ensnare him. One of them was, "Have you taken the Covenant?" He answered, "This honourable board may easily perceive I was not capable to take the Covenant when you and other ministers tendered it:" at which the whole company gave a laugh, which somewhat nettled the bishops. They asked, "Did you never take it since?" He answered, "I judged myself obliged to covenant myself away to God, and frequently to renew it:" at which Bishop Paterson stood up and said, "You will get

no good of this man; he is all evasion." After other questions, he was required to subscribe his own confession, to which he assented, if without their additions, which at last, through Lundy's influence, they granted. And though they could prove nothing criminal against him, he was remanded to prison, and by a letter from the king turned over to the criminal court which was to meet on March 18, but was adjourned to two different terms after, till the month of July, when sentence of death was to have been passed upon him, upon the old sentence in 1666. William Veitch, seeing his danger, prevailed with his friend, Mr. Gilbert Elliot, to ride post to London, where, not having access to the duke of Lauderdale, he applied to Lord Shaftesbury, and got his case printed, and a copy given to each member of Parliament. The king being applied to, and threatened with a parliamentary inquiry, wrote a letter and sent an express to stop all criminal process against him; by which (procured by Lauderdale out of antipathy to Monmouth, who was minded to have interceded to the king for him), he was liberated under a sentence of banishment to retire to Eng-

land; which he did in a short time after.

Whilst these affairs were transacting Sharp was cut off at Magus Muir, the account of which it were needless to relate here. We may mention, however, a circumstance or two in addition to what has been already stated.

After they had fired several pistols at Sharp in the coach, he was pulled out, and Balfour of Kinloch, having a brazen blunderbuss charged with several bullets, fired it so near his breast that his gown, clothes, and shirt were burnt, and he fell flat on his face. They, thinking a window was made through his body, went off; but one of them, staying to tighten his horse's girth, heard Sharp's daughter call to the coachman for help, for her father was yet alive, which made him call back the rest, knowing if he was not dead their case would be worse than ever. Balfour coming to him while yet lying on his face, and putting his hat off with his foot, struck him on the head till his brains were seen, when, with a cry, he expired. Having searched his pockets, he found the king's letter for executing more cruelties, as also a little purse with two pistol bullets, a little ball made up of all colours of silk,

like an ordinary plumb, and a bit of parchment, a finger breadth in length, with two long words upon it which none could read, though the characters were like Hebrew and Chaldaic. These they took, but meddled with neither money nor watch. After Sharp was, by the Council's order, examined by two surgeons, the blue marks of the bullets were seen about his neck, back, and breast, where the clothes were burnt; but in all these places the skin was not broken, so that the wound in his head had alone killed him. This occasioned a universal talk that he had got proof against shot from the devil, and that the forementioned purse contained the sorcery or charm. However, his brother got liberty to erect a marble monument to him, which, instead of honour—the usual object of such sumptuous structures—stands in St. Andrews as an ensign of his infamy to this day.

The rising of Bothwell immediately followed this; but the Covenanters being defeated, an indemnity was granted to those concerned therein, one of the conditions being that no minister should preach without liberty given, which no faithful minister could assent to. Monmouth, upon Shaftesbury's recommen-

dation, inserted William Veitch's name in the roll with the rest; but, by Bishop Paterson's means, his name was excluded. This made Monmouth say that he should get the matter done another way as soon as he came to London; which coming to Lauderdale's ears at court, by means of Lord Stair, the king signed a warrant, turning the sentence of death to banishment from Scotland; and so he was liberated, and returned back to his old habitation in England.

Not long after his return, hearing they intended in these parts to apprehend him again, he retired westward to the English borders, where he frequently preached at Keelderhead, Wheeler, Causeway, Deadwater, and other places. The wonderful success which the preaching of the gospel, by ministers retiring thither under the persecuting period, had to the repressing, yea, almost extinguishing the feuds, thefts, and robberies so natural to these places and people about the borders, is worthy of serious observation. Before William Veitch's apprehension he had preached with much success at Blewcairn, in Lauder Muir, and several places in the Merse and Teviotdale, especially at Fogo Muir, upon these words,

“Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come” (Psalm cii. 13).

After this Veitch had a very remarkable escape from his enemies. He went to Berwick upon a line from Mr. Temple, but the news coming in the meantime that the earl of Argyle had escaped from Edinburgh, caused no small confusion in Berwick, so that he left the town; and having surmounted several difficulties by means of his good friends and acquaintances, he got to the house of Mr. Ogle, the outed minister of Berwick, now six miles from the place. He desired him to stay till Sabbath was over, and perform an old promise of giving a sermon to a Mr. Hall and his lady, to which he assented. But going to bed at Mr. Ogle's, he being weary, fell asleep, and dreamed that his house at Stanton Hall, more than thirty miles distant, was on fire, which made him awake in no small consternation. He resolved to take journey home; but it not being time to rise, he fell asleep and dreamed the same thing over again, awaking all in a sweat. The doubling of the dream he took for a clear call to go home; and telling the dream to Mr. Ogle, who called it a mere

fancy, he excused himself the best way he could to the laird and lady, before whom he was to preach, and went off. About a mile and a half from his own house he met Pringle of Torwoodlee's man, who said, “O sir, you are long looked for at your house;” which made him ask what was the matter? and if his family were all well! He answered “Yes; but,” says he, “there is a stranger (viz. Argyle), and your wife longs to see you, and we have been for two days sending about the country to find you.” After some converse with the earl he undertook, with his wife's consent, to do his best for bringing him safe to London; and under the name of Mr. Hope he took him along with him to Midburn Grange, where he was to preach that Sabbath. On Monday he took him to a friend's house between Newcastle and Newburn, where he left him, and going to Newcastle, bought three horses at his own expense, the earl being then scarce of money. After this they came to Leeds, and then to Rotherham, where they stayed one night. From thence they set off, and at last arrived safe at London. After staying some time in London, Argyle went to join Monmouth

in Holland, and Mr. Veitch returned to his house in Stanton Hall. But the thing becoming known, he narrowly escaped being taken; and after lurking sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, he was obliged to go over secretly to Holland, where he met with old friends and acquaintances, the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Melvill, Hume of Polwarth, Pringle of Torwoodlee, and Sir James Stuart. Monmouth and Argyle having agreed to make a simultaneous descent, the one on England and the other on Scotland, several of their friends were sent over *incognito* to warn their friends in both kingdoms to make ready. It was Veitch's part to give notice to Northumberland and the Scottish borders. He had a verbal commission from Argyle to procure money for buying arms, drums, colours, horses, and recruiting men, especially parliamentary officers, somewhat of all which he did. But the matter taking air, he was obliged to hide himself near Redesdale Head, even from his very friends, till the season of appearing came, when he narrowly escaped being taken while hid on Carter Fell, covered with only heather, Colonel Struthers and Meldrum's

troop being out in quest of him and others.

This enterprise having failed, Argyle being defeated and taken in Scotland, and Monmouth in England, the design came to nothing. Mr. Veitch, besides his time and trouble, lost about £120 sterling, and interest; and although Argyle's son, the late duke, made repeated promises to reimburse him, yet never was there anything of this kind done, his kindness being soon forgotten.

Prior to this affair of Monmouth and Argyle, one tyrant was cut off to make way for another. As the death of King Charles II. is related by so many historians, it were needless to relate it here: only the following circumstances seem more full, and somewhat different from the accounts of most writers in that period. The duchess of Portsmouth, the king's harlot (for so we may call her), being, by the duke of York's direction, to give the king a treat on Sabbath night, was well supplied by him with wines, especially claret, which the king loved. After he was drunk they bribed his servant to put a dose of poison in his coffee, and advised the duchess to keep him all night; and knowing that, when he first awaked in the morning, he usually called for his snuff, they

hired the duchess' chamber-maid to put poisoned snuff into his box. Accordingly, having drunk the coffee at night, in the morning he awoke, and cried out he was deadly sick, and called for his snuff-box, and took a deal of it. Then growing worse, he called for his servant to put on his clothes; which being done, he staggered and got to the window, and leaning on it, cried, "I am gone, I am poisoned, get me to my chamber." The duke of York getting notice, came running undressed to lament his fate; saying, "Alas! Sir, what is the matter?" To whom he answered, "Oh! you know too well;" and was in a passion at him. In the meantime he called for an antidote against poison which he had got from a German mountebank; but that could not be found, being taken out of the way; neither was his physician to be got, being, as was thought, out of town. All things failing, he, being so enraged, made at his brother. But all entries being secured in the meantime, the duke seeing him so mad, and that the poison was not likely soon to do his turn, set four ruffians on him, which made him cry out; but they soon choked him with his cravat, and beat him instantly on the head, so

that he died. It is said his head swelled bigger than two heads, and his body stank, so that they were obliged to take him out in the night, and bury him privately. The most judicious historians that I have read on this subject, grant that Charles II. was poisoned by the direction of the Papists; but Bishop Burnet in his History, and Dr. Welwood in his Memoirs, say the king had no suspicion that he was poisoned. Burnet insinuates that his harlot, the duchess of Portsmouth, and her confessor, were the instruments, and that the king died in good terms with his brother. Dr. Welwood, who gives both sides, relates the following story: some time the king, having drunk more liberally than usual, retired to the next room in the castle of Windsor, wrapped himself in his cloak, and fell asleep on a couch. He was but a little time returned to the company, when a servant belonging to one of them lay down on the same couch, and was found stabbed dead with a poignard; nor was it ever known who did it. The matter was hushed up, and no inquiry made. But, as to the circumstances of his death, Mr. Veitch no doubt had the advantages to know, as well as many others, being often at London,

and acquainted with some who frequented the court.

After the defeat of Monmouth and Argyle, William Veitch was obliged to lurk for some time in a wood near Newcastle, until the storm was a little calmed; then he ventured to Newcastle to see his wife and family, where he met with some of his Scots relations and some other good people of the town who were also there. They spent a part of the night in prayer and mourning over the sad case that the church and nation were now in, the most part fearing they were never like to see good days again.

After this Mr. Veitch, being wearied with such toil and confinement, went with a Nottingham merchant to Yorkshire, and stayed some time in a town called South Cave. From thence he was invited to preach to the people of Beverley. Here he met with another remarkable deliverance; for the mayor and aldermen compassed the house where he was preaching, and caused the clerk to mark down all their names. Mr. Veitch, by means of his landlord, got off under the name of William Robertson; and so he escaped and hid himself some time among bushes, and then went to a man's house two miles from town, where

he preached out the rest of his sermon to some of the people that followed, and then went home with his landlord.

Mr. Veitch, while in Yorkshire, met with another deliverance: for a Scots Jesuit priest procured a warrant to apprehend him; but, by a Divine providence, he escaped their hands, and so went toward Newcastle. From Newcastle he went to Nottingham. While there, King James' indemnity and liberty were proclaimed, and then he had a call from the people of Beverley to be their minister, which he complied with. At this place he had a numerous congregation, and several times he was invited to preach at Hull, six miles from thence. The people declared there was never such a reformation. Some of the justices of the peace, being Papists, were greatly incensed against it, and used all means to stop his preaching there, but were opposed by the people. Mr. Veitch never had more satisfaction in his ministerial work, as he himself says, than in that place.

Having preached six or seven months, and having wrought a great reformation at Beverley among the people, he was strongly invited to his native country by those who had accepted of the

Toleration then granted. His wife being anxious for his return, he took his leave of Beverley, a pleasant city, after having preached his farewell sermon, when there were many tears shed. In his way home he visited his friends at Dartoun, who persuaded him to stay some time, where he settled a congregation, and left Mr. Long as his successor to that people. After all impediments were removed, he returned to his native land; where the people in the parishes of Oxnam, Crailing, Eckford, Linton, Morebattle, and Hownam, gave him a call to preach to them at Whitton Hall; to which charge he entered in April, 1688. Here he continued that summer, and sometimes was invited to preach at Redesdale, on the English side. But the prince of Orange having landed in England, November 4, 1688, the ministers of Scotland who had been outed thought it expedient to meet at Edinburgh, and called all their brethren to attend there and deliberate.

It fell out unexpectedly to William Veitch, that the meeting voted him to preach the next day after he came, in the new meeting-house over against Liberton Wynd. This he was most averse to, being a stranger to the trans-

actions, for the most part, in Scotland for upwards of thirty years. But his reasons not being heard, he was so perplexed what to do that till eight o'clock he could not find a text. At length falling upon Psalm cxix. 118, "Thou hast trodden down all them that err from thy statutes: for their deceit is falsehood," he was taken up the whole night in thinking on it, without going to bed. When he came to the pulpit, seeing sixteen of the old ministers sitting, and the congregation greatly increasing, his fear increased also. However, he delivered his thoughts upon the subject, with respect to the present circumstances, with such freedom and plainness as offended the prelates, who afterwards sent him a message, that ere long they resolved to be even with him. All the answer he returned them was, to put on their spurs. Upon the other hand, he seemed to give some offence to the godly party, by some free expressions he used with respect to the present government, if Presbytery was erected.

When the Presbyterian church was restored he had calls to several parishes—viz., one to Crailing, another to Melrose, and a third to Peebles, which he was persuaded, by the earl of Craw-

ford and others, to embrace. Yet he met with such opposition there from the old duke of Queensberry, that the church was so overawed as to loose him from that charge. Having now received a call from Edinburgh, one from Paisley, and another from Dumfries, the Assembly, hearing his aversion to Edinburgh after he had been minister of Peebles full four years from September, 1690, voted him to Dumfries in 1694. He left Peebles with great reluctance, not only with respect to the parish, but the country round about; and, upon a new call, struggled to be back; but lost it only by four voices. However, he lost all his legal stipend the four years, which, with the expense of suit, amounted to ten thousand merks.

Mr. Veitch's hard usage from the Assembly, with their illegal removing him merely to please the duke, and their sending him to Dumfries, made him resolve to leave the nation, and refuse to submit to their sentence. In the meantime his old friends in England, hearing this, sent a gentleman to bring him back to them. Mr. Veitch went with him; but he refused to settle with them till he had handsomely ended with the Commission of the church, to which the matter had been

referred. Upon his return they persuaded him to submit; which at last he did, and continued minister in Dumfries until the day of his death, which occurred about the year 1720, being then about eighty years of age.

From the foregoing account two things are conspicuous: 1. That the whole of William Veitch's life, at least during the persecuting period, was attended with a train of remarkable occurrences of Divine providence; 2. That he must have been a most powerful and awakening preacher, from the influence he had upon the manners or morals of those who attended his sermons. Nor is it any disparagement to him that a certain black-mouthed calumniator, in his "Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed," has published to the world that he murdered the bodies as well as the souls of two or three persons with one sermon, because, says he, "preaching in the town of Jedburgh, he declared, 'There are two thousand of you here, but I am sure eighty of you will not be saved;' upon which three of his ignorant hearers despatched themselves soon after." Indeed, it must be granted that, after the Revolution, in the latter end of his life, he became somewhat

inimical and unfriendly to some of those who professed to own and adhere to the same cause and testimony which he himself had contended and suffered for.

Whether this proceeded from the dotage of old age (as some would have it), or from mistaken principles, or anything else, we cannot, and shall not at present determine.

JOHN BALFOUR OF KINLOCH.

JOHN BALFOUR of Kinloch, sometimes called Burley, was a gentleman in the north of Fife. He joined with the more faithful part of our late sufferers; and although he was by some reckoned none of the most religious, yet he was always zealous and honest-hearted, courageous in every enterprise, and a brave soldier, seldom any escaping that came into his hands. He was the principal actor in killing that arch-traitor to the Lord and his Christ, Prelate James Sharp. After this his goods and gear were inventoried by the sheriff, and he was forfeited in life and fortune, and a reward of ten thousand merks offered to any who could apprehend him.

He was a commanding officer at Bothwell and Drumclog. At Drumclog he was the first who, with his party, got over the ditch upon Claverhouse and his dragoons. At Bothwell he was

still among the more faithful part, and at the fight behaved with great gallantry. At the meeting at Loudon Hill, dispersed May 5, 1681, it is said that he disarmed one of the duke of Hamilton's men with his own hand, taking a pair of fine pistols belonging to the duke from his saddle, and telling him to inform his master that he would keep them till they met. Afterwards, when the duke asked his man what he was like, he told him that he was a little man, squint-eyed, and of a very fierce aspect. The duke said he knew who it was, and withal prayed that he might never see his face, for if he should, he was sure he would not live long.

After this Balfour lurked mostly amongst his suffering brethren, till a little before the Revolution, when he went over to Holland, where he joined the prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. Here, having still a desire

to be avenged upon those who persecuted the Lord's cause and people in Scotland, it is said that he obtained liberty from the prince for that purpose, but died at sea before the arrival of the ship in Scotland; whereby that design was never accom-

plished, and so the land was never purged by the blood of them who had shed innocent blood, according to the law of the Lord, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen. ix. 6).

MESSRS. ROBERT TRAILL.

MESSRS. ROBERT TRAILL, the father and son, deserve a place among the Scots Worthies, as they were brought to much trouble for their faithfulness and zeal for our Reformation principles.

Old Mr. Robert Traill, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, along with Mr. James Guthrie and others, met in a private house in Edinburgh, and assisted in drawing up an humble address and supplication to the king; but before it was finished they were apprehended by the government, and committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh, without a hearing. Matters went so high at that time, that a simple proposal of petitioning the king for a redress of grievances was reckoned criminal.

He was brought, August, 1661, before the Lords of Articles, and

afterwards before the Parliament, where he delivered an excellent speech in his own defence, and pointed out the cruelty and injustice then exercised, and the many false accusations that were exhibited against him and his reverend brethren at that time; which may be found in Wodrow's History. After seven months' imprisonment, he wrote to Mr. Thomas Wylie, minister at Kirkcudbright, and says, "I need not write to you how matters go here. This I must say, your imprisoned brethren are kindly dealt with by our good Lord, for whose cause and interest we suffer; and if any of us be straitened, it is not in him, for we have large allowance from him, could we take it. We know it fares the better with us, that you, and such as you, remember us at the throne. We are waiting from

day to day to see what men will do with us; at best we are expecting banishment; but our sentence must proceed from the Lord, and whatsoever it shall be, it is good from him; and whithersoever he is willing to send us, we know that he shall be with us, and shall let us know that the earth is his, and the fulness thereof." Such was the resigned Christian temper of these Worthies. He was afterwards banished, and took refuge in Holland.

On the 19th of July, 1677, their persecuting fury also broke out against his son Robert. Being accused of holding field-conventicles, he was brought before the Council, where he acknowledged that he had kept house-conventicles. But being asked if he had preached at field-conventicles, he referred that to proof, because the law made it criminal. He owned that he had conversed with John Welsh when on the English Border, and that he was ordained to the ministry by Presbyterian ministers at London in the year 1660. But, refusing to clear himself by oath,

he was sent to the Bass; Major Johnstone getting £1000 Scots for apprehending him.

We have no account at what time he was released;* but he was afterwards a useful minister to a congregation of dissenters in London; where he continued many years, and laboured with great diligence, zeal, and success. Here he published his Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification (prompted thereto by his zeal for that distinguishing doctrine of the Reformation) and his Sermons on the Throne of Grace and the Lord's Prayer, at the earnest desire of those who heard them. His sermons on Heb. x. 20-24, entitled, "A Steadfast Adherence to the Profession of our Faith," were published after his death, at the request of many of his hearers.

The simplicity and evangelical strain of the works of Mr. Traill have been savoury to many, and will ever be so, while religion and Scripture doctrine are in request.

* After he had been imprisoned upwards of two months, an Act of the Privy Council was passed for his liberation on the 5th October.

ADDITIONAL MEMOIRS.

NEXT to the glory of performing great deeds is the glory of recording them. So has a classic writer of Pagan times said. This glory belongs to Howie of Lochgoin. He has laid all generations of his countrymen under obligations to him by the faithfulness, and the comparative fulness of the gallery he has presented of the "Scots Worthies." These men, by their faith, rendered great services to Scotland and to the world. They found their country enslaved, and they left it free; they found it barbarous, and they started it on the road of civilization; their sufferings and blood sowed the seeds not of a pure and holy religion only, but of learning, art, commerce, and liberty. To the men whose lives Howie here records it is mainly owing that Scotland is what we at this day behold it—not fallen with Spain, but standing erect and maintaining its place by the side of the greatest empires.

But there are figures missing in this gallery of great characters which are worthy to appear in it. In the pages that follow we have done something towards supplying these vacant spaces. Not that we have made this collection of "Scots Worthies" complete; others may still have to be added, but we have endeavoured to make it a little more perfect than Howie had left it. We shall sketch *first* the Martyrs of the Reformation, and *second*, those that suffered in the times of the Covenant.

HENRY FORREST.

THE "Scots Worthies" opens with a brief account of the ministry and martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton. His was not indeed the first stake which was planted in Scotland; Paul Crawar, a Bohemian, and John Resby, an Englishman, had preceded him in the path of martyrdom. Both owed their knowledge of the truth to Wicliffe, that great father of the Reformation, though the first received it mediately through Huss, who was himself largely indebted to Wicliffe. But

Scotland was to furnish from amongst her own sons men who should witness unto the death for Christ. At the head of this noble band stands Patrick Hamilton. He was the first Scotchman to die for the gospel, and he is therefore commonly styled the proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation.

He was a near kinsman of the reigning king, James V. He was brought to the knowledge of the gospel in Paris; his views of evangelical truth were after-

wards enlarged and deepened at Marburg by converse with a remarkable man, Francis Lambert, the ex-monk of Avignon. Returning to his native country, he taught the reformed doctrine both in public and private in Linlithgow and its neighbourhood. The sweetness of that doctrine was drawing souls to it, and the hierarchy began to be alarmed. The preacher was invited to St. Andrews by Archbishop Beatoun, on the pretext that the latter wished a conference with him on the state of the church. Shortly after his arrival he was put on his trial, condemned as a heretic, and burned at the stake, as described in the foregoing pages.

The tragic yet glorious death of Patrick Hamilton, and the equally tragic but unspeakably melancholy end of Friar Campbell, who confessed the truth in private but became Hamilton's accuser in public, and reviled and tormented him when suffering at the stake, impressed in an awful and solemn manner the minds of men. It seemed as if these two examples had been brought together on purpose. The Gospel and Popery stood contrasted in the triumph of the martyr and the horror and despair of the persecutor; and it

was not long till fruit began to spring up from the seed sown at the stake. The terrible blow by which the Papacy in Scotland hoped to frighten all from the path of the gospel seemed only to draw men to that path. New champions arose. We have told the story of Scotland's first martyr, let us briefly recite that of its second.

The first martyr was a scion of the royal house; the second wore the frock, and was a soldier in what has been denominated the malitia of Rome. His name was Henry Forrest. He was a native of Linlithgow, according to Calderwood, but we are unable to say in what year he was born. When he first comes before us, which is immediately after the martyrdom of Hamilton, he is a young man, a monk in the Benedictine monastery of Linlithgow. He had known and heard Hamilton. He had seen the beauty of his life and felt the power of his doctrine. He had heard him say, doubtless, that it was not the frock of the Benedictine that saves, but the righteousness of Christ; and that it was not the shearing of the head, but the renewing of the heart, that made a holy man. Having heard that doctrine, his own heart bore testimony to it, and he seems to

have embraced it as his ground of trust for life eternal.

But now came tidings that thrilled the whole district where he lived, as they thrilled all Scotland even, that the gentle youth who had preached that heavenly doctrine, who had gone in and out amongst them with the grace of a prince yet the humility and purity of an evangelist, had been laid hold on and barbarously burned in the fire from midday to sundown, by the prelate of St. Andrews, for no other offence than propagating that doctrine. The indignation of the young Benedictine was roused; he spoke out what he thought of the deed. What my lord of St. Andrews deemed heresy was just such heresy, Forrest hinted, as Paul had preached, and had sent in apostolic letters to the churches of primitive times. In short, he said that "Patrick Hamilton was a martyr, and no heretic."

This came to the ears of the archbishop. Of course, if Patrick was a martyr Beatoun was a persecutor; that was an impeachment too grave for one whom the church had anointed with her oil and clothed with her highest dignities to let pass. Forrest was arrested at the instance of the archbishop, and

committed as a prisoner to the sea-tower of St. Andrews. It was now discovered that he had been indulging in a more enormous offence still; he had been reading the New Testament. Knox, in his History, says that Forrest was adjudged to the fire for no other crime but that of having a New Testament in English. This possibly was a copy of Tyndale's translation, which the people in the lowlands of Scotland could read.

Forrest had said that Patrick Hamilton was no heretic, and he had been found to possess a Bible in his mother tongue, both grave crimes in the eyes of the clergy; but the priests sought for something more against him before burning him. It was not easy to find this. In the dungeon of the sea-tower he shut his mouth; but the clergy bethought them of a device to make him open it and disclose his secret thoughts. They sent a friar, Walter Laing, to confess him. The friar-confessor did his office with the craft of his class. Assuming the guise of one who had come rather to console the unhappy prisoner in his dungeon than to discharge the dry formality of confession, he won the confidence of the young Benedictine, who disclosed to him all he thought about the

doctrines of Hamilton. His oath as confessor bound the friar not to divulge what Forrest had imparted to him, and Forrest had trusted to this. But, alas! Rome never hesitates to break the seal of the confessional when there is anything to be known, and keeps it inviolate only when there is no secret that would make it worth her while to break it. What Forrest had whispered in the ear of the friar in his dungeon was told aloud in the hall of the archbishop. The priests had now what they wanted; they were in possession of evidence from his own mouth that he was a heretic.

His trial was now proceeded with. When, on being brought before the court, he saw the archbishop and his clergy assembled in due form, he divined all; he saw that he had been betrayed, and that sentence of death awaited him. Unable to conceal his indignation and contempt at the baseness to which the hierarchy had stooped to ensnare him, he burst out, "Fie on falsehood, fie on false friars, revealers of confession." The court cared nothing in what way they had come into possession of the secret; they had got it and would make their use of it. Forrest was condemned for heresy.

Before leading the confessor to the stake the ceremony of degrading him was gone through. This had been omitted in the case of Patrick Hamilton; fearing a rescue, the hierarchy hurried on his business to its catastrophe. But they had no such fear in this instance. This formality, as our readers are perhaps aware, consists in dressing up the person with all the insignia and vestments appertaining to his office, and again taking them from him one after one, pronouncing on him an anathema as each article is stripped from off him. Forrest had been denuded of all his orders as a Benedictine, and now nothing of all the virtue Rome had infused into him remained, save his baptism. "Take from me," exclaimed Forrest, "not only your own orders, but your own baptism," "meaning thereby," says Calderwood, "whatsoever is beside what Christ himself has instituted;" such as the chrism, the salt, the spittle, the exorcisms, and other things of a similar kind. This open contempt for rites which the Roman Church accounts efficacious and holy, stung those around him to the quick. Their faces grew blacker than ever. "We must burn him," said the

archbishop; "he is as bad as Master Patrick." A merry gentleman, but shrewd withal, standing near the archbishop when this was going on, named James Lindsay, counselled Beatoun with a touch of irony, "My lord, gif ye burn any man, except ye follow my counsell, ye will utterly destroy yourselves. Gif ye will burn them, let them be burned in *how* (hollow) *cellars*; for the reek of Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon." The rage of the primate blinded him, and he saw not the wisdom of this advice. Instead of selecting a "*how cellar*," the most elevated spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the city was chosen as that on which to kindle the pile of Forrest.

This was an eminence near the north stile of the Abbey church of St. Andrews. The flames flashed across the Tay, and were visible to the men

of Angus and Forfarshire, by whom they were beheld, however, with more admiration than fear. Copies of Tyndale's New Testament had already found their way into these parts, the opinions of Luther were there finding disciples; and this, not unknown to Beatoun, determined him on exhibiting the blazing stake of the young Benedictine as a warning to all those who were disposed to follow the new opinions. It had quite the opposite effect. Of the stakes which Beatoun planted we may say as Erasmus said of the piles which the Papal nuncio, Alexander, raised in the Low Countries, "wherever Alexander raises a pile, there he seems to have been sowing heretics." The year of Henry Forrest's martyrdom has not been recorded, but was probably 1532.*

* The authorities consulted are *Knox's History*, *Caldewood's History*, *Foxe's Acts*, *D'Aubigné*, vol. vi., and *Lorimer's Scottish Reformation*.

DAVID STRAITON.

DAVID STRAITON was the third Scottish martyr for the gospel. He was a very unlikely person in the beginning of his career to suffer in such a cause. He

was leading an easy-going life; following his sports and amusements, for which a robust constitution and energetic temperament inclined and fitted him; he es-

chewed books, particularly religious ones: he gave himself no concern about church matters, and certainly was not looking in the least in the direction of the new opinions, when certain annoyances which he received from the clergy made him inquire what the thing called heresy was, and led him ultimately to adopt it and suffer for it.

Straiton was a younger son of the house of Lauriston in Forfarshire, his ancestors, the Straitons, having held that property since the sixth century. His elder brother lived in the castle of Lauriston; David was proprietor of lands near the mouth of the North Esk, on the Forfarshire coast, and wishing perhaps to supplement the income from his little property by the produce of the sea, he kept a few fishing boats, and would seem, at times, to have gone a-fishing in person. He took delight in buffeting with the winds and waves, and was proud of the success that attended him in these expeditions. He would return with his boat freighted with the treasures of the deep, the proofs of his skill and hardihood. But his success drew him into trouble with those who were as skilful fishers as himself, though in another see.

The prior of St. Andrews, Patrick Hepburn, afterwards bishop of Moray, hearing of the well-filled boats with which David returned from his fishing expeditions, demanded tithe of his fish. David, a man of obstinate disposition, and noways suave in his manners, gruffly told the servant of the prior, that "if his master wanted his tithe he must come and obtain it where he got the stock." Disgusted with the greed of the clergy in general, and that of the prior in particular, who was known as a man who looked sharply after the dues of the church, Straiton ordered his servants to cast every tenth fish into the sea. After this never did he draw his nets ashore without cautioning his men "to pay the prior of St. Andrews his tithe."

Prior Hepburn did not at all relish this unusual method of paying his tithe. The tenth fish was no doubt duly surrendered, but he could not see that either himself or the church was a penny the richer. He forthwith summoned Straiton to answer for heresy. The stout-hearted easy-going gentleman was disconcerted. Heresy! He did not even know what it meant: he had, however, come within wind of the church, and he knew enough to be aware that this was

no agreeable matter; he became uneasy.

The promise that the tenth fish should be duly rendered for the future, not into the sea, but into the hands of the prior's servants, would doubtless have instantly made Straiton unexceptionably orthodox. But he did not think of this method of purging his heresy. He began to meditate much on his relations, not to the church, but to God. His stout-heartedness gave way; greater tempests than those he had often battled with on the ocean began to rage in his soul. He felt his sin, but knew not how it was to be blotted out.

He himself could not read; but he cast about in his mind for one who should instruct him. Not far from him was Dun Castle, whose proprietor, John Erskine, a member of the noble house of Mar, had attended several foreign universities, and was a convert to the gospel. "God," says Knox, speaking of Erskine of Dun, "had *miraculously* enlightened him." Straiton knew that the castle was a rendezvous for those of the new opinions, and that the door stood ever open to all who desired instruction in the truth. He resolved to seek the acquaintance of the lord of Dun Castle. He was welcomed

to the meetings of the converts in Dun House; he heard the Scriptures read and expounded. Erskine soon marked the change that had passed upon his rough neighbour. The obstinate and headstrong man became meek and docile. "He was transformed," says Knox, "as by a miracle." He was often in the company of Erskine of Dun, and by his conversation and teachings his knowledge grew apace.

He loved the Scriptures, and eagerly sought opportunities of having them read to him. The following anecdote is a striking instance of this. One day Straiton and his nephew, the young laird of Lauriston, strolled into the fields, taking a Bible with them. Lighting on a quiet and solitary place, they sat down and opened the book. The portion selected was the tenth chapter of Matthew. In the portion read occurred these words of our Lord, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven." Straiton listened as if it were to himself that these words were spoken. He became as one enraptured. Throwing himself on his knees he extended his hands towards heaven, and looking steadfastly upwards for some time, he at last burst forth in

these words, "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy truth, for fear of death or corporal pains."

The issue proved that the prayer was heard. "For," says Spottiswood, "David Straiton at his trial and death behaved most constantly to the defence of the truth, and gave great encouragement to another gentleman, Norman Gourlay, who suffered along with him."

On the 27th August these two confessors were led into a hall of Holyrood Abbey, where their ecclesiastical judges were assembled. The king, James V., "clothed all in red," as Calderwood informs us, was present. Great exertions were made to induce them to recant and "burn their bill." The king, who was greatly moved, pressed them much; but they remained steadfast, nay, they defended their doctrines, although they well knew the penalty. They were

condemned as obstinate heretics to be burned. Straiton appealed to the king on receiving his sentence, and the king would have saved his life but for the interposition of the clergy, who told him that it was incompetent to pardon those who had been condemned by the law of the church. In the afternoon of the same day the two martyrs were led out to execution. The pile was raised at the rood of Greenside, betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, "to the intent," it was said, "that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror." Arriving at the stake they knelt down, and prayed with great fervour. On rising Straiton addressed the spectators, exhorting them to lay aside their superstitions and idolatries, and come to the true light of God's Word. He was stopped by the executioners. To the martyrs the fire had no terror, because death had no sting. Dying together, they took their flight in company to those mansions where they still abide, and shall abide for ever.*

* The authorities on which this memoir is founded are *Knox's History*, *Calderwood's History*,

M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., Notes, *D'Aubigné, History of Reformation in Europe*, vol. vi.

THOMAS FORREST, VICAR OF DOLLAR.

FOUR years elapsed after the death of Straiton and Gourlay till another pile was raised in Scotland. The stakes already planted had "stricken with terror," as it was meant they should; but it was the priests on whom it fell, and who shrunk from repeating their outrages before the rising wrath of the country. But the influence, and indeed the existence of the Roman church, was still menaced by the spread of the new opinions; and the clergy, knowing no other way of checking their growth than by burning those who held them, again unsheathed the sword of persecution. They had now acquired the complete power of the king; and their miserable tool did as they bade him in the way of persecuting those of his subjects who favoured the gospel.

During that period the prosecutions for heresy were numerous. These extended over the whole country from Dumfries to Dundee. How many suffered death it is impossible to say, seeing the names of those only who were possessed of property are extant in the records. Several priests were among the number of those who were brought to

the stake, and chief among these was the subject of our present sketch, Thomas Forrest or Forret, commonly styled the Vicar of Dollar.

Thomas Forrest was of the family of Forrest or Forret in Fife, whose lands lay a little way north of the county town of Cupar. His father had been master of the stables to James IV. After receiving the rudiments of grammar in Scotland he went abroad, assisted by the beneficence of a noblewoman, and prosecuted his studies at Cologne. On his return to his native land he was admitted a canon regular in the Augustinian monastery of St. Colme Inch in the Firth of Forth. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons "about their portion due to them for their maintenance." The canons, believing that the allowance of bread and flesh and wine, with other things for the table, furnished them, was smaller than the charter of the monastery authorized, got hold of the foundation-book, and began searching in it for proofs to make good their claims. The abbot, discovering what they were about, took the

book from them, but gave them instead a folio of Augustine, which had been lying neglected in the library of the monastery. The canons surveyed the volume, but finding in it nothing touching their foundation-rights, turned away disdainfully from it. All did so save one, the son of the master-stabler of James IV. Thomas Forrest opened the volume, knowing something of Augustine, took it with him into his cell, and spent delighted hours in the perusal of it. "O happy and blessed book to me," would he say in after years, "for by it God brought me to a knowledge of the truth." The old folio led him to a yet greater book, the Word of God. He saw clearly the way of life. His faith was rich, deep, and firm. Of his mental struggles through which he passed we know nothing; for no history admits us into the Augustinian cell of St. Colme, as happily we are admitted into the Augustinian cell of Erfurt. One thing we know, that the young canon began to make known to his brethren the treasure he had found in St. Augustine and the New Testament.

Some listened to the teachings of Forrest; they tasted the new knowledge, and their eyes were enlightened: these were the

young canons. The old men stopped their ears. Had it been a new *dish*! but alas, it was only a new *doctrine*! "The old bottles," Thomas Forrest used to say, "would not receive the new wine." The thing came to the ears of the abbot, and he, not approving of such talk in the monastery, advised Forrest to attend to his own salvation, and leave other men to care for theirs in their own way, otherwise he might get into trouble. "I thank ye, my lord," was his answer; "ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul; sooner than deny a word I have spoken, ye shall see this body reduced to ashes and blown away with the wind. Finding that he would not keep silence, and fearing, it may be, that he would draw the suspicion of heresy, not upon himself only, but the monastery also, the abbot had him promoted to the vicarage of Dollar, a rural parish some eighteen miles distant, at the foot of the Ochil hills.

In his parish he laboured incessantly for the instruction and conversion of his flock. He preached every Sabbath. This was at that time rare in Scotland. It was a novelty to see any man preach except a Black friar or a Gray friar. The vicar taught

his people the Ten Commandments; and for their better instruction he compiled a small catechism, which he made children repeat to his brethren when they chanced to visit him, that they might be drawn to aim similarly at the enlightenment of their people; and in his sermons he taught that salvation comes only through the blood of Jesus Christ. When the Indulgence-mongers of the pope invaded his quiet parish to sell their pardons, he thus addressed his people—"Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from the pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." Much light and many conversions in the country around were the fruit of these labours.

He continued a diligent student of the Word of God, ever adding to his knowledge of divine things. He committed to memory three chapters of the Bible daily; and at night, giving the book to his servant, Andrew Kirk, he made him follow him while he rehearsed what he had that day got by heart. He rose every day at six, he studied till twelve; after dinner he visited his flock; in the evening his studies were resumed,

and continued till bed-time. When he visited the sick he would carry bread and cheese in the sleeves of his gown to give to poor patients, or, opening his purse, he would distribute money to them. After this, it is hardly necessary to say that the *uppermost cloth* and the *corpse-present of a cow*, dues which the Roman church not only empowered but required her clergy to exact of the family which death had chanced to visit, Dean Thomas, vicar of Dollar, forbore to receive.

There were those among the neighbouring parish priests who thought that in all this the vicar of Dollar reflected upon them. And no doubt, after a fashion, he did so. We cannot kindle a light without reflecting on the darkness. Dean Thomas' diligence rebuked their idleness; his temperance condemned their riotous living; and his charity but made their extortion the more odious. They complained of him to the bishop of Dunkeld. Conduct so strange could not be tolerated; it was to the injury of "holy kirk," and must be stopped. The bishop summoned the vicar before him.

"My joy, Dean Thomas," said the bishop, when he appeared before him, "I love you well,

and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself." "I thank your lordship heartily," replied the vicar. "My joy, Dean Thomas," continued the bishop, "I am informed that you preach the gospel or epistle every Sunday to the parishioners, and that you take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth from the parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen. My joy, it is too much to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you when you find any good gospel, or any good epistle, that setteth forth the rights of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be." "Truly, my lord," said the vicar, "I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the gospels and epistles, and among them all I never could find any evil gospel, or any evil epistle; but if your lordship will show me the good and the evil gospels and epistles, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil."

"I thank God," replied the bishop with great vehemence, "I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New Testament. Therefore, Dean Thomas, I will

know knothing but my portuise and my pontifical."*

From this saying there arose a proverb, which was commonly applied in Scotland for many years after to persons who were grossly ignorant: "Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeld, that kent neither new law nor auld."

Dean Thomas was let go for the present, the bishop of Dunkeld sending him away with the advice "to let alone all these fancies, for if he persevered in these opinions he would repent it when he could not amend it." Thus dismissed, the good vicar went back to feed his loving flock in that pleasant valley which the Devon so sweetly waters and the picturesque Ochils so grandly overhang.

He was not suffered, however, to continue long in this work. He was summoned before the archbishop of St. Andrews. There had recently been a change in that see; the uncle, James Beaton, who held it when Hamilton was martyred, was now dead, and the yet more cruel, bigoted, and bloodthirsty nephew, Cardinal David Beatoun, filled the archiepiscopal chair of the Scottish ecclesiastical metropolis. It was before this tyrant that the loving pastor and faithful

* My Breviary and Book of Ceremonies.

minister of the Lord Jesus now stood.

John Lauder, one of the cardinal's creatures, stood forward as the official accuser. Addressing the vicar with rudeness, he said to him, "False heretic! thou sayest it is not lawful for kirkmen to take their teinds and offerings and corpse-presents." "Brother, I said not so," replied Dean Forrest; "but I said it was not lawful for kirkmen to spend the patrimony of the kirk as they do, as on riotous feasting and on fair women, and on playing at cards and dice; and neither the kirk well maintained nor the people instructed in God's Word, nor the sacraments duly administered to them as God commanded."

"Dare you deny," urged Lauder, "that which is openly known in the country, that you gave again to your parishioners the *cow* and the *uppermost cloths*, saying that you had no right to them?"

"I gave them again," mildly replied the vicar, "to them who had more mister [need] than I."

"Thou false heretic!" shouted out the accuser, "thou learned all thy parishioners to say the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Paternoster *in English*."

"Brother," replied Forrest, "my people are so rude and

ignorant they understand no Latin, so that my conscience provoked me to learn them the words of their salvation in English, and the Ten Commandments, which are the law of God, whereby they might know their faith in God and Jesus Christ his Son, and of his death and resurrection. Moreover, I taught them and learned them the Lord's own prayer in the mother-tongue, to the effect that they might know how they should pray."

"Why did you that?" demanded Lauder. "Was it by our acts and ordinances of our holy father the pope?"

"I follow the acts of our Master and Saviour, Jesus Christ," meekly responded the accused, "and of the Apostle Paul, who saith, 'that he had rather speak five words to the understanding and edification of the people, than ten thousand in a strange tongue which they understand not.'"

"Where findest thou that?" exclaimed Lauder.

"In my book, here in my sleeve," replied Dean Thomas.

At these words Lauder flung himself upon the dean, and pulling the New Testament from the sleeve of his gown and holding it up before the court he exclaimed, "Behold, sirs, he has the book of

heresy in his sleeve, which causes all the din and strife in the kirk."

"Nay, brother," said Forrest, "you surely could find a better name, if you pleased, for the Evangel of Jesus Christ than the 'book of heresy.'"

"It is enough to burn thee for, though," curtly and coolly replied the accuser.

Dean Forrest was condemned to be burned as a heretic. Four others were condemned at the same time, and died along with him. One was named John Keilor, a Black friar. He was a person of some poetic talent, and composed, after the fashion of the age, a tragedy of the death of Christ; in which the hypocrisy and tyranny of the Popish priesthood was vividly portrayed under that of the Pharisees and high priests. This play was acted publicly at Stirling on the morning of Good Friday, the king and court being present. The priests were so enraged by its cutting and obvious sarcasm, that they never rested till they had brought its author to the stake. Another named John Beveridge, a Black friar; Sir Duncan Simpson, a secular priest at Stirling; and Robert Forrester, a gentleman of the same burgh, were all put on their trial along with the good vicar.

Of these persons very little is known beyond this, that they all favoured the evangelical doctrine. Among other charges advanced against them, some of them were accused of having been present at the marriage of the vicar of Tullibodie, near Alloa, and of having been guilty on that occasion of the heinous sin of transgressing that commandment of the "church" which says, "Thou shalt not eat flesh in Lent." Of this number was the vicar of Dollar, who appears to have been present at the nuptials of his brother vicar.

All five, in the afternoon of the same day on which they were condemned, were conducted to the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, where their stakes were already planted. The king and his court were present at the cruel spectacle. Dean Thomas Forrest, as he stood at the stake, repeated the fifty-first Psalm with great emotion; when he had ended he said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The five piles were then kindled, and the flames blazing aloft proclaimed,* from this elevated spot, to the dwellers in Fife and in the Lothians the rage of the

* See *Knox's Hist.*; *Calderwood's Hist.*; *Fox's Acts and Mon.*; *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, vol. i. Notes; *D'Aubigné, Hist. Reform. in Europe*, vol. vi.; *M'Crie's Story of the Scot. Church*.

priesthood and the heroism of the martyrs that had overcome it. If now more martyr-ashes had

been given to the winds in Scotland, there was so much the more martyr-seed sowed in its soil.

JEROME RUSSEL AND ALEXANDER KENNEDY.

LIT on elevated sites, the lurid glare of their piles streaming over whole counties, the story of their deaths recited in cities and villages, their meekness and virtues weighed against the pride and scandals of the clergy, each new martyr threw a fresh interest around the cause, and gave a new stimulus to the inquiries of the population into the reasons of their death. The Bible was more sought after, despite all the hard names the priests gave the book, and all the cruelties which they inflicted upon the readers of it. Thus daily the evangelical opinions gained ground in Scotland. There was yet no public preachers in the land. The word of God alone was the nation's instructor. The Spirit and the Bible were brooding above the chaos; and the seed being eminently scriptural, the fruit was holy.

Beatoun and the priests took care that Scotland should not fall back into its former apathy.

If the darkness threatened to close in again, the clergy made haste to disperse it by kindling another and another pile. It was only a year after the nation had been thrilled by the burning of the five martyrs on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, that other two confessors of the gospel were put to death. Their names were Jerome Russel and Alexander Kennedy.

Jerome Russel was a Black friar, residing in the convent of the Cordeliers, in the diocese of the bishop of Glasgow. He was "one of those enlightened and pious monks," to use the words of D'Aubigné, "who shone like stars in the dark night of the age." He is described by Knox as "a young man of meek nature, quick spirit, and good learning." Kennedy was a gentleman of Ayrshire, who had received a liberal education. He had not yet passed his eighteenth year, and was, says Calderwood, "a man of good wit and excelling in Scottish poesie." This last

apostate into the confessor and martyr—the willing, joyful martyr. Falling on his knees, the joy of his soul brightening his face and lending animation and triumph to his accents, he poured out his devotion and love to his Saviour in prayer thus:—

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

This affecting scene made an impression upon the primate. It awoke for a moment his sense of justice and humanity. “I think it better,” he said, mildly remonstrating against what he could hardly but feel was as inexpedient as it was unjust, “I think it better to spare these men than to put them to death.”

But the agents of the cardinal, who sat beside him, their feelings indurated and their consciences seared by base subserviency and the practice of all sorts of villanies at the bidding of their master, instantly interfered. Knowing that they had a weak man to deal with, they set about browbeating and terrifying him. “What will ye do, my lord? Will ye condemn all that my lord cardinal, the other bishops, and we have done? If so ye do, ye show yourself an enemy to the church and to us, and so we will repute ye, be ye assured.” It was the old threat, If ye let these men go, ye are not the pope’s friend. Fear fell on the archbishop. He silenced the pleadings of pity and the remonstrances of conscience in his breast; his reputation, his mitre it might be, with all the ease, affluence, and dignity it brought him, were at stake. He gave consent that it should be as the cruel and bloodthirsty agents of the cardinal desired.

The two confessors were condemned to the flames. The next day they were brought forth and led to the stake. We see them passing through the fire as Hopeful and Christian passed through the river, the one afraid that he would sink in the floods and

never see the good land beyond ; the other hopeful and courageous, and bearing up his trembling companion by telling him that he saw the shore and the shining gates of that celestial city where they were to dwell for ever. Russel, thinking that he saw some signs of fear on the part of his young companion, comforted him with sweet and gracious words as they passed on together to the place where they were to die. "Be not afraid, brother," said Russel to Kennedy, "for mightier is he that is in us than he that is in the world. The pain that we shall suffer is short, and it will be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us be of good courage, and enter in at the same

strait gate whereat our Master and Saviour hath entered before us. Death cannot destroy us, for it is already destroyed by him for whose sake we are about to suffer." With these words the strong man made the road smoother to the feet of his weaker brother.

Arrived at the stake, both kneeled down and prayed. They then ascended the pile, and stood there without any sign of fear. The flames were kindled and speedily did their work. So, disrobing themselves of their fleshly garments at the stake, they mounted on high, there to array them in those garments which the fire may not consume. They had gotten the victory.

ALEXANDER SEATON AND OTHER SUFFERERS.

THE blood which the priests were spilling in Scotland was very fruitful. If the stake thinned the confessors of the truth by *twos*, it multiplied them by *dozens* and *scores*. There were many martyrs at this era in our country whose names have been recorded in no earthly register ; but besides those who suffered death there was a "cloud

of witnesses" who were called to endure bonds and exile and loss of goods for the gospel. The continually increasing number of these showed how rapidly the evangelical opinions were spreading, and how effectually the hierarchy were undermining the foundations of their own power, and precipitating the fall of the Roman church in Scotland by

was a dangerous gift in those days, when the priests offered so inviting subjects for its exercise. The young Kennedy was unable to resist the temptation so to exercise his poetic gift. Fired rather by the indignation of a generous mind than the love of the gospel, he wrote some biting verses on the clergy. The pungency of his satire was acknowledged in a way that its author hardly expected, and certainly did not wish. He was apprehended on a charge of heresy. By this time Russel too had been apprehended, and was in prison heavily ironed.

Beatoun was resolved on dragging both to the stake, but there were difficulties in his path. These two new confessors were in the diocese of Glasgow. The archbishop of Glasgow, Gawin Dunbar, was less intolerant than Beatoun; and moreover, being chancellor of the kingdom, Dunbar held the highest authority in the state. Beatoun, it is true, had already been created cardinal at Rome, but his red hat had not yet arrived in Scotland, and till he had received the pontifical insignia of his high dignity, he could not walk into the diocese of his brother of Glasgow with his great cross carried in solemn pomp before

him, and in virtue of his superior powers burn whom he would.

The cardinal, nevertheless, was determined that Russel and Kennedy should not escape him.

John Lauder, the base tool whom we have already seen figuring so prominently in the murder of the vicar of Dollar, was sent to Glasgow to work on the archbishop. Along with him were sent two other creatures about equally base, and almost as expert in compassing the death of innocent men. The one was Andrew Oliphant, a supple notary, and the other was Friar Mortman, a very ardent monk. These three "sergeants of Satan," as Knox styles them, did the cardinal send to the archbishop of Glasgow "to stir him up to dip his hands in the blood of God's saints."

The two prisoners were put on their trial before the archbishop, Gawin Dunbar, the three "sergeants" being by to guide the trial to the issue their master "in red" and also their master "in black" desired. Kennedy, who, as we have said, had been moved in what he did fully as much by the *poetic* as by the *evangelic* influence—his faith immature and his years youthful—awed by the pomp of the tribunal, the gravity of the charges, and the

dreadful issue to which he saw the affair tending, exhibited an inclination, if he did not declare a willingness, to recant.

Russel, on the other hand, whose convictions were based on a knowledge of the word of God, and whose opinions had been developed and established by reading and study, and who, moreover, was of more years than his companion, was full of decision. He was calm and intrepid before the bishop's judgment seat. He maintained with great force of argument the opinions he professed; he refuted with wisdom and dignity the accusations of his enemies, and by his learning and spirit established incontestibly his vast superiority to the men who sat as his judges. His moral triumph was complete, a legal one it was impossible to gain before such a tribunal. His doom had been fixed before he began to plead.

Unable to reply to his arguments, or to bear the wisdom with which he spake, his judges poured upon Russel a torrent of opprobrious epithets. If they could not make their tribunal dignified by the virtues of justice and mercy, they could make it dreadful by the passions of fury and revenge. This abuse roused

still more the righteous scorn of the prisoner. Giving vent to his feelings, he thus addressed the court:—"This is your hour, and power of darkness; now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocence will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion! Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquity."

The arrow now shot by Russel fell where he little expected it would alight. If the archbishop and the other proud men who sat beside him closed their breasts and repelled it, Kennedy, his fellow-prisoner, opened his to receive it, and to be wounded by it not "unto death," but "unto life." The bold confession of Russel brought two martyrs to the stake that day instead of one; and if his appeal could not save his own life, it saved the life of the man beside him, if there be truth in our Lord's words, that he that "loseth his life shall find it." In the hands of the Spirit, the words of Russel became the means of reviving the conscience, strengthening the faith, and fixing the resolution of Kennedy. They transformed the almost

Patrick Hamilton had exercised in this college, by the diffusion of evangelical principles among its students, and to such an extent had he leavened the youth with the gospel, that if one was suspected of Lutheranism it was said of him, that "he had drunk at the well of St. Leonard's." Logie quitted his native country at this time. Others of talent and position also went into exile. Among these were Johnstone, an Edinburgh advocate; Fife, a friend of Alesius; John Willock, a Dominican friar at Ayr; John M'Dowal, a Dominican at Glasgow; and M'Alpine, or Macca-bæus, a Dominican friar at Perth, and who is mentioned by Gerdesius as having won the esteem of the king of Denmark, by whom he was appointed a professor in the university of Copenhagen.

But of all the exiles whom the storms of persecution compelled to carry their genius and their accomplishments to enrich other lands, and to the same extent impoverish their own, perhaps the most illustrious was George Buchanan. He was the finest Latin scholar Scotland has ever produced, but he would most certainly have perished had he not succeeded in making his escape. His unrivalled powers of satire were put forth in his

poem, "The Franciscan," in lashing the priests and monks. It smote with terrible severity the greed, pride, and shameless profligacy of the clergy, who would have exulted in the destruction of its author above that of any other man in all the realm. But happily for the interests of learning and religion also, Buchanan, though imprisoned, made his escape and went to France. The barbarian crew that, through the supineness and viciousness of the king, had got the upper hand in our country, cared nothing for letters, nothing for arts, nothing for industry, or for any one thing, provided they were able to revel in power, in wealth, and in luxury. They would not have left a single scholar or a single friend of enlightenment and progress in all Scotland, if it could help to carry their object, which was to uphold that superstition by which they had their wealth. All must be sacrificed to their idol.

The wealthy among our countrymen were able to flee; but when those in the lower walks of life embraced the gospel, as numbers were now doing, they in many instances had to confess it at the stake. Many of their humble names have passed into oblivion; a few only have been

preserved.* In the year 1543 the cardinal made a tour through his diocese, displaying the symbols of his power with great pomp, in order to strike terror into the enemies of the hierarchy. At Perth many persons were apprehended and arraigned, among whom the following six were condemned and executed:—William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Rawleson, and Helen Stark. The charges against the five men were as follows:—Of the first four one was accused of interrupting a friar while teaching that a man cannot be saved without praying to the saints; the other three for having treated disrespectfully the image of a saint, and eaten flesh on a day on which the use of it has been forbidden by the pope. The fifth was charged with having derisively adorned his house with a wooden representation of the three-storied crown of the pope. The woman, the wife of one of the four, whom we shall meet again, was condemned for refusing to invoke the Virgin Mary, saying that she would pray to God alone, through Jesus Christ. Of the six confessors, four men were hanged, one was burned

alive the day after, and the woman was put into a sack and drowned. Such were the methods by which the cardinal strove to reconcile the Scots to the sweet yoke of the Papacy.

But the bush burned and was not consumed. Beatoun and the priests thought that the country had been given into their hands; the king was now completely at their bidding, and they were marking out their victims for slaughter. They wished to crush the nobility, seeing the reformed opinions were spreading rapidly amongst them. The cardinal drew up a list, containing the names of above one hundred nobles, and gave it to the king, that they might be put to death as heretics. Among the nobles marked out for destruction were Lord Hamilton, the first person of the realm after the king, the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the earl marshal, and other nobles, all well disposed toward the gospel. No greater proof could there be of the progress the Reformation had made in Scotland. Meanwhile the disastrous defeat of the Scottish army at the Solway, the consequent death of the king of a broken heart, the discovery of the list of proscribed nobles on his person after death, the fierce but brief outburst of tyranny on

* See a list of sufferers in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i. Notes, pp. 356-369. Edinburgh, 1831.

the very means which they took to prop up both.

The first disciples of the gospel in Scotland were men of rank and learning. From the nobles and aristocracy the Reformation descended to the humbler classes. In several instances the first thing to reveal the evangelical sentiments of some nobleman or dignified clergyman was his sudden flight. The young scholar Alesius, the convert of Patrick Hamilton, had transferred his piety, his genius, and his learning to Germany, as we have already said, though he continued to watch, from the scene of his exile, the progress of his country in reformation, and to aid it by his letters and writings.

Another man of parts and influence had to seek asylum in a foreign land. Alexander Seaton, a monk of the Dominican order, was confessor to the king. He was a man of tall stature, ready wit, fearless courage, and accustomed to speak his mind with more freedom than was safe when so many eyes and ears of the Papacy were about him. The Dominican came to the knowledge of the truth, and with his constitutional frankness began to condemn the church in both her doctrines and her priests.

He was appointed to preach the Lent sermons (1532) in the cathedral of St. Andrews. "Jesus Christ," said he, "is the end of the law, and no one is able by his works to satisfy divine justice. A living faith, which lays hold of the mercy of God in Christ, can alone obtain for the sinner the remission of sins. But for how many years has God's law, instead of being faithfully taught, been darkened by the tradition of men!" The clergy were alarmed. It was but four years since they had burned Hamilton, and now rank Lutheranism was openly preached in the cathedral of St. Andrews by a Dominican. But the preacher was confessor to the king, and that complicated the matter. The archbishop summoned Seaton before him. "My good Dominican," said Bishop Beaton, "what is this that I hear of you? You are reported to have called the ministers of the church 'dumb dogs.'" "It is an unfounded accusation," replied the king's confessor. "I am well pleased to hear it," answered Beaton; "but here are the witnesses." These witnesses stood to their former assertions, maintaining that the preacher had stigmatized the clergy as "dumb dogs." "These men are liars," said

Seaton. "Consider what ears they have who cannot distinguish between Paul, Isaiah, and Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seaton. I said that Paul says it behoves a bishop to be a teacher; and Isaiah says that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs! I of my own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced." The bishops would have speedily silenced so bold a reprover, but they feared the king. Beatoun resolved to make trial how far they might proceed. He went to the king, and complained that his confessor had turned Lutheran. The king was but too glad to hear it. Seaton, in his capacity as confessor, had some time before boldly reproved the king for his licentious life; and James, who felt he could neither abandon his loose habits nor submit to the faithful reproofs of his confessor, saw in the movements of the bishops a means of getting rid of the man whose faithfulness had made him obnoxious to him. The king became cold, the bishops in proportion became hostile; and Seaton, seeing to what issue things were evidently tending, fled, and found refuge in Berwick-on-Tweed, and soon thereafter removed to London. Thus another

man of learning, and eloquence, and evangelical faith was lost to Scotland.

But if Alesius, Seaton, and numbers besides, whose learning would have instructed, whose genius and worth would have adorned the country, were compelled to flee, there was a teacher in Scotland who could not be driven out. The clergy knew to their disquiet and vexation that the Holy Scriptures were in the midst of the land, speaking to the people at the silent hour of midnight, and gathering them together in solitary and secret places unknown to the spies of the hierarchy. They resolved, if possible, to silence that teacher. Proclamation was made in every parish that "it was forbidden to sell or to read the New Testament," and all copies found in the shops were ordered to be burned.*

Two years later (1534) we find the exodus of learned men still going on. Among those who fled from the Scottish shore, driven away by the bishops, were Gawin Logie, a canon of St. Andrews, and principal regent of St. Leonard's College. He followed up the influence which

* MS., Advocates' Library; Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, vol. i. p. 161.

the part of Beatoun after the king's decease, present us with a series of events which helped,

* Knox, History; Sadler, i. 94. Sadler says the list contained "eighteen score noblemen and gen-

one after the other, to pave the way for and hasten the downfall of the Papacy in Scotland.*

tlemen, all well minded to God's word." Keith, 22. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 3, 4. Edin., 1735.

JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN.

THE elevated rank of Erskine of Dun, his great talents, his scholarly attainments, his knightly qualities, and, above all, the chief part which he took in the advancement of the Reformation in its earlier stages, entitle him to rank in this roll of worthies, where he occupies a place second only to that of Knox and Moray.

John Erskine was born at Dun House, in the parish of that name, in Forfarshire, about half-way between Montrose and Brechin, in 1509 o.s.* By his father's side he was of the noble house of Mar; his mother was a daughter of William, the first Lord Ruthven. He was educated most probably at the University of Aberdeen, and, as the custom then was, he went abroad to complete his studies by attendance at the foreign universities. On his return home he brought with him a Frenchman well

skilled in Greek, whom he placed as teacher of it in Montrose. Erskine of Dun had thus the honour of being the first of his countrymen to patronize the study of that elegant language, as Montrose has the glory of being the first of the Scottish cities in which the tongue of the New Testament was taught.

After his father's death a good deal of his time was spent in the discharge of those duties which naturally devolve on one of his position in his native county. He often took his seat on the magistrates' bench: the citizens of Montrose, glad to avail themselves of his talents, probity, and weight of character, almost always elected him as their provost. He varied his labours as a civic and county administrator of justice by occasional attendance in Parliament.

He was still young when

* Until the end of the sixteenth century the Scottish year commenced on the 25th of March;

hence discrepancies in the statement of his age at the time of his death.

he abandoned Popery. Neither the year of his conversion nor the place is known. It is probable that the light shone upon him abroad. He could not be in Germany or in France at that time without coming in contact with the reformed opinions, and even with the reformers; and a mind so candid and capacious could hardly fail to see their truth and relish their beauty. The light shone full and clear into his heart, for we find Knox speaking of him as "one whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated."

The castle of Dun now became very unlike the most of the Scottish baronial residences in those days. Instead of the sound of feasting and revelry within, and of hound and horn outside, Erskine, while he lived as became his rank and neglected no duty that devolved on his station, opened his house to scholars and lovers of the evangel. The Bible was openly read and expounded in his household; all who wished instruction in the truth knew that they would find it there, and that the doors of Dun House stood open to them; and frequent reunions took place under its roof, its accomplished host acting the part at once of entertainer and instructor. The

influence of Erskine in leading his neighbour, Straiton of Lauriston, to a clear knowledge of the truth and an open profession of it, we have already related. Straiton afterwards witnessed for it at the stake; the priests would have dragged Erskine to the stake also had not his birth, talents, position, and influence made them fear, as yet, to adventure on his seizure.

Dun House became a focus of light in that part of the country. There we see the day breaking, while the night was undisturbed in the metropolis and other parts of Scotland. Of the neighbours of Erskine many became disciples of the gospel, and even light-bearers. We need only mention the names of Wishart, the lands of whose family were conterminous with those of Erskine of Dun; the venerable Walter Mill, whose stake may be said to have lighted to our shores the steps of our great reformer; the two Melvilles, Andrew and James, also were born within a few miles of his mansion. Very fruitful did John Erskine make this part of the Scottish soil.

Erskine was the patriot as well as the reformer. In the war which broke out between Scotland and England in 1547 some ships of the latter country were

sent to ravage the coast of Forfarshire. They arrived in the bay of Montrose, but slackening sail, they waited out of sight of the town until nightfall. Hoisting lights in the darkness, the little hostile fleet made known its descent on the shore to the inhabitants. Their gallant provost, Erskine of Dun, armed the citizens, and hastily forming them into three bands, gave the invaders so warm a reception that they were fain to betake themselves again to their ships, after having suffered considerable loss. The city was thus saved.

Towards the end of 1555 John Knox arrived in Scotland from Geneva. He came to Edinburgh, and took up his abode at the house of James Syme, a "respectable burgess," says M'Crie, "in whose house the friends of the Reformation assembled, to attend the instructions of Knox, as soon as they were informed of his arrival. Few of the inhabitants of the metropolis had as yet embraced the reformed doctrines, but several persons had repaired to it at this time, from other parts of the country, to meet with Willock. Among these men was John Erskine of Dun." The preaching of Knox made a powerful impression upon Erskine," says M'Crie, "it was so superior

to any he had ever before heard from either Popish or Protestant preacher." He opened his apartments in Edinburgh to all who wished to hear Knox. The audience every day became more numerous. Successive congregations would assemble in the course of the same day, and Knox preached many times every day. The thirst for the Word of God, so long withheld by the priests of Rome, was so great that the hours of the day were too few to instruct all who came, and Knox, denying himself needed repose, often devoted his nights to the same work. These young disciples, though they bore the evangel a true love, and felt the Word of God the "true bread," indispensable to their happiness, yet continued to attend the public worship of the Roman church, and even partake of the mass. Knox laboured to show them the inconsistency, and indeed criminality of this. The fear of incurring persecution by the public avowal of their faith was the main reason that led to the adoption of this temporising conduct, but not the sole reason: they felt unable to enter fully into the liberty to which the gospel called them, by completely abandoning all the Popish ceremonies and rites,

the shackles of their former bondage. Knox sought to plant a nobler spirit in their breasts, and Erskine of Dun co-operated with him in this matter. He invited to supper at his house the leading Protestants—if these could be called so who as yet had made no open protest—of Edinburgh, expressly to give Knox an opportunity of explaining and enforcing his views as to the impiety of the Popish mass, and the sin of giving it countenance. Among the number assembled in the supper-room was Maitland of Lethington. Maitland was a young man of the finest parts, carefully improved by education, but as accommodating in religion as he was versatile in politics. The question of attendance on mass was debated between Maitland and Knox. The former employed all his subtlety and ingenuity in the defence of the practice. But his argumentation was so completely demolished by the powerful reasoning of Knox, that even Maitland dropped his sword to the reformer, confessing himself vanquished, and that the practice was indefensible. All present engaged to one another that henceforth they would no more attend mass, or be seen at the Roman worship. Thus the evan-

gelicals separated themselves from the church of Rome, and stood apart, a little flock, a protesting and reforming church.

Erskine, on leaving Edinburgh, took Knox with him to Dun House. The reformer continued with him a month, during which he preached every day, the principal persons in the neighbourhood attending his sermons. Quitting Angus for a while, the reformer paid a visit to Calder House, on the south of the Forth. At the beginning of the following year (1556), he extended his tour to Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the Scottish Lollards: he preached in the town of Ayr and other places in the southwest of Scotland, and dispensed the Supper on several occasions after the reformed manner. Then turning northward Knox paid a second visit to Dun House.

On this occasion he preached more openly than before: "He taught with great libertie, and ministered the communion at the requeist of the gentlemen of the countrie about, speciallie of the Mearns." The most of the gentlemen of the Mearns were now professors of the reformed faith, and so they not only partook together of the Supper, but, as Knox tells us, they entered into a bond in which, re-

nouncing the Romish communion, they engaged to maintain and promote the preaching of the gospel as Providence should give them opportunity.*

That this "band" was a written document is not so clear. We are disposed to think that it was a verbal compact, solemnly entered into by those present who had celebrated the ordinance of the Supper. The earliest written document of this sort extant is dated 3rd of December, 1557, and as given by Knox in his History is as follows:—"We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrist of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the evangel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victorie in him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the Majesty of God and his congregation, that we (by his grace) shall with all diligence apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the blessed Word of God and his congregation, and shall labour to our possibility

to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nurse them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, with all our power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy Word and congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof: and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation by this our subscription at this present. God called to witness." The subscribers of this bond or covenant are the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Archibald Lord of Lorn, and the subject of our memoir, John Erskine of Dun.*

On the 26th of June in the year following (1558) Erskine of Dun was appointed by the Parliament one of the commissioners to proceed to France and wit-

* Works of John Knox, collected and edited by David Laing, Esq., vol. i. pp. 250-51. Edin., 1846.

* An original copy of this covenant was found among the family papers of Erskine of Little Sauchy, by the late Rev. James Young, and is published with a *fac simile* in Mr. David Laing's works of Knox, vol. vi. p. 675. Edin., 1864.

ness Mary's marriage with the dauphin, and settle the terms of the marriage contract. He survived that fatal embassy, and returned to report proceedings to Parliament in November of the same year. On their return home all the commissioners were suddenly taken ill at Dieppe in the end of August, not without suspicion of poison. Four died, and four lived to return to their native land.

Erskine continued to stand in the front rank of the reformers of his native country. He took a prominent part in the stirring events that followed the third return to Scotland of John Knox from Geneva, 2nd May, 1559. He mediated between the Lords of the Congregation and the Queen-regent, Mary of Guise, the widow of James V. In the civil war that now broke out he appeared in the field as a temporal baron. But soon, judging that he could advance the cause of the gospel more effectually by preaching than by the sword, he laid aside his armour, and became a professed preacher of the Word. To this he was probably urged by Knox, who knew how much the people needed instruction, and how well qualified Erskine was by his gifts, his knowledge of Scripture, his personal piety,

and his weight of character for that important office. His expositions of Scripture in private had already been blessed to many, and there seemed to be an obvious call, in the great lack of able and godly ministers, for Erskine, and such as he, to exercise their powers in a wider and more public sphere. After the establishment of the Reformation (1560) he was appointed one of the five superintendents to whom was assigned severally the oversight of a certain district. The number originally contemplated was ten, but owing to the lack of funds, and also of properly qualified persons, there never were more than five superintendents. To Erskine was assigned the district of Angus and Mearns. His first designation to this work was by a Committee of Parliament; but on the meeting of the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland, December, 1560, the appointment was formally made, the Assembly declaring, that "John Erskine of Dun was apt and able to minister." From that time forward his usual designation was "John Erskine of Dun, knight, superintendent of Angus and Mearns." In consideration of his spiritual office he was released from his duties as a temporal

baron. An Act under the Privy Signet, November 21, 1574, as Petrie relates, indemnifies him for non-attendance in the Sheriff Court in the past, and exempts him for the time to come, or so long as he shall hold the office of superintendent.

In those days there existed three orders of public instructors in the Reformed Church of Scotland besides the pastor. The destitution of the country in respect of worship and preaching gave birth to them, and as these exigencies compelled the church to resort to this expedient, it was meant to cease along with the exigencies that necessitated it. These three orders were the Reader, the Exhorter, and the Superintendent. The first were persons who had received a common education, and were appointed to read the Scriptures and the common prayers. If they advanced in knowledge they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the Scriptures. This procured for them admission, but only after examination, into the second order, that of exhorters. The third order, the superintendents, was created by the same necessities which had compelled the church to have recourse to the first two. The

best distribution of the ministers, it was judged, was to supply the great towns with stated pastors, and to assign to the rest particular districts over which they were to travel regularly, for the purpose of preaching, of planting churches, and inspecting the conduct of ministers, exhorters, and readers. They were elected for life; their office was laborious, their status was noways superior to the rest of the ministers, and they were responsible to the General Assembly.

His zeal and labours for the Reformed Church of Scotland continued unabated to the day of his death. He was greatly loved and trusted by Knox. He was not less than five times moderator of the General Assembly. He was present at Knox's fifth interview with Queen Mary in Holyrood, and endeavoured to mitigate her anger against the reformer. He assisted at the coronation of James VI. at Stirling (1567), and the oath usually administered to the kings of the realm on their being crowned was taken by the earl of Morton and Erskine of Dun on the young monarch's behalf. When Parliament began to invade the order of the church by the introduction of bishops, he stood forward as the champion of her liberties.

In 1571 he wrote a long letter on this matter to the earl of Mar, then regent of the kingdom. Calderwood has given this letter at great length; it is important from the plainness with which he states the doctrine of the two jurisdictions, thus—"There is a spiritual jurisdiction and power which God has given unto his kirk, and to those who bear office therein: and there is a temporal power given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of another, if they be right used. But when the corruption of man entereth in, confounding the offices, usurping to himself what he pleaseth, nothing regarding the good order appointed of God, then confusion followeth in all estates. . . . A greater offence or contempt of God and his kirk can no prince do than to set up by his authority men in spiritual offices, as to create bishops and pastors of the kirk; for so to do is to conclude no kirk of God to be, without it have its own proper jurisdiction and liberty, with the ministration of such offices as God hath appointed. . . . The superintendents that are placed ought to continue in their offices notwithstanding any others that intrude themselves, or are placed

by such as have no power in such offices. They may be called bishops, but are not bishops, but idols (Zech. xi. 17), sayeth the prophet. And therefore the superintendents which are called and placed orderly by the kirk, have the office and jurisdiction; and the other bishops, so called, have no office or jurisdiction in the kirk of God. . . . I cannot but lament from my very heart that great disorder used at Stirling at the last Parliament, in creating them, placing them, and giving them a vote in Parliament as bishops, in despite of the kirk and high contempt of God."*

His even-tide was passed in labour, even as his noon-day had been. About this time the Assembly appointed commissioners for compiling the Second Book of Discipline; part of the work was allotted to Mr. Erskine. In 1579 the book was presented complete, and approved by the Assembly, and has remained the great authoritative compend of the church's laws. Other matters were from time to time devolved upon him, which his sound judgment, conciliatory disposition, and great experience of affairs enabled him to execute with advantage to the church.

* Calderwood's History of Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 159, 160. Edinburgh, 1843.

Having lived through a most eventful period of the history of his church and country; and having acted a foremost part in all the events of that time, which extended from the dominancy of the Papacy in Scotland to the establishment of Presbyterianism, he fell asleep, March 12, 1591, in the eighty-first year of his age. Archbishop Spottiswood, who knew him well, says of him that "he was a man famous for his services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the church, which, out of the zeal which he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all

means." He was the last of the five superintendents. No monument marks the spot where his ashes repose. In Johnstone's Latin Poems on Scottish Martyrs we find the following, which we translate:—

SIR JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN, KNIGHT.

After a long line of ancestors,
 After many illustrious ancestors,
 The name of Erskine is adorned
 By a still greater glory,
 That of the cross of Christ,
 Which alone is everlasting,
 Which alone makes men good,
 Which alone fits them for heaven.
 He united decision with wisdom,
 And tempered both with piety.
 His precepts and his practice
 Mutually harmonized.
 Past ages gave birth to no better man.
 No one of his ancient progenitors
 Surpassed him in reputation and honour.

RALPH ROGERS.

RALPH ROGERS was ordained minister of Ardrossan in the twenty-third year of his age. He proved a highly acceptable and able preacher of the gospel, and while in that parish he received a call from Ayr; but his translation to that town did not take place. As a proof of the estimation in which his talents were held, it may be mentioned that when the Revolutioners and Protesters appointed a meeting

for conference with the view of comparing their differences, the latter party, to which his judgment led him to adhere, appointed him on their side to converse with and discuss the matter with that eminent and worthy man, Mr. James Ferguson, minister of Kilwinning; and that he defended the cause of the Protesters with such ability that his opponent gained no advantage over him.*

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 45.

After the death of the eminent James Durham, minister of the Inner High Church, Glasgow, which took place on the 25th June, 1658, Rogers was translated from Ardrossan to that city to succeed him. This appointment was made in compliance with Mr. Durham's recommendation when he was on his death bed. The ministers of Glasgow prevailed with the magistrates, who, though malignantly inclined, had a great veneration for Durham, to leave the nomination of his successor to himself; and accordingly they drew up a paper obliging themselves to call the minister whom he should recommend.* The paper was lodged in the hands of Durham, who promised to give his advice. This was about a month before his death. A day or two after he named Mr. David Veitch, then minister of Govan. But having, it is said, a strong presentiment that Mr. Veitch was too ripe for heaven to be transported to any church on earth, and that he would be there almost as soon as himself—which turned out to be the case, there being only eight days betwixt their death—

* Howie, in his "Life of Durham," gives a somewhat different account of this transaction. He says that "the better part being afraid that the magistrates, and some of the ministry who were for the Public Resolutions, would put in

Durham the day before his death called for the magistrates and ministers, and told them that he had been thinking on their proposal, and named three ministers whom he highly esteemed as well qualified to succeed him, Mr. George Campbell, Mr. Francis Aird, and Mr. Ralph Rogers, the last of whom he particularly recommended.†

After the Restoration, Rogers was ejected from his charge in Glasgow. He was one of the noble band of nearly four hundred ministers who in 1662, rather than conform to Prelacy, surrendered their livings. Most of these men were learned and able ministers of the gospel, yet were they required, in order to their continuance in their charges, to take out a presentation from their patron and to receive collation from the bishop. This their conscience would not permit them to do, and rather than deny their whole former life, and ministry, and principles, they surrendered their earthly all and went forth into the world. Their flocks mostly went out with them, and continued to hear them in the

one of their own stamp after his death, moved Mr. Carstairs, his colleague, to request him to name his successor," which he accordingly did.

† Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 46.

fields or wherever they found it possible to preach.

The curates were left with empty churches. The government bethought them of a device for bringing back the people; this was termed the Indulgence. The thing took shape in a letter of King Charles to the Privy Council in Scotland in 1669. In his letter royal the king commanded that orderly and peaceable outed ministers should be reponed in their kirks at the call of the people; and if their former charges were occupied, they were to be placed in others as soon as a vacancy occurred. Those that accepted collation at the hands of the bishop were to enjoy the stipend; those that refused this were to have only the manse and glebe. Those accepting this arrangement were to sign a bond and find caution for their orderly behaviour and submission to the Privy Council. The Council, at its meeting at Edinburgh 3rd of August, 1669, drew up an Act and warrant in accordance with the king's letter, and calling twelve of the outed ministers before them, intimated their reponement to charges on the conditions specified in the Act. Among the twelve was Ralph Rogers. He was appointed to Kilwinning.

But although Rogers embraced the Indulgence, not sufficiently perceiving its Erastian character, he saw through another snare which was intended by the government to entrap and divide the Presbyterians. This was the celebrated scheme of accommodation proposed by Archbishop Leighton towards the close of the year 1670, the object of which was to unite the Presbyterian ministers with the prelates upon the basis of a moderate Episcopacy. Presbyteries were to be allowed to hold their meetings for conducting the business of the church; the bishop was to act as constant president or moderator, but to have no negative voice upon the proceedings of the court; and for the exoneration of their consciences Presbyterian ministers were to have the liberty of protesting, when they sat down first in these judicatories, that their sitting under a bishop was submitted to by them only for peace sake, and that they reserved their own opinion as to the warrantableness of such a presidency; that the bishops, instead of ordaining ministers at their cathedrals, were to ordain them in the churches where they were to serve; and that such as were to be ordained were to have liberty to declare

their opinion, if they thought the bishop was only the head of the presbyters. Rogers and the other Presbyterian ministers, taught by experience to look with suspicion upon professed friendly propositions made to them by both their civil and ecclesiastical rulers, from whom they had hitherto met with nothing but oppression and deceit, contemplated this scheme with much indifference and coldness from the beginning; fearing it to be an artful measure for ensnaring them, and ultimately securing the ascendancy of Prelacy. Such was no doubt the object proposed by the government in countenancing this accommodation; and though Leighton, from his piety and peaceable temper, may have been actuated by a sincere desire to produce peace, yet he too being a strenuous advocate for Episcopacy, viewed the measure as eminently fitted to secure its quiet and ultimate triumph. But the Presbyterian ministers, to show the government their willingness to do everything consistently with their principles to promote unity and harmony, met to consider the proposal; and a conference took place between Leighton and some of his friends and about twenty-six Presbyterian minis-

ters at Paisley, December the 14th, in reference to this matter. At this meeting Leighton opened the conversation. In a speech of about an hour's length he dwelt, with much mildness and eloquence, upon the duty of seeking peace, the evils of contention, and the necessity of making concessions on both sides. Nor did he forget to speak a word in favour of Episcopacy, and to throw out insinuations and invectives against Presbytery. Mr. John Beard of Paisley, as had been previously arranged among the Presbyterian ministers, spoke first, signifying that he and his brethren could not conscientiously acquiesce in the scheme of union proposed. Rogers then addressed the meeting. He took up and showed how untenable the insinuations and reflections were which Leighton had thrown out against the Presbyterian government; that there was no foundation for his allegation, that for many hundreds of years bishops had never been opposed in the Christian church; that the very reverse of this could easily be established; that the advocates of Episcopacy could never prove that for some hundreds of years there was any bishop in the church who was not chosen by

the clergy, and accountable to them, or that there were any archbishops who had the power assumed by those then existing in Scotland. He further stated, with much clearness, the differences between the primitive and the present bishops, showing that the former were chosen by presbyters, while the latter were imposed upon them; that the former only presided, while the latter did a great deal more; and that in the primitive ages there were more than one in a city, and that consequently they could not have the jurisdiction which they now claimed. To this Bishop Burnet replied. He denied that the primitive bishops differed from presbyters only by mere presidency, and asserted that archbishops then actually existed, though they did not bear this name. He admitted that there were more bishops than one in a city, but maintained that this was a defect, and quoted Augustine as regretting it. Burnet, in giving an account of this conference, says with much self complacency, "One of the most learned among

* Sharp and the high fliers, who were bent only on persecution, was entirely opposed to the accommodation. "Sharp cried out," says Burnet, "that Episcopacy was to be undermined since the negative vote was to be let go." The inferior clergy thought that if it took

them [Ralph Rogers] had prepared a speech full of quotations to prove the difference between the primitive Episcopacy and ours at present. I was then full of these matters; so I answered all his speech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him with advantages that were too evident to be so much as denied by their own party; and it seemed that the person himself thought so, for he did not offer one word of reply." But much as the bishop admired the effect with which he met the statements of Rogers, he failed in convincing his opponents, who shortly after, on being called to come to a final resolution, gave the government to understand that they could not conscientiously accept of the terms proposed in the accommodation. "Thus," says Burnet, "was this treaty broke off, to the amazement of all sober and dispassionate people, and to the great joy of Sharp* and the rest of the bishops; who now for a while seemed even pleased with us because we [Burnet and Leighton] had all along asserted Epis-

effect, and the Presbyterians were to be generally brought into churches, they would be neglected, and that their people would forsake them. So they hated the whole matter. (*Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 505.)

copacy, and had pleaded for it in a high and positive strain.”*

In 1673 Rogers was proceeded against by the government for not observing the anniversary of the 29th of May of that year, in commemoration of the birth and restoration of Charles II. By the 12th Act of the third Session of the second Parliament of that monarch, it was statute and ordained that the anniversary solemnity for his Majesty's happy birth and restoration should in all time coming be kept upon the 29th day of May, yearly, throughout the whole kingdom; and that all ministers within the same should preach yearly upon the said day, that they with the whole people might give thanks to God for his signal goodness to these kingdoms, certifying those that shall fail in observing the said Act that they shall be fined, and otherwise punished as his Majesty's Council shall think fit.

It was from no disloyalty, but entirely on religious grounds, that Rogers and other Presbyterian ministers did not observe the anniversary. While they admitted that the church, when God in his providence calls to humiliation and thanksgiving,

* See Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. pp. 501-505, 511-514.

is warranted in setting apart a day for engaging in these solemn exercises, they denied that either the church or the magistrate had power to appoint stated or anniversary holy days, God having reserved in his own hands the exclusive power of consecrating or making holy any portion of time; and that the Sabbath was the only holy day warranted by the Word of God. They besides objected to the observance of this anniversary, because of the grounds and reasons for solemnizing that day as laid down in the narrative of the Act, which says, “The Estates of Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland, taking into their consideration the sad condition, slavery, and bondage this ancient kingdom hath groaned under during these twenty-three years' troubles, in which, under the specious pretences of reformation, a public rebellion hath been by the treachery of some, and mispersuasion of others, violently carried on against sacred authority, to the ruin and destruction, so far as was possible, of the king's Majesty and his royal government, the laws, liberties, and property of the people, and all the public and private interests of the kingdom: so that religion itself hath been prostituted for the warrant

of all these treasonable invasions made upon the royal authority, and disloyal limitations put upon the allegiance of the subjects," &c.* From this it is evident that they could not observe that day without condemning all that had been done for twenty-three years in carrying on the work of reformation, as public rebellion designedly and purposely carried on under the specious pretences of reformation; and without acknowledging themselves, who had been engaged in that work, as traitors and rebels against the lawful magistrate. Some Presbyterian ministers, by subtle distinctions and evasions, tried to reconcile the keeping of that day with their principles; but Rogers and others "chose rather to hazard their reputation of loyalty," and to expose themselves to the penalty of the law, than "to countenance such impiety." But the government never thought of yielding in any case to conscientious convictions. Such as did not comply with their dictation in all matters connected with religion were accounted intractable and stubborn zealots, who ought to be compelled to submission by the strong hand of law. Letters were raised at the instance of Sir John Nis-

bet of Dirleton, his Majesty's advocate, against Rogers and several other indulged ministers, mentioning that they had "not observed the said anniversary solemnity upon the 29th of May last, in high and proud contempt of his Majesty's authority and laws, and ought to be therefore exemplarily punished in their persons and goods, to the terror of others;" and charging them to compear personally and answer to the foresaid complaint, and to hear and see such order taken thereanent as the case required, under the pain of rebellion.

The majority of those who had been summoned appeared, and as they confessed that they had not observed the 29th of May as a "holy day," they were sentenced by the Privy Council to pay each a fine, amounting to the half of the stipend allowed them by the Act of Indulgence, and that "for the crop and year of God 1673."

It would appear that even those of the indulged ministers who were not guilty of despising the "holy days" enacted by Parliament, received at times but partial payment of their stipends. The following extract from the Register of the Acts of Privy Council is the proof of this:—

* Brown's Apologetical Relation, p. 89.

APUD EDIN., 11th February, 1675.

SEDERUNT,—The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having considered the petition of Mr. William Maitland, minister at Beith, John Gemill at Symington, Ralph Rogers at Kilwinning, Robert Boyd at Kilbride, James Veitch at Mauchlin, John Lauder at Dalzeill, John Stirling at Kilbarchan, Anthony Shaw at New Mills, Thomas Wyllie at Phinick, John Oliphant at Stenhouse, John Wallace at Lorges, Andrew Dalrymple at Dalgain, John Knox at Calder, John Simson at Killan, John Duncanson at Kilchattan in Lorn, Patrick Simson at Kilmalcom, James Hutchison at Kellchan, and Mr. John Scott, minister at Oxnam, representing that albeit they have served the cure at the respective kirks foresaid this last year, 1674, and always since they were indulged and allowed by the Council, the heritors and others liable in payment of the stipend, upon pretence that the college alledges right thereto or some part thereof, postpone and delay to make payment to them of the said stipend. And therefore desiring that order and warrant might be granted to the effect underwritten. The said Lords ordain the heritors and others liable in payment of the stipend of the respective kirks foresaid, to make payment thereof for the year 1674 last, and of all former years preceding since they were indulged to preach at the said kirks, or such part thereof as is yet resting; and discharge the college of Glasgow, or their factors, to trouble or molest the petitioners or the heritors of the said parishes for the said stipends, upon pretence of vacancy, and ordains letters to be direct hereupon in form as offers.

The following letter is interesting, as giving us an inner view into the troubles of the time, and showing us that in addition to the inflictions of the

persecutor, the fines and imprisonments with which he was harassing the Presbyterians, they had their sufferings aggravated by the bitterness of feeling existing between the parties into which the acts of their enemies had divided them. It is to be kept in view that the letter comes from one of the Indulged. It is only fair to permit a good man to state what he has to say in defence of his position, which others, and good men also, have sharply canvassed and severely condemned.

RALPH ROGERS TO MR. J. CARSTAIRS.*

“KILWINNING, *November 22, 1678.*

“REV. AND VERY DEAR BROTHER,—I have seen yesternight the copie of a letter of our worthy brother J. B., dated October 7. I confess I never thought to have ever seen any thing like it come from his pen. Perplexity therefore, which seeks a vent in the bosom of a friend, draws from me these lines. Our hearts may fail us to think of the wrath and anger of God, that looks out of his dispensations with the small broken remnant. He says there is much sin in hearing and countenancing these indulged persons; but if he were content to be informed, I could inform [him] that Christ Jesus hath countenanced them, and many have been edified, some converted, and others built up by hearing of them. And oh! if I were as confident of my own salvation as I am of the salvation of divers of my own acquaintances that have been the fruits of their

* Wodrow's MSS. vol. 59, folio No. 94. This letter was sent by Mr. Carstairs to M'Ward.

ministry since indulged, and some whereof are already in heaven. He likewise looks upon it as a crime to question or censure such who preach against them, and lay open the sin that lieth wrapped in hearing and countenancing of them: and what, will nothing serve him but to have them laid by as broken vessels, and their ministry made utterly ineffectual, or is he informed that this is the great work of some that preach in the fields? Within these few weeks Mr. Cameron kept a meeting in the parish of Gastoun, when he charged the people, under the pain of damnation, not to hear the indulged ministers. I am sure he will not justify that; and shall Mr. Cameron deserve no censure? Mr. Kid, in Finnick, preached that the grace of God lieth not in faith, or repentance, or near walking with God, but in the light within. This a person that was his hearer told to my author, who is a godly tender person, that would fear to lie. I can tell you of another that lately took the parent in baptism bound against the Indulgence; and is this become a necessary requisite, without which baptism cannot be granted, and yet they must not be questioned? Oh! what will be the end of these things! He likewise asserts that the Indulgence is a woful sprout coming out from the bitter root of the supremacy. But why would he not take pains to convince the indulged ministers themselves of this before he asserted it openly to the world. I must say, that I never heard any thing to convince me of this. I am sure the Acts indulging these ministers contains no such thing, and I hope it will not be questioned that the magistrate by his civil power might grant all he granted and more; or must the reason lie here, that because he hath assumed such an horrid supremacy, therefore whatever he now doeth in church matters must be the fruit that springs from that root; that indeed goeth a great length. If they would convince me of one thing (which in their sermons among us is usually asserted

without proof), that the accepting of the Indulgence is the homologation of the supremacy, I should abhor myself and it both. Hitherto, I cannot see with their eyes. He further asserts that the indulged men, as such, cannot be looked on as the ambassadors of Christ. If I can understand any thing, his meaning must be that while they are in the exercise of their ministry upon the Indulgence they are ceased from being ambassadors; an high accusation, which he is the more to advert to that many dare with confidence assert that Christ hath made use of them as his ambassadors in treating with sinners and espousing them to Christ. It would be expected that such a charge should be well proven; but he proves it with another assertion that will be as easily denied as he asserts it; to wit, that in the exercise of their ministry they depend immediately on the magistrate, receiving licence and authority, injunctions, limitations *in terminis* from them, and acting under them in a direct and formal subordination, as inferior magistrates or civil courts do. But will the taking civil authority and allowance from the magistrate (Christian or heathen) to preach in his dominions, import the taking of their ministry from him, or their commission from him. He might have been informed long ere now, if he had pleased, that when we were indulged we told the Council *in terminis* that we were the ministers of Jesus Christ, that we had our commission, by which we were to be regulate in our ministrie, from him, that we were of our known judgment in church matters. Was this no testimony or salvo, especially when the Act of Indulgence did not in the least hint the supremacy. What is there here to prove a direct and formal subordination, or that we received a formally ecclesiastical commission and authority from the magistrate. These are strange consequences. I am sure there were few, if any, of the ministers of the Church of Scotland of his opinion at

that time. But yet he insinuates that we received the injunctions, limitations, &c., which they by their other Acts imposed upon us. But how can he say we received them, when in the face of the Council it was told we would not practice them; and though the different usage that our worthy brother, now with his Master, got, made the rest to be looked on as if they had received them, because some were unwilling to be informed in regard the brethren had not given a more full testimony at that time (which I desire likewise to lament); yet it was told in the name of all that we would not practise them, and the chancellor's answer is yet remembered by many, which was, 'Then we will punish you.' And also all Scotland knows that they are so far from being practised, that they are openly and constantly counteracted. And will yet our worthy brother say that because they were imposed, therefore they were received; and that therefore, &c. He further asserts that the indulged brethren have, contrary to their oath and vow, departed from their suffering brethren, to the weakening the hands of the faithful remnant and strengthening the arm of the oppressing adversary, so that now he thinks it fit to represent them to the world as perjured persons. I will to that only say, the Lord forgive him, and I hope the testimony of their conscience will assert their single design to abide with Christ and his suffering remnant. And as to the strengthening of the adversary and weakening of the remnant, I fear such letters will be found deeply guilty. You may easily perceive I intended not to write at this length when I began; therefore I break off. But oh, dear brother, how terrible is it to think of the wrath and anger of God against us, that appears in such things. We are now become a contempt and a laughing stock, and it is the hope of the adversary that the Presbyterian party will vanish in a stinking snuff. It is a wonder to me that our brethren at such a distance, and being as

ill-informed as I hear oftentimes they are, should take upon them not only to tread down the indulged ministers, who by them are looked upon as worse than unsavoury salt, but to censure all the noted ministers in Scotland that differ from them. I am sure they would not take it well to be handled at that rate themselves. I love them, I honour them, and have been so loath to offend and grieve them, that I have forborne to write to them. But I cannot but tell you that I think our blessed Lord's method and directions to his followers might have pointed out some other way than before ever they made application to the indulged ministers themselves thus to represent them to the world. It were good they were witnesses to some things among us. Grace be with you. I am yours."

The persecution waxed fiercer, and even the indulged ministers were interdicted their pulpits. Wodrow, writing in 1684, says, "All the indulged ministers in the western shires and elsewhere were summarily laid aside, and those of them who would not pledge themselves not to preach were imprisoned, first in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and next in Blackness Castle and the Bass." The subject of our memoir, having failed to give bond not to exercise any part of his ministerial functions within the kingdom, was ordained by the Privy Council, 11th December, 1684, to be "sent to prison by a macer." Rogers had accepted the Indulgence, but he refused to put his hand to the bond, which he re-

garded as a virtual surrender of his office and functions as a minister of Christ, at the call of the Privy Council. He went to prison. The following letter is very affecting, and shows into what a frightful state Scotland had fallen :—

M^rWard, in a letter to Rogers in 1688, at the time when the bond was pressed, speaking strongly against it and those who took it, or who advised others to take it, of which last were some of the protesting ministers, as he had heard; earnestly desires Mr. Rogers and his colleague, Mr. Carstairs, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent those who were friendly to the good cause from accepting it. “My very dear brother,” says he, “let me ask you what ye are doing. I know that ye have another measure of zeal for God than this minister that writes to you can pretend unto, and that ye are of other metal for managing it, therefore let me beseech you in the bonds of Christ, in order to the preventing of an utter apostacy and endless wrath following upon it, in order to the recovering of them who are fallen and confirming of your weak brethren, who yet have obtained mercy with you to stand; let me, I say, beseech you to lay

out all the great things God hath given you for him in this day of darkness and defection. Set yourself to be the instrument of God as to the recovery of many out of this snare wherein they are taken; set yourself, I say, to this, and whatever discouragement you may have as to such an undertaking, or apprehended disproportionableness of strength for such an undertaking, put your hand to it; you know not how it may go; nay, I would say, if ye should be overshod under the weight of that work, yet essay it. O that were to die on the bed of honour. I know you will not suspect, but you and our great and worthy colleague, faithful Mr. Carstairs, are so dear to me, that if I saw you in hazard I would bow my knees before the God of life and death, if I had one thing made sure unto me, and present this suit to him (and I hope in the sincerity of my soul too). O let these men of God live who may with such success serve their generation according to the will of God, and who have been helped hitherto to do so, and are shapen for the work of the day; and let me, a poor man, come in their place to die and fill their grave, whose living can signify so little for God and his interests; and yet

I will say, I would think you both well bestowed if your dead bodies might in triumph be carried off the scaffold and stop the current of this defection. But he may help you to do great things for him with less expense." He adds, "Ah, Scotland, what is become of thy worthies and thy men of valour, one of whom would have lift up his spear against six hundred of those who now oppose the truth. How may we weep over that word as accomplished in the ministers of Scotland, 'Thou hast multiplied the nation, but not increased their joy.' There are many more than were of old to own the cause amongst the ministrie, but one of these were more terrible to the adversary than almost all the outed ministers of Scotland this day. O my brother, let the sight of such a paper* put you to weep upon Him for the pouring out of the residue of the Spirit, that some again may be raised up shaped for the defence of the gospel; and put your own hand to the pen, try your hand in painting the backsliding of Scotland, and representing us unto ourselves as we have now made ourselves. Who knows but He

would so lead your hand in that essay, as it should affect our heart into an abhorrence at our own apostacy." He concludes this letter as follows: "Your dear friends and worthy parishioners here remember you with the affection and respect due to a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. Remember me to your wife, though unacquaint. I am sure this was an article in the contract when she engaged with you at such a time, that she should be content to see you hanged before she did not see you acquit yourself like a good soldier of Jesus Christ. Tell her this from me. I hope she shall not be put to it; but I hope also if put to it, she shall be helped to say, 'I got my husband from the Lord; he was his before he was mine, and I give him to him from whom I got him.'" (*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. 58, folio No. 20.)

Rogers was thrown into the castle of Blackness. There he lay for about the space of two years. The confinement injured his health, and brought upon him dangerous and painful maladies. He became liable to paroxysms of the stone. We find him in August, 1686, petitioning the Privy Council for release from imprisonment on the score of his sickness, his physicians testifying

* M^r Ward sent with his letter to Rogers a double of a paper "drawn up by a friend of yours against the bond."

that freedom to move about in the open air was the only means of relief for the excruciating pain which he at times endured. Their lordships granted the petition on condition that he appeared before them next Council day in September, or re-enter prison that day, under penalty of four thousand merks Scots.

This indulgence was extended to Rogers and to others from time to time till the Revolution came, and then it was no longer needed.

Rogers hailed with grateful joy the arrival of the prince of Orange in England. He regarded it as the turning back of the captivity of Zion, and he had a strong desire to live that he might see, before leaving the world, the work of God revive and flourish. In this he was not to be gratified: he died soon after the Revolution. His closing scene was peace. To Mr. Ramsay, minister of Calder, who in company with some others visited him when he was very low, he said, "Tell me your good news, Mr. Ramsay, that I may carry them to that desirable place I am going to." A pious lady, who was sitting with him when he was very near death, observed him during the night very much concerned for some time,

being no doubt disturbed by unbelieving fears, which sometimes bring a cloud over the saint when on the verge of the eternal world. But faith ultimately gained the victory; and after musing for a considerable time he was heard to utter these words, "Now I believe." He found nothing that could impart tranquillity and hope to his mind in the prospect of appearing at the judgment seat of God but the righteousness of Christ. "O!" said he to one present, "O! but justification by the blood of Jesus is a sweet and soul-refreshing doctrine."

Rogers' character is thus described by Mr. Shields, who knew him personally: "He was a godly, gracious man, of great learning and an excellent gift of preaching. I heard him preach on the communion Monday at Stewarton a noble sermon on Eph. vi. 13, 'Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done all to stand.' He had a great gale given him that day to the observation of many. I heard my own father commend that sermon very much to Mr. P. Cumming, schoolmaster at Irvine. I was acquainted with him. He was pleased to be very

kind to me and familiar with me. He was a very modest man and bashful. He said he was too young when he entered into the ministry at Ardrossan, for he was but twenty-three years of age. He had a great liking to all young men that were modest and not confident and forward. . . . He had a great love to Dr. Owen's writings. He was calm and equable in temper. Rarely would you ever have seen him in a passion. I never saw him in a passion save once, when

very severely provoked by some young man's very impertinent carriage. . . . All the fourteen years he staid at Kilwinning he preached always for the most part upon Luke's gospel.* He is said to have been very careful in studying his sermons; his practice having been to employ two hours every morning through the week in studying a part of his discourses for the coming Sabbath.†

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. iii. pp. 45, 46.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 247.

ARCHIBALD RIDDELL.

THE family of the Riddells, to which the subject of this memoir belonged, is of very considerable antiquity. In the opinion of the best antiquaries it is of French extraction. It is traced back to the *Sieur de Riddel*, a man of rank and distinction, who came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror, and who had a considerable command in his army at the memorable battle of Hastings, where King Harold was slain, and who is particularly named in the roll of Battle-abbey, anno 1066. This *Sieur de Riddel* received from William, who bestowed upon his brave officers

considerable possessions of his conquered lands in England, a large share of these. His son Geoffrey, Lord Riddel, who was lord chief justice of England, anno 1107, was married to Geva, daughter of Hugh de Abrincas, earl of Chester, and had by her a son, Gervasius or Geoffrey, the progenitor of Riddel of Riddel, or of that Ilk, and a daughter Maud, married to Richard, lord chief justice of England, who had two sons, founders of two great and opulent families in England, who long flourished with lustre and made a great figure in England. Gervasius or Geoffrey de Riddel,

being a man of parts and merits, was a great favourite of King David I. when only prince of Cumberland, and then residing in England. He was prevailed upon to come to Scotland with that prince; and King David, to encourage him to settle here, bestowed upon him considerable possessions of lands in Roxburghshire, which are still enjoyed by his posterity.*

Archibald, the subject of this memoir, was the son of Sir Walter, the second baronet of Riddel, and Janet, daughter of William Rig of Athernie in the county of Fife. He was the third son of the family; the eldest son, John, succeeded his father in the estates and titles, and the second, William, was progenitor of the Riddels of Glen-Riddel, Dumfriesshire.†

Riddell was privately ordained to the ministry at Kippen, about the year 1670. We say *privately*, for about this time the government of the day, bent on the utter extirpation of the race of Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, passed an Act forbidding any save the bishops to confer ordination. Riddell afterwards became famous as a field-preacher, and often had as his companions

in that work Mr. John Dickson and Mr. John Blackadder. One instance of this we must record: it presents us with a picture of a communion Sabbath in persecuting times.

In 1677 the Lord's Supper was dispensed in the open fields at East Nisbet in the Merse. Among the officiating ministers present were Mr. Blackadder, Mr. Welsh, and the subject of our memoir, Mr. Riddell. The place chosen was a sort of natural amphitheatre, or hollow valley, the tables being placed on the level ground, and the worshippers arranged on the grassy slopes that rose all round it. Great fears were entertained that the assembly would be assaulted by the dragoons that were scouring the neighbouring country, and a little party of horsemen, some one hundred and fifty in all, accompanied the worshippers, giving, of course, to the meeting the character in the eye of the law of an "armed conventicle." The horsemen were present solely for the purpose of apprising the worshippers of the approach of danger, and of defending their lives should the troopers approach, and force them to flee. The arrangement was an imposing one. In the centre we see a congregation of

* Douglas' Baronage of Scotland, pp. 63; 64.

† Douglas' Baronage of Scotland, p. 67.

upwards of three thousand worshippers, gathered round the symbols of Christ's body and blood; outside of them is a ring of armed horsemen; farther off is another line of horsemen; and still farther off is a third, composed of single sentinels, who are stationed at certain intervals from one another, and direct vigilant eyes into the far distance to descry the first sign of the approach of the enemy. Meanwhile at the centre the worship is proceeding in as orderly and solemn a manner as if, instead of the open fields and the prowling and murderous trooper, the roof and walls of cathedral inclosed the assembly. There were not fewer than sixteen table-services; at each service two hundred persons sat down; so that upwards of three thousand must have that day communicated. He who marched so gloriously of old through the great wilderness was with his people in the Scottish wilds. The ministers spoke with unusual fervour and power, and the people heard with no ordinary satisfaction and delight. Though cast out of their sanctuaries, their lives sought by the man of blood, there was One of whose presence no proscription of monarch could deprive them. He was to

them as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. He was their defence when the blast of the terrible ones was as a storm against the wall. For three successive days this vast multitude assembled in this quiet hollow; there their prayers and praises ascended; there they "showed forth the Lord's death, according to his appointment." No enemy all the while was permitted to approach them, and they separated in the same peace in which they had met.*

On the year following, 1678, the communion was dispensed on the moors of Irongray in Dumfriesshire, although it does not appear that Riddell was present. A yet greater number convened on this occasion than had met at East Nisbet the summer before. The sermons were continued during three successive days, the place of meeting being changed each day to put their pursuers off the scent; and this device succeeded, for their services were not broken in upon. The sacramental tables still remain on the moor of Irongray, and are called by the people of the neighbourhood "the communion stenes." "They consist of four rows of flat irregular blocks of stone,

* For more detailed description of this interesting scene, see Introductory Sketch.

disposed in straight lines, and forming two equal parallelograms, resembling long tables, with a space between for the accommodation of the elders. Each row contains thirty seats, so that one hundred and thirty people might communicate at the same time. At one end is a circular pile of stones, about four feet in height, whereon the sacred elements were placed, and where the minister must have stood in dispensing the ordinance and exhorting the people. In front of this and close behind the opposite end of the table rises a smooth green brae, answering well the purposes of a gallery, as it is quite within the compass of a moderate voice.”*

Whether it is the same Mr. Riddell with the subject of our memoir, who comes before us in the minute of the Privy Council of 4th July, 1675, we are not prepared positively to affirm. We give the occurrence as illustrative of the times.

“Upon the 3rd of May, 1674, being the Lord’s-day, Mr. George Hendry, minister at Costorphin, being ordered to preach in the kirk of Crammond, now vacant, Patrick Glass, indweller in Costorphin, did most presumptuously take upon him to invite one Mr. Riddell, whether he be a preacher or not it is [not?] known, to possess the pulpit

* Crichton’s Memoirs of John Blackadder, p. 198.

of Costorphin, and to preach there; who accordingly came upon the Lord’s-day, accompanied with a multitude of persons from Edinburgh and elsewhere, endeavoured by all means to possess themselves of the said kirk and pulpit of Costorphin, by offering money to the beddell thereof to open the kirk doors, and threatening the minister of the place and his servants in most bitter manner; but being frustrate in that attempt by the love and kindness of the parishioners who guarded the person of the minister safely to the pulpit, notwithstanding of the threatenings used against him in his going to the church. The said Patrick Glass did call the said Mr. Riddell and the multitude into his house, where the time of divine worship they did avowedly keep a conventicle, and at their return from the same did most bitterly rail at and upbraid the said minister of Costorphin, and his wife and servants. Likeas sensyne the said Patrick Glass has been present at several house and field conventicles kept in the town and hills of Costorphin, for which the said Patrick Glass ought to be fined and punished to the example of others, and anent the charge given to the said Patrick Glass to have entered personally and answered to the foresaid complaint, under the pain of rebellion, &c., whilk being called, and the said Patrick Glass being brought out of prison to the bar to answer to the said complaint: The Lords, his Majesty’s Privy Council, having considered the aforesaid libel, find the defender guilty of being present at two field conventicles, and that another was kept in his house, and do therefore fine him in the sum of two hundred pounds Scots, and order him to continue in prison till he make payment of the same, and find caution to the amount of five thousand merks that he shall not commit hereafter any of the crimes contained in the libel.”

Of one of the conventicles at which Riddell was present we

find a graphic account in Blackadder's Memoirs. The dispersion of the meeting does more to certify the greed than to attest the valour of the dragoons. It is as follows :—

“ At another time there was a great meeting near the Black Dub in Bathgate parish, where Mr. Riddell preached. A party of dragoons, commanded by one Lieutenant Inglis, who kept garrison in Midcalder of purpose to suppress these meetings in that country—a party of these dragoons making search that day, after they had searched on the muirs of Livingston, alarm came to the meeting. But hearing they were at a distance in Livingston moors, and, as some reported, returning to their quarters again, they were the more secure, and continued their meeting. But within a little thereafter they appeared in sight of the meeting, and that near, ere they knew. Upon which the most part except a few got over a bog hard by, where horse could not follow. But many of them stood on the other side, thinking themselves safe. Meanwhile the dragoons came up and apprehended several they got on the place, among whom John Sandilands, Hilderston's brother, was one. Then they approached to the side of the bog and shot over among the people, as they usually basely did at such occasions, to shoot bullets among such a promiscuous multitude of men, women, and children, though they found them without arms. One of their shot lighted on an honest man, an heritor in Bathgate, called John Davie, and killed him dead on the place ; and after that carried their prisoners to their garrison at Calder, with a great booty of cloaks, plaids, bibles, and what else they could lay their hands on, spoiling the poor people, as they had got the victory over a foreign enemy. But this was their ordinary practice when they seized on any

meeting, especially the dragoons or footmen. However, the minister escaped among others.”*

In the year 1680 Mr. Riddell was arrested, and carried first to Jedburgh jail, but soon thereafter transferred to Edinburgh prison. Of his arrest Wodrow gives us the following account:—“ He was in September, 1680, apprehended by Grayden, on his return from Moffat Well, riding with one person only in company ; his sword, watch, horse, and money were all taken from him by Grayden, though married to his near relation. He had at that time more money than usual upon him, having a day or two before received the payment of some money he had owing him in Teviotdale, which he was bringing on to Edinburgh to defray the charges of his wife's lying in, who was then near the time of delivery, and the same night he came to Edinburgh prison brought to bed of a daughter, since married to Mr. Jo. Currie, minister of the gospel at Haddington. He was kept prisoner above nine months, during which time he was twice examined by a committee of the Privy Council.”†

* Blackadder's Memoirs, Adv. Lib. MS. Wodrow's MSS., vol. 97. Crichton's Memoirs of Blackadder, p. 158.

† See Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 197.

“After this tedious and painful imprisonment he was brought upon the trial for his life, for his being at Bothwell Bridge. He escaped very narrowly, one of the witnesses, who in the pre-cognition had informed positively against him, relented when he saw him in the pannel; and when he was urged that he was positive in his information before, answered he was not then upon oath, but now he believed that might not be the man.” *

Riddell escaped with his life, but he did not regain his liberty. He was sent to a more terrible prison than that in which he had been till now confined. The sentence and the doom to which it consigned him is as follows. It is dated 9th June, 1681:—

“The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council having heard and considered the libel pursued at the instance of his Majesty’s advocate against Mr. Archibald Riddell, minister, for breaking of his confinement in Kippen, keeping conventicles and marrying and baptizing in a disorderly manner, with the said Mr. Archibald Riddell his own confession, bearing that since his confinement he hath kept conventicles, married, and baptized; and it being referred to his oath if he

had broken his confinement, in regard of his refusal to depone thereupon the said lords hold him as confessed upon that part of the libel, and find him by his own confession guilty of keeping conventicles, and marrying and baptizing in a disorderly manner: And therefore ordain him to be carried prisoner to the Isle of Bass until the Council consider further of his case: And recommend to General Dalziel to cause transport him thither by such a party of his Majesty’s forces as he shall think fit.”

The life and sufferings of Mr. John Row, chamberlain to Sir William Primrose of Carrington, connects itself with the history of Mr. Riddell. This worthy man often attended the sermons of the outed ministers, and permitted them to hold meetings in his house. For this he was apprehended, and the terms of his indictment show the light in which these proceedings were viewed by the government, and illustrate the terrible oppression to which, by a complete inversion of justice and of all moral order, the best subjects of the realm were then subjected. The decret of Privy Council pronounced against him 16th June, 1681, declares him to be “a most seditious and factious person,” who hath

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvi. 4to, No. 37.

not only been guilty of being present at house and field conventicles, withdrawing from public ordinances, and corresponding and intercommuning with and entertaining, aiding, and assisting declared rebels and traitors, "but by his example and practising hath so far debauched that part of the country where he lives, that most part of them distrust the public ordinances, and frequent house and field conventicles, and are married and have their children baptized in a disorderly manner." Certain days are then specified in which "the said John Row hath been present at house and field conventicles kept in his own house and other houses in and about Carrington and Temple parish, in so far as there have been several persons without doors, which by the Act of Parliament is declared to be a field conventicle; at which conventicles Mr. Archibald Riddell, a declared rebel and traitor, at least excepted forth of his Majesty's indemnity, and other irregular and disorderly ministers, have preached, expounded scripture, and prayed and exercised the other functions of the ministry. And the said John Row, during the said whole space [from August, 1679], hath not frequented the public ordinances

in his own parish kirk; and farther, has corresponded, inter-communed with, reset, entertained, aided and assisted the said Mr. Archibald Riddell, and Thomas Ramsay, George Haig, Robert Wilson, John Mowbray, and several other persons who were in the late rebellion, as also the said irregularities and disorderly ministers, to the great disturbance of the peace and quiet of the place." Row was charged to compear personally before the Council to have answered to the foresaid complaint, &c., at their meeting, 16th June, 1681; but not compearing, the Council "ordain letters to be direct to messengers-at-arms to pass to the market cross of —, and there in his Majesty's name and authority to duly, lawfully, and orderly denounce him his Majesty's rebel, and put him to the horn, and escheat and inbring all his moveable goods and gear for his contempt and disobedience."

The dungeon of the Bass, in which Riddell had continued for upwards of three years, had like to have been his grave. His health was giving way, and it became evident that, unless he was speedily liberated, he would die where he now was. On the advice of his friends he consented to petition the government in

the end of 1684 for release. The petition to this effect, presented to the Council by Mr. George Scot of Pitlochrie, was granted only so far. He was let go from his prison in the Bass, but not to live in his native land, much less resume his ministry. The condition of his release compelled him to cross the sea. His voyage and what befel him on it we shall leave Wodrow to describe. "Worthy Mr. Alexander Riddell, brother to Sir John Riddell of Riddell, being tender, at the advice of his friends he consented, and they petitioned for his liberty, and was by the Privy Council sent to Jersey [East New Jersey in America] in a ship, with his wife, a godly Christian, and all his family (except one or two young girls, as I remember); and many more prisoners were sent in that ship that would not take the Bond or Test and comply with Prelacy. When they were at sea, there being so many aboard crowded together and hot weather, somewhat like a malignant fever seized them and many died, amongst whom was worthy Mr. Riddell's godly wife, who, as all the rest, were buried in the sea one after another as they died. And at last the ship arrived safely. Mr. Riddell lived, and his children and other

friends, at Jersey, where they met with kindness." On his arrival at New Jersey Riddell received invitations from two congregations to become their minister, the one the congregation of Long Island, the other of Woodbridge. He accepted the call from the latter place, and continued to labour there till the tidings reached him of the Revolution. He immediately set sail for his native land. The homeward voyage, with its calamities, we shall also permit Wodrow to recount. "Returning home about the beginning of the glorious Revolution, the ship wherein he was passenger was taken by the French and carried into Rotchfort, and he and his son put into prison at Dinont, and had a nasty prison and ill fare for so tender a person; yet he endured all, and was kept some time there, and then, by order of the bloody French king, sent by a party [of] dragoons all the way from Rotchfort to Thoulon, the father and son being with chains of iron tied together so as they might walk, till, when the young boy was not able to walk, the chains were loosed. Also other Scottish gentlemen were so imprisoned, and carried with iron chains with him and many more

to Thoulon, where they lay in prison some time, and were better entertained there and by the way than at Dinont, and then carried back to Rotchfort, and after a little time were set at liberty by some exchange of Frenchmen in England for British prisoners in France, and so came to London; and I was the first Scotchman whomet and knew him in the Exchange of London, being there at the time. He came to Scotland, was placed shortly minister at the Weims, and then at Kirkaldie, and at last transported to Edinburgh, where he lived a good time and died in the Lord, and his works will follow him.”*

Riddell was not the only Scotchman whom the French king had seized and detained as a prisoner. James Sinclair of Freiswick, and several others, shared his captivity. Their treatment was rigorous, the prison fare was bad, some of the prisoners were old, and their own means, which had so far enabled them to sustain themselves, were now exhausted; but to extricate these men from the hands of the king of France was

both a difficult and delicate negotiation. Nor in all likelihood would their liberation have been accomplished, had it not chanced that there were several French priests at that time prisoners in Scotland. These were Messrs John Seaton, James and Walter Innes, prisoners in Blackness, David Fairfoul at Inverness, and a priest of the name of Crichton in Dunnottar. The government of King William proposed the liberation of these men for that of the Scots prisoners in France. They permitted Priest Innes to go to France to negotiate the exchange, on his finding caution in a penalty of five thousand pounds sterling that, if he failed in the affair, he would return to Scotland and re-enter his prison of Blackness.† The liberation of Riddell and his companions was the result.

Archibald Riddell was admitted minister of Wemyss the 28th September, 1691. He was translated to Kirkaldy the 20th of May, 1697. He was removed to Edinburgh in 1702. He died in 1708.

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. folio No. 69, pp. 15, 16.

† Register of Acts of Privy Council, Edinburgh, 21st January, 7th May, 3rd June, and 16th June, 1690.

MR. JOHN SPREUL.

PART I.—HIS APPREHENSION AND TORTURE.

THE father of the subject of this memoir was John Spreul, merchant at Paisley. He was a strict Presbyterian, and during the Commonwealth he had been a firm adherent to the interests of Charles II., refusing to take the *tender*, which he regarded as inconsistent with the Covenant which he had sworn. Nevertheless he was fined five hundred merks by Middleton's Parliament, though why he could not discover, except that he refused to conform to Prelacy and attend the preaching of the curates. The earl of Dundonald, who had taken the *tender*, was now a privy councillor, and had a main hand in Spreul's being amerced in this sum. After this he had to go into hiding for several years, and when at last he ventured to return to his own house he was still subjected to persecution in a variety of ways. He would never take either the Test or Bond.

His son John, the subject of this memoir, was of the same principles and spirit as his father. His trials and sufferings began

immediately after the insurrection at Pentland. When General Dalziel was at Kilmarnock, oppressing the Presbyterians and apprehending all of them he was able to lay hands upon, a party of dragoons coming to Paisley, took John Spreul out of his father's shop and carried him off as a prisoner, alleging that he was at the battle of Pentland, or at least was on the eve of joining the insurgents there. They threatened to carry him to General Dalziel at Kilmarnock, who, they said, would have him instantly shot, or roasted at a slow fire, if he did not confess where his father was, and that he himself had been connected with the rising at Pentland. Spreul refused to satisfy them in these particulars; and finding that they could prove nothing against him, he was set at liberty.

Being let go, he returned to his business. His profession was that of apothecary; but his skill was held in so high repute that he was extensively employed as a chirurgeon by persons of all conditions—by officers of his

Majesty's army, by privy councillors, and by others.*

In 1677 the Privy Council appointed the earl of Linlithgow, Lord Ross, and the bishop of Glasgow, to hold a court of inquisition at Glasgow. Spreul, with many others, was summoned before them. Believing that nothing except his nonconformity could be laid to his charge, he and William Napier, who had also been summoned, went to Lord Ross's house to ascertain the reason of their citation. But discovering that severity was to be used against all who should compear, he and others absented themselves, for which they were declared rebels and intercommuned. Those who appeared were carried to Edinburgh, thrown into prison, and after a period of incarceration let go with a fine.

Being obliged to quit his home and family, Spreul travelled on mercantile errands to various parts of the world, Ireland, England, Holland, France, and Germany. When in his own country he sheltered himself mostly at Cartsdike, near Port Glasgow, where he had erected a fishery

* These facts are stated in a petition to the Privy Council, 26th July, 1683, by William Muir of Glanderstone, who had been committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for intercommuning with Spreul.

for the curing of herring for transportation. He chanced to be in Dublin when Claverhouse with two troops of dragoons was repulsed at Drumclog, and Archbishop Sharp was assassinated. On arriving in Scotland he was informed for the first time that the Covenanters had taken up arms against the government, and that a party among them had deposed King Charles. He did not feel himself at liberty to join their ranks. His devotion to the cause was as strong as ever, but he did not approve of the extreme measures which some had taken; and regarding those who had assumed to be leaders as incompetent, and finding, moreover, unhappy divisions prevailing amongst the Presbyterians, he dreaded a disastrous issue.

Spreul had not been in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, although his brother and two cousins were in arms against the government; nevertheless he was put to the horn and forefaulted. The earl of Dundonald, a privy councillor, greedily cast eyes on Spreul's property. The earl went to Glasgow, and along with the magistrates, turned Mr. Spreul's wife and family out of doors, not permitting her to take so much as a change of linens with her;

and he caused lock her shop, and make windows and door fast with iron chains, to secure for himself every penny of property belonging to her. He overlooked the cellar, full of valuable foreign produce. When Spreul heard what this titled freebooter had done, that he had committed in the heart of a civilized city an act of inhumanity and piracy which an Algerine would have blushed to do, his first thought was the loss his creditors would sustain. He made it matter of prayer to God that he might be preserved from falling into the hands of his pursuers till such time as, by calling in some debts that were owing to him, and selling the goods in the cellar, which had escaped the avaricious Dundonald, he might be able to pay all he owed. His prayer was granted; and the thought that should he now be taken no man would be a loser by him gave him great peace of mind. He now embarked at Borrowstouness for Holland, taking with him some articles of value, in order that, by disposing of them, he might provide a house in that country and carry thither his wife and family.

Returning to Scotland after a short while, in order to take his wife and family to Holland, he

was apprehended. He was lodging in the house of one Sarah Campbell, Cowgate, Edinburgh, when Major Johnstone, who was searching for Donald Cargill, entered the house at midnight, 2nd November, 1680, and discovering Spreul, took him out of bed, and carried him to the lodgings of General Dalziel in the Canongate. Johnstone's soldiers, at the same time, made a prey of all the property he had with him. Dalziel began to threaten, as his manner had been with the people in Kilmarnock, to roast him on a spit unless he should answer all the questions he might put to him. Spreul, nothing terrified, made answer that he was a freeborn subject of Britain; and refusing to confess, demanded an open trial by law if he had any crime to lay to his charge. Declining to answer, he was carried to the guardhouse in the Abbey-yard, where Mr. Alexander Skene and Mr. Archibald Stewart were confined as prisoners in another room. In the room into which Spreul was put was a female prisoner, Janet Harvey, "a good and godly maid," says Wodrow, who, till Spreul's arrival, had been alone with the officers and soldiers. They had been threatening to inflict upon her the worst of out-

rages; one of the officers had made a violent attempt to carry out his purpose, but "by God's help she had resisted him." Thankful, indeed, was the young woman when she saw the prisoner brought in. "Thus we may see," says Wodrow, "what graceless reformers the cruel, bloody bishops supply and patronize."

"The Lords of the Privy Council being convened at the Council chamber about 9 o'clock, the three prisoners were carried up with a strong party of soldiers. Mr. Skene and Archibald Stewart's arms were tied behind their backs with ropes; but J. Spreul was not. They went straight up through the streets to the Council chamber; and J. Spreul thought shame he had not the same badge of honour the other two had whose hands were tied, lest the people that they passed by should think he had confessed things for which they seemed to favour him. When they were brought to the door of the Council Chamber, they called in and began first to examine Alexander Skene, and then Archibald Stewart, and kept Spreul in the outer room till the other two were brought out; then called him in and began to examine him."*

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. No. 69.

The interrogation, which was lengthy, turned mainly upon his acquaintance with Donald Cargill, his opinion of the Sanquhar Declaration, and the death of Archbishop Sharp. After this examination the three were remanded to prison. They were already half-way down the Canon-gate to their former place of confinement when they were brought back to the town council house, in order that they might subscribe before the Lords of Justiciary the answers they had given before the Privy Council. Their subscribing would have made their confession judicial. Spreul refused to subscribe, and was threatened with the boots.

On Monday, 15th November, Mr. Spreul was again brought before the Privy Council. Under that date Wodrow (MSS. vol. 44, No. 8), gives the following extract from Register of Acts of the Privy Council:—

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having good reason to believe that there is a principle of murdering his Majesty and those under him for doing his Majesty service, and a design of subverting the government in church and state, entertained and carried on by the fanatics, and particularly by Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. Robert M'Ward, and

others, their complices, and that John Spreul and Robert Hamilton have been in accession thereto, ordain John Spreul and Robert Hamilton to be subjected to the torture upon such interrogators as relate to these three points, on which they have reason to believe they can give much light; By what reason and means this murdering principle is taught and carried on; who were accessory to the contrivance of murdering, and who were to be murdered; and also as to the Lord St. Andrew's death."

On his refusal to answer they said—"Well, will you not answer? You must go unto the torture." Upon which the hangman, being at his back, said, "I have a pair of boots here for you that will gar you speak." But he replied, addressing himself to the lord president, chairman of the committee, "My lord, you threaten me with torture, but as I said before, it doth not terrify me; for my conscience, which is God's depute in the soul, will command me and teach me what to speak; and therefore I must presume to mind your lordship of a sentence I read out of a Popish author I will not name at present (which he cites out of Augustine), 'Torture it may well terrify, it will not teach, and

when men are only terrified and not taught, it makes the government seem, yea to be, wicked and tyrannical.' I dare not speak anything but what I have a clear understanding of." He was then carried to close prison with a strong guard of soldiers.

HIS TORTURE.

Whereupon a committee of Council was chosen, and he was brought before them on Wednesday, the 17th of November, about five o'clock in the afternoon. Lord Hatton was president, and the duke of York with some others went to another room hard by, coming and going to hear how all went. Being asked if he would own and subscribe the answers he had formerly made to the queries put to him, he still refused. He was again returned to prison and threatened with the boots. As soon as they got the hangman and the boots ready they immediately sent for him. The president began as formerly to threaten him if he did not own and subscribe his answers to the queries. He answered "that they could not torture him according to law, and if they should he there took instruments in Sir William Paterson's hands, clerk to the Council, and protested first, against their tortur-

ing him against and without all law; and next protested that if under the violence of the torture he should be so left of God as to accuse himself or any honest man, in order to be freed from the torture (which, however, he hoped God would not leave him to do), he would resile from it, and protested it might not stand in law against himself or any other person." At the same time he again offered to draw his answers and to give them in subscribed. But his offer was not accepted, and the hangman was ordered to proceed. "So the hangman put his leg into the boot, and then the wedges, and at every query gave the wedges about five strokes with a great wooden mell to drive them up to the foot."

Not getting him to confess what they desired by torturing him in the new boots, they sent for the old boots and tortured him over again; and finding no better success, they alleged, because he still continued to speak and did not weep and cry upon the torture, that the hangman favoured him; upon which the hangman bade General Dalziel take the mell himself to do it better. But Spreul said, "O my lord, did you never read the book of martyrs, where you may see

some in the midst of the flames, when their bodies have been burning they have held up their hands, and with their tongues praised God until they were overcome and dried up with the flames; and why may not He who is the God of Daniel, Mesech, Shadrach, and Abednego, and preserved them in the flames and lions' den, keep up my spirit and help me to speak while my leg is in this flame of torture? And he is doing it just now, otherwise I could not bear it; for which I bless his name."

After the torture he was remitted to prison. A guard of soldiers was placed in the next room and soldiers in his own room. So inhuman and cruel were the Council that they would not suffer a surgeon to come to examine and dress his leg. But by applying himself cloths dipped in warm claret wine to his bruised leg he found much relief, and lay all night without pain of body or trouble of mind, but slept none. The weariness of the night was relieved by one of the soldiers appointed to guard his chamber, a poor Highlander, of a different character from the rest, though seemingly ignorant, who read portions of Scripture to him. Next day his wife came from Glasgow to visit him, but

such was the inhumanity of the Lords of Council that they would not grant her the favour of getting in to see him, or to minister to his comfort.

"Then was he carried out of that place to the king's chamber in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, wherein were many wicked and flagitious persons prisoners, such as John Scarlet the great thief and robber, and not a few honest men for religion, such as John Murray, sailor, Borrowstouness, who was condemned to die;* Robert Hamilton, junior," &c.†

At that time the great point of difference among the Covenanters, respecting the lawfulness of the then existing government, was perhaps debated nowhere more keenly than in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, there being at that time in that prison several condemned to be executed on the very ground of denying the lawfulness of the government; and such was the animosity which difference on this point produced, that those

who denied the lawfulness of the government refused to join in religious exercises, to eat, converse, or to lie with their brethren imprisoned in the same room who admitted the lawfulness of the government.‡ Such was the deplorable state of matters when Spreul was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

Another enormity of the government was the employment of spies in the prisons. They sent in among the sufferers worthless persons in the guise of prisoners, who, professing to be of the same opinions with the extreme party, wormed themselves into their confidence and got at their secrets. In the same prison with Spreul was a government spy of the name of Green. About ten days after Spreul's imprisonment, two Cameronians were imprisoned in the same room with him. They joined themselves to the members of the same party whom they found already there. Green attached himself to this party;

but by captious questions anent their thoughts and opinions, many court not our King Charles' government nor pray for him, because he persecuted the people of God and their faithful ministers, and dragooned them from place to place, and harassed and oppressed them as the French king did the Protestants in France. This John Murray" was sentenced to die. (*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xl. No. 69, p. 10.)

‡ *Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xl. folio No. 69, p. 7.

* *Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xl. folio No. 69, p. 7.

† John Murray, says Spreul in another place, "being indicted, he was tried and sentenced to die Wednesday next, and for no rebellion I know of, except by unwarrantable and rash venting his thoughts and opinions, being one of those called mountain-men, or high-fliers; and the government having (to please the duke of York) sentenced and hanged so many well-meaning persons, against whom they had no just cause,

he professed entire sympathy with their views, he declaimed furiously against the king and government, and so zealous was he against Prelacy that he said he would kill every man that wore a mitre. He joined with them in their religious exercises, "praying wonderfully," says Spreul, who drew near to the curtain within which the little Cameronian party prayed, "but more like the curates than one under a sense of sin, or concerned about God's displeasure, as shown in the judgments now lying on the nation." Spreul suspected him from the first, but concealing his suspicions, he led him in conversation till he betrayed himself, and the base end for which he was there stood revealed.

PART II.—HIS IMPRISONMENT IN THE BASS.

ON the 2nd March, 1681, John Spreul was indicted before the High Court of Justiciary, at the instance of Sir George M'Kenzie, his Majesty's advocate, on the charge of treason and rebellion, for alleged accession to the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge. The formalities of his summoning, as related by himself, are not a little curious:—

"After some time," says he, "the king's advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, drew up and sent my indictment by three Lyon heralds and three messengers-at-arms, in their several garbs, whose custom was to sound their trumpets thrice at the outer door before the entry, which, when heard, folk came and told it was with John Spreul's indictment. But, blessed be God, I happened to be reading and meditating on Psalm xci., which prepared me to receive it with more faith and hope in God and less fear of man. After they had again sounded their trumpets in the hall, and so came up to my chamber, where they also sounded as it were in my face, to make it more awful and terrible, and then gave me my indictment, which I took and kissed it, and then desired them to come and sit down within his screen or curtain, . . . until I read the first two verses of Psalm xci. And next I read to them the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th verses of Rev. xiv., and desired them to tell the duke of York and the king's advocate that the facts of that psalm preserved me from fear and despondency at the blast and sound of their trumpets with his indictment." They listened with gravity and

patience to what he said, and after he had "called for a drink and drank to them" they went away, hoping that God would set him free.*

Spreul accordingly was brought before the Lords of Justiciary on the 2nd of March. But the trial was adjourned first to the 6th of June, and next to the 13th of June, to give time for summoning more witnesses. "Four of the witnesses last procured were sent to the castle and kept close prisoners until a committee of the Council, viz., earl of Airly, my Lord Ross, and General Dalziel were sent to the castle, who called the four witnesses before them one by one, and caused a party of soldiers carry up John Spreul to confront him before them, because some of them said they did see a man they called John Spreul, but knew not if that was he that was in prison. . . . When J. Spreul is brought to the room whilst they are examining one of the witnesses, they bid that witness look upon John Spreul's face, and asked if that was he that he saw with the rebels. He said he could not be certain, having never seen him but once before ;

and then they threatened him. Whereupon J. Spreul told the lords that what they were doing was against law, for the witnesses ought only to be examined at the tribunal, before the whole judges and assizes and pannel all present ; but they were sometimes flattering, sometimes threatening the witnesses, to get an extrajudicial confession, which was contrary to law. Therefore John Spreul threw down a dollar to the clerk, and took instruments against their illegal proceedings, and so protested these witnesses might not be received in judgment, nor what they should say was not to be sustained as any evidence against him." Spreul also learned that they had threatened some of these witnesses before he was called in with torture, if they did not confess and accuse him. After examining all the witnesses, considering the matter among themselves, they began to suspect that, notwithstanding all they had done and were doing, the amount of evidence would not enable them to get his life.

The trial was tedious and complicated ; many witnesses were examined, and many speeches were made, but nothing of all the charges contained in the libel was found proven. When the

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. folio No. 69, p. 7. Spreul's Letter to M^r Ward. Ibid., vol. lix. folio No. 139.

verdict to this effect was given in Spreul's lawyers took instruments, and craved that he should now be set at liberty. But to their astonishment the king's advocate produced an Act of the Privy Council which, fearing a verdict of acquittal, had been prepared beforehand, ordering Spreul to be detained in prison. Assuming that he had been present at conventicles, and that he had held converse with inter-communed persons, they ordained him to pay a fine of £500 sterling, and go to prison till it was paid.* They first plundered him of every penny of property he had in the world, and now they exacted from him a fine of five hundred pounds! On the following day he was sent off, in charge of a troop of dragoons, to the prison of the Bass.

Let us accompany Spreul to the Bass. The details that have been transmitted to us of his imprisonment are certainly homely, but they are graphic; and they give us a very close view, not only of how it fared with Spreul, but of the lives there led by a multitude of other sufferers for conscience' sake, and of the privations to which they were subjected by the tyranny of the

government, and the capricious and wanton cruelty of their keepers. The particulars that follow are extracted from "The papers concerning John Spreul," in Wodrow's MS. collection:—

"He being now secured in his prison in the Bass, within a day or two his wife and her servant came also with some clothes and furniture, &c., and after staying some days she perceived it was difficult and uncertain to get in provisions, and especially fresh meat, because when either cross winds or stormy weather [came], the boat could not come in to the Bass, and oftentimes on the other side their meat spoiling in summer, that they sometime roasted it to preserve it till the boat got in. His wife sent out her servant and brought in two or three hens for laying of eggs, which his wife told him would be a fresh diet when he had no other thing; and so by her advice never wanted all his years in the Bass, which, though some may laugh at remarking such a providence, yet he found the goodness of God, and more satisfaction and joy then than afterwards, when he has had two or three ships coming and going with rich cargoes.

"Worthy Mr. Archibald Riddle being prisoner, then finding the

* Justiciary Records, Edinburgh, 14th June, 1681.

conveniency and advantage of it, his wife followed the same example.

“His (Spreul) wife, after staying a little, went to Glasgow to seek for what money she could from debtors, and to sell what goods and plenishing she needed not keep, which she had got preserved from the enemy, and that she might not pay the rent of a house to keep things in; and after ordering what she could of his affairs, she returned with supply to him.”

After he had been some time in the Bass the government had taken Major Learmond prisoner; and upon examination of Major Learmond they found he confessed he had seen one called John Spreul among the rebels. Therefore, to see if they could yet get his life taken away, they sent a party of horse with an order, and brought him in to the Canongate Tolbooth; and after the Privy Council was convened brought him up to the Council chamber, where they had Major Learmond standing in the pannel, and so brought in John Spreul to confront them together, because the Major had said he had seen one called John Spreul at Bothwell muir, but had never seen him before nor since, but that one time. He could say

nothing till he saw him again, therefore are confronted both together in the pannel before the Council.

“My lord chancellor said to the major, ‘Look that man in the face, and tell us if that is not the very man ye did see among the rebels.’ He answered, ‘He looks like him, but he had not the same clothes,’ &c. Whereupon John Spreul desired my lord chancellor to ask where he did see that man that they called John Spreul, and at what time it was. He answered, ‘It was in the moor in the middle of the night riding on a horse.’ Upon which John Spreul took them all witnesses that he confessed that he had never seen nor known that man but that once, and that it was in the middle of the night riding; but how could the Major judge or know a man in the night time that he had never seen or known before.

“Then he prayed them to ask what colour the horse was that he rode upon, and he answered, ‘a brown horse.’ Upon which John Spreul going to take instruments, the major cried out ‘he was a grey horse.’ Then John Spreul desired the clerk to mark in his confession how he had said first a brown horse and then a grey horse, and also as to his

clothing. He said first he had a velvet cap, and again he had a hat. Now, how can this man's testimony be received against any man, seeing he differs from and contradicts himself, and especially considering that John Spreul's own brother and his two cousins, John Spreul, writer, and John Spreul, merchant, were all actually in arms. How could he be certain which of them it was, seeing he said he never saw that man before nor since.

"So the Lords seemed to be ashamed of him, and sent back John Spreul to the Bass, where he was about six years, and had been a year in the Tolbooth.

"Now when he was brought back to the Bass all the worthy prisoners were glad, and praised God for his undeserved goodness and mercy to one of their fellow-prisoners. The Lord made it a sweet time to all, so long as they had access to meet twice every day and worship God morning and evening; by turns every minister lectured, sung a psalm and prayed, and lectured and preached twice on the Lord's-day; and sometimes set apart [some time] for fellowship in prayer and supplication to God for themselves and the suffering church of Christ."*

* Papers concerning Mr. John Spreul. Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. folio No. 69, pp. 14, 15.

The death of Charles II., which took place in February, 1685, was followed by the opening of the doors of the Bass to most of the prisoners. Alexander Gordon of Earlston had left it a few months before, to undergo the torture before the Privy Council, and be sent to Blackness. The two Campbells of Cessnock, father and son, were also liberated, the first on the score of sickness, and the second, surviving the Revolution, had the estates, which had been forfeited, restored, and became Lord Justice-Clerk. Mr. Alexander Shields also left it in about a year, not however as yet to enjoy liberty; for refusing to sign the bond to "live orderly," a mild phrase, which had in it a vast amount of meaning, he was confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, from which, however, he contrived to escape by disguising himself. Others were set at liberty on the plea of ill health; and so departing, one after the other, it came to pass that at last Mr. John Spreul remained as solitary occupant of this great state prison.

James II., who succeeded Charles, was by nature what his brother had come to be by vice—cruel, tyrannical, and bigoted. But he began his reign with a "general Toleration," in which

liberty of conscience was conceded to Papists, Protestants, and Quakers, in short, to every one, the little community of Cameronian covenanters excepted. These latter had deposed King Charles, and so were continued under the ban of the government. The edict of James was not meant as an act of homage to the great principle of liberty of conscience; it was, in plain words, a Jesuit trick. He intended by it to split up the Protestant churches of the kingdom, and to hold the door open for the Papists to enter and take possession of the government and the army, and then he would set up in Great Britain the Romish religion and arbitrary government. Spreul's mind was not clear to leave his prison on the footing of this perfidious Toleration; and so, somewhat to the annoyance of his keepers, he continued to tenant the Bass for about a year after every one else had taken farewell of it.

About this time Charles Maitland, son of the governor of the Bass, had occasion to go to London. Before setting out he waited on Spreul in his prison, and telling him that he was going to court, asked him if he had any commands for the king. "Tell him," said Spreul, "that I

by no means admire his horsemanship. Hardly is he in the saddle till he buries his spurs in the flanks of his horse. He draws too much blood. He must change his plan if he wishes to keep his seat: if he spurs and bleeds at that rate he may be sure his steed will throw him one day." The advice was couched in homely phrase, but it was sound, as the king felt to his cost in after days.

Spreul had no allowance from the government as some others of the prisoners had. He had to provide himself in all he needed in prison: with a playful allusion to this, he told Mr. Charles Maitland, when setting out for London, to tell the king that he did not envy any man his table, for his three hens took care that he should have as regular and plentiful meals as those who had the government for their provider.*

His keepers, weary, it would seem, with looking after him, and desirous of having him off their hands, tried various methods to disgust him with his prison, and compel him to leave it on the government's terms. Some of the expedients to which they had recourse were very extraor-

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. folio No. 69, pp. 16, 17.

dinary indeed. One night when the governor was keeping his Yule or Christmas feast, his son, Captain Charles, arranged the following little plot, which he carried out with the help of two of the prison-guards. One of the two, who was expert at climbing, was dressed up in the following wise:—A pair of horns was fastened on his forehead, his face was blackened, and he was made to assume, as nearly as possible, the shape and appearance which common belief assigns to the Evil One. It was thought that even Spreul could not witness this monstrous apparition without some discomposure and fear, and would be not unwilling to quit a place which was subject to the intrusion of such a visitor. Spreul's apartment was on the second story; but the gentleman in horns, being a good climber, mounted to his window, and began scrambling with his hands upon the glass to attract the notice of the inmate. Spreul at the time was reading his Bible by the light of a candle. Hearing a noise he looked up, and asked if any one was there. There was no answer, for it had been agreed among the authors of the plot that no word should be spoken. The prisoner, get-

ting no answer, resumed his reading. The scrambling at the window was again renewed. The prisoner asked a second time, but all was silent. Spreul went back again to his book. A third time the noise was resumed, when the prisoner asked a third time if any one was there; but still there was no reply. Rising up he went to the window and looked out into the darkness. To his amazement he saw a huge horned creature, which had climbed up on the wall, and was striving to force an entrance through the iron staunchions of his window. "If thou art a spirit," said Spreul, "the Lord rebuke thee." In those days when the wise and the foolish, the learned and the unlearned, believed that good and evil spirits sometimes walked the earth in a visible shape, Spreul began to revolve in his mind whether the thing before him were not one of these unearthly visitors. "I shall touch it," said he, "and see whether it has a solid body." Getting hold of a water pitcher he began to strike at the creature's paws, which had firm hold of the window-sill. Not only had it a solid body, but it was sensible to pain, for it winced under the smart strokes dealt it by the prisoner, and began to

descend with what speed it could. Spreul saw that he had solved the mystery of the horned apparition. It was no spirit, but a body.

The person who had acted the part of the devil in the little melodrama got up to frighten the prisoner, came to Spreul's chamber next morning, and falling on his knees before him, confessed the whole plot. He said he had past a most unhappy night on account of it, and earnestly begged his forgiveness. Spreul said that he most freely pardoned him, but urged him to ask forgiveness also of God. The name of this man was William Law; he possessed marvellous skill in climbing. He would mount to parts of the rock to which no one else dared venture, in pursuit of the Solan geese. Some years after this, while so engaged, he missed his footing and lost his life.

Spreul's wife spent her summers with her husband in the Bass and her winters in Glasgow, managing the business. So long as she lived his wants were provided for; but in 1683 she died of fever, so full of the assurance of glory that, lifting up her hands, she took those at her bedside witness that "she would not exchange her condition, with

all its circumstances, to be made queen of the nation." Sometime after her death the prisoner's straits became so great, that he saw that he must petition the government either to grant him an allowance or to set him at liberty. His petition set forth the sufferings he had endured, stating that he had been now six years a prisoner in the Bass; that of his ships some had been cast away at sea and some taken by Dutch privateers; that his house and shop had been burned in the great fire of Glasgow, 1677; that what property remained to him had been confiscate by the government or appropriated by Major Johnston; that of his debtors many had died and others disowned their obligations, and that generally by his absence his business had been ruined; he concludes by petitioning the Council to set him at liberty to follow his lawful calling in his own country, or in whatever land he found it most advantageous to do so.*

This petition was deemed too plain, and the Council would not receive it. But another, more to the taste of the Council, was drawn up by his cautioner, Mr.

* His petition is given in Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 412. See also, for second and fuller petition, Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. folio No. 69.

George Bell, merchant, Edinburgh, upon which the Privy Council, 12th May, 1687, ordered his liberation, "in regard of his Majesty's late gracious proclamation," referring to the Act of Toleration. Spreul objected that he had not petitioned for liberty in these terms, and that he could not with a good conscience accept of it on the footing of that proclamation; and he wrote a letter to that effect to Sir William Paterson, clerk to the Privy Council. On considering the letter the Council sent an order to the governor of the Bass to open Spreul's prison-door, take away the sentry, and let him go or stay as he pleased. After waiting ten days and getting no written answer to his letter, Spreul packed up his clothes and books and crossed in the first boat to the mainland, leaving his three hens in charge of the governor, in case he should return to his prison. He came to Edinburgh and had an interview with the

lord-chancellor and his Majesty's advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, touching the obnoxious clause, which Spreul condemned because it tolerated all opinions, but which we condemn because it was not given in good faith, and was meant to introduce a more iron tyranny than that which it for the moment suspended. It was a bootless errand on which Spreul had gone to the functionaries of government. But though we fear it grieved somewhat the good man's conscience, he had sense enough not to return to the Bass, but avail himself of a liberty to which he at least had a clear title. He resumed business and prospered in it. And it was a matter of thankfulness to him that, after having been spoiled by the government, plundered by its subordinates, defrauded by his debtors, and in various other ways wronged and oppressed, no man in the end lost a penny by him. He survived the Revolution some years.

MR. JAMES SPREUL.

IN the foregoing memoir we have had occasion to refer to the brother of Mr. Spreul. Mr. James Spreul was also a sufferer

in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. Our information regarding him is scanty. We learn that he had gone further,

in practical measures, in opposition to the government than his brother John had done. He had taken up arms. The following notice of him, taken from Wodrow's papers regarding his brother, though brief, is full of interest.*

"Anent my brother, James Spreul, who was actually in arms with the honest persecuted people of God, was also denounced to the horn and forfaulted, and therefore was necessitate from that time to lurk and [hide] himself, and durst never be seen openly. But in his father's house had made up a private place betwixt two walls (that had been a place for keeping coals in), where there was [a] slit with a glass to give light, where he had a bed, and so got his meat and drink by a hatch made under a bed in the chamber above. And yet when E. of Dundonald and the late Lord Ross were unwell and a-dying, they could not want him, and kept him secretly in their houses, though they were privy coun-

cillors; particularly my Lord Ross could never want him out of the room from him, being his chirurgeon, and often caused him both read and speak of what he knew of the way of salvation; my lord being more sensible of his case and former ways, was desirous to be saved through the blood and merits of Christ. He waited upon my lord till he died. My lord had a great kindness for him, but could not obtain his liberty. So through long hiding himself, immured as it were betwixt two walls, and had little or no fresh air, but when he went up out of the secret place, and walked in the chamber above, for five or six years, his health was impaired and so died; giving great evidence of the salvation of his soul through the bloody passion, merits, and intercession of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and when near death often repeated the words of our Lord, My flesh is bread indeed, and my blood is drink indeed; and so fed his soul by faith upon his sweet Lord, to whom he rendered up his spirit."

* Papers concerning Mr. John Spreul; Wodrow MSS., vol. xl. folio No. 69, p. 24.

ROBERT BAILLIE OF JERVISWOODE.

MR. BAILLIE of Jerviswoode is entitled on many grounds to a place among the worthies of our country. He was descended from an ancient family of Lanarkshire, which had distinguished itself by the services it had rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty. He nobly maintained the family reputation for worth and patriotism. He was a man of great parts, and his virtues were equal to his talents. In a low age he showed himself possessed of an elevated soul; and in the midst of servile and selfish contemporaries he was magnanimous and incorruptible. While others betrayed their country he sacrificed for it reputation, estates, and life itself. He is truly worthy of affectionate and admiring remembrance on the part of posterity.

Baillie was connected by the ties of blood and affinity with some of the ablest and most virtuous men of Scotland. He was a great-grandson of John Knox, through the marriage of an ancestor with one of the daughters of the reformer. His mother was a sister of Lord Warriston. A double tie connected him with

that celebrated man, seeing he married his own cousin, a daughter of Warriston's. This connexion brought him into relationship with another distinguished man, Burnet, the historian, to whom he was cousin-german, and whose esteem and friendship he enjoyed.

His talents and virtues, instead of being a defence, were a source of danger to him. They drew upon him the hatred of the vicious and bloodthirsty crew that governed the country. Piety and patriotism were crimes in that age; they made their possessors marked men, who had to be careful of what they said and wrote, if they would avoid a prison or a scaffold; and even, in many cases, no circumspection, no caution, could suffice. Baillie withdrew as much into the shade as it was possible for one of so public a spirit to do, his acts were as little irritating as they well could be in the case of one so upright and independent; but the greater his innocence the greater his guilt in the eyes of the managers of affairs. A pretext was at last found to drag him to the scaffold. Robert Baillie died a martyr to his zeal

against Popery and arbitrary government.

“In my vision of Baillie,” says Dods, “derived from various sources, I see before me a handsome and stately figure, compact and athletic; the contour of the face at once elegant and manly; the head a vast dome, elevated almost to disproportion in the region where the phrenologists have placed *firmness*, whilst the hair falls in great thick masses over the shoulders; the lips closely compressed, yet soft and rounded; the eyes large, luminous, and penetrating, but shaded by a contemplative depth of meaning; the forehead broad and projecting, with an appearance as if heavy laden; the countenance betokening dignity, nobility, that might easily pass into scornfulness and pride, yet suffused also with an expression of calm and thoughtful benignity. The inward man was more than worthy of this majestic exterior. His character, as we have said, was simple, and of a perfect oneness. It is always difficult to dispose of such a multiform and mixed thing as human character by one word, yet Baillie’s might very nearly be concentrated into that one word, *magnanimity*. His mind was truly great. In that age of meanness, frivolity, and

vice, his genius naturally allied itself to great thoughts, great studies, and great objects. His intellect was solid, vigorous, and comprehensive, taking in the whole range of knowledge, but particularly devoted to those branches that require industry, sustained attention, and the power of abstract thought. He was learned in the languages, thoroughly versed in law, and an adept in mathematics and in the natural sciences as then known. ‘You have truly men of great spirits in Scotland,’ observed Dr. John Owen in conversing with a Scottish friend; ‘there is for a gentleman Mr. Baillie of Jerviswoode, a person of the greatest abilities I have ever almost met with.’ But if his great and varied abilities elicited so much admiration, what shall be said of his virtues and piety? Burnet describes him in one happy stroke—‘A gentleman of great parts, but of much greater virtue.’ Magnanimous in every thing. Truth and honour were the two poles within which his whole actions revolved.”*

As a Presbyterian Baillie was debarred from public office; but he had studied deeply the science of government, and his views

* Dod’s Fifty Years’ Struggles of the Scottish Covenanters, pp. 310–312. Lond. 1868.

were as enlightened as they were deliberately and maturely formed. "My principles with relation to government are such," he writes, "as I ought not to be ashamed of, being consonant to the Word of God and the Confession of Faith of the reformed churches, the rules of policy, reason, and humanity." Wodrow records that he "had the testimony of some of the greatest men of his age for one of the best of men and greatest of statesmen, and so was a very proper object of the fury of this period." But his greatness of character only ministered fuel to the wrath of his enemies, and the respect, confidence, and admiration, which he commanded, were as gall and wormwood to them. He was specially marked out for destruction, and the story of his death is one of the blackest in that age of inhuman characters and dark and cruel deeds.

The persecution against him was commenced in 1676. In that year Mr. Kirkton, a minister and relative of Mr. Baillie, was apprehended by a Captain Carstairs without a warrant. This Carstairs was one of the tools of the ruling party. Mr. Baillie interposed to redress this illegal seizure. But this act of humanity, not to say of justice, was a

crime in the eyes of the administration; Baillie was summoned before the Privy Council, and despite his complete defence of what he had done, he was fined £500, and kept four months in prison. This he owed mainly to Sharp, who incensed the other councillors against him, when they were disposed to let him go, by pleading that if Captain Carstairs was not supported and Jerviswoode punished, they might abandon all measures against the fanatics, and permit them to go at large.

After this he received no open molestation till 1683. But all these years he never ceased to be watched, to be feared, to be hated, and the resolution of bringing him to the scaffold was inflexibly maintained by the governing parties. In 1680 the duke of York rose to the supreme direction of public affairs. He was known to be a papist, and his accession to the throne was looked forward to with alarm by every friend of liberty and religion in the kingdom. With him as king Popery would return as the established religion of Great Britain, and with Popery would come back despotism, its only ally and firmest prop. The friends of freedom were combining, both in England and

Scotland, to devise measures for preventing so terrible a consummation. In Scotland they formed a party distinct from the Covenanters, and were known by the name of Whigs. They were Presbyterians, of liberal political views and Christian character, and though not properly a religious party, their aims in the main were the same with those the Covenanters sought. The leading objects of this party, as regarded the state, was government by parliament; as regarded the church, toleration of opinion; and as regarded foreign politics, alliance with Holland, and resistance to the ambition of France. Further, they aimed at erecting a barrier against the occupancy of the throne by a papist, well knowing that that would be the signal for the extirpation of the Protestant faith, and the destruction of all the civil liberties of the kingdom. With this movement to guard the liberties of the kingdom stood connected the descent of Argyle on Scotland, and of Monmouth in England.

Baillie did not ostensibly appear in this matter, at least he was not seen as one of its chiefs; but he was the man of all others most dreaded by the government. If he led no invading army, his genius and sagacity gave him,

his enemies felt assured, a main hand in the concoction and direction of the plans. He knew, they concluded, all the secrets of the party, for who was so wise a counsellor and so safe a depository? The government resolved, therefore, on getting possession of his person, that so they might compel him to disclose all the secrets of the party; and if they could not succeed in this they would destroy him on the scaffold, and so deprive his friends of the weight of his name and the wisdom of his counsels.

He went to London, most probably to advise with Russell and Sydney, and other friends, who were consulting how they might secure the liberties of England against the tyranny which was growing every day more unbearable, and which they foresaw would come to a head with the accession of the duke of York. Baillie was apprehended in London in 1683, and brought before the Privy Council. Unhappily the "Rye-House Plot" was at that time hatched and had come to light. This was a conspiracy for taking off the king and the duke of York. Its authors were certainly no true friends of liberty, and neither Baillie nor the English patriots, Russell and Sydney, had the least connection with it;

but the cunning of the duke of York, prompted doubtless by his Jesuit advisers, confounded them with these conspirators, that he might the more safely direct against them the vengeance of the government. In this, to his own great delight, he completely succeeded. Both the king and York attended at the examination of Baillie; Charles with a haggard visage, for the careless smirking face he had worn in former years had now given way to one bloated with sensuality, and beginning to be darkened with that cruelty and tyranny which had always lurked at the bottom of his nature. The duke of York was elate, for he thought that those who had opposed his ascent to the throne were about to be swept from his path. He would probe Baillie and discover all their secrets. The king himself examined him, so earnest was he to get at what Baillie knew. Smoothing his furrowed face and modulating his voice to its sweetest, as when he would beguile a courtier, he strove to worm his way into Baillie's heart. It would have been easier to have forced the gates of some impregnable castle. Not a single secret could they extort from him. The hypocritical smile left the king's face. The duke of York's

countenance, too, grew dark and his voice rough. "The boot, the torture," cried both of these cruel men. Baillie had contemned their caresses, now he defied their threats. So near to the secrets they would have given half the kingdom to know, and yet not to be able to extract one of them. The wrath of the two tyrants knew no bounds. They commanded him to be taken back to prison and loaded with chains.

His health, already broken, was fast sinking under this cruel treatment; but he was kept in reserve for the trial of Lord William Russell. On the morning of that day he was taken to Newgate and urged to be a witness against his co-patriot. It is needless to say that the soul of Baillie revolted from the suggestion as from some unspeakably painful and loathsome thing.

Instead of being brought to his trial in England, Robert Baillie was sent down to Scotland, where the law of treason was more loose, and both judge and jury did whatever they were bidden. Although in a state of great weakness he was shut up in prison on his arrival. His wife, the daughter of Lord Wariston, hastened to the Tolbooth

that she might minister to her sick husband. In vain she begged for admission. She offered to be put in irons as a security against any attempt at rescue, if only they would allow her to be by his side. No access could she obtain. His daughter, a girl of twelve, was desirous to wait on her father and soothe him in his prison. Neither could she be admitted. His weakness increased, and it seemed as if death was about to snatch him from the tragic end to which they had doomed him. Now they opened his prison doors to his wife and his sister-in-law, Lady Graden; not that they cared for his comfort, but because they wished to bring him to a public execution. They had also cast greedy eyes upon his estates, and before condemning him to the gallows for treason, they subjected him to a fine of £6000 for harbouring inter-communed Presbyterians. This sum was equivalent to £18,000 or £20,000 in our day, and was an instalment or precaution merely, lest he should escape them by dying, for it was already determined to confiscate his estates. In plain words, the father was to be murdered, and the children were to be robbed.

When his trial came on he

was brought to the bar in his night-gown. So exhausted was he that his sister-in-law had to sit by his side and minister cordials at intervals, lest he should faint. His indictment charged him, among other things, with a participation in the "Rye-House Plot"—a conspiracy which Baillie's soul abhorred; but it mattered little what his indictment contained, for in those days his Majesty's advocate was accustomed to insert in the libel against the Presbyterians whatever crime it was convenient to accuse them of, without much regard to fact or even probability, and whatever was included in an indictment the courts of that period could employ torture and other means to prove. This was the method taken to establish the charges against Baillie. Mr. William Carstairs, one of his friends, who had been associated with him in the projected measures for the liberation of the country, was put into the witness-box, and after an hour's torture by the thumbkins, gave his evidence against him. Carstairs had stipulated that his deposition should not be used in proof, but the stipulation was entirely disregarded. Some others, also under torture, gave evidence which, too, was used

against the prisoner. The alternative of not answering the questions put to them was to die themselves. Baillie would have chosen the alternative, but the witnesses produced against him had not his virtue.

Sir George M'Kenzie, whose reputation in letters is lost in the base servility of the man, and the bloody and murderous deeds in which his public life, as his Majesty's advocate, was passed, rose to plead against the prisoner. M'Kenzie had confessed to Baillie in private that he had done nothing worthy of death or of bonds. He knew well, no one knew better, that this charge of conspiracy to take away the life of the king and the duke of York was but a piece of calumny. But rising in court, with a brazen forehead and a seared conscience, he declaimed with professional gravity on the enormous crime of which Baillie had been guilty, and with a well-feigned abhorrence of any attempts against life, while in the very act of embruing his hands in the blood of an innocent man, he called on the court to award against Baillie the punishment which was his due. Baillie knew the man too well to feel surprise. But when M'Kenzie

had made an end, Baillie, who had sat silent all the time, rose, amid the deep silence and not uncompassionating looks of the audience, and thus addressed the president of the court—

“My lord, I desire liberty to speak a few words, not being able to say much because of my great weakness.

“My lord, the sickness now upon me, in all human appearance, will soon prove mortal, and I cannot live many days. I feel I am intended for a public sacrifice in my life and estate; and my doom being pre-determined, I am only sorry, under such circumstances, that my trial gives the court so much and so long trouble by staying here till past midnight.”

Then turning to the jury, he called their attention to the fact that the witnesses who had appeared against him were his former friends, embarked in the same cause with himself, and that in giving their depositions they were saving their lives. “But,” he continued, and here his figure seemed to grow taller, and his voice broke into the sharp burning tones of indignation, “there is one thing which distresses me extremely, and where I am injured to the last degree, that is, to be charged

with a plot to cut off the king and the duke of York; and that I was engaged in this with such an ardent zeal and fury, that I sat up whole nights to form a declaration to palliate or justify such villany. I am in all probability to appear in a few hours before the tribunal of the Great Judge. In his omniscient presence, and before your lordships and all present, I solemnly declare that never was I prompted or privy to any such thing, and that I abhor and detest all thoughts and principles that would lead to touching the life and blood of his Majesty, or his royal brother, or of any person whatever. I was ever for monarchical government, and I designed nothing in all my public appearances, which have been few, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the safety of his Majesty's person, the continuation of our ancient government upon the foundations of justice and righteousness, the redressing of our grievances by king and Parliament, the relieving of the oppressed, and putting a stop to the shedding of blood."

Then turning suddenly, yet with dignified air, he confronted Sir George M'Kenzie, his Majesty's advocate. Pausing a moment, he fixed upon him an eye

that searched him through and through. The poor minion, his conscience loaded with falsehood and conscious of baseness, cowered under the glance. Baillie thus addressed him—

"My lord advocate, I think it strange beyond expression that you charge me with such abominable things. Do you remember when you came to me in prison, you told me such things were laid to my charge, but you did not believe them? How, then, my lord, dare you throw such a stain upon my character, and with so much violence of accusation? Are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than I was at the interview, where you freely acquitted me of guilt? Do you remember what passed betwixt us in prison?"

Since Jerviswoode affirmed it all felt it must be true. The looks of all were therefore turned on M'Kenzie, to see how he would meet the appeal. His armour of sevenfold thickness had been pierced; for once his brazen-facedness forsook him, and with trembling and stammering tongue he replied—"Jerviswoode, I own what you say; my thoughts there were as a private man. What I say here is by

special direction of the Privy Council." Pointing to Sir William Paterson, the clerk—"He knows my orders."

Never was a more shameless avowal made in any court. It was on the matter to say, Jerviswoode, I know that you are innocent; the Privy Council knows that you are innocent, but they have made up their minds to murder you, and therefore they command me to fasten upon you a crime you never committed. The brigand uses a stiletto of iron; we, as if M'Kenzie had said, use an indictment; it is all one; ours will spill blood as well as his.

"If," said Jerviswoode to the wretched man who had just made this infamous avowal, "if you keep one conscience for yourself and another for the Council, I pray God to forgive you—I do." Then turning to the lord president, he said, "I trouble your lordships no further," and sank down in his chair.

Here was an awkward dilemma for the court, one would have thought. It had been plainly avowed in open court by the prosecutor for the government that the prisoner was innocent, and that the whole affair was simply a conspiracy to murder. After this how is it possible that jury can convict or judges condemn?

Both jury and bench went on in their course as if the admission of the lord advocate formed no obstacle at all. "Justice had fallen in the streets, and equity could not enter."

The jury returned with a verdict of "guilty." The court gave sentence that Jerviswoode should be hanged that same day; his body quartered, and its severed portions affixed on the chief towns of the kingdom; that his estates should be confiscated, his name blotted out, and his blood tainted to all generations. So did the court pronounce for doom.

This terrific sentence did not overwhelm, did not even discompose Baillie. Gathering his sick robes round him, he rose in presence of them all and spoke his solemn farewell thus:—

"My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp; but I thank my God, who has made me as fit to die as you are to live."

How sublime the scene! It is the figure of majestic virtue standing out in bold and glorious relief against the background of villany and crime.

Jerviswoode was immediately taken back to his apartment in the prison. Sick and worn in body, he threw himself upon his bed; not to sleep, but to fall into a rapture. "This very day,

within a few hours, and my cause will be reheard and sentence pronounced by the righteous Judge, and that felicity shall have begun which will swallow up the remembrance of all ignominy and suffering on earth." On being asked, after a short pause, how he did, he answered, "Never better, and in a few hours I shall be well beyond all conception. They are going to send me in pieces and quarters; they may hack and hew my body as they please, but I know assuredly nothing shall be lost, but that all these my members shall be wonderfully gathered, and made like Christ's glorious body." So he continued during the few hours of life that remained to him. At four o'clock of the afternoon of that day he was taken to the market-cross of Edinburgh. The same serenity of mind and magnanimity of soul which he had exhibited on his trial attended him at the place of execution. His great weakness made it necessary for him to be supported in mounting the ladder. When he had gone up he sat down upon it, and began to say, "My faint zeal for the Protestant religion has brought me to this;" but the drums began to beat. He had prepared a parting address, but foreseeing

that he might be prevented delivering it at the scaffold, he had previously left copies of it with his friends. In it he says: "I die a member of the church of Scotland, as it was constituted in its best and purest times. I bless God this day, I know whom I have believed, and to whom I have committed my soul as a faithful keeper. I know I am going to my God and my chief joy. My soul blesseth God and rejoiceth in him, that death cannot separate between me and my God. I leave my wife and children upon the compassionate and merciful heart of my God, having many reiterated assurances that God will be my God, and the portion of mine. I bless and adore my God that death for a long time hath been no terror to me; but rather much desired, and that my blessed Jesus hath taken the sting out of it. My suffering time hath been my best time: when my sufferings have been sharpest my spiritual joys have been greatest. Let none be afraid of the cross of Christ. Woe to them that are instrumental to banish Christ out of the land. And blessed are they who are instrumental by a gospel conversation, and continual wrestling with God, to keep Christ in the nation; he is the glory of

a land, and if we could but love him, he would not part with us. God pour out his spirit plentifully on this poor remnant, that they may give God no rest till he make his Jerusalem the joy and praise of the whole earth. I go with joy to him who is the joy and bridegroom, to him who is the Saviour and Redeemer of my soul. I go with rejoicing to the God of my life, to my portion and inheritance, to the husband of my soul. Come, Lord."

The sentence passed on this great patriot was carried out in all its barbarous and horrible details. From these we turn away. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints, be their blood ever so profanely spilt, and their bodies ever so cruelly and shamefully mutilated by their persecutors. No one shall ever suffer loss for the cause of God, whether it be in reputation or in goods or in life, who shall not one day receive an hundred fold recompense. But seldom has that recompense come so quickly and so manifestly as it did in the case of the martyr whose death we have now narrated. The sentence which doomed the father to the scaffold left his wife and family of nine children without daily bread. This, doubtless,

was one of the bitterest ingredients in Robert Baillie's cup; yet faith taught him to believe that his family should "want no good thing." "The promise," said he in his last hours to his son George, then a youth of nineteen, "will be fulfilled to you. 'I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.'"

It was not long after his blood was shed till signs of the Revolution began to appear on the horizon. The terror of what was coming made the tyrant that occupied the throne, and who had done him to the death, order a reversion from his property to the widow and children, and take down from the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ayr, Lanark, and Jedburgh, the remains of their murdered father. When William of Orange at last stepped upon our shores the estates were restored to his son, the inheritor of his virtues. He, as well as others of his descendants, have filled high offices under government. The name of Jerviswoode, which was to be blotted out, still lives in honour, and the blood that was to be attainted for ever is at this day allied with that of some of the noblest families in Scotland and England.

FEMALE MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS.

HELEN STARK, WIFE OF JAMES RONALDSON.

THE times preceding the Reformation in Scotland are barren in respect of female martyrs. Our country contrasts unfavourably in this respect with Italy, and France, and England. The records of these lands contain some female names of exalted piety and devoted heroism. It may be that the difference between our country and those we have named in point of general enlightenment and culture accounts for this. The light of the Renaissance shone but feebly, if it shone at all, upon Scotland, and the female mind lay undeveloped. But when we come down to the times of the Covenant, we find an equal interest and enthusiasm displayed by the women as by the men of Scotland in the cause of truth and liberty, for then the rude and barbarous age of our country had given place to times of comparative light and progress. Nevertheless, our first female martyr is taken from the age prior to the Reformation in Scotland.

In the beginning of the year 1544 Cardinal Beatoun made a progress through Scotland, to see how the Roman church prospered, and to stamp out any seeds of heresy that might be springing up. On the 25th January he arrived in Perth. Some of its citizens at that time openly professed the Reformed faith. The list of heretics which the friars presented to the cardinal was considerable, but only six persons were apprehended—five men and one woman—and lodged in the Spey tower. Next day they were brought forth, and underwent the form of a trial. They were charged with holding meetings for the reading of the Bible, which a recent Act of Parliament made an indictable offence. Two of the men, Robert Lamb and James Ronaldson, were charged with adorning the image of St. Francis with a pair of stag's horns, and with having further aggravated their sin by eating a goose on All-Hallow-e'en, and interrupting Friar

Spence when preaching that same day, and publicly gainsaying his doctrine that no one could be saved without praying to the saints. The woman, Helen Stark, the wife of James Ronaldson, was accused of having in child-birth refused to call upon the Virgin Mary, conform to the custom of all good Catholics, and of having greatly scandalized her neighbours, who were exhorting her to pray to "our lady," by declaring that she would pray to God only in the name of Jesus Christ. All these were regarded as the true marks of heresy.

The trial was short. All six were convicted and sentenced to death, the men to be hanged at the common place of execution, and the woman to be tied in a sack and drowned in a pool in the neighbourhood. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than the preparations were begun for carrying it into execution. The hands of the men were bound preparatory to their being led to the scaffold. When Helen Stark saw her husband bound, she implored them to bind her also and permit her to die with her husband. A touching request, but her pitiless persecutors would not grant it. She was allowed to accompany her husband to the place of execution.

As she walked by his side, she exhorted him to patience and constancy in the cause of Christ. Then kissing him, she parted from him with the words, "Be glad, husband; we have lived together many joyful days, and this day on which we must die we ought to esteem the most joyful of all, because now we shall have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for in a little we shall meet in the kingdom of heaven."

She had seen her husband die, and now she was bid prepare for her own death. Now it was that she tasted the bitterness of death. She must part from her children, and her heart was wrung with anguish at the thought of leaving them orphans. But the power of her Saviour bore her through this terrible part of the trial. Being come to the brink of the pool in which she was to undergo suffocation, she turned to her neighbours, who pitying her cruel fate had accompanied her hither, and committed to their care the children already fatherless, and soon to be motherless also. One other pang, the last and keenest, yet remained to be endured by her. Of her children one was still a sucking babe, and at that moment at her breast, all uncon-

scious of the sad tragedy that was being enacted. Regarding her infant with a look into which was thrown all the intense yearning of a mother's heart, she took it from her bosom and gave it to a friend who had promised to be its nurse. Is it wonderful that for a moment she seemed almost overcome. But immediately her composure and serenity returned. Her husband she had given up, her children she had given up, but her Saviour was still with her. She found all from whom she had parted in him. His arms were underneath her, and she heard him speaking to her and saying, "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee."

She now gave herself up to the executioners. They bound her hands and feet. Her countenance remained unmoved. They next put her into a sack and tied its mouth.* Then taking her up, they threw her into the pool. The waters were agitated and ruffled for a little space, but soon the surface became calm. The five male sufferers had bidden each other on the scaffold be of good cheer, for they should sup that night in the kingdom of heaven. She whom they had

left behind had now rejoined them, and their company was complete, their joy full.

"The mental heroism of these sufferers," says M'Crie in his "Story of the Scottish Church," "closely resembles that of the primitive martyrs of Christianity, and far excels the most splendid and admired examples of courage recorded in Roman history. The conduct of the wife of poor James Ronaldson may remind some of the noble matron of Rome, the wife of Pætus, who, when condemned to die with her husband, plunged the dagger first into her own bosom, and then handing it to her husband, said with a smile, 'Pætus, it is not painful.' We see in both the same noble contempt of death; but, when more narrowly examined, how different do the cases appear! Putting out of view the vast difference between the causes in which they suffered, the Roman lady was obliged to die; she could not have escaped by making any concessions. The Scottish mother might have saved her life by saying a few words, such as, 'Hail Mary, Queen of Heaven!' Hers was a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of faith and a good conscience."*

* Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, b. ii. p. 75. Lond. 1655.

* The Story of the Scottish Church, by Rev. Thomas M'Crie, D.D., LL.D., p. 15. Glasgow, 1875.

LADY JANE CAMPBELL, VISCOUNTESS OF KENMUIR.

AMONG the female martyrs of Scotland are found persons in every rank, from the humblest up to the most exalted. The list of sufferers for conscience' sake includes domestic servants, and alongside of them come some who are the wearers of ducal coronets. But in Christ there is no rank; all are sisters in Christ Jesus. Faith gives to all the same purity of character, the same elevation of soul, and the same nobleness of act. In some instances it is around the humblest that the greatest splendour of heroism and self-sacrifice is thrown, making, in this respect, the last first. We select one or two names from those in high rank, who ennobled their lofty station, and were raised to a higher rank than that in which birth had placed them by their sufferings for the cause of Christ.

There is a name which the wonderful letters of Samuel Rutherford have made fragrant to the Scottish people, Lady Jane Campbell, better known as viscountess of Kenmuir. Both on the father's and mother's side Lady Jane was descended from

ancient and noble families. Her great-grandfather was that Archibald, earl of Argyle, who subscribed the "Band" in 1557, and was not the least distinguished in that little host who offered themselves as the champions of the Scottish Reformation when in its very dawn. Much of the youth of Lady Jane Campbell was passed on a sick bed, and there was the beginning of that piety which her future trials, and the letters addressed to her by Rutherford, developed into strength and beauty. She was first married to Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, afterwards viscount of Kenmuir. Sir John was an accomplished and pious gentleman, and, like his lady, a warm friend of Presbyterianism. His residence was in the immediate neighbourhood of Anwoth, of which Samuel Rutherford became minister, and this gave him the rare privilege of enjoying the ministrations of that remarkable man. Lady Kenmuir admired the genius, not less than the faithfulness of her pastor, while Rutherford in his turn was attracted by the Christian graces of the countess, who was so

warmly attached to the Presbyterian cause.

After two years (1629) Lady Kenmuir removed to London, her husband going thither to prosecute his suit for the Gowrie peerage. This was a trial to her, inasmuch as it withdrew her from the ministry of Rutherford; in another respect it was a blessing, for it commenced Rutherford's correspondence with her by letter. Her pastor followed her to London with his prayers and counsels, lest her piety should decline or her interest in the cause of her country's church grow cold. The correspondence thus opened was continued till the close of Rutherford's life. To this it is that the world owes its possession of "Rutherford's Letters," so instinct with the fire of genius and with the yet diviner fire of piety. To how many thousands, besides the Christian lady to whom they were addressed, have these letters ministered instruction and comfort! and they will continue in the ages to come to refresh and delight thousands more. Rutherford was happy to find that, during her stay in England, the countess "had not changed upon nor wearied of her sweet master, Christ, and his service."

In 1631 the Kenmuir family returned to Scotland, and fixed their residence at Kenmuir Castle, about twenty miles distant from Anwoth. This necessitated a continuance of that epistolary correspondence which was destined to edify and solace so many souls of which he who wrote and she who read never dreamt. The countess was often sick; but says Rutherford, "It is better to be sick, provided Christ come to the bedside, and draw aside the curtains and say, 'Courage, I am thy salvation,' than to enjoy health, being lusty and strong, and never to be visited of God." Her trials were multiplied; but every new wound brought her fresh balm from the great Physician, conveyed through the pen of Rutherford. Death came often to her mansion, and took from her side those she loved. In 1629 she was bereaved of an infant daughter. It was then that her correspondent, in writing to her, threw his consolation into that fine poetic image, of which the author of "The Course of Time" has availed himself in his noble poem. "You have lost a child," says Rutherford; "nay, she is not lost to you who is found to Christ - she is not sent away, but only sent before; like unto a

star, which going out of our sight doth not die and evanish, but shineth in another hemisphere. Ye see her not, yet she doth shine in another country."

In 1633 she was bereaved of another daughter, who also died in infancy. In 1634 yet another, a third daughter, was taken from her. "If we mortal men," says Rutherford, "may pluck up a flower in the lud and not be blamed for it, may not our dear Lord pluck up one of his roses and pull down sour and green fruit before harvest, and not be challenged for it?"

In the autumn of the same year she was called to drink a still more bitter cup in the death of her husband, Lord Kenmuir. The presence of Rutherford at his lordship's death-bed, the hope and joy he expressed in his last hours, and the consolatory letters of Rutherford after the bereavement, all helped to mitigate the blow and lighten her great sorrow.

Death returned yet again to the mansion of Kenmuir, this time striking down, at the age of four years, the son of Lady Kenmuir, John, the second viscount and heir of the titles and estates. These now passed out of the Kenmuir family into another. "I confess," said Rutherford, writing

to the sorely stricken widow and mother, "I confess it seemed strange to me that your Lord should have done that which seemed to ding out the bottom of your worldly comforts, but we see not the ground of the Almighty's sovereignty. We see but pieces of the broken links of the chain of his providences. Oh let the Former work his own clay into what frame he pleaseth! Shall any teach the Almighty knowledge? Do not wonder to see the Judge of the world weave into one web your mercies and the judgments of the house of Kenmuir. He can make one web of contraries."

About a year after the death of her son (1640), Lady Kenmuir married a second time. United to the Honourable Sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen, second son of Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton, the relation was a source of happiness to both. Sir Henry was a man of piety, and in all church matters, in which he took an active part, his views corresponded exactly with those of his lady. Her trials were not yet at an end, however. She was left a widow a second time. She continued so till the day of her death, which took place at a venerable age. She was destined to experience other trials before

going to the tomb. But the darker the affliction that environed her the brighter shone the light of her piety, and the more she was bruised by the rod the sweeter the fragrance emitted by her graces.

The sky now began to grow dark over the church of her native land. The sun had gone down upon not a few of the prophets; but the good Lady Kenmuir, weak in body but strong in heart, continued steadfastly on the side of her country's Reformed Presbyterian church till her life's end. Just as these troubles were beginning Rutherford went to the tomb. He had died just in time to escape a scaffold. No longer by voice or pen could he cheer her in the hour of sorrow. Her burdens, and she had yet some heavy ones to bear, she must thenceforward carry alone. Her first great trial after this, or rather just at the time she was about to lose her correspondent, was the death of her brother, the marquis of Argyle. He had gone to London to congratulate Charles II. on his restoration, when he was apprehended and thrown into the Tower. He was sent down to Scotland, tried by the Scottish Parliament, condemned, and beheaded. "Your ladyship," says

Mr. Robert M'Ward, writing to her from Holland, "after these more private and personal conflicts seemed to be over or were forgotten, hath had the honour among the first to be brought upon the stage, though not in your own person, yet in your honourable and deservedly dear relations, there to act a part very unpleasant to flesh and blood, even to see those who were to your ladyship as yourself slain for the Word of God and their testimony which they held."

Lady Kenmuir was near suffering the same trial over again in the person of her nephew, Lord Lorn, son of the martyred marquis of Argyle. Indignant at his father's treatment he dropped some free expressions about the government, which were caught up by some one of the thousand ears of the tyrant. He was condemned to die, and his estates were forfeited. As he lay in the castle of Edinburgh waiting execution, Middleton, the prime enemy of himself and his house, died, and thus Lord Lorn escaped death and had his estates restored. But if Lady Kenmuir was spared this trial, her last years were saddened by spectacles scarcely, if at all, less painful. The desolations of Zion were daily growing. In her younger

years a man was famous according as he "wielded the axe, or lifted the hammer," in building the temple of a reformed church in Scotland. But now men were emulous to break down "with axes and hammers" the "carved work of the sanctuary." She lived to see the ejection of four hundred Presbyterian ministers. She lived to see the scaffold set up for those who refused to conform to Prelacy. What pained her more perhaps than the blood that was beginning to flow was the apostacy of so many who had sworn to uphold the Reformation. "But the good old cause was still the good old cause for

her." Notwithstanding this long train of earthly sorrows, sickness, the loss of husband and children, the martyrdom of relatives and friends, the afflictions of the church, and the calamities of her country, her graces ripened apace, and attained at last no ordinary maturity. She came to the grave as a shock of corn fully ripe cometh in in its season. The year of her death is not known, even as the year of her birth is uncertain. It is probable that she died in 1672 or 1673, in which case she must have been nearly eighty years of age. Through much tribulation she entered the kingdom.

LADY ANN CUNNINGHAM, MARCHIONESS OF HAMILTON.

WE must devote a page to this lady for her fathers' sake and her own. She was sprung of a line renowned for their patriotic worth and their evangelical virtue. The Glencairns were among the first of the Scottish nobles who embraced the cause of the Reformation. Her great-grandfather, the fifth earl of Glencairn, "the good earl," as he was styled, was the friend of Knox, and contributed greatly by both pen and

sword to the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. In 1559, when the queen regent was about to fall on the reformers with her army, Glencairn quickly mustered some 2500 horse and foot, and prevented the effusion of blood, by compelling the regent to alter her purpose. The intrepid, strong-minded, and deeply pious nobleman resisted the wiles of Mary, by which so many were vanquished, stood steadfastly by

Knox's side throughout his whole career, and visited him once and again when on his death-bed.

Lady Hamilton inherited her ancestors' ardent attachment to the reformed faith and the Presbyterian form of church government. In January, 1603, she was married to James, son of the first marquis of Hamilton. The first half of her life was passed amid the struggles which grew out of the machinations of James VI. to overthrow Scottish Presbytery and plant in its room Prelacy and arbitrary government. The marchioness zealously attached herself to that party among the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland who strove to maintain the freedom of the kirk and the liberties of the nation. Her husband was not of the same excellent spirit; he went in with the court, and being his Majesty's commissioner in the Parliament of 1621, he used his influence there for the ratification of the Five Articles of Perth. This nobleman died in the prime of his age (1625), his marchioness surviving him many years.

In the troubled times that ensued she continued to befriend and protect the faithful ministers. One of the more notable incidents in her history is her connection

with the revival at the Kirk of Shotts in June, 1630. Being on her way to Edinburgh, the marchioness' carriage broke down on the highway, not far from the manse of Shotts. The minister, Mr. Home, invited her ladyship and her attendants to take up their abode at the manse while the carriage was being repaired. The marchioness had thus occasion to observe the dilapidated state of the manse, and some little while after she had a new one built in return for the hospitality shown her. The minister waited upon her to thank her, and desired to know if there was anything in which he could show his gratitude by furthering her wishes. Ever on the watch for opportunities of promoting the cause of evangelical religion, the marchioness replied, that she had one favour to beg in return, even, that he would allow her to name the ministers who should assist him at the approaching celebration of the Supper. The request was cordially granted. The marchioness named Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. David Dickson, and other ministers, whose labours, under the Divine blessing, had resulted in the salvation of many souls. The news of who were to preach at the Shotts communion soon spread over the

country, and a vast assemblage gathered when the day came, including the marchioness, with several other ladies of rank.

He who gives glory to the assemblies of his people, and power to his gospel, was present on that occasion. He clothed his priests with health, and his saints shouted for joy. On the Sabbath night few of that great multitude closed their eyes in sleep; forming into companies, they passed the night in prayer, giving God thanks for his goodness. On Monday morning, the ministers perceiving the frame of the people, and that they lingered near the spot, being evidently unwilling to depart from a place which had been to many of them the "house of God, and the gate of heaven," came to the resolution of having sermon on that day also. It had not been the custom hitherto to preach on the Monday of a sacramental season.

The minister whose turn it was to preach falling ill that morning, another had to be found to take his place. Lady Culross suggested that Mr. John Livingstone should be asked to preach to the people. Mr. Livingstone was then a young man, and not much known. Retiring for an hour's premeditation, and casting

himself in prayer on the Spirit's aid, he essayed the duty laid upon him. The great multitude assembled in the churchyard, and Livingstone, mounting a gravestone, gave out his text, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean," &c. "A new heart also will I give you," &c. At the close he attained an elevation of spirit, and a warmth of exhortation, which he never felt before or after, and which carried him on a full hour after he had intended to conclude. While he was speaking a wind from the Lord passed over the assembly. "Nearly five hundred," says Fleming in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," "had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards. On that day was sown the seed of heroes and martyrs in persecuting times."

Her influence at the court of London, which was considerable, was always put forth for the protection of the nonconformist ministers. When Charles I. mounted the throne, and attempted to force a book of canons and a liturgy upon the Scottish nation, the marchioness rallied herself under the banner of the Covenant. Neither the fear

of danger, nor maternal affection, could detach her from the cause of her church and country. When her son the marquis, afterwards duke of Hamilton, sided with Charles I., and brought down the royal fleet to the Forth, the marchioness appeared in the ranks of the Covenanters, and riding along the shore, it is said, with pistols at her saddle-bow, she declared herself ready to join in resisting the troops should they attempt to land. She went aboard the fleet, and had an interview with

her son, which doubtless contributed with other causes to the issue of the affair, which was the quiet sailing away of the ships. After this we have scarcely any notices of her. She died in 1647, and so did not live to see the dark night of her church's history. Livingstone, in his "Memorable Characteristics," has given the marchioness of Hamilton a place among the "professors of the Church of Scotland, of his acquaintance, who were eminent for grace and gifts."

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, MARCHIONESS OF ARGYLE.

OF the female worthies of which we present a brief notice, there are some who, if they did not mount the scaffold, stood beside it, and endured the agony of witnessing the death of those who were closely related to them and tenderly beloved by them. This, in some respects, was more painful than if they had been called to lay down their own lives. Of this number is the noble Christian lady whose name heads this memoir.

Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, seventh

earl of Morton, was born in 1610. Her great-grandfather, William Douglas, sixth earl of Morton, was a steady friend to the Presbyterian cause. In him the proverbial prowess of the Douglasses was blended with the milder virtues of the "good regent." His grand-daughter inherited his noble qualities. She was married at an early age to Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards first marquis of Argyle. His great abilities and magnificent estates gave him vast influence in the councils of his country. He

wielded power in Scotland almost as a king. "The man was very wise," says Baillie. His piety was deep, and his attachment to his country's reformation enlightened and steady. Such was the husband of Lady Jane Douglas.

The first incident in the history of the marchioness is sufficiently striking. Taken with a severe illness at the time of her first confinement, the physicians gave it as their opinion that her life could not be saved otherwise than by destroying the child. She revolted from this proposal. In the providence of God both the mother's and the infant's life was preserved; and the son now born to her became afterwards earl of Argyle and the martyr of 1685.

Her second great trial grew out of the ambition of her husband and the unprincipled character of Charles II. When Charles arrived in Scotland in 1650 the marquis of Argyle, who received him loyally, advised him, in order to conciliate the confidence of the Presbyterians and enlist their cordial support in his restoration, to marry into one of the great Presbyterian families, and he is said to have suggested his own daughter as a suitable match for him.* The future

king, it is said, gave his consent to this alliance. It is needless to say that this promise Charles never fulfilled, and doubtless never intended to fulfil. But the consequences to the young lady, the daughter of the marquis, were lamentable in the extreme. Her imagination, excited for years by the hope of becoming the wife of Charles and queen of Britain, sustained a shock great in proportion to the grandeur of her expectations. Her health failed, and ultimately her reason gave way. Kirkton, who says that the marquis' object in this proposal was to secure himself against his enemies, who, he foresaw, would come into power with the royal restoration, states that "the poor young lady, of a gallant young gentlewoman, lost her spirit and turned absolutely distracted."† This family affliction was the sorer, doubtless, that their own hand had been in it. What the private wishes of the marchioness respecting this match were we do not know; certain it is that at an early period, and before his darker qualities had been developed, the marchioness had penetrated the

† It is sufficiently striking, in connection with this historic incident, that now, after two hundred years, a similar relationship should have been formed between the reigning house of Great Britain and the ducal family of Argyle.

* Douglas' Peerage, vol. i. p. 97.

real character of Charles Stewart, and regarded him as not only unprincipled and profligate, but hypocritical and vindictive, and warned her husband to be on his guard in that quarter.

The restoration in 1660 gave her no pleasure. While the nation was rejoicing around her the marchioness was oppressed by gloomy forebodings. She saw deep shadows gathering over her family, and over the church of the Reformation. Nor were the evils she had foreseen long in coming. Scarcely was Charles Stewart on the throne before the marquis of Argyle was in the Tower of London. Thence he was transferred to the castle of Edinburgh, and in February, 1661, he was tried before the Scottish Parliament for high treason. On Saturday, the 25th of May, he was sentenced to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh on Monday, the 27th, and his head to be affixed on the west end of the Tolbooth.

The first to receive him in prison after his sentence was his agonized wife. Throwing herself into his arms, and bursting into a flood of tears, she passionately exclaimed, "The Lord will require it, the Lord will require it." One near her gently hinted that Christians must not revenge them-

selves. "There is no need to do so," she replied; "for is it not written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord?'" She continued to weep. "Forbear, forbear," said her husband, trying to comfort her, "truly I pity them, they know not what they do; they may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut out God from me."

From the prison the marchioness went straight to Holyrood house to have an interview with Middleton, his Majesty's commissioner, if by any means she might obtain a reprieve for her husband. Middleton received her in the most gracious manner, but was deaf as the adder to her request. He was the mortal enemy of Argyle, and was burning with a cormorant greed of his estates. He had risen from deep potations to receive Lady Argyle, and hence, doubtless, the frankness of his avowals, of which he is said to have repented when his head was cool, that his Majesty had specially laid upon him three injunctions—first, to rescind the covenants; second, to behead Argyle; and third, to sheathe every man's sword in his brother's breast.* Lady Argyle turned away with a heavy heart.

Hastening back to the prison,

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

she told her husband that her visit had been in vain. Both now prepared for the worst. The marchioness remained in the prison with her husband till Sabbath night; and then, at his request, she took a last farewell of him on earth. Sweet had been the hours which they passed together in that prison; a peace that passed all understanding was shed abroad in their hearts. The marquis was filled not with courage only, but with joy at the prospect of his departure. At times he would burst into tears, so great was his rapture. To her who remained behind the horrors of the scaffold were gilded with a glory borrowed from the triumphant faith which her husband had displayed while passing through these terrors.

Another trial awaited the marchioness in connection with her late husband. His head, in pursuance of the sentence, was affixed on the Tolbooth as a public spectacle. How this would lacerate her feelings we can well imagine. Her daughter, Lady Caithness, went to Middleton, and throwing herself on her knees before him, begged that her father's head might be taken down. The brute threatened to kick her if she did not instantly depart his presence. The head remained

exposed for three years. The body, prepared for sepulture in the Magdalene chapel, was taken to Kilmun on the Clyde and laid in the family vault.

The estates of the marquis were forfeited at the same time that himself was sentenced to death. This would have left his widow and children penniless. Powerful intercession was made with the king to have the forfeiture annulled. This was done not formally but substantially, by the arrangement that was ultimately come to, and by which ample provision was made for the marchioness, as well as for her son, Lord Lorn. In all these afflictions she gave glory to God by her patience, her submission, and her faith. She survived the marquis seventeen years, residing mostly at Roseneath, and devoting herself to the service of God in the training of her family, in her acts of beneficence to the poor, and in the exercises of devotion. Law, in his Memorials, speaking of the martyrdom of the marquis says, "His lady, Lady Margaret Douglas, a lady of singular piety and virtue, bore this sad stroke, with other both personal and domestic afflictions, with great patience and incredible fortitude, giving herself always to prayer and fasting, and

ministering to the necessity of the saints." In her last illness she endured great pain of body; to this was added a period of mental distress, arising from a deep sense of her own unworthiness and God's infinite purity and holiness. At last she turned

her eye again upon the cross, and the clouds were dispersed; peace returned. "O my ease is great, great," she exclaimed, and that peace continued till she had breathed her last. She died on the 13th of March, 1678, in the sixty-eighth year of her age.

ISABEL ALISON.

THE two names that come next, Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, were originally humble and obscure, and would have so remained had not the sacredness of suffering and the lustre of virtue gathered round them, and given them an enduring place amongst the "worthies" of our land. Isabel Alison lived in Perth, and was probably about twenty-seven years of age when she became the object of persecution. She was distinguished among her acquaintances for superior intelligence, exemplary character, and enlightened piety. She had been a fearer of the Lord from her youth; but the sermons of Cargill and Cameron which, when she was grown up, she had an opportunity of hearing, confirmed and fortified her in the faith.

Cargill was now an old man;

Cameron was in the prime of youth. If we except John Blackadder, these two were the only ministers of all the Presbyterian body who had the courage to preach in the fields; for Renwick had not yet appeared upon the scene. The growing violence of the government had compelled all others to desist from the practice. Standing alone, this party, termed Cameronians from their leader Cameron, became the object of the special vengeance of the Privy Council. The fierceness of the persecution to which they were now exposed drove them into the adoption of extreme opinions. They held that Charles Stewart, having violated the oaths he had sworn at his coronation, and inverted all the ends of government, had forfeited his right to the throne, and was no longer lawful mon-

arch of these realms. They accordingly renounced him as their sovereign, pronounced excommunication upon him, and proclaimed war against him as a usurper. This was the party to which Isabel Alison belonged, whose opinions she shared.

But it does not appear that she took any means to propagate these opinions, or make converts. She kept her thoughts to herself. She honestly believed that Charles Stewart was not lawful sovereign of Great Britain, she held his Privy Council to be but a crew of murderers, but she made no war—not even in words—upon the king; she did nothing to shake the throne, and surely the government had little to fear from a quiet-living, God-fearing woman like Isabel Alison. Yet so thought not the government.

Some expressions she had dropped condemnatory of certain severities which had been inflicted upon her fellow-citizens for their nonconformity, joined to some remarks she had let fall touching the practice of the government in sending soldiers over the country to slay innocent men, came to the ears of the magistrates of Perth. On examination they dismissed her as guilty of nothing worthy of punishment. But soon there-

after, the affair becoming known to the Privy Council, they sent a party of soldiers to apprehend her. Alison was brought to Edinburgh and lodged in the Tolbooth. She was examined before a committee of the Privy Council. But still, stringent as the law then was, it could not be proved that she had done any overt act in violation of it. She was not therefore dismissed. Something *must* be found to condemn her. But where was it to be sought for? In her life? in her speech? There no breach of the law had been found. It must be sought for in her breast; her thoughts must be ransacked; she must be entrapped into an avowal of opinions on abstract points; or if she cannot be entrapped, she must be compelled by torture to disclose her thoughts. So inquisitorial and base was the tyranny of those days. If one dared to have an opinion different from that of the greedy, sensual, and tyrannical junto that then ruled the land, he must pay the forfeit of his life.

Before the Privy Council, where she underwent a long examination, she bore herself at once with spirit and dignity. Instead of being abashed, as one might have expected in a woman of so lowly a station, before so for-

midable a tribunal, on a charge involving her life, she assumed a moral superiority which made her judges blush, or would, had they not lost the power of admiring what was *great* in others, and of being ashamed at what was *little* in themselves. Her answers showed a ready wit and a sound judgment, and were given with an ease and self-possession so natural as to show that the promise of the Saviour was fulfilled to this confessor of his name, "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak."

Her long examination before the Privy Council had resulted in what? Not in showing that she had done any act which even the Council could say was an unlawful act, but in showing that she had adopted certain opinions which they held to be unlawful. Well, if she did hold some opinions that were extreme, who was to blame for that? Why, most of all, the very men who sat there to try her. The civil and religious constitution of the country these men had overturned; the laws they had shamelessly perverted. Justice they had made the terror of the good; the sword which they held they

employed in spilling the blood of the innocent: in their own persons they presented examples of every vice which can debase humanity; they were foul adulterers, besotted drunkards, shameless liars, and insatiably covetous and greedy: was it surprising that men should ask by what right these men exercised a tyranny over the land such as is almost without example in the annals of civilized governments? And if Isabel Alison came to a wrong conclusion on this question, was that an error of so tremendous a criminality that she must die, not for propagating it, but merely for holding it? This, we wish the reader to mark, was all that the Privy Council had discovered from their examination of the prisoner.

On the 6th December, 1680, she was brought before the Lords of Justiciary with the view of bringing her to own the confession she had made before the Council, in order that it might be made the ground of a criminal process. Such was the daily practice of these men at that time. To-day they brought those they wished to destroy before the Council, and sought to entrap them by artful questions; if they remained silent they threatened them with the thumb-screw

and boot; and next day they founded a criminal indictment on their own confession, condemned them by the Justiciary, and hanged them in the Grassmarket. Such was their method of procedure in the case of Isabel Alison. We give the more important of the questions put to her by the Lords of Justiciary, with the answers she returned.

L. J. "Will you abide by what you said last day?"

I. A. "I am not about to deny anything of it."

L. J. "You confessed that you harboured the killers of the bishop, though you would not call it murder?"

I. A. "I confessed no such thing."

Lord Advocate. "You did."

I. A. "I did not; and I will take with no untruths."

Lord Advocate. "Did you not converse with them?"

I. A. "I said I did converse with David Hackstoun, and I bless the Lord for it."

L. J. "When saw you him last?"

I. A. "Never since you murdered him."

Then they desired her to say over what she said the last day; to which she replied, "Would you have me to be my own accuser?" They said to her that

the advocate was her accuser. "Let him say on, then," rejoined she, with spirit. Then they repeated what had passed between the Council and her the other day, and required her to say whether or not that was true—yes or no.

She answered, "Ye have troubled me too much with answering questions, seeing ye are a judicature which I have no clearness to answer."

L. J. "Do you disown us, and the king's authority in us?"

I. A. "I disown you all, because you carry the sword against God, and not for him; and have these nineteen or twenty years made it your work to dethrone him, by swearing year after year against him and his work, and assuming that power to a human creature which is due to him alone, and have rent the ministers from their Head, Christ, and one another."

L. J. "Who taught you these principles?"

I. A. "I am beholden to God, who taught me these principles."

L. J. "Are you a Quaker?"

I. A. "Did you hear me say I was led by a spirit within me? I bless the Lord I profited much by the persecuted gospel, and your acts of indemnity, after

Bothwell, cleared me more than anything I met with since."

L. J. "How could that be?"

I. A. "By your meddling with Christ's interests, and parting them as you pleased."

L. J. "We do not usurp Christ's prerogatives."

I. A. "What, then, mean your indulgences, and your setting up of Prelacy? for there has none preached publicly these twenty years without persecution, but those that have had their orders from you."

It was with difficulty that jurymen were found to serve on the trial. Two absconded, and were declared "unlaws" and fined. The rest came forward on the compulsitor of threats; and one of them, when the oath was administered, trembled all over, and was unable to hold up his hand. The charges specified in the indictment were simply *opinions*, those even which the prisoner had confessed, and the only proof produced was that confession. The king's advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, addressing the jury, said, "You know that these women* are guilty of treason." "They are not guilty of matter-of-fact," responded the jury. "Treason is fact," an-

swered Sir George. But as if misdoubting his own averment he immediately added, "It is true it is but treason in their judgment; but go on according to our law, and if you will not do it I will proceed." This looked liked threatening them with an assize of error. The jury found them guilty of all the *opinions* they had confessed, but as regarded overt acts none had been proven. Thereupon they were sentenced to be hanged in the Grassmarket on the Wednesday following, the 26th of January, 1681, between two and four of the clock of the afternoon.

On leaving the court and returning to her prison she found One there who said to her, "Fear not, when thou passest through the waters I will be with thee." "O, the everlasting Covenant," she says, "is sweet to me now. And I would also say that they that would follow Christ need not scare at the cross, for I can set my seal to it, 'His yoke is easy, and his burden is light.'" It remained for her to suffer yet one more piece of barbarity and cruelty at the hands of the government. Five women of the town, who had been condemned to die for the murder of their illegitimate offspring, were executed along with her. To

* Marion Harvey was tried at the same time and on the same indictment as Isabel Alison.

have her character and cause mixed up with the vilest malefactors before the great crowd which had come to see her die, and to spend her last moments in society so loathsome, was peculiarly painful to her; but she reflected that so had it been done to her Saviour, and that this was one thing more in which she had communion with her blessed Head.

On the scaffold she sung the eighty-fourth Psalm, to the tune of "Martyrs."

How lovely is thy dwelling-place,
O Lord of hosts, to me!

The tabernacles of thy grace
How pleasant, Lord, they be!
My thirsty soul longs vehemently,
Yea, fainst thy courts to see;
My very heart and flesh cry out,
O living God, for thee!
 &c. &c.

She next read the sixteenth chapter of Mark. Being conducted to the foot of the gallows she there prayed. Her last words were, "Farewell all created comforts; farewell sweet Bible, in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came to prison; farewell Christian acquaintances. Now into thy hands I commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!"

MARION HARVEY.

MARION HARVEY, who drank of the same cup with Isabel Alison, was a servant girl in Borrowstounness. Her father, who was a fearer of God and had sworn the National Covenant and Solemn League, took care, doubtless, to add religious instruction to the force of a pious example in the upbringing of his family. His daughter Marion, notwithstanding, grew up careless of divine things. She says of herself that in her fourteenth or fifteenth year she was a "blasphemer and Sabbath-breaker."

But now the time had come when she was to be "plucked as a brand from the burning." By some motive or other she was drawn to hear the field preachers. Despite the severe penalties denounced against all who attended conventicles, thousands in that part of the country in which Marion lived flocked to the sermons of the outed ministers, and amongst others the subject of our memoir. The Word took effect upon her. She ceased to hear the curates; she venerated that great Name she had formerly

blasphemed ; she kept holy that day she had formerly profaned ; she delighted in the Bible, and neglected no opportunity presented to her of hearing the gospel at the mouths of those whom persecution had chased to the moors and mountains. Instead of being famished as aforetime, she had now bread given her which she felt was able to nourish her soul. "I bless the Lord," says she in her dying testimony, "that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron ; my soul has been refreshed with the hearing of him, particularly at a communion in Carrick, on these words in Psalm lxxxv. 8 : 'The Lord will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints, but let them not turn again to folly.'" Marion Harvey became, as was natural, an attached follower of those ministers, whose preaching had been the means of her conversion.

Marion had undergone a marked change of character, but she made no effort to propagate her peculiar views touching the lawfulness of the government, which she held in common with the extreme party to which she belonged. One in so humble a station was not likely to attract the eye of the government. But the tyrants who then ruled Scot-

land, like the tyrants of all ages and countries, had their spies, who were ever on the hunt for victims. A notorious member of this class, named James Henderson, lived in North Queensferry. Greed of the sum set on the head of all Covenanters led this man to inform against her. She was apprehended one day, as she was on the way to a field-preaching, by a party of soldiers, and carried to Edinburgh Tolbooth. She was brought before the Privy Council, who had nothing to charge her with except that she had attended conventicles, and no proof to produce of that, save her own confession to the soldiers. According to the letter of their law, tyrannous as it was, they could inflict upon her only the penalties denounced against attendance at conventicles. For they had proof of nothing beyond. But they thirsted for her blood, and in order to have a pretext for murdering her, they set about extracting from herself matter on which to condemn her. They even threatened her with the boot to compel her to disclose her opinions. They succeeded in drawing from her an approval of Cargill's Covenant, of the Sanquhar Declaration, of the killing of Archbishop Sharp, in so far as the Lord raised up instruments

for that purpose, and of the Torwood Excommunication. Well, after all, these were but opinions, and they had been drawn from her by the same methods which the inquisition employs to extract the secrets of its victims. One of the councillors taunted her with concerning herself about these matters, saying that "a rock, a cod, and bobbins would better become her;" and yet, as Wodrow says, "they murdered her upon them." Their examination of her was characterized by levity as well as artifice; she, on the other hand, conducted herself with dignity, and gave her replies with candour and courage.

"The Covenant," said the privy councillors, "does not bind you to disown the king's authority."

"So long," replied Marion, "as the king held the truths of God, which he swore, we were obliged to own him; but when he broke his oath, and robbed Christ of his kingly rights, which do not belong to him, we were obliged to disown him, and you also."

"Do you know what you say?" said the lords.

"Yes," replied the prisoner.

"Were you ever mad?" asked the councillors.

"I have all the wit that ever

God gave me," rejoined Marion. "Do you see any mad act in me?"

"Who grounded you in these principles?" inquired the Privy Council.

"Christ by his Word," responded the prisoner.

"Did not ministers ground you in these?" said the Council.

"When the ministers preached the Word," replied Marion, "the Spirit of God backed and confirmed it to me."

"Do you approve of the killing of the Lord St. Andrews?" was one of the questions put by the Privy Council.

Unless the Council was prepared to lead proof that Marion had killed the Lord St. Andrews, what right, we ask, had they to put this question to her? Nevertheless Marion frankly told them what she thought of the matter.

"In so far," said she, "as the Lord raised up instruments to execute his just judgments upon him, I have nothing to say against it; for he was a perjured wretch, and a betrayer of the Kirk of Scotland."

"What age are you of," asked the Council.

"I cannot tell," said the prisoner.

They said among themselves that she would be about twenty years of age, and began to regret

her case, and said to her, "Will you cast away [your] self so?"

"I love my life as well as any of you do," was her touching reply, "but will not redeem it upon sinful terms; for Christ says, 'He that seeks to save his life shall lose it.'"^{*}

For holding these opinions his Majesty's Privy Council had resolved that this girl of twenty should die. But her answers could become judicial only when made before the Lords of Justiciary, and accordingly, after the usual custom, she was next brought before that court. The confession she made before the Justiciary was substantially the same she had made before the Privy Council; and an indictment being framed upon it, she was brought to trial on the 17th of January, 1681. She had, as we have already said, for her companion at the bar Isabel Alison. The same indictment was preferred against them both, the same jury sat on the case of both, and both were comprehended in the same doom, which was that they should be taken to the Grassmarket on Wednesday, the 26th of January, 1681, between two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be

hanged on a gibbet till they were dead.

As during the trial she had betrayed no symptoms of wavering or of fear, so now that she was within five short days of the scaffold her spirit remained unclouded, and her fortitude grew into a serene and tranquil joy. It is not the place nor the manner that determines the character of one's death. While one may die on his bed amid horrors, another may depart in peace on the scaffold. Marion Harvey, in her dying testimony, dated the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 16th January, 1681, says, "Christian friends and acquaintances, I being to lay down my life on Wednesday next, January 26, I thought fit to let it be known to the world wherefore I lay down my life; and to let it be seen that I die, not as a fool or an evil doer, but for adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and avowing him to be King in Zion and Head of his Church." Those heavenly consolations which have sustained the martyr in his last hours were not wanting to this young and humble confessor. Her soul was filled with a sense of her Saviour's love. "I bless and magnify the Lord for my lot," she says in the document from which we have just quoted,

^{*} Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 95-97.

“and may say, he hath brought me into the wilderness, to allure me there and speak comfortably unto my soul. It was but little of him I knew when I came to prison, but now he has said to me, because he lives I shall live also. And he hath told me, ‘I am he that blotteth out thine iniquity for my own name’s sake.’ . . . I bless him that the thoughts of death are not terrible to me. He hath made me as willing to lay down my life for him, as ever I was willing to live in the world.” Her testimony concludes with these simple but sublime adieus:—“Now farewell lovely and sweet Scriptures, which were aye my comfort in the midst of all my difficulties! farewell faith! farewell hope! farewell wanderers, who have been comfortable to my soul! Farewell brethren! farewell sisters! farewell Christian acquaintances! farewell sun, moon, and stars! And now welcome my lovely and heartsome Christ Jesus, into whose hands I commit my spirit throughout all eternity. I may say, few and evil have the days of the years of my pilgrimage been, I being about twenty years of age.”*

The day of her execution came, its dawn bringing with it to her

a sun that was no more to go down. Her joy was greater than ever. As she was passing out of the Tolbooth to go to the Council Chamber, whence she was to be led to the place of execution, she broke out in accents that thrilled the friends that attended her, saying, “Behold, I hear my Beloved saying unto me, Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.” In the Council Chamber a heartless attempt was made to disturb the tranquillity of her last hours, and those of her fellow-sufferer, Isabel Alison. Bishop Paterson, who had made himself active in procuring their condemnation, was there waiting their arrival. The poor creature had brought a curate with him, and was spitefully chuckling over the triumph he thought he was to win over the prisoners. “Marion,” said the bishop, “you said you would never hear a curate, now you shall be forced to hear one;” whereupon he called on the curate to pray. They deigned no reply to the bishop; but no sooner had the curate commenced praying than Marion, turning to her fellow-martyr, said, “Come, Isabel, let us sing the Twenty-third Psalm.” They began to sing. The lines lisped in infancy, now sung for the last time on earth, were

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 98-101.

pealed forth in notes loud and sweet, and drowned the curate's voice. They had foiled by this artless expedient the bishop's artful plot. He did not blush, for the persecutors of that day had lost the power.

They had yet another insult of the same kind to endure. When they were taken to the scaffold in the Grassmarket they found a curate in attendance upon the five women who were sentenced to be executed for child-murder. The curate prayed with these unhappy persons, and though it does not appear they gave any proof of repentance for their abandoned life, and the dreadful crime in which it had issued, the destruction of their own offspring, he consoled them with the hopes of heaven; but he railed on the two martyrs, telling them that they were about to be plunged into eternal flames. He, however, did not carry the keys of life and death. They knew that their Redeemer lived, and "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, kept their hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

On the scaffold Marion, addressing the crowd of spectators, briefly declared the cause for which she suffered, even "avowing Christ to be head of his

church, and King in Zion." But she dwelt mainly on the love of Christ to her soul, and the fuller enjoyment which she had had of that love since she came to prison. She had not been companionless there. He whose "throne is heaven" had deigned to descend into her cell, and cheer her with his presence. She joined with her fellow-sufferer in singing the Eighty-fourth Psalm. Yes, God's courts on earth had to her been lovely, and she had entered them with praise; but now the gates of a yet more glorious tabernacle were opening to her, and these likewise she enters singing. Commenced on earth, her song finishes in heaven; it grows into the eternal halleluiah! On going up the ladder, she sat down, and exclaimed, "O, my fair one, my lovely one, come away!" And then again addressing the spectators, she was declaring to them in what a miserable and sinful plight Christ had found her, and to what delights and honours he had called her, when, the executioner pulling the ladder from under her, she ceased to talk to mortals.

The bodies of the two martyrs were laid, most probably, in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, in the well-known spot where repose

the ashes of a great multitude who, having overcome "by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony," there

await the blessed hope of all true believers, the Resurrection morn, and the Life Everlasting.

HELEN JOHNSTONE, LADY GRADEN.

"I WAS in prison, and ye came unto me," shall the Son of Man say to the subject of our memoir, in that day when he shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, and shall sit upon the throne of his glory.

Helen Johnstone was the daughter of Sir Archibald Johnstone, Lord Warriston, the well-known patriot and martyr. The daughter inherited the heroism and piety of the father. She was married in 1659 to Mr. George Hume of Graden, in the south of Scotland, hence she was usually styled Lady Graden. Her husband, a man of piety, suffered in the cause of the Covenant. He was first thrown into prison, where he was kept awhile; he was next outlawed for having been in arms at Bothwell Bridge. He would probably have fallen a victim to the vengeance of the government of Charles had not death, soon thereafter, removed him beyond the reach of his persecutors.

The wife of such a man, who was also the daughter of Lord Warriston, could not escape being obnoxious to the government. In 1684 we find Lady Graden subjected to a fine of twenty-six thousand and odds pounds Scots. This fine was exceptionally large, and was meant doubtless in punishment not only of her own notorious nonconformity, but that of her husband and father also.

But passing this we come to the heroic passage in her life. And here her story connects itself with that of Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode, whose trial and execution we have already narrated. Baillie was the brother-in-law of Lady Graden. Our readers are already aware that his rigorous confinement had completely undermined his health, and that while he lay in prison waiting his trial, sickness was fast hurrying him to the grave. Joyfully would his wife have nursed him day and night in his prison, but her own weak health

put it out of her power. But her sister, Lady Graden, was willing, provided the Privy Council should give permission, to undertake this office. Accordingly, Lady Jarviswoode sent a petition to the Council, earnestly supplicating that her sister might be allowed to wait upon her husband on the ground of his dangerous illness. The lords gave consent on condition that Lady Graden should enter herself close prisoner in the Tolbooth with Mr. Baillie. To these restrictions Lady Graden consented.

Lady Graden nursed the sick man with the tenderest care. Her converse greatly relieved his solitude. Lady Jarviswoode was also permitted to pay him occasional visits in company of the physicians; but at the end of three weeks the Council suddenly withdrew its permission, ordered both Lady Graden and Lady Jarviswoode to leave the prisoner, and closed the doors of the prison against them and every friend.

This exclusion lasted two months. Jarviswoode's health began to decline, and again he was at the point of death. Lady Jarviswoode renewed her supplication, and the Privy Council, alarmed lest their prisoner should escape them, were

graciously pleased to permit Lady Graden to enter herself close prisoner along with Jarviswoode a second time.

In the bare, cold, dismal prison she tended him with assiduous care and loving attention. She administered those little cordials that helped to sustain his life. She read to him from the Word of God; she recited its blessed promises, the food of faith; she joined with him in prayer; the days and nights passed less wearily; the cell grew into a sanctuary; and the patience and joy of the prisoner did more than recompense the self-sacrificing woman who waited on him. When the day of his trial came she went with him into the court. "He was so unwell and weak," says Wodrow, "that when he was in the pannel, his sister-in-law, Lady Graden, behoved to be with him in the pannel, and gave him some cordial now and then to support him." She was by his side all the time of the trial, which lasted from eleven of the forenoon till past midnight. When the pallor of his face grew deeper she would hasten to give a cordial, which revived him. She listened to Lord-advocate M'Kenzie's "bloody and severe speech," as Wodrow calls it. She heard him vilify her

own martyred father, and charge it as a dishonour on her brother-in-law, who was so soon to be a martyr, that he was the son-in-law of Lord Warriston. But if these brutalities could not but lacerate her feelings, the burst of moral grandeur from the invalid by her side, before which advocate and court cowered, would doubtless help to relieve her.

The trial ended, but sentence deferred till next day, she went back with him to the prison and watched over him all that night, the last he was ever to see on earth. Next forenoon at ten she again accompanied him to the bar of the court, where she heard that horribly barbarous doom pronounced which was to be carried out that very afternoon at three o'clock. The tragedy was now leading her into the midst of horrors which few females would have been able to face; but Lady Graden did not quail. She went back again with Jerviswoode to the prison, and there she was privileged to hear his last wonderful prayer, to listen to his expressions of rapture at the immediate prospect of an everlasting felicity, and to see the joy of his spirit express itself in the majesty of his countenance. She found brightness where she had looked

for only thick darkness; and as they neared the scaffold the light but shone the brighter. Nevertheless an hour of terror had yet to be gone through.

When the hour of doom arrived Jerviswoode, unable to walk to the scaffold, was carried thither in a chair. Lady Graden accompanied him to the scaffold also. He wore his nightgown. On their way to the place of execution they passed the house in which Lord Warriston had lived. Baillie was observed to lift his eye to the chamber which Warriston usually occupied. "Many a sweet day and night with God," said he, addressing Lady Graden, "had your now glorified father in that chamber." "Yes," she replied, "but now his sufferings are all ended, and He who supported him will be with you."

Being come to the foot of the scaffold, the martyr left the chair in which he had been conveyed to the place of execution, but he was so weak as to be unable to go up the ladder to the gallows without assistance. Lady Graden ascended with him and kept by his side on the scaffold, as she had done in the prison and at the bar of the Justiciary Court. When the drums drowned his voice the moment he began addressing the multitude around

the scaffold, she too felt the indignity, perhaps even more keenly than the sufferer did. Thus far had Lady Graden come, ministering to the martyr, braving shame and horror, but now death was to part the two. This was the most trying moment of all. Her last farewell of him on earth was taken with the gallows adjusted, ready to be turned over as soon as he should have breathed out his last prayer, committing his soul into the hands of his Father. Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode had now taken his flight upwards, but there was still another duty to be performed by Lady Graden, and the heroic woman did not shrink from it, though one exceedingly painful. She did not leave the scaffold till she had seen the whole barbarous sentence pronounced on her venerated relative, and which extended beyond death, carried out and ended. "With more than masculine courage," observes Fountainhall, no very friendly writer, "she continued on the scaffold till she had seen the hangman quarter his body. She accompanied the hangman to see the pieces oiled and tarred, and then she took each and wrapped it in a linen cloth, when they were all carelessly thrown into the

Thieves' Hole, where they lay for some time before being distributed among the towns to whose gates and market crosses they were to be affixed." That the mutilated remains of her husband should be made a public spectacle throughout the country distressed and outraged the feelings of Lady Jerviswoode exceedingly. She petitioned the Privy Council to grant permission to bury them. The Council were willing to consent on condition that she suppressed the dying speech of her husband. This was now beyond her power, many copies of it having already been issued. The king was next petitioned to permit the remains of the martyr to be taken down. The monarch refused. Little did Charles think, amid his cups and his mistresses, that within six weeks he should follow Baillie of Jerviswoode to the same dread tribunal. The martyr's remains were a gazing-stock to the nation till the Revolution, when they were taken down, along with the heads, arms, and legs of other martyrs—horrible memorials of the tyranny and barbarism of the period—which were to be seen on the gates of Edinburgh and the market crosses and tolbooths of provincial towns. Is it a tale of the South-sea Can-

nibal Islands, or a transaction in Scotland only two brief centuries since, that we have been reciting?

The pious and heroic lady, who thus went through horrors in some respects worse than death, lived to see the wheel revolve. She saw the Stuarts chased with ignominy from the throne; she saw William of Orange hailed by the nation as its deliverer, and how thoroughly

she shared its joy we can well imagine. She saw the martyred Baillie of Jerviswoode live over again in his descendants, who rose to high office and trust under William's government, and as the heir of their great ancestor's talents and virtues, blessing their country and vindicating the memory and the cause of the martyr. Lady Graden survived the Revolution nineteen years. She died in 1707.

GRISEL HUME.

GRISEL HUME, or Baillie, was the daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, eighth baron of Polwarth, and (after the Revolution) earl of Marchmont. She was born at Redbraes Castle, Berwickshire, December 25, 1665. She may be said to have been ushered into the world along with the persecution in which she was to be a sufferer. Her father, Sir Patrick, one of the most distinguished patriots and statesmen of his day, having remonstrated against the tyranny of the duke of Lauderdale's administration, was thrown into prison, and was being liberated from it about the time that his daughter Grisel attained the age of ten. Soon new troubles

arose, in which Grisel acted a part which has thrown a romantic as well as historic interest around her.

Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode, the intimate friend of her father, was at this time cast into prison for rescuing his brother-in-law from the hands of Captain Carstairs, one of the persecutors. Sir Patrick Hume was desirous to convey a certain piece of information to his friend in the Tolbooth, but how to communicate with him was the difficulty. Grisel was then only betwixt ten and eleven, but she had a tact, a sagacity, and a spirit of enterprise far beyond her years. She went all the way to



Improved from a portrait by the Lady of the Most Holy

MISS MARY BAKER

Edinburgh, got access to Baillie in prison, though by what means is not known, delivered to him the letter of which her father had made her the bearer, and carried back Baillie's answer. It was now, and in prison, that she first saw Mr. Baillie's son, her future husband, with whom she lived forty years in uninterrupted conjugal felicity.

The success with which she had discharged this mission made her be employed in many similar ones. She was as yet a child comparatively, and so less likely to be suspected, but this was not the main secret of her success. It lay in her wisdom, readiness, and courage, which were marvellous, and transcended that of the majority of grown persons. In 1678 her father was again imprisoned, first in Edinburgh Tolbooth and next in Dumbarton Castle, and many a journey between Berwickshire and the place of her father's confinement did the daughter make to carry intelligence to him and minister comfort. Her mother thus was able to give herself wholly to the numerous duties which a large family daily entailed upon her.

Anew the father was liberated. But in 1683 measures were concerted by some gentlemen, among others Robert Baillie of Jervis-

woode, for preventing a Popish succession to the throne. Sir Patrick Hume was suspected of being concerned in this plot, and in September, 1684, an order was issued for his apprehension, and a troop of horse sent to his house to seize him. He went into hiding till he should find an opportunity of escaping to the Continent. His place of concealment—a strange one, but therefore the less likely to be thought of by his pursuers—was the family burying-place, an underground vault in the Polwarth churchyard, about a mile from his own house. The place where he lay hid was known to three persons only, Lady Hume, Grisel, and the family carpenter, James Winter, who lived a mile off, and who was well worthy the confidence placed in him. The servants in the family were left entirely ignorant of their master's abode. During night a bed and bed-clothes were conveyed to the vault, a chink at one end admitted a feeble ray of light, and in this strange chamber, the living among the dead, Sir Patrick made his abode for a month.

The Roman story of filial devotion was repeated in the case of Grisel Hume. At the dead of night, when deep sleep was on

all others, she sallied out, bearing bread, flesh, and other necessities, and threading her way in the darkness amid the graves, groped along till she came to the entrance of the vault. She was used to sit with her father all through the night mostly, cheering him with her talk as well as refreshing him with the viands of which she had been the joyous bearer; taking care to return to her home before break of day, lest any one should discover that she had been abroad and suspect her errand. She was then a girl of only nineteen; the belief in ghosts and apparitions was in that age shared in by every one, but love made her bold; in her devotion to her father she forgot the possible spectacles of the churchyard.

Lady Hume and Grisel were compelled to resort at times to odd and somewhat amusing shifts to provide Sir Patrick's nightly meal without exciting the suspicions of the servants. One of these was as follows. Grisel would very adroitly drop into her lap when she was at dinner whatever she wished to convey to her father overnight. Many an amusing anecdote was she wont in after years to tell her children of her contrivances to cater for their grandfather, and the

success that attended them. Sir Patrick had his favourite dishes, and one of these was a sheep's head. One day a sheep's head was cooked, destined for the occupant of the vault, but first it was duly placed on the family dinner table. Grisel took care to put it on her plate, and began a make-believe eating of it. The other youngsters meanwhile were too busy at their broth to watch their sister. Alexander, a boy of about nine, having finished with his preliminary dish, looked up in the hope of sharing in the sheep's head. To his amazement and chagrin, it had vanished. When last he saw it it was on Grisel's plate, and now that plate was empty. "Mother," he exclaimed, "will you look at Grisel; while we have been supping our broth, she has eaten the sheep's head?" The occurrence was duly told Sir Patrick at night, when the sheep's head which Grisel had "eaten" was produced in the vault for the midnight meal. It caused the worthy baron no little merriment, and he generously stipulated that Sandy should have a share of the next sheep's head.

Sir Patrick's memory was stored with the Word of God; he had also committed to heart Buchanan's Latin version of the



Psalms of David, and thus he was able to comfort himself by repeating these during the long dark hours in his strange abode. An attempt was made to change his place of concealment for a less uncomfortable one in the house. Lady Hume and Grisel thought they had succeeded, but they were compelled to give up the idea; and now it became evident that Sir Patrick had no means of permanent safety left, save in escaping to the Continent. He was confirmed in his purpose by the sad news which at this time the carrier brought one day, and which were to the effect that Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode had the day before been executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, in the presence of a vast multitude of persons, who bemoaned his fate but dared not give expression to their feelings. Grisel, setting to work, deftly prepared a disguise for her father; and setting out attended by the grieve, who was taken into the secret, and told the other servants that he was going to Morpeth fair, Sir Patrick escaped across the Tweed, reached London in safety, and thence went to France, and ultimately fixed his residence at Utrecht in Holland.

Soon thereafter all his estates were forfeited to the crown, the

government granting with a grudge, after earnest intercession on the part of Lady Hume, the wretched pittance of £150 per annum for the support of his numerous family. In a short time Lady Hume and the family joined Sir Patrick in Holland. The management, economy, and devotion of Grisel were not less needed in Holland for the comfort of the family, than her tact and wisdom had been in Scotland for the saving of Sir Patrick's life. Every day Scottish exiles found their way to the table of the expatriated baron, the professors of Utrecht courted his society; and only the thrift of Grisel enabled him to meet these many demands upon his hospitality, although in only the plainest possible manner. She travelled to Scotland once and again alone to try what could be done in the way of recovering debts owing the family. At home, in Holland, the whole household management and labour well nigh devolved upon her. She went to market, she saw the corn ground at the mill, she cooked the dinner, she mended the clothes of the younger children, and did a great variety of work besides, lightening it with a lively and buoyant spirit. Sir Patrick him-

self acted as schoolmaster to his children, Lady Hume undertaking such branches as more naturally fell to her. This sort of life lasted for upwards of three years. Her brother served for some time as a private in the prince of Orange's guards, as did George Baillie, the son of the martyr, between whom and Grisel there existed a tender attachment, although meanwhile it was concealed.

At last came the Revolution, and with it the dawn of better days to the family of Sir Patrick. The prince of Orange set sail to claim the throne of England, and Sir Patrick Hume accompanied him. The family at Utrecht waited with intense anxiety for news of the expedition. At last came the cheering tidings that it had succeeded, and that the prince had been hailed by the nation as William III. Lady Hume and Grisel came across to London in the suite of the princess of Orange, now about to ascend the throne of Great Britain. The princess, attracted by the good sense, lofty character, and prepossessing personal appearance of Grisel, was desirous of retaining her near her person as one of her maids of honour. The noble girl preferred to the

splendours and gaieties of a court the purer happiness that arises from home delights and affections. She came down to Scotland with her family.

There was one circumstance that doubtless had its weight in determining her to cast her life, not at the foot of a throne, but in her native land and among her own people. We have already noticed that on occasion of her first visit to Mr. Baillie in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, she saw there a youth of about her own age, the son of the prisoner. The young man was equally struck with the brave girl who had come all that long way from Berwickshire to serve his father. They were co-refugees at Utrecht, and there the attachment which had first sprung up in the prison ripened into the purpose of marriage. They concealed their purpose, for meanwhile neither had a shilling. Other and very advantageous offers were made to Grisel, but these she declined. After the Revolution the estates of Baillie of Jerviswoode, which had been gifted to the duke of Gordon, were restored to his son; and on September 17, 1692, George Baillie and Grisel Hume were married at Redbraes Castle. The union was an eminently happy one, not a moment of their

married life being disturbed by any incompatibility of disposition or contrariety of taste. To deep piety and lofty patriotism Lady Baillie added a genius for lyric poetry. She wrote some pastorals characterized by sweetness and pathos.

The fortunes of both families, the Humes and the Baillies, which brightened, as we have seen, at the Revolution, were never afterwards overcast. Sir Patrick's estates were restored, and his last years were passed in honour and affluence. He became a member of the Privy Council, and in 1690 was created a Scottish peer by the title of Lord Polwarth. In 1696 he was made lord-chancellor of Scotland, the highest office in that kingdom, and in less than a year after he was created earl of Marchmont. Lady Grisel Baillie's family was a son, who died young, and two daughters. The eldest was married to Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, Bart., M.P., and died without issue at the age of sixty-seven. The youngest daughter, Rachel, was married

to Charles, Lord Binning, and became the mother of Thomas, seventh earl of Haddington, George Baillie of Jerviswoode, and other children.

In 1703 her dear mother died at Edinburgh. All her children were gathered round her bed, but Grisel, in the agony of her grief, had hid herself behind the curtains. "Where is Grisel?" asked Lady Marchmont, who missed her daughter. Lady Baillie immediately came forward, and her dying mother, taking her by the hand, said, "My dear Grisel, blessed be you above all, for a helpful child have you been to me." The dying benediction was fulfilled: "long life and prosperity" were measured out to the daughter who had saved her father's life at the risk of her own. Lady Grisel Baillie survived till her eighty-first year, loving and beloved. She died in London (1746), and her remains, conveyed to Scotland, were interred at Mellerstain, beside those of her husband, who had predeceased her some years.

LADY ANNA MACKENZIE,

COUNTESS OF BALCARRES, AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF ARGYLE.

LADY ANNA MACKENZIE was the eldest daughter of the first earl of Seaforth, who, next to Argyle, was the most powerful of the Highland chiefs, and, what was better, "a most religious and virtuous lord," says an old MS., "much liked by his king, and by all who knew him." The virtues of the father lived in the daughter.

The subject of our memoir from a child knew the Holy Scriptures. To the instructions which she received under the paternal roof were added the benefits of an evangelical ministry, and the bracing influence of religious companionship. The growth of her piety kept pace with the advance of her years. Of sweet dispositions, of a clear intellect, of a large and understanding heart, her piety nevertheless continued to be the master grace and crowning excellence of her character, while the other fine qualities of her nature blended with and partook of its development. It could have been no ordinary excellence that fixed the eye, and called forth the commendation of the great Nonconformist, Richard Baxter.

Speaking of the subject of our memoir, in a "Dedicatory Epistle" addressed to her, he refers to her soul as "replenished with the precious fruits of the Spirit, and beautified with the image of her Lord."

In 1640 Lady Anna Mackenzie was united in marriage to her cousin, Alexander, son of David, Lord Balcarres. This union was the result of a strong attachment on both sides, and was eminently happy. Young Balcarres was a man of good parts, high character, and of patriotic and chivalrous sentiments. In the struggle that now broke out between Charles I. and the nation, he took the side of the Covenanters, supporting with zeal and intelligence the ancient liberties and the reformed faith of Scotland.

After the execution of Charles I., young Balcarres espoused the cause of the son, with perhaps a little too much warmth. In this he shared the mistake of the majority of those good and patriotic men with whom he had co-operated, and who deemed that the civil and religious liberties



ANNA MARIA GASTALDE

1600-1601

of their country were to be developed in the line of the Stuarts. In 1652 Balcarres took up arms, in an attempt to maintain the royal cause, against Cromwell; but his venture failing, his estates were sequestered in 1654.

“In that campaign,” says Baxter, “his lady, through dear-ness of affection, marched with him, and lay out of doors with him on the mountains.” And when the triumph of Cromwell compelled Balcarres to quit his native land, his lady accompanied him to the Continent, where for several years they followed the court of the exiled Charles. Lord and Lady Balcarres still continued hopeful of the king’s restoration. They had pawned and forfeited their estates for him; and in justification of this enthusiasm it ought to be mentioned, that the royal dissembler seems to have worn the mask so closely as to impose upon the French pastors as well as upon the Scottish Covenanters; for we find Lady Balcarres, at the suggestion of the duke of Lauderdale, receiving diverse letters from the reformed ministers of France, testifying to the sincerity of Charles in the Protestant religion.

Their estates lost, their country forsaken, the earl and countess

were still happy in the strong and unabated affection which they cherished for one another, and in the hope to which they clung of eventual success to the royal cause, and along with that their own restoration to country and honours. These expectations made the years of exile pass lightly. Other blessings were mingled in their cup. They saw their children growing up, and giving promise of walking in their parents’ footsteps. In wandering and peril the Angel of the Covenant kept watch around them, and guarded them from all evil. Nor were temporal good things withheld. “As his beloved,” says Baxter to them, “you have dwelt in safety by him, and the Lord hath covered you all the day long. When storms have risen, he hath been your refuge; and when dangers have compassed you on every side, he hath hid you as in his pavilion.”

Lord Balcarres was too upright and noble-minded a man to be long held in estimation by Charles, or by those about him. His superiority and worth awoke the envy of the creatures at court. The royal mind was poisoned against him, and despite that he had sacrificed possessions and country in the royal cause, Balcarres was forbidden access to the

king. Charles lost more than the man he had ostracised. The shock to the sensitive mind of the patriot, added to the maladies contracted by the cold and fasting he had to undergo in his campaigns, threw him into consumption. He died at Breda on the 30th of August, 1659, at the age of forty-one.

In proportion to the strength of her affection, so now was the sorrow of the countess. While her husband lived the loss of estates and the loss of country were forgotten; she had a treasure still more precious than all, but now she was indeed an exile and desolate. But bitter as the cup was which Lady Balcarres was called to drink, it had its sweets. The deathbed of her tenderly loved husband was not only peaceful but triumphant. "I go," said he, "from persecution and calumny to the company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect." He added, "How sweet is rest to a wearied soul, and such a rest as this is that I am going to! O blessed rest! where we shall never cease, day nor night, from saying, holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!" His body was brought across from Breda, landed at Elie, and interred in the ordinary burying place at Balcarres. This was in

the beginning of the year 1660; the same year that saw the heartless dissembler and tyrant, for whom he may be said to have sacrificed his life, cross the sea to take possession of the throne, and to begin that career of violence by which he sought to destroy the liberties of the nation, and to corrupt the fidelity and purity of the church. It is hard to say how soon the earl of Balcarres would have had to mount the scaffold had he lived to witness that restoration for which he had so earnestly longed, and which he had made so many sacrifices to bring about; but he went to his grave in peace, and saw not the evil that came upon his country and church. "He was," says Robert Baillie, "without doubt, one of the most brave and able gentlemen of our nation."

While still sorrowing over her first deep wound Lady Balcarres was again stricken. Her eldest daughter was perverted to Popery by some Jesuits about the court. The seduction of the young lady was gone about with such secrecy that Lady Balcarres suspected no such thing. She was her mother's darling child, singularly open and truthful, but now, how unlike her former self, she began to prevaricate and deceive. Acting under the in-

structions of her spiritual guides she attended family worship, flouted Romanism, and completely concealed the change of mind she was undergoing, till the moment came for avowing it. The disclosure fell upon Lady Balcarres with the stunning force of a thunderbolt. The pervert was soon thereafter carried off to France and immured in a convent, where she ended her days. Mother and daughter never again met.

There followed yet a third trial to the widowed countess. Her eldest son was a youth of fine promise and decided piety, but when he was about the age of twelve his dimming eye and sallow cheek showed that he had not long to live. He died at Balcarres on the 15th October, 1662, of petrification of the heart, as was found by a *post mortem* examination of the body. Referring to this bereavement, Richard Baxter says that God had taken from her her son, "by a rare disease, the emblem of the mortal malady now reigning." Her second son Colin, by the death of his brother Charles, became third earl of Balcarres. Besides her son, there remained to the countess two daughters, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta; her eldest daughter, Lady Anne, was as good as dead to her.

After ten years widowhood, the subject of our memoir married Archibald, ninth earl of Argyle. The marriage was celebrated on the 28th of January, 1670; it was a second marriage on both sides, and on the part of the subject of our memoir, whom we now must style the countess of Argyle, it was followed by upwards of ten years of quiet domestic happiness, unbroken by any afflictive or indeed marked incident of any sort. Her usual residence was at Inverary, where she enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Patrick Campbell, who had been *outed* in 1662, but having accepted the first indulgence of 1669, he was again preaching in his former parish. When she visited Edinburgh, which she occasionally did, she and her daughters sought out the ejected ministers, and attended their services, despite the disfavour with which conventicles were regarded by the government.

A change began to pass upon the earl of Argyle after his union with the countess. Failing to appreciate the importance of the issues at stake, he had served in connection with the government by whom his father, the proto-martyr of the twenty-eight years' persecution, had been put to death. It can hardly be said

that he showed zeal, or that he put his hand to the cruel work, but he gave his consent to the "persecuting acts," and he was "one of those" by whom they were carried out, and so he was responsible for the righteous blood which crueller men were shedding like water; but his countess revived his piety, and awoke the slumbering flame of his patriotism. The trials the countess of Argyle had already endured were personal and domestic. The sufferings to which she was now called entitle her to rank among the confessors and martyrs of Jesus.

In 1681 the earl of Argyle was required as a privy counsellor to take the test to government, which bound the swearer to an acknowledgment of the king's unlimited supremacy over all ecclesiastical affairs, and the unlawfulness of resisting the king on any pretext or in any circumstances whatever. Argyle took the test, but added an explanation setting forth that he took it in a sense "not repugnant to the Protestant religion, and my loyalty, and this I understand as a part of my oath." For taking the test with this explanation, he was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, brought to trial, and found guilty of high treason.

Sentence had not indeed been pronounced, but other indications made it but too plain that his death had been resolved upon, and his lady was in a state of great alarm. And indeed there was cause for fear, for the duke of York had resolved to bring Argyle to the scaffold, and divide his estates among his creatures; and the king's letter consenting to his execution was already in Edinburgh, though Argyle was unaware of this. However, he truly guessed what his enemies were meditating, and resolved to attempt his escape, though it is very unlikely that he could have succeeded had not the ready invention and courage of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia, come to his aid.

The escape of the earl of Argyle from the castle of Edinburgh (the 20th of December, 1681) is one of the most romantic episodes in the annals of the persecution. We shall relate it in the words of the old chroniclers, as given by the Rev. James Anderson in his "Ladies of the Covenant." The guards had been doubled, and orders given them to permit no one to quit the castle without a strict scrutiny. It was in these unlikely circumstances that Lady Sophia undertook to bring her

step-father out of the closely-guarded gates. "Having obtained permission to pay him a visit of one half hour, she contrived to bring as her page a tall, awkward, country clown, with a fair wig procured for the occasion, who had apparently been engaged in a fray, having his head tied up. On entering she made the clown and Argyle change clothes. They did so; and on the expiry of the half hour she, in a flood of tears, bade farewell to her supposed father, and walked out of the prison with the most perfect dignity and with a slow pace, led by the gentleman who had accompanied her to the castle, Argyle following as her page, holding up her train. In passing the guards Argyle was in no small danger of being discovered, the suspicions of some of them being awakened; but with singular tact she succeeded, by an ingenious device, suggested on the spur of the moment, in allaying their suspicions. "The sentinel at the draw-bridge," continues the same writer, "a sly Highlander, eyed her father hard, but her presence of mind did not desert her. She twitched her train of embroidery, carried in those days by the page, out of his hands, and dropped it in the mud. 'Varlet,' cried she

in a fury, dashing it across his face, 'take that, and that, too,' adding a box on the ear, 'for knowing no better how to carry your lady's garment.' Her ill-treatment of him, and the dirt with which she had besmeared his face, so confounded the sentinel that he let them pass the draw-bridge unquestioned." Having passed all the gates, she entered her coach, which was waiting for her at the outer gate, while Argyle, agreeably to his assumed character, stepped on the hinder part of the coach; and on it coming opposite the Weigh-house, he stepped off and shifted for himself."

In the first emotions of their anger the Privy Council spoke of whipping the young lady through the town. They thought better of it, however, and abstained from carrying out a proposal which would only have shown how much Prelacy had done to refine the sentiments and humanize the manners of its champions. Argyle meanwhile escaped to Holland; and sentence was passed upon him in his absence, condemning him to be executed as a traitor. On the death of Charles II. the earl of Argyle deemed the moment opportune for attempting the deliverance of his native land. Fitting

out three ships, he set sail from Holland, May 1, 1685, with three hundred men at arms. Unfortunately, the earl touched first at Orkney, and next at the West Highlands, where of all places there was the least enthusiasm on the part of the people in the cause for which he was now in arms. He issued his manifesto at Tarbet, but few, even of his own clan, flocked to his standard. The result was, that after some weeks' wandering in disguise he was seized by the agents of the government, and carried to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 20th of June. Bare-headed, his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by the hangman, he was conducted on foot up the High Street to the Castle. The hour being late, the on-lookers were few.

Meanwhile his countess, who was residing at Stirling, was also apprehended, brought to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Castle. Lady Sophia, who four years before had aided in the earl's escape, and who had since married the earl's son Charles, was also apprehended and thrown into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The Council showed in this that they had not forgotten the old offence. After the countess had

been ten days in prison, she was informed that her husband was confined in the same fortress with herself. Her anxiety and distress may be imagined. She was most desirous of an interview, but even that was denied her. A week passed away, and at last, on Saturday evening, the 27th of June, just three days before his execution, the countess and the earl were permitted to meet. They had not seen each other for years, not, indeed, since before the earl's flight to Holland; and now, alas, how painful the circumstances in which they meet: in a prison, in a few days to part for ever on earth; for Argyle had received, just before his lady was admitted to him, intimation that the king's letter ordering his execution had arrived. She found him in irons, but with a mind calm, and exercising a full trust in God for support in the last awful hour.

On the Monday following he was ordered to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh, pursuant to the sentence passed upon him four years before. On the Tuesday forenoon, the day on which he was to die, his countess was admitted to see him for the last time. Bitter, yet not all bitter, was the meeting. The axe was to part them; but he on whom

its stroke was to fall had been lifted above the fear of death. The courage and joy of him who was to depart cheered the soul of her who was to remain behind. He spoke of "the joy with which the Lord had blessed him during his residence in Holland. It was," he said, "the sweetest time of his life," and a merciful provision in view of what he had now to pass through. He saw his lady no more, but as he was about to step on the scaffold he wrote her thus:—"I thank God that I am sensible of his presence with me, with great assurance of his favour, through Jesus Christ, and I doubt not it will continue till I be in glory." Nor was his last letter to Lady Sophia Lindsay, his daughter-in-law, less touching or less consolatory. "In the midst of a cloud," said he, "I find a fair sunshine. I can wish no more for you, than that the Lord may comfort you, and shine upon you as he doth upon me, and give you that same sense of his love, in staying in the world, as I have in going out of it." His behaviour on the scaffold was characterized by the same composure and dignity as he had shown in prison. "This nobleman dies a Protestant," said one of the ministers who attended

him, addressing the spectators. The martyr, stepping to the front of the scaffold, said, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." His last words, thrice repeated, were, "Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory."

The subject of our memoir may be said to disappear in the shadow of her husband's scaffold, for after Argyle's execution it is only glimpses that we obtain of her. She was still in the furnace. Her son Colin, third earl of Balcarres, espoused the cause of the fallen Stuarts; he even engaged in the plot of Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorly, for the restoration of the abdicated monarch, which not only involved himself in trouble and danger, but occasioned great anxiety and distress to his mother. The letter which she wrote him on occasion of his marriage, so full of tender affection, of beautiful sentiment, and wise counsel, is a monument of her great talents and genuine piety. She survived the Revolution many years. She was alive in 1706. And though we know not the exact time of her death, we know its character. She "died in faith."

THE SOLWAY MARTYRDOM, OR

MARGARET MACLAUHLAN AND MARGARET WILSON.

THE next tragedy, on the recital of which we enter, takes us to one of the most picturesque localities in all Scotland. Let us place ourselves in imagination in the churchyard of the town of Wigton in the stewartry of Galloway. In front of us is the noble frith of the Solway; a green bank slopes down from the burial ground to the shore. The grassy slope is laved by the waters of the frith when the tide is at the full, and bounded by sands when it has receded. About half a mile to the west of the burgh we can see the Blednoch rolling on in broad and glistening zig-zags, and falling into the frith. In former times, that is, when the tragedy was enacted which we are about to narrate, the Blednoch fell into the Solway almost immediately to the south of Wigton; but it has since changed its bed, by reason of the shifting sands and other causes. The background of the picture is formed by the hills of Galloway. On the right are seen the fine mountains where the Blednoch has its rise. On the left are the loftier hills

where the Cree, collecting its waters from many a mossy spring and mountain rivulet, has its birth. Their rugged peaks inclose many a scene of wildness and desolation; but these are hallowed to all time by the martyr feet that trode them of yore, and the honoured dust which after a weary pilgrimage at last found rest amid their shadows and their silence.

One of the darkest acts of the twenty-eight years of persecution was enacted on the shores of that frith on which we now look down. On the 11th of May, 1685, two women, the one a matron of threescore and ten, the other a maiden of eighteen, were taken out of the prison of Wigton, conducted through the street of the burgh, led across the green sward below us, and onward to the sands of the Solway, and there, each tied to a stake within sea-mark, they were drowned in the rising tide. Here are their graves in the churchyard in which we stand, with their tombstones, recording the fact of their martyrdom, the date of its occurrence, the cause for

which they were put to death, and the names of the men who were engaged in the horrible deed. On the north of the burgh, on a little eminence, stands an obelisk, which the citizens of Wigton have reared in memory of the faith and heroism of these two victims of bigotry and tyranny.

The names of the two martyrs are Margaret Maclauchlan and Margaret Wilson. Margaret Maclauchlan was the widow of John Mulligen or Milliken, carpenter, in the parish of Kirkinner. She had now reached the venerable age of nearly seventy. The village in which she lived may be seen from where we stand lying about a mile to the west of Wigton. She was a plain woman, but much looked up to by her neighbours for her piety and intelligence. A strict Presbyterian, she absented herself from the parish kirk, where the curate of Kirkinner preached. When an opportunity offered she heard the outed ministers. Some of her relations were, like herself, nonconformists, and to these, when they came to her door in their wanderings, she gave asylum. All these were crimes in the eye of the government. The widow became a marked woman, and her property was

made a spoil to the trooper and others of that crew who thirsted for the goods and life of the Presbyterian peasantry. At last she was apprehended one Sabbath as she was engaged in family worship in her own dwelling. She was carried to prison, where she was treated with great harshness, being denied a fire, refused a bed to sleep on, and stinted even in her supply of food. Worse was behind, but before proceeding to narrate the darker part of the tragedy, let us turn to the other name so indissolubly linked with hers in this tale of martyrdom.

Margaret Wilson, who at the time of her death was only eighteen, was the daughter of Gilbert Wilson, farmer of Glenvernock, in the parish of Penningham, Wigtonshire. He was a man of substance; his farm, the soil of which was excellent, was well stocked with both sheep and cattle. Both he and his wife were regular hearers of the curate of Penningham. On the ground of conformity the government had nothing to lay to their charge. They had three children, a son and two daughters, Margaret and Agnes, Agnes being then about thirteen years of age. What is remarkable, though so young, they zealously espoused

the cause of persecuted Presbyterianism; they refused to accompany their parents to the parish church, and when the eye of the government fell upon them, which it did in no long time, they fled with other sufferers to the desert solitudes of the upper part of Galloway. Their parents were forbidden to give them food or shelter, and were even enjoined to disclose to the government their hiding place. They were made accountable for their Presbyterian leanings, and were grievously and persistently harassed because they could not bring them to embrace Prelacy and hear the curates. What with the soldiers, who often to the number of an hundred lived at free quarters in his house; what with attendance on the courts to which he was summoned at Wigton and Edinburgh; and what with general pillagings to which he was subjected, Gilbert Wilson was reduced eventually from affluence to dire poverty. Meanwhile their children were the object of pursuit, and to elude the bloody men who sought their lives, the two sisters, with their brother, a lad of only sixteen, withdrew along with other wanderers to the mountains and caves of Carrick, Nithsdale, and Galloway.

Meanwhile Charles II. died. There came a lull in the persecution; and when the two sisters heard in their hiding-place that the tyrant who sought their life was dead, they ventured forth to visit some of their fellow-sufferers at Wigton, and in particular the widow Margaret Maclauchlan, whom they loved as a mother, and from whose words they hoped to draw solace and refreshment, as they had often done aforetime. Here they were basely betrayed by one who professed to be their friend. A party of soldiers were sent to apprehend them. They were thrown into a place called "the thieves' hole." After lying here for some time they were removed to the prison in which Margaret Maclauchlan, who had been apprehended about the same time with themselves, was also confined. The presence of one so much their senior, and so beloved by them, did much, as may be believed, to lighten their affliction.

On their apprehension the three prisoners were asked to take the oath of abjuration. This was an oath abjuring a manifesto which the Cameronians had published the November previous (1684), in which, after renewing their disowning of Charles

Stuart, and their declaration of war against his faction, they added a clause in which they avowed a purpose to punish all who had a hand in the shedding of their blood. This manifesto, which was posted up on many of the church doors, alarmed their enemies. Some of the curates, who had acted as spies and informers, left their parishes and fled. But it roused the wrath of the government, and drew down on the heads of the devoted party a fiercer persecution. Commissions of gentlemen were appointed in the various shires, more especially in the south-west of Scotland, who were empowered to apprehend whoever they pleased, to tender the abjuration oath to them, and, on their refusal to swear, to put them to death. Perhaps no despotism ever enacted a more bloody law. The consequence was the shooting of many persons in the fields by military officers, and even by private soldiers, who pretended to have a commission to inflict summary death. The commission for Wigtonshire consisted of Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Colonel David Graham, brother of Claverhouse; Major Windram, Captain Strachan, and Provost Cultrain of Wigton. The oath was tendered to the three pri-

soners, the aged Margaret Maclauchlan and her two young companions, on their apprehension.

They refused to swear it, and on the 13th April, 1685, they were brought before the commission named above. Their indictment charged them with being at Bothwell Bridge, with attending twenty field preachings and as many house conventicles. The first part of the charge was false. They had never all their lives been within many miles of Bothwell Bridge. It was, moreover, absurd. For what could a matron of nearly seventy do on a battle-field, much less two girls, the eldest of whom would then be only about twelve? As to being at field preachings, doubtless that was true. The abjuration oath was a second time tendered and a second time refused. The commission summoned a jury to try them. The jury brought in a verdict of guilty, and the commission sentenced them to be tied to stakes at the mouth of the Blednoch and drowned in the rising tide. The sentence was to be executed on the 11th of May.

The sentence created consternation in Wigton; it overwhelmed the families concerned in grief. The parties whose

tranquillity it least disturbed were those on whom it was to fall. They heard it with serene countenances, and were resolved to meet it rather than relinquish their convictions of truth and duty. The father of the two Wilsons set out for Edinburgh, if haply he might prevail on the Privy Council to revoke the sentence. He was so far successful that on payment of £100 he was able to redeem his youngest daughter from the stake, and to excite a little compassion in behalf of the eldest, in the breasts of these men of blood.

While the father was plying the persecutors with money and entreaties, the friends at Wigton were not less assiduous in their endeavours to save the prisoners by getting them to take the abjuration oath, and conform to Prelacy. Margaret and Agnes Wilson steadfastly refused. Margaret Wilson, addressing her friends from her prison by letter, dwelt feelingly on God's great love to her soul and her own love to her Saviour in return, which all the waters of the Blednoch could not drown, though they might drown her person: She vindicated her re-

fusal to abjure, says Wodrow, "with a cogency of argument and a solidity of judgment far above her years and education." The aged prisoner, Margaret Maclauchlan, was less firm. In former days she had exhorted her young companions to constancy; now it was theirs to read to her lessons of faith and heroism, and point out the way by going before her. The aged confessor was prevailed upon to petition the Privy Council to recall the sentence pronounced upon her, on the ground that she was willing to take the abjuration oath and attend the curate of her parish.*

As the consequence of this petition, joined to the solicitations of Gilbert Wilson, the father of the younger martyr, a reprieve to a blank day was granted by the Privy Council. The reprieve was in the following terms:—

EDINBURGH, *April* 30, 1685.

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do hereby reprieve the execution of the sentence of death, pronounced by the justices against Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison, until the day of and discharge the magistrates of Wigton from putting of the said sentence to execution against them till foresaid day; and recommend the said Margaret Wilson and

* See petition in full in Rev. James Anderson's "Ladies of the Covenant," p. 438. Glasgow, 1851. This document was discovered by

Mr. Anderson among the warrants of Privy Council in the Register House, and first given to the world by him.

Margaret Lauchlison to the lords secretaries of State, to interpose with his most sacred Majesty for the royal remission to them."*

This reprieve cannot be traced beyond the Council chamber. It drops out of view and is never seen more. We shall return to this. Meanwhile let us go on with the dark sequel.

On the day appointed, the 11th of May, 1684, Margaret Maclauchlan and Margaret Wilson were taken out of the Tolbooth of Wigton, where they had been kept since their sentence, and conducted by Major Windram and a troop of soldiers to the sands of the Solway, almost immediately below the town. Their stakes were planted within tide-mark. That of Margaret Maclauchlan was placed more seaward than that of her companion, in order that the tide might reach her first, and that her death-struggles might be witnessed by the younger sufferer. The fearful spectacle had brought out a great crowd, but unarmed and terror-stricken citizens were helpless against the military. The more pious gathered in groups on the green slope that overlooks the shore and engaged in prayer, while the waves were rising round the stakes immediately beneath them. The aged

widow received dying grace for her dying hour. In prison her foot had almost slipped, but she felt no faint-heartedness at the stake. She saw the tide approaching, she felt the cold waters rising higher and higher; now they reach the neck, now they touch the lip, now they flow over her head, but they cannot overwhelm her soul; her feet are planted on a rock; she has found a hiding-place amid the waves; she is encompassed with songs of deliverance. To the eye of sense she goes down into the depths, and the floods have made her their prey, yet has she gotten the victory.

The tide had not yet risen round Margaret Wilson. Tied to her stake, she had been all the while a spectator of the struggles her companion had to endure as now the waves closed over her, and now left her to breathe again for a moment. She saw her die, and then the cup passed to her. Thus was she made to die twice. Her demeanour at the stake, how noble! The waves are coming fast around her, but she stands there, her cheek unblanched by fear, nor is there word of complaint or anger on her lips. But it is not as the heroine that Margaret Wilson challenges our

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

admiration. In yielding up her life she was altogether unconscious that she was doing anything heroic; her dying was, in the true sense, *an act of faith*. It is as the *martyr* that she claims our admiration. Her youth and maidenly qualities invest her death with a poetic halo; her fortitude and heroism make it dramatic, but its true grandeur is borrowed from its faith. It was this that raised it to its highest rank as a sacrifice for truth. And that sacrifice was offered with joy.

When bound to the stake the martyr began to sing Psalm xxv. She commenced at verse 7:—

“Let not the errors of my youth,
Nor sins, remembered be :
In mercy, for thy goodness’ sake,
O Lord, remember me.
The Lord is good and gracious,
He upright is also :
He therefore sinners will instruct
In ways that they should go.

* * * * *

“O do thou keep my soul; O God,
Do thou deliver me :
Let me not be ashamed; for I
Do put my trust in thee.”

She next recited, with voice calm, clear, and even cheerful, a portion of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans—a portion so fitting that it seemed as if written for the stake, “Who shall separate us from the love

of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us,” &c. She then engaged in prayer, and so continued till the tide had risen. The waters reaching to her lip, her struggle with the waves now began; wave after wave rolled over her; she was already partially suffocated. At this moment her persecutors ordered her to be pulled out of the water. Quickly the cords that bound her to the stake were loosed, and almost lifeless she was brought to the shore. The pretext for this proceeding was a desire to spare her life at the last moment. As soon as she was able to speak Major Windram asked her if she would pray for the king. “I wish the salvation of all men,” she meekly replied, “and the damnation of none.” “Dear Margaret,” exclaimed a friendly bystander, deeply anxious to save her life, “say God save the king, say God save the king.” She replied with the utmost calmness, “God save him, if he will; for it is his salvation I desire.” “O sir, she has said it,” cried her friends, who thought that they had rescued her from the waves, and the more merci-

less fury of her persecutors ; “O sir, she has said it.” But no ! the men who had her in their gripe were not thus to let her go. Lagg, it is said, bellowed out, using a foul oath, with which we refuse to pollute our page, “tender the oath to her ; we do not want such prayers.” Windram again coming up, commanded her to swear the abjuration oath, under the penalty of being sent back into the sea. It was an agonizing moment ; not to Margaret Wilson, but to her friends. The martyr’s resolve was instantly taken. ‘Than deny Christ by swearing an oath which she regarded as a virtual renunciation of the cause of her country’s reformation, welcome, a thousand times, the stake, the choking waters, death. “I will not, I am one of Christ’s children,” she touchingly replied, “let me go.” She was put back again to the stake, and the Solway covered her once more, and for ever, from man’s cruelty.*

Thus both these women passed through the waters, and, though invisible to man, came up on the shore beyond, singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. He

who divided the waters of the Red Sea, and saved his people from the power of Pharaoh, could have turned back the advancing tide of the Solway, and rescued these women from the wrath of the persecutor. But he wrought a greater miracle when he gave them strength to die. The annals of Christianity are richer and fairer this day for these two deaths. Wherever the gospel shall be preached there will the story be told of this aged matron and this young maiden. Long will the daughters of Scotland cherish the memory of Margaret Wilson, and learn from her what purity of heart and nobility of character can spring from a humble love to the Saviour ; and if ever their faith shall begin to be corrupted and undermined by a materialistic philosophy or a pantheistic infidelity, instead of reading lectures on apologetics to them, take them to the shore of the Solway, and show them Margaret Wilson dying amid its waves. Her stake is more convincing than a hundred volumes on the evidences ; for surely that gospel which could enable a maiden of eighteen to stand there

* As Mr. Anderson very justly observes, even had she sworn the abjuration oath, the other questions which it was common to put to the Covenanters, such as, “Will you renounce the

Covenant ?” “Was the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrews murder ?” would probably have been put to her ; and so, after all, her life would not have been spared. (*Ladies of the Covenant*, p. 440.)

with so serene a joy, so majestic a meekness, and a heroism so unconquerable, must be true. The story of Margaret Wilson has an interest peculiar to itself. In the opening blossom of her youth did she offer up herself, and the act was done in a spirit so meek, so unboastful, and yet so heroic, and all the while so unconscious that she was doing anything heroic, that her character presents us with a combination of qualities, each of which is so beautiful, and all of which in their union are so resplendent, that in vain shall we seek for so perfect and shining a character in Greek annals or in Roman story. The gospel alone has produced heroes like this martyr of the Solway.

Scottish history, we have hinted, is richer, Christianity itself is fairer for this name; and yet there are those who would fain if they could erase it. This brings us to the more ungrateful part of our subject. Attempts have been made of late to persuade us that the sentence passed on these two women was never carried out, and that their drowning in the Solway is a fable. When we think how fully authenticated is the fact of their martyrdom, that the proofs are so clear, pertinent, and abundant,

of their having perished in the Solway, it is not easy characterising in decorous language the attempt to deny it. It is pre-eminently futile, ridiculous, and absurd. It were just as hopeful an undertaking to attempt proving that we never had any persecution at all; that the "twenty-eight years" are a myth, and that the shootings, torturings, hangings, and quarterings, which lent so dreadful a character to these years, are so many fables, inventions, and calumnies. But why spend time in refuting an assertion which, when we think of the overwhelming amount of evidence against which it is advanced, must be deemed little less than insane, or why notice the matter at all? We answer, because this attempt has been maintained with a persistency and effrontery fitted to give it some weight with those who cannot reflect or who will not inquire; and if this first attempt shall succeed others will follow, till at last little will remain unchallenged of the sufferings and sacrifices of our heroic age, and much of the blood with which our liberties were bought will, to the ages to come, be as if it never had been shed. We think it well, therefore, to meet the attempt at its very outset.

Let us state, first of all, the ground on which those who deny the fact of the martyrdom rest their cause. The only thing worthy of a moment's consideration in proof that the martyrdom never took place is, *first*, the *reprieve* in the books of the Privy Council; and, *second*, the alleged recantation of Margaret Mac- lauchlan. We say *alleged*, because the petition was signed for her by others, and it is impossible to prove that she ever saw it. We shall, however, grant its genuineness. It is well to bear in mind, farther, that these documents, the *reprieve* and the *recantation*, were not discovered and first brought to light by those who deny the fact of the martyrdom, but by those who believe in it. The *reprieve* was known to Wodrow and also to Macaulay, neither of whom ever had a moment's doubt that the women were drowned; and the *recantation* was discovered in the Register House by the Rev. James Anderson, and first published by him.

Every impartial and candid man must feel how far short these documents come of proving what is sought to be established by them. A reprieve is not a pardon: in this case it was merely a reprieve to a blank day,

with a recommendation to the secretary of state for a pardon. Not a particle of proof exists that a pardon was ever granted. Nor can it be proved that the reprieve ever went farther than the Council table or Record Chamber. To serve any end it ought to have been sent to Wigton, but thither no one has ever yet traced it. No sooner is it written than it disappears outright, and is never more heard of. An equal mystery rests on the recommendation to mercy given by the Privy Council? Did that recommendation ever reach London? If it did it would arrive at the very nick of change, when King Charles had died, and his brother James II. was succeeding him, and politicians would be too busy securing their own places to concern themselves about the two poor women. In the midst of the turmoil the recommendation for pardon was forgotten. Meanwhile the day of execution arrives, the military commission, Lagg, Graham, Windram, and others, with authority to shoot and drown whomsoever they would, assemble, and they proceed forthwith to carry out the barbarous sentence, with all the barbarous circumstances which we have already detailed. In this way, most probably, did

the affair take place. But whether this be the true *link* or not, that by no means invalidates the two facts which it connects, the certainty of the sentence on the one side and the equal certainty of the martyrdom on the other. Wodrow and other historians, writing with the blank reprieve before them, so far from regarding it as casting doubt on the reality of the execution, only regard it as imparting a deeper criminality to the deed, as stamping it as a lawless, inhuman, and ruffianly murder.

Something, too, has been attempted to be made of the silence touching this martyrdom of Sir George M'Kenzie, and others who had a hand in these bloody proceedings; as if their silence was not exceedingly natural, and just the very thing we would expect. The mere silence of one or two touching an event whose occurrence may be in question can never surely invalidate the testimony of a hundred men who tell us that they saw it take place.

We come now to the evidence in behalf of the truth of the martyrdom. And here what oppresses us is not the scantiness but the abundance of the proof.

The first mention of the martyrdom is startlingly near the event in point of time for the

comfort of those who would so fain persuade us that it never took place. In 1687 Mr. Shields published his "*Hind Let Loose*," in which he says—

"Neither were women spared; but some were hanged, some drowned—tied to stakes within sea-mark to be drowned by the growing waves, and some of them very young, some of an old age."

The women were drowned in 1685: well, just two years after that date, 1687, Shields publishes his book, which soon becomes widely known through Scotland, containing a statement of the martyrdom in the Solway. He does not, indeed, give the names of the martyrs, but he gives the occurrence with so great minuteness and fulness of circumstance, that any one who chooses may verify the fact, and contradict it if a fable. He says, that in the then existing persecution recourse was had, in the case of women, to drowning; that they were tied to stakes, which were planted within sea-mark, and that some were young and some "of an old age." These particulars apply, and can apply only, to Margaret Wilson and Margaret Maclauchlan. Here, then, is the beginning of the testimony: it takes its rise just two years after the occurrence,

and it continues to flow onward, with that consistency as regards all essential facts, and that variety of minor circumstances and details, which ever marks honest testimony. How different with fable or myth; one never can get within a hundred years of its origin. But here, on the contrary, we can put our finger on the very year when the first public statement of the martyrdom was made, and when friend and foe alike were able to have contradicted it had it never occurred. Viewed thus, we have in corroboration of the drowning of Margaret Maclauchlan and Margaret Wilson, not the single testimony of Shields merely, but the testimony of that whole generation who read his statement, and never uttered a word of contradiction or denial.

We pass on. In 1690 a pamphlet was published, entitled "A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, Past and Present, of the Presbyterians in Scotland." In that pamphlet the fact of the martyrdom is re-asserted, and the names of the martyrs are given.

"The said Colonel or Lieutenant-general James Douglas, together with the Laird or Lagg and Captain Winram, most illegally condemned, and most inhumanly drowned at stakes within the sea-mark, two women at Wigton, viz., Margaret Lauchlan, up-

wards of sixty years, and Margaret Wilson, about twenty years of age, this aforesaid fatal year, 1685."

This pamphlet is anonymous: that, however, is of no moment in the argument. Its value as evidence lies in the fact that it is a second declaration before the world of the fact of the martyrdom, more specific than the first, and following at an interval of just three years. The names of the martyrs as well as of their murderers are given, and the year and place of the tragedy are distinctly stated. The generation is still existing, for only five years have elapsed since the martyrdom, and yet not a voice is raised in denial of the charge. Sir George M'Kenzie was at that moment busy whitewashing the government. He has this specific accusation before him, and yet he keeps silence and ventures no denial. Thus a second time does that generation of men serve itself witnesses to the martyrdom in the Solway.

In the year 1691 another pamphlet was published, entitled "A Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland," &c., supposed to be by Principal Rule. It says:—

"Some gentlemen (whose names out of respect to them I forbear to mention) took two women, Margaret Lachland and Margaret Wilson, the one sixty and the other twenty years of age, and caused them to be

tied to a stake within the sea-mark at Wigton, and left them there till the tide overflowed them and drowned them ; and this was done without any legal trial. 1685."

Another challenge publicly given to friend and foe to deny the martyrdom ! The evidence for its truth grows stronger and stronger with every additional declaration of the fact.

We next find the fact publicly stated in England. In 1693 was published at London an "Answer to Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence." It is there recorded that Colonel Douglas.

"Together with the laird of Lagg and Captain Winram, did illegally condemn and inhumanly drown Margaret Lauchlan, upwards of sixty years old, and Margaret Wilson, about twenty, at Wigton, fastening them to stakes within the sea-mark. This in 1685."

The value of this as evidence rests, too, not upon the name or veracity of the author, but upon the fact that it is another and wider declaration of the martyrdom, and, like all that had gone before it, it passes unchallenged and uncontradicted by a single voice.

We now come to evidence belonging to a separate class, that, viz., of the session records of the parishes of Kirkinner and Penningham, to which the two women belonged. This evidence is remarkably clear and distinct,

simple and unvarnished. It belongs to the year 1711. We shall come to it immediately. First let us take that of the year 1714. In that year the "Cloud of Witnesses" was published. That work, which obtained a wide and rapid circulation, contains a detailed account of the martyrdom in the Solway, and of the letters written by the martyred girl Wilson from her prison to her friends. We give a short extract :—

"Upon the 11th of May, 1684, Margaret Lauchlane, in the parish of Kirkinner, and Margaret Wilson, in Glenvernock, in the shire of Galloway, were sentenced to death for their non-compliance with Prelacy, and refusing to swear the oath of abjuration, by the laird of Lagg, Captain Strachan, Colonel David Graham, and Provost Cultron. They commanded them to receive their sentence upon their knees, which refusing, they were pressed down by force till they received it. They were then, by their order, tied to a stake within the sea-mark in the water of Blednoch, near Wigton, where, after they had made them wrestle long with the waves, which flowing, swelled on them by degrees, and had sometimes thrust them under water, they pulled them out again to see if they would recant ; but they endured death with undaunted courage, yielding up their spirits to God."

From the same book we learn that by this time, 1714, monumental evidence of the martyrdom was to be seen in the churchyard of Wigton. There had now come to be a tombstone

above the grave of Margaret Wilson, and the epitaph upon it, giving the particulars of the martyrdom as they are in the ordinary histories, is quoted, as is admitted, in the first edition of the "Cloud of Witnesses." It begins thus:—

Let earth and stone still witness bear,
There lies a virgin martyr here.

Within the sea, tied to a stake,
She suffered for Christ Jesus' sake.
The actors of this cruel crime
Wass Lagg, Winram, Strachan, and Graham.

The precise year when this tombstone was erected has not been ascertained; very probably it was in 1711, when the kirk-sessions of the district set about rescuing from oblivion and putting on permanent record the memorials of the persecution; but that it stood in the churchyard of Wigton in 1714 there is no manner of doubt.

The point of this testimony was so admirably put by Mr. Dodds, author of "The Fifty Years' Struggle," when the attempt was first made, about a dozen years ago, to deny the fact of the martyrdom, that we shall give his words:—

"Those who know the site know that this stone stands within a few hundred yards of the very spot where the women were said to have been drowned. There it was standing within say twenty-six years (probably much less) of the event, and when most of

the people of the district were still living who were alive in 1685. Every man and woman above thirty years of age, who entered that church from Sunday to Sunday, and looked from the stone to the river Blednoch running close by, knew perfectly whether any such horrible scene had there been enacted, and whether really the bodies of the two women were buried below. Yet all the while the stone told an utter, abominable, disgusting lie! and the two women were living, or had died elsewhere, and were not buried there at all! And this stone of lies, an insult and an infamy to the district, was permitted to stand by ministers, elders, heritors—many of the latter, doubtless, belonging to the faction whom that stone charged with the foul and unnatural murder—and by the people of Wigton, who were denounced as having done the deed! Verily, as Rousseau has said of a higher subject, to believe in the story has not half the difficulty as believing it an invention."

We shall go back a little in point of time. The "Cloud of Witnesses" has brought us, in our chain of proof, to 1714; we return to 1711. By this time the Revolution, which called William of Orange to the throne, had taken place; Presbytery had been restored; and it was now felt to be a duty to rescue from oblivion and put on permanent record the sufferings of the "twenty-eight years." After the Revolution it was the policy of the Jacobites to deny the facts of the late persecution. Accordingly, the General Assembly appointed the local ministers and sessions to collect proofs as

to the individual sufferers. The cases of the two women were now investigated, and the reports engrossed in the Kirkinner and Penningham session records. In the Kirkinner record the martyrdom is related in the following terms:—

“April 15, 1711.—The minister gave in the account of the sufferings of honest godly people in the late times, which was read, and is as follows:—

“Margaret Lauchlison, of known integrity and piety from her youth, aged about eighty, widow of John Miliken, wright in Drumgargan, was, in or about the year of God 1685, in her own house, taken off her knees in prayer and carried immediately to prison, and from one prison to another, and without the benefit of light to read the Scriptures; was barbarously treated by dragoons, who were sent to carry her from Machirmore to Wigton; and being sentenced by Sir Robert Grier of Lagg to be drowned at a stake within the flood-mark, just below the town of Wigton, for conventicle keeping and alleged rebellion, was, according to the said sentence, fixed to the stake till the tide made, and held down within the water by one of the town officers, by his halbert at her throat, till she died.”

We have examined the session records, and we append the sederunt by whom the truth of the facts there set down is attested. The names are William Campbell, John Martin of Little Airles, Alexander Martin of Culloi, yr., John Kirkpatrick, George Dun, William Hanna, Robert Heron, elders. William

M'Haffie, John M'Culloch, John M'Kinnel, John M'Dowall, Andrew Gray, Gilbert Milroy, deacons. By comparing the sederunts before and after the meeting of session on the 11th of April, 1711, we learn that all the above, with the exception of two, John Martin of Airles and Andrew Gray, deacon, were present when the record of the drowning of Margaret M'Lachlan was given in; and therefore all the above offer themselves as attestors of the fact, some of them on their own “personal knowledge,” others of them on “credible information;” and they “appoint the same to be recorded in their session book, *ad futuram rei memoriam*.” These were men of position and character in the community. It was only twenty-six years since the alleged tragedy had occurred, they were sitting within a few miles of the spot on which it had taken place. Is it conceivable that they should band together to record a wicked fiction, or that the community of Wigton and of Scotland should be so astoundingly credulous as to believe it?

The record of the martyrdom in the Penningham session bears date the 25th February, 1711. It is a simple, unvarnished, but touching tale. It describes the

dying martyrs only as one who had seen them could describe them. The words attributed to them could have been suggested only by their awful circumstances, and could never have been imagined by a fabricator. One wishing to paint a martyrdom, and to make the women figure as heroines, would have put into their mouths a stilted and magniloquent address. Not so speak the martyrs of the Solway. Their last words, like the last words of all the confessors of the period, are calm, forgiving, weighty, without the slightest tincture of bitterness or of pride. The following story is its own best witness. Though it had come down unattested by a single name, we should have said that it could not be false; the scene *must* have been acted; it could not have been imagined:—

“Upon the 11th of May, 1685, these two women, Margaret M'Lachlan and Margaret Wilson, were brought forth to execution. They put the old woman first into the water, and when the water was overflowing her, they asked Margaret Wilson what she thought of her in that case? She answered, ‘What do I see but Christ wrestling there; think ye that we are the sufferers? No; it is Christ in us, for He sends none a warfare on their own charges.’ Margaret Wilson sang Psalm xxv., from the 7th verse, read the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, prayed, and then the water covered her. But before her breath was quite gone, they pulled her up, and held her till she could

speak, and then asked her if she would pray for the king? She answered, ‘That she wished the salvation of all, but the damnation of none.’ Some of her relations on the place cried out, ‘She was willing to conform!’ they being desirous to save her life at any rate. Upon which Major Winram offered the oath of abjuration to her, either to swear it or return to the water. She refused it, saying, ‘I will not; I am one of Christ’s children; let me go.’ And then they returned her into the water, where she finished her warfare; being a virgin martyr of eighteen years of age, suffering death for her refusing to swear the oath of abjuration, and hear the curats.”

The minute adds, that the mother and brother of the martyred girl still lived, “to certify these matters, with many others that knew them too well;” and the whole session append their own attestation in the following terms:—

“The above particulars being read in the Session of Penningham, the 25th day of February, 1711, are attested as true by personal knowledge of many of them, and by incontestible information of many of the rest. —Extracted by Robert Rowan, clerk, p. t.”

As a sample of the still existing memorials and traditions of the martyrdom, we give the following interesting particulars which were communicated to the editor by the esteemed minister of the Free Church of Wigton, the Rev. David D. A. Agnew:—

“It should be remarked as to these two women, that they belonged to the class of tenant farmers, and were thus well known in the district. The Wilsons are still represented,

and in the immediate neighbourhood of the farm of Glenvernoch. And a daughter of Widow M'Lauchlan or Milliken was known to a correspondent of Wodrow's, the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kirkmuir, of whose congregation she was a member, as appears from a letter quoted by the Rev. J. Anderson in the 'Ladies of the Covenant.' The martyrdom was notorious in the year 1718. Mr. Campbell calls this woman the daughter of an 'honoured martyred mother;' and he relates a dream of hers, in which her mother appeared to her at the cross of Wigton, with garb, gesture, and countenance, that she had five minutes before she was drowned in Blednoch. [They were drowned in Wigton Bay, which is the delta of the rivers Blednoch and Cree; and it was in the Blednoch shore that the stakes were placed.] The packman Walker, in the 'Biographia Presbyteriana,' says that he knew a woman in Borrowstounness who was in the Wigton prison along with the two women. And he says Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg is 'yet out of hell'—*i.e.*, he was alive, and left the charge uncontradicted.

"The tombstones at Wigton are evidently very ancient, both as to pattern and as to the style of letter used in the epitaphs. The rhyme upon Margaret Wilson's gravestone is in the same style as other undoubted Covenanting remains.

"The population has been very fluctuating of late years, so that few descendants of old inhabitants now remain; but as a specimen of what might have been collected a few years ago, I may mention that I have conversed with an elderly woman, who is still alive, and she told me that a Miss Heron, a lady by birth, who lived in Wigton when she herself was a girl, used constantly to visit in her father's house; and she has often heard her say that her grandfather was an eye-witness of the execution of the two women, and had himself spoken of it to her, mentioning that the people were awestruck, and could not interfere; but that they formed themselves into groups, uniting

in prayer for the sufferers. An instance of the good feeling of the population at that time is mentioned by Walker 'the packman,' viz., that when a woman was, according to her sentence, paraded through the town (I suppose almost or altogether in a state of nudity), the people retired into their houses, kept away from their windows, and hardly a child was seen in the streets; and the officer offered to excuse her part of the allotted time.

"Seeing that the reprieve was disregarded, no official report was likely to be made; and as for the Covenanters or their friends formally supplicating redress, that would have been useless in the temper of the governing powers; and at the worst, a loophole would have been found by Bloody M'Kenzie for his friends and followers. The policy of the actors was to suppress the story, and to ignore it in official records, and the wisdom of the friends of the sufferers was 'to keep silence, because it was an evil time.'"

When at length the tyranny of these days came to an end, and the people knew that they might safely complain of the wrongs they had endured, and seek redress without the risk of exposing themselves to additional inflictions, the inhabitants of Wigton petitioned Parliament for the punishment of Lagg. The enumeration of his "barbarities" and "inhuman murders," which includes only the most "noutour," distinctly specifies the drowning of Margaret Wilson and Margaret M'Lauchlan. A copy of this petition was discovered a few years ago; and we find in it the following passages:—

"Sir Robert, after he had apprehended two women—to wit, Marget Lauchlison and Marget Wilson—upon no other account but for alledged nonconformity, did, without any legall conviction or sentence, caused bind them to a stake within the seamark at Wigtoune till the flood returning drowned them both, and that without any consideration of the age of the one or the youth of the other, the saide Marget Laughlison being above sixty-three years of age, and the other eighteen years old. This was doon in the month of May, 1685."

"Therefore it is humbly hoped and expected that the honourable estates of Parliament will give such orders and directions to his Majesties advocate for discovering and prosecuting of this affair as they shall think fite, or that the honourable estates may give commission to such persons as they shall think fite, for apprehending and securing the person of the above-mentioned Lagg till judgment may be execut upon him," &c.

Is it conceivable that the inhabitants of a whole town should conspire to proclaim as a fact what had never taken place, their affirmation being made in no less public a place than the British Parliament; that they should name the man who had perpetrated this outrage, and call for his punishment; that that man should be alive, and aware of the accusation which had been so publicly advanced against him, and all the while remain silent, and not utter one word in support of his innocence and in refutation of the atrocious charge? It is utterly and absolutely inconceivable.

This attempt to persuade the nation that these women did not suffer, and that, in fact, we never had a persecution at all, is no new device. It is one to which the persecutor in every age has had recourse. It was attempted in the case of the great massacre of the Waldenses in 1655, just twenty years before the Solway tragedy. Scarce was the blood dry which had flowed like water in the valleys of Piedmont, till it was denied that a drop had been shed. Leger, the Vaudois historian, took care that that denial should nought avail those who made it, and that proof, clear, irrefragable, and indubitable, of the awful crime, should go down to posterity. He travelled from commune to commune, attended by two notaries public, and took down the depositions of the eye-witnesses and survivors, in presence of the council and consistory of each parish. From these sworn depositions he compiled his published account of the massacre, which Dr. Gilly has truly characterized as one of the most "dreadful" books the world contains. The same office did honest veracious Wodrow perform for our Scottish massacres; and the attempts made at the time, and repeated in our own

day, to deny these persecutions, show that the labours of Wodrow were not unnecessary. But for his painstaking diligence and unchallengeable accuracy, we should have had the whole twenty-eight years' sufferings ignored—boldly and impudently affirmed to be a myth. This, however, is now impossible. The evidence of history, no ingenuity, no effrontery even, can set aside. Faithful to her task, history will preserve the names of those men and women which are the glory of Scotland, giving to their deeds undying fame, and to their example a power that will be irresistible and eternal. The clouds that bigotry and falsehood may raise around their names will obscure their glory but for a moment. As piety increases in Scotland, the value of the ser-

vices which they rendered will be better understood and more justly estimated. Their names will be watch-words in future conflicts; their scaffolds will be altars where liberty will light her torch; their lives will be models to teach their sons of all coming generations how purely and unselfishly to live, how bravely to die! Stars at this moment shining brightly in the firmament of our country may vanish, and the place that now knows them may know them no more; but the place of our confessors and martyrs is secure. They were of "the wise," whose destiny it is to "shine as the brightness of the firmament." They "turned many to righteousness," and their glory will be as that of "the stars, for ever and ever."

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