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“ Prove all things: hold fast that which is good.”

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HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.*

FROM THE YEAR 1580 TO THE YEAR 1643.

IN the year fifteen hundred and eighty, the twenty-second of Queen Elizabeth of England, the sixth of Henry III. of France, the fourth of Rodolph II. Emperor of Germany, and the fifth of James VI. of North Britain, the people of Scotland entered into a mutual agreement, to abandon error and adhere to truth. This pledge was ratified by a solemn oath, agreeably to the example of the saints in preceding ages. The transaction is known to ecclesiastical history, as the National Covenant of Scotland.†

The Scottish people had been prepared for this solemn transaction, by the progress of Christianity in the north

* The following dissertations are not intended to form so much a regular ecclesiastical history, as to furnish materials for the future historian; and to direct the humble and believing disciples of Christ to some of the many sources of information, whence the providence of God towards his church, may be learned for edification. The writer, however, pledges himself to the christian public, that he will utter no fact, for which he does not believe that he has accredited historical documents.

† Aikman's Buchanan, vol. iii. p. 39. The learned translator has done justice to Buchanan, in his elegant version of the classical original. This continuation is in somewhat of the learned and judicious tenor of Buchanan. We are happy to learn that a very large edition of this work in six octavo volumes has been sold.

of the island of Great Britain, from the early ages of the New Testament Church. The apostolic Christians, in that part of the common wealth of Israel, were known by the name Culdees.* They were at first few and poor. They worshiped God, as their name imports, in the various ordinances appointed by Christ, the Head of the Church. At least morning and evening, and sometimes at noon, they retired for the purpose of praying in secret to their "Father in heaven," looking for the reward which he promises to bestow openly. They attended to family worship, by singing the psalms of David, which many of them had committed to memory when young; and by reciting a portion of the Bible, which had been learned for that purpose from the parchment rolls, or from the mouth of the minister, who instructed the people carefully from the word of God. To this was added prayer by the head of the family. †

They attended fellowship meetings on the Sabbath and at other times, when they had not access on the Lord's day to the public institutions of God's house. This we are warranted to infer from the fact, that fellowship meetings were held by the disciples of Christ in Greece, and are called "*the church in the house*," by the inspired penman. Those who went from Rome or Corinth, to Britain, for the purpose of trade, or to make a permanent

* Knox's Scotland, vol. i. pp. 45, 46 of D. Buchanan's Preface. Culdees, derived from Cultor Dei, worshipper of God. Edinburgh Encyclopedia. Art. Culdees. Guthrie's Grammar of Geography, pp. 167, 168.

† For these details, we have the fact that such were the practices of the apostolic Christians in Judea, Greece and Rome. When Reformed Presbyterians from the State of New York emigrate to the Territory of Michigan; or from Ireland to the province of New Brunswick, they worship God in their families, as they did before their emigration. So would and did the first christian emigrants from Corinth, Rome, Spain, &c. to Great Britain. In this way, no doubt, Buchanan correctly reasoned. Ex ungue Leonem.

settlement in the pursuits of agriculture, from habit and love to one another, met together, and worshiped the Lord their God in prayer meeting. We find too, that when the details of the forms of worship among their descendants are recorded in ages nearer to our own times, they met together for prayer, praise and mutual conversation, as did the fearers of the Lord in the days of the prophet Malachi.

They were careful to abstain from worldly business, conversation, company and thoughts, as much as "in them lay," on the holy Sabbath. When they were visited by the Evangelists, at their own request, or sought out by the faithful pastors of the sheep of Christ, they entertained them with the kindest hospitality, and furnished them with raiment, together with the means of travelling, that they might "bring them forward on their journey,"* in the diffusion of the doctrines of the Gospel.

As in practice they were holy, so in doctrine, they were incorrupt. That they held the tenets known by the name of Calvinism, is evident, from the fact that when the doctrines now called Arminian, or Hopkinsian, were introduced into the church of Scotland by the disciples of Pelagius, in the reign of Ewen II.† it produced great agitation, which it would not have done, had it been embraced before that time by the Culdees.

They were Presbyterian in their form of church government. On this subject, the testimony produced by Buchanan, in his Preface to the Life of Knox, is ample. They had deacons, ordained for the purpose of managing the temporal affairs of the church, ‡ and ruling elders,

* 3 John, v. 6. Aik. Buch. vol. i All the historians bear witness to the charity and hospitality of the godly Culdees

† Knox's Scotland, vol. i. p. 50 Preface by David Buchanan.

‡ The deacons were ordained in the apostolic age by the imposition of hands. Acts, vi. 6. As both the pastors and deacons were ordained by the laying on of hands, we may safely infer, as we do respecting setting apart the water in baptism, that ruling elders were ordained in the same way.

who, together with the deacons attended to legislation on the subject of ecclesiastical finances, and ruled over the churches in all spiritual causes. Both these officers were elected by the people, before they were set apart with fasting, prayer, and as the writer believes by the imposition of hands. From session, there was an appeal to Presbytery, and from that court to Synod.* All the higher courts had at least appellate jurisdiction.

The primitive orthodoxy, and holiness of the Culdees were marred, first by the introduction of the Pelagian heresies; and next by the corruption of the form and administration of their church government.

Ewen II. having heard of the success of Pelagius, the missionary of Celestine, bishop of Rome, in healing, as it was called the divisions of the church of England, which had been produced by the Pelagian heresy, invited him to Scotland. The orthodox and the heretics submitted the question to his arbitration. This act was interpreted by the growing ambition of the Bishop, in the Roman capital, as an act of subjection to his See. Farther encroachments were made, and the Romish hierarchy, with many of its corruptions in doctrine and worship, and all its high claims to lordship over the heritage of God, were introduced among the Culdees. The heathen feast, called Saturnalia, annually celebrated in honor of the heathen deity, Pan, was introduced, and called the festival of Christmas. †

But religion was not utterly banished from the island of Great Britain. It lived among the poor, who like Lot

* Edin. Ecy. Art. Culdees.

† Knox's Scotland, vol. i. p. 50. D. Buch. Pre. This reve was held in winter, by the heathen, and was not at the same time of the year with the birth of Christ. We have good reason to believe that the birth day of Christ was not the 25th of December. Aik. Buc. vol. i. p. 233.

in Sòdom were “grieved from day to day with their unrighteous deeds,” and who, after the example of the pious in Jerusalem, “sighed and cried for all the abominations done in the land.”*

The learning and the godliness of the church retired from the corruptions of the Romish mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, to the little, but illustrious island of Iona, or Icolmkill, where a college of Culdees was founded by Columba.† They were witnesses for the truth of the Gospel, in Great Britain, as the Waldenses were on the continent of Europe. For a long time, these humble Culdees prophesied in sackcloth. Their teachers in the seminary of learning, at Icolmkill, labored in the pious education of young men to feed the people of God in their little and poor congregations, in the Hebrides, in Scotland, in England and in the north of Ireland.

All that the good man does shall prosper. They did not labor in vain. Souls were saved, and the mass of society in the British isles, was preserved from putrefaction, by these holy men of God, who were of “the salt of the earth.” Colleges were founded and endowed in St. Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh; and by the diffusion of solid learning, the way was prepared, for the reinstatement of the Culdees in the high places of the Scottish commonwealth.

The persecution of the Waldenses, by the Papists, in the crusade, authorised against them, by the Pope of Rome, drove them into every kingdom of Europe.‡

The martyrdom of Jerome of Prague, 1416, and the

* Ezek. ix. 4.

† Aikman’s Buc. vol. i. note. p. 46.

‡ Reformation Principles, p. 43. There were “in the beginning of the fourteenth century about 80,000 of the covenanters in Austria, and the neighboring territories.”

violent persecution of the true disciples of Christ, by the Council of Constance that ordered him and John Huss to be put to death at the stake, for their love of the pure Gospel, drove many of the Waldensian Reformers into Great Britain. They there, with the followers of Wickliffe, who had taught the way of God, according to the doctrines and usages of the apostolic Culdees, labored among the poor, feeding with wholesome words of good doctrine, “the flock of slaughter.” These witnesses for the truth became known, about this period, by the name Lollards—and sometimes were called Lollards of Kyle. The name is derived from *lullen*, to sing—and that from the Hebrew, *hallel*, to sing hymns. It signifies the praisers or worshippers of God; and is of the same import with the word Begghards—or persons who do earnestly *beg* of God in prayer for blessings. Both signify the same thing as Culdees, *Cultores Dei*.*

As the Lollards appear in British ecclesiastical history soon after the disappearance of the Culdees, we cannot doubt, that they were the same people, and that the name of the insular witnesses, became merged in that of the continental.

The Waldensian Christians, do not appear to have been so learned, as those of Britain, but they were probably better divines; and having contended for the doctrines of the christian system, against the hosts of foes who assailed them on their way from the vallies of Piedmont to Scotland; they were more zealous and more controversial.

* Buchanan’s Introduction to Knox. A. Stephenson’s History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 26. This industrious and faithful collector of historical documents says:—“Archbishop Spottiswood and Mr. David Buchanan agree that the Culdees continued, without coalescing with the Bishops until the 13th century.” Hind Let Loose as quoted by Stephenson. “The Culdees transmitted their testimony to the Lollards.”

The Norman conquest, drove many English Culdees, descended of Saxon ancestors, to Scotland; who began even then, to be known in some places, where they had large fellowship meetings, or congregations, by the Saxon name of the witnesses—Lollards. They were, however, but like the stars that appear in the vault of heaven, when the sun is retiring. The night closes in; and the stars cannot prevent dimness of the twilight, from receding before the shades of night.

The commencement of the fifteenth century, in Great Britain, as on the continent of Europe, was amidst the darkness of *paganized* Christendom. Turretin arranges the corruptions of the times, very happily, under four classes.*

1. Idolatry, in the adoration of angels, the Virgin Mary and many saints, the Pope of Rome, images, pictures, dead men's bones, tombs, coffins and other relics of both the good and the bad.

2. Profligacy of morals. Kings and clergy were in many instances shamefully lost to all sense of decency, indulging in avarice, pride, gluttony, and even harlotry. When such was the low state of morals among the professed conservators of national virtue—both the civil rulers and the guardians of practical godliness in the church, what must have been the exceeding debasement of the peasantry and laity?

3. Error in doctrine. It was maintained that man is saved not by the imputed righteousness of Christ—nor sanctified by the power of the Holy Ghost, applying the word of God; but that the good works of the saints are the formal ground of justification before God, as *opera operata*, that some men have performed, by their penances and

* Turretinus, vol. iv. pp. 1—238. De Necessaria Secessione nostra ab Ecclesia Romana." The scholar who presents this profound historical dissertation, in a good translation to the English reader, will do a great and good work for the cause of God's truth and Church.

pilgrimages, and benefactions, more good works, than the law of God requires, to entitle them to heaven. These meritorious deeds were styled works of supererogation, and deposited in bank with the Roman Pontiff, to be appropriated, for the procurement of pardon, even in cases of total delinquency. Man, it was said, has power to make himself a new heart, and save himself from all the pollution of sin, as by his good deeds he could procure the divine favor. Thence auricular confession, and the dispersing of pardon to the confessing devotees at the Romish shrines. Thus the very fountain of gospel truth, the atonement by Christ, was poisoned, and none of the streams, issuing thence were salubrious.

4. Tyranny in government. The kings and all the subordinate officers of state, with an avaricious and cruel priesthood, were leagued together to prevent all freedom of enquiry, and to grind the faces of the poor. The reading of the word of God, was made a criminal offence by the canon law, and severely punished, in the arbitrary courts of priestly tyrants. Thus kings were taught to oppress their subjects by the example of the debased, ignorant and heartless ministers of religion. The people were thought to be born, for the purpose of ministering to the gratification of lordly bishops, and cruel, godless despots. *

It was this spirit that committed Huss, the noble and godly Bohemian and the apostolic Jerome of Prague to the flames, on the continent of Europe. It was this spirit of anti-christ, that burnt James Resby, a disciple of Wickliffe. These fires of persecution were lighted by

* For a farther illustration of the corrupt state of the church and of the state, at the commencement of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, read Mos. Ec. His. vol. iii. Robertson's Charles V. John Sleiden's History of the Reformation. M'Crie's learned and faithful Life of Knox. Aik. Buch. vol. ii. and iii. Knox's Scotland. Cruikshank's Scotland. Rob. Scot.

the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had accused and condemned Resby for maintaining that the Pope of Rome is not the successor of St. Peter, but the anti-christ. The church of God groaned under the wanton cruelty of faithless and fierce persecutors, who trampled under foot the liberties of the subject, and christian liberty; and set at naught all the rights of the sanctified conscience.

In such a night of darkness John Knox was born, 1505.* Shortly before his birth, a marriage had been consummated between James VI. of Scotland, and Margarett, daughter of Henry VII. of England, which was the cause of a general peace in the three kingdoms. As the temple of Janus was shut in Rome, at the birth of our Saviour, so there were halcyon days in Scotland, at the birth of the Scottish Reformer. The peace in the Roman empire, was abused by the Emperor of Rome and all the officers of state. This led to the imposition of heavy taxes, and rendered odious the oppressor. So it was in Britain. The revelry, and boundless prodigality of the court, in the long protracted marriage festival, made the government poor; and the people were oppressed, by hosts of tax gatherers, to furnish the means of carnal pleasure to an immoral court and its numerous creatures. Thus in the holy providence of God, the people were prepared to listen to the truths, which this wonderful man was about to preach.

Knox early embraced the doctrines of the Culdees, or Lollards. He was learned in all the literature and science of the age, and thus his mind was so much liberalized by an extensive acquaintance with the history of preceding ages, and especially with the facts and doctrines of

* M'Crie's Life of Knox. Aikman's Buchanan. By this marriage, the two kingdoms were afterwards united; the Roman empire had consolidated all the west of Asia, south of Europe and north of Africa, at the birth of Christ (see Ed. His. Red.) to afford facilities to spread the Gospel.

the Holy Scriptures ; that he could not but regard with a generous and holy abhorrence the government and hierarchy which burnt at the stake that holy man of God—George Wishart.

In the year 1444, Wishart had come to Scotland from England, and soon after suffered martyrdom. He, with Patrick Hamilton, a godly nobleman, did much to prepare the way of the Lord, before Knox commenced his public ministry.

From him Knox had learned the way of God more perfectly, and by his example of faith and steadfastness in suffering, was greatly emboldened in the maintenance of the doctrines of the Reformation.

Having been ordained to the holy ministry at St. Andrews, he travelled through the south of Scotland, and preached plainly the word of God. He dispensed the sacrament of the supper "*in both kinds,*" to a congregation, near to the place, whence afterwards, the celebrated Sandquhar Declaration was issued. The tour of that summer, gave to the cause of truth an impulse, which was long and extensively felt.

In 1547, the castle of St. Andrews was beseiged by twenty-eight French Gallies, and taken, and Knox was made a prisoner and carried to France. He was set at liberty and returned to Britain in 1549. It is the opinion of Strype, that he was made chaplain to Edward VI. However that may have been, he was appointed by the royal authority to the performance of important ecclesiastical functions in England. He was personally on terms of friendship with Archbishop Cranmer, and reviewed, approved, and probably corrected the thirty-nine articles, which were composed by that eminent divine, as the confession of faith of the church of England.

A call was made upon him by the congregation of All Hallows, London; but however ample the field of useful-

ness, in that great capital of the British empire, however inviting the learned society of that city, however abundant the temporal support, and however poor and persecuted he was in his native Scotland, yet he refused the offer. The ground of his refusal was honorable, both to his head and heart. The Liturgy of the church, was even more exceptionable than it is now. Had he accepted the pastoral charge of the London congregation, he must have been limited in his prayers to set forms, have administered baptism with the sign of the cross, have knelt at the altar: he must have worn the surplice and the robe, or the clerical gowns. Besides all these, he must have at least countenanced forms of church government which he knew to be contrary to the will of the Head of the Church. On all these accounts he piously and magnanimously refused to accept the call. This was in 1552.*

Persecuted by Queen Mary, and her popish nobility, he went to Geneva, where he became acquainted with Calvin, Beza and Farrell. He and they mutually strengthened greatly each other's hands in the good work of the Lord.

In 1555, when 50 years of age, he returned to his native country. But so violent was the fury of persecution, and so great was the odium cast upon him by the ungodly government of his country, and such the rage of the rabble who burnt him in effigy, that he thought it prudent to return to Geneva. When Knox was abroad, the enemy thought all safe; but they were in error. The Rev. Messrs. Harlow, Wilcox, Paul Methven and others, preached boldly the doctrines of the Gospel, and unfolded the ignorance and idolatry of the popish priesthood, while they reprov'd with manly and christian fidelity, the profligacy of the rulers of the land. The seed which had been sown by Wickliffe, Hamilton, Wishart and Knox,

* M'Crie's Life of Knox.

they watered ; and God gave it increase ; for the word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed. Their enemies were moved with indignation, at their success, when they saw that multitudes came together to hear them, and received the word favorably. Walter Mill, a poor man, for his remarkable devotedness to God, and his zeal for the truth, suffered martyrdom. Paul Methven was put on trial, and the next year was sent into banishment. They did not kill him, for they feared the multitude.*

The friends of the Reformation felt the loss of such a man as Knox ; whose learning, zeal, devotedness to God, and eloquence, were necessary to encourage the people and clergy, under the pressure of heavy persecution. Letters were written to him requesting his return to Scotland. He consulted with Calvin, Beza and other brethren on the Continent, who advised him to accept without delay the invitation. When he arrived at Dieppe, almost in sight of his native shores, he received a message from those who had invited him home, requesting him to continue abroad. Their fears had overcome for a time their faith. Knox, however, was not discouraged. His faith triumphed. He wrote a letter of remonstrance, and boldly upbraided them with their want of faith and pusillanimous fears. At the same time, he composed a circular, and directed it to several Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, whom he knew to be favorable to the Lord's cause. He realized the truth of the promise—

“All he doth shall prosper well.”

Committing himself to his God, he returned to the interior of the Continent, where he preached the word of God with great acceptance. The persecuting fury of the popish throne of Scotland pursued him, in all his labors and privations in foreign lands. But the Head of the

* Aikman's Buc. Step. vol. i. Cook's Ref.

Church raised for him, every where, zealous and powerful friends, who supported him. The word of the Lord, in his mouth, was blessed, for the begetting of spiritual children, and for the nourishment of the disciples; and they loved, honored, supported and defended him for his works' sake. In Geneva and in Frankfort, he became the pastor of portions of the flock of Christ. By these labors he learned more intimately the state of the Church, on the Continent. He saw more of the corruptions and tyranny of the popish priests and princes. His increase of knowledge multiplied his power of opposing, with greater energy and success, the evils that entered into the corrupt constitutions of both Church and State in Britain. God made the wrath of men to praise him; and the remnant of wrath, he restrained.

The letters and the circular of Knox from Dieppe, with the increasing malevolence and tyranny of the enemy, wrought powerfully to prepare the public mind for the zeal of the exiled servant of the Lord. It was perceived by some of the most distinguished noblemen, rich merchants, and large land-holders, that nothing remained for them, but unconditional submission, the ruin of their estates, and the shipwreck of a good conscience; or to recal Knox, with an open and solemn recognition and support of the Reformation. They knew that as they had pusillanimously receded from their former invitation, it would be in vain to invite the Reformer again to return, unless the request was accompanied with some more solemn obligation, than a mere epistle of invitation.

Influenced by these patriotic and holy motives, they entered into a mutual agreement, under very high and solemn sanctions, that they would maintain the whole ground which they had gained. This covenant was framed, sworn and subscribed in the following terms:—*

* Knox, vol. ii. Cook, vol. ii. p. 31.

“We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the anti-christs of our time, doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master’s cause, even unto death, being certain of victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God, and his congregation, and we by his grace, shall, with all diligence continually 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 labor at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ’s gospel, and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, now risk them and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole power, and waring of our lives against Satan and all wicked power, that does intend tyranny and trouble to the said congregation; unto the which holy word and congregation, we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan, with the superstitions, abominations and idolatry thereof; and, moreover, shall declare ourselves, manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to His congregation, by our subscription at these presents.”

This covenant, thus ratified with a solemn oath, was subscribed by the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton; by Lord Lorn, and John Erskine of Dun. Connected as these Covenanters were with the most powerful families in Scotland, and possessing ample domains, their public pledge to adhere to the cause of the Reformers, gave a new and most encouraging aspect to the affairs of the witnesses for the truth. Knox was now informed of the transactions and invited home, and letters sent to

Calvin, urging him to use his influence with Knox to forget the past and return.*

While abroad, he had not been unemployed in labors to advance the work of the Lord. He had written and published what he denominated his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women." As he saw that the civil government of Scotland was in league with all the corruptions of Popery, and pledged to support them; as he was aware that the popish hierarchy was favorable to the despotism of the throne, and therefore was maintained by a tyrannical power; he very judiciously directed the artillery of truth against this strong hold of the enemy. The queen was, on every ground, an enemy of the Reformation, as tending to diminish her power, as disagreeable to her popish friends on the Continent, and as abridging her sinful gratifications. She opposed the Reformation, for the same reasons that influenced Herod and Pontius Pilate to lay aside their personal and political animosities, for a time, that they might unite their energies, in the crucifixion of Messiah. Knox, instead of being intimidated by the persecution that drove him into exile, and which pursued him in Geneva and at Frankfort, became more bold in his magnanimous attacks on the corruptions, and tyranny of the court. Had he allowed himself to be discouraged, or had he slackened in his opposition, all would have been lost, as far as his instrumentality was employed.

"The Blast" was read and admired for its very boldness; but the solidity of the argument, and the patriotic defence of the rights of the subject which it contained, recommended it to the attentive perusal and favor of intelligent and good men. By this work, and by his nu-

* Cook, vol. ii. p. 34. Knox, vol. i. pp. 286, 287. It is the Paisley edition of 1791 from which our quotations are made.

merous letters, he perhaps did more, when on the Continent, than in the existing state of things, he could have accomplished by his ministrations and pen at home.

His return in 1559 was hailed with joy by all good men.* He continued two nights in the city of Edinburgh, and repaired to Dundee, where there was an assembly of the Reformers, deliberating on the best means to protect themselves against the malignity of the court, and the archbishop. The queen, having heard that the town of Perth, or Johnstown, had embraced the doctrines of the Gospel, ordered the Provost of Dundee to seize Paul Methven, Knox's fellow-helper, and put him into confinement. She also summoned all the ministers of religion, to meet her at Sterling, on the tenth of May. The people of the neighboring towns, who had received the word of the Lord, resolved to accompany their spiritual instructors, to Perth. For this purpose, a large collection of people of all ranks, from Dundee, Angus and Mearns assembled, and went in company with their ministers. The Laird of Dun, was sent forward as a deputy to the queen, who had become much alarmed, at these demonstrations of the popular favor, towards the Reformation. She requested that the people would not advance. They halted in Dundee, and there they were met by Knox on the fourth of May, who modestly says:—"He earnestly required that he might be permitted to assist his brethren and to give confession of his faith with them."†

After subscribing their *mutual pledge*, or bond as it was called, he repaired to Perth, and preached with all boldness the word of the Lord. Such magnanimous in-

* Knox, vol. i. p. 326. The modesty of Knox, when speaking of himself, is throughout his whole history remarkably conspicuous.

† Knox. Scot. vol. i. p. 326.

trepidity was all important at that crisis. Erskine of Dun, was, as Knox says, "a man of most gentle nature and most addicted to please her (the queen) in all things;" and he had yielded to her entreaty, that the preachers and the people should not advance.

Her object plainly was to gain time until her priests would assemble in force; to sow divisions among the disciples of Christ, who were young and inexperienced; and to collect an army. Dun had assented. The wiser and more resolute were for advancing and pleading their cause before the queen. Others thought that the will of their princes, as they esteemed her, should be regarded with respect. When the seeds of division were thus sown, and ready to spring up, Knox arrived among them from the Continent, his mind fraught with all that he had heard and seen in the company of the celebrated Genevan and German Reformers, and endowed with a very large measure of the Holy Ghost, qualifying him to go forward in such an emergency. They had sent for him, and in their covenant had pledged themselves to sustain one another. He knew all this, and had too much discernment not to perceive the advantage which he had gained and press it. He knew well that whatever he did, would be regarded both by friends and enemies as the act of all the followers of Christ in Scotland. He knew that to falter then would be to abandon all that had been gained. He, therefore, without consulting flesh and blood, went and preached the word of the Lord to the people of Perth, who heard the truth from his lips with all gladness. What must have been the eloquence of that man of God on that interesting occasion! almost in the presence of the court, in an important city, that had scarcely yet decided whether to serve the Lord or not, near the assembled thousands of people, with the lords of the congregation—the hosts of popish priests expected hourly—an army collecting

by the queen, and the first sermon that he preached after his return from exile. His congregation must have heard him with the most intense interest and delight.

The queen was abashed, and shrunk from the truth and eloquence of the intrepid Reformer. The disciples of Christ were greatly strengthened and emboldened. On the last day of May, or in about three weeks after he preached his first sermon in Perth, the disciples of Christ of all ranks, renewed with important additions their mutual pledge to God and one another.*

The first bond was similar to the League of Smalcald, by which the princes of the empire, pledged themselves in their character of civil rulers, to defend their subjects in the rights of conscience, and adhere to the doctrines of the Gospel. The covenant entered into at Perth, was more, much more. "The people of the Most High," in their ecclesiastical capacity, as professors of the faith of Jesus, entered into covenant engagements with the God of Israel, and with one another, not to depart from the good ways of the Lord. This instrument is known in church history as "The Second Covenant of Perth."† It is in the following words.

"At Perth, on the last day of May, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, the congregations of the west country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more neces-

* Knox's Scot. vol. i. pp. 347, 348. The sources from which the facts are taken, respecting this part of the history of the Covenanters, are very ample. One or two well authenticated histories shall be considered as sufficient. All draw largely on Knox.

† It is so called by Knox, vol. i. p. 347. It is probable there was a covenant formed at Perth, by the ministers and elders and deacons and church members before "The Second Covenant of Perth." It was so at the beginning of the second Reformation.

sary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded of God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in presence of God, to concur, and assist together, in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers, to destroy and put away all things, that do dishonor to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshiped: and in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist and convene together, to the defence of the same congregation, or person troubled, and shall not spare labors, goods, or substance, bodies and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble, for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be colored with any other outward cause.”

“In witness and testimony of the which, the whole congregation aforesaid, have ordained and appointed the noblemen, and persons underwritten, to subscribe these presents.”

“Sic subscribitur,*

ARCHYBALD ARGYLE,
 JAMES STUART,
 GLENCAIRN,
 ROBERT BOYD,
 LORD OCHILTRIE,
 MATTHEW CAMPBELL,
 of Terringland.”

The immediate cause of this transaction was the way made on the Reformers, by the queen's mercenaries, led on by the popish ambassador, Monsieur D. Osèl, from

* So it is subscribed.

France. The soldiers, at Mary's order, fired on the people, and killed Mr. Patrick Murry's son, a lad of twelve years of age. Mr. Murry's house was thus assailed for his zeal in the distribution of Bibles, and otherwise promoting a knowledge of the truth. Such was the entry of the queen into the city of Perth, where she had invited the ministers of religion to meet and confer with her on the affairs of religion. This act of wanton, popish cruelty, was committed on May 29th, two days before "The Second Covenant of Perth" was signed.* It was in direct violation, too, of her own engagement, made a few days before to the Church.

We have in this mutual pledge, the germ of those representative principles of liberty, that have extended, already, their influence over the whole of the civilized world. In the Perth bond, the people of Scotland advanced one step beyond the League of Smalcald. In the latter, the confederate princes did not consider themselves, as acting by authority derived from the suffrages of the people. But the Perth Covenanters were elected by the people to sign the covenant, as their representatives.

The Reformers in Scotland acted as their Culdee ancestors had always done, in the election of their pastors, ruling elders and deacons. They knew that they possessed divine authority for this exercise of the right of suffrage, in the choice of ecclesiastical officers. "Wherefore *look ye out* among you,"† is the command, in the choice of church officers. On this maxim the Culdees, and after them, the men of Perth acted. It is the basis of all republican government. What Presbyterians are

* Knox, vol. i. pp. 348, 349. The Church has usually entered into those covenants in times of peril. But that near the end of Joshua's administration at Shechem was in peaceful state of the Hebrew commonwealth. Josh. xxiv. 1 — 28.

† Acts, vi. 3.

accustomed to do in the affairs of the church, they easily transfer to those of the state. The Presbyterianism of Scotland, was the germ of that vital principle of liberty, which extends its emancipating power over all nations.

The great assemblages of people to hear the word of the Lord, and to encourage and protect the ministers of Christ, in the discharge of their high and holy functions; and, especially, their covenanting bonds to be steadfast, alarmed the popish civil government, and the unholy hierarchy.

The queen continued to collect armed forces, and was furnished with mercenaries by France, to overawe the Reformers, and maintain the worship of idols. Against all these warlike and formidable measures, the Covenanters, relied on their God to defend them.* But they did not neglect the use of means. On the 1st of August, at Sterling, they renewed their covenant with the God of Israel. At those solemn seasons of covenanting, the ministers of religion, expounded to their people the word of the Lord, and encouraged them by the example of the saints, in such times as the Reformation, under Hezekiah the good king of the Lord's commonwealth, to be steadfast and unmoveable, looking by faith to the Captain of their salvation. It is for this, that such historians as the infidel Hume, and such impious novelists, as the author of the *Waverly Romances*, have made these preachers, the subjects of their derision and scorn. But Mary, and the popish priesthood, and the ungodly profligates, who were the attendants of her court, did not view these subjects as trifles to be disposed of by mockery. They saw and were alarmed at the progress of liberal principles of

* Stephenson, vol. i. p. 101. Lieth, the port of Edinburgh, was garrisoned by these foreign popish mercenaries — a demonstration of the great progress which the Reformation in Scotland had made, and the queen's fear of her christian people.

free government, in connection with the spreading of the pure doctrines of the Gospel.

On the 28th of August, the queen issued a proclamation to calm the fears of the people, and amuse their leaders, respecting the arrival of additional mercenary legions from France. After many expressions of love for her subjects, and much evasion, she warns the people against the ministers of religion. Knox and others did not pass by unreprieved of the vices of the great, in Sabbath breaking, gaming, profanity, and harlotry. This of course was highly offensive to the princes, and the very licentious ladies and gentlemen of the court. The proclamation admonishes the people in the following style, to beware of the influence of the clergy. "Whereas some preachers of the congregation, in their public sermons, speak irreverently and slanderously, as well of princes in general, as of ourselves in particular, and of the obedience to the higher powers, inducing the people, by that part of their doctrine, to defection from their duty; which pertaineth nothing to religion, but rather sedition and tumult, things quite contrary to religion: therefore, we desire you to take order, in your towns and bounds, that when the preachers repair thither, they use themselves more modestly in these behalves, and in their preaching not to meddle so much with civil policy and public government, nor yet name us or other princes, but with reverence, otherwise it will not be suffered."*

Such was the language of the court, after, by faithful pledges, the people had been deceived, and had returned to their homes. At the same time, the citizens of Perth were oppressed by severe pecuniary exactions, imprisonments and even death. The Protestant militia soon assembled, for the defence of their brethren against the relentless persecution of the queen, who wreaked her ven-

* Knox's Scot. vol. i. pp. 395, 396.

geance on the defenceless common people, at the instigation of the French ambassador; and by the bayonets of her mercenaries from popish France.*

The queen was driven from Perth, and the garrison seized. The liberating army marched through Scone, Sterling and Linlethgow on their way to Edinburgh, the capital of the commonwealth. On their march, they were joined at Linlethgow by the Duke of Chastlerault and the Earl of Arran. Though about that time, the queen's army was reinforced by the arrival of some foreign French auxiliaries; yet the friends of truth and liberty were much more than equal to their enemies. The country seemed to rise almost as one man. The fury and treachery of the queen regent, gave point to every sermon which Knox uttered, demonstrating the necessity of a reformation. The people very naturally traced their sufferings, under a despotic government, to the ignorance of their rights, to the negligence of an idle and lazy priesthood; and these to the worship of idols. The religion of a queen, who had rendered herself odious to her subjects, became the object of hatred. The word of God read and expounded, in its denunciation of idolatry, roused the people into a generous and holy indignation against images that had been the objects of their idolatrous adoration. They demolished these monuments of idolatry, agreeably to the example of the saints recorded in the Holy Scriptures.

The queen derived her aid to oppose the progress of religion from France, and the Covenanters applied for assistance to Elizabeth, the queen of Protestant England. She sent them a reinforcement of 6000 infantry, and 2000 cavalry. The queen regent shut herself up in the castle of Edinburgh, where she died on the 10th of June, 1660.† The

* Stephenson, vol. i. p. 99.

† Steph. Scot. vol. i. pp. 102, 103.

last band of Leith, as Knox calls the renewal of their Covenant, during this war, is dated at Edinburgh, April 27th, 1560.*

The immediate effect of the queen regent's death was a general peace, concluded by a treaty, into which Scotland, England and France, entered.

The Scottish parliament assembled in August of this year. We, at this day, in the United States, are amused to see the efforts made by the historians, in the reforming interest, to demonstrate, that this parliament was a legal one, because the queen had previously assented to its call. They did not then understand the political maxim, that the legislature is a more important branch of the government, than the executive; and that the power to rule is vested, of God, in the officers of state, through the will of a majority of the people.

The progress of the holy cause of the Reformation, after the arrival of Knox, from the Continent, is really astonishing. He had greatly suffered, and was deeply sanctified. His vast stores of learning were consecrated. He placed his reliance on the Holy Spirit to teach him what he should utter in the name of the Lord; and to render the truth in his tongue, the wisdom of God and the power of God, to the salvation of the souls of sinners. He evidently forgot himself, and sought, with a noble disinterestedness, the glory of God and the good of men. This is written on all that he did, and said, and published.

Before the meeting of Parliament, a confession of the faith of the Covenanters was prepared by Knox and his coadjutors. Though the writer cannot find any direct historical evidence that the great Reformer was its penman, yet it seems evidently to bear the impress of his mind.

* Stephenson says the 27th of May. It is an error. Knox, vol. i. p. 513, says April 27th. It must be so, as it was before the queen regent's death.

Until the formation of that invaluable document, the Geneva Confession of Faith, had been adopted, as their doctrinal basis,* or bond of ecclesiastical fellowship. That creed consists of four articles, which embrace —

I. The doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the Godhead—the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, co-equal and co-eternal, one living and true God.

II. The incarnation of the Son of God, in which he assumed our nature; obeyed the law, and died for sinners who have fallen, are condemned and totally disabled as to the performance of any work to please God, or to save themselves—his resurrection and endless reign as a King.

III. The true and proper personality of the Holy Ghost, as distinct from the Father and the Son, and yet possesses the same divine essence with them.

IV. The Church. 1. Invisible, consisting of all those whom the Father has elected, the Son redeemed; and whom the Holy Spirit prepares for everlasting life. 2. Visible, whose marks of distinction, are 1. The possession of the Holy Scriptures, and the profession of the truth which they contain in purity. 2. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, dispensed according to the word of God. 3. Discipline, in the censuring of offenders, by admonition, rebuke, suspension, and excommunication, as the nature of the scandal may require. 4. "A politic civil magistrate," that rules in the fear of the Lord, after the example of Hezekiah, and other good kings of Israel, who ruled in holiness, removed the monuments of idolatry, and punished blasphemy and heresy.* To each of these articles of faith, there are appended references to those portions of the word of the Lord, on which they are founded. For they refer to the law and

* "The Collection of Confessions, Catechisms, and Acts of the Church of Scotland in Favour of Reformation," pp. 15—22. Edinburgh, 1739. This is a rare and valuable collection of well authenticated documents.

the testimony, as "the only rule of faith and manners." The decretals of the church of Rome, which were burned by Luther at Wittenburgh, in 1517, and renounced by the Scottish, as well as by all the other Reformed churches, were laws enacted by human authority, and a very large proportion of them derived from heathen usages. Very few of them were founded on the word of God.

When the Reformers on the Continent, and in Britain, rejected these commandments of men, they did ~~not~~ as some have falsely alledged,* renounce the doctrine of creeds and confessions, founded on the Holy Scriptures, and made terms of ecclesiastical fellowship. The Reformers in Geneva, had their Confession. The German Protestants had their Heidelburgh Catechism, and Augsburg Confession of Faith. The Hollanders had the Belgic Confession. In France, the Gallic Confession was the bond of ecclesiastical union. England had her thirty-nine articles. No attempt was made to organize an orthodox Protestant church without them.

Scotland, we have just seen adopted the Geneva Confession, until she framed one of her own. They slander the Reformers then, who affirm, that by earnestly recommending the study of the word of God, and appealing to its decisions in all their controversies with idolaters, they rejected the doctrine of creeds and confessions.

The Scots Confession, written at the suggestion of parliament, read before it in Edinburgh, and adopted 1560, July 17th,† consisted of twenty-seven articles. In this Confession, compared with the Genevan Confession, which had been for some time their bond of ecclesiastical union,

* We are grieved to say, in quarters whence better things were expected.

† Cruikshank, vol. i. p. 6. Introduction. Edinburgh, 1751. Stephenson, vol. i. p. 105. Edin. 1753. Knox, vol. i. p. 560. Knox says, "Within four days," from the time the committee was appointed, they "presented this Confession."

we recognize the principle on which the Church has acted in the formation of these subordinate standards. The Scotts Confession, was not the same instrument, it is true, as the Genevan Confession in form, and no doubt every doctrine of the latter instrument may be inferred from the former; as all truth is contained in the proposition, "there be three persons in the Godhead;" but they increased the number of specifications, to promote christian knowledge, and add to the bonds, which bind the faithful in the ties of fraternal love, harmony and co-operation. The following is an abstract of the articles of the Scotts Confession.

ARTICLE I. OF GOD. His infinity, unity, tri-personality; his creating and governing of all things for his own glory.

ART. II. MAN'S CREATION. The creation of man in holiness after the image of God, with full power to obey the law — his fall, tempted of the serpent to eat of the forbidden tree, though God had threatened death as the penalty of disobedience.

ART. III. ORIGINAL SIN. By the fall man became God's enemy, he and his posterity, enslaved to satan and sin — condemned to hell from which there is no deliverance, but in Christ, by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, who effectually calls the elect, working in their hearts saving faith.

ART. IV. FIRST PROMISE. God revealed to fallen Adam under the name "*seed of the woman,*" Jesus who should destroy the devil's works, and redeem man; which promise, the faithful, from Adam to Christ's incarnation, embraced with joy.

ART. V. THE CHURCH. God preserved "his Kirk in all ages," from Adam to the incarnation of Christ — delivered her from the bondage of Egypt, and gave her judges and kings. He afflicted her many times for her sins, as in the

Babylonian captivity ; but still He sustained her against all the power of her enemies, until the coming of Messiah.

ART. VI. INCARNATION OF CHRIST. By the power of the Holy Ghost, the human nature of Messiah was conceived of the Virgin. Christ being very God and very man in one person, is “Emmanuel — God with us.” “We condemn the damnable and pestilent heresies, of such as deny the eternity of his Godhead, or the verity of his human nature, or confound them, or yet divide them.”

ART. VII. “WHY THE MEDIATOR IS GOD AND MAN.” This union of natures proceeded from the sovereign decree of God, the fountain of our salvation.

ART. VIII. ELECTION. God, who in sovereign grace elected us in Christ Jesus, before the foundation of the world, appointed Christ our Head — who became man, because he was to suffer the punishment due to our sins. He was God to sustain the manhood, in the endurance of the death that we deserved — and he must be man to suffer, in our stead, as our brother.

ART. IX. OF CHRIST’S DEATH. The Lord Jesus suffered for us, being himself innocent, because he was wounded for our transgressions. Yet he continued, the well beloved Son of God, even when dying for men. They who say there is any remaining sacrifice for sin, “are blasphemous against Christ’s death.”

ART. X. HIS RESURRECTION. He rose for our justification, and for the destruction of him who had the power of death.

ART. XI. HIS ASCENSION. The Lord Jesus ascended to heaven in the same body that arose, and received all power in heaven and earth — ever lives in heaven our Prophet, Priest and King — and will come to judge and receive his redeemed and sanctified children into heaven, to be forever happy, in the enjoyment of his fellowship,

and to adjudge all impenitent adulterers, and other transgressors, to the pains of hell forever.

ART. XII. THE HOLY GHOST. Our faith proceeds not from flesh and blood, but from the Holy Ghost, who quickens us, “*naturally dead in sins*, into life ;” without whose operations, “we are so perverse and blind, that neither can we feel when we are pricked, see the light when it shineth, nor assent to the will of God, when it is revealed — for of ourselves we are not sufficient to think one good thought.”

ART. XIII. CAUSE OF GOOD WORKS. They are not of free will, but of the Spirit of God, who produceth holy obedience to the law of God, in all those who believe in Christ. Therefore drunkards, whoremongers, and worshippers of idols, have no true faith. As the Spirit implants grace in regeneration, so, there are in the people of God, remains of sin, with which grace is in conflict. But the Spirit overcomes the flesh ; and we are comforted in this warfare against the flesh, by the Spirit of adoption, bearing witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God.

ART. XIV. CHARACTER OF GOOD WORKS. They are done according to the law of God contained in the ten commandments, as their rule, the fruits of faith, and their motive the glory of God.

ART. XV. LAW PERFECT — MAN IMPERFECT. As the law of God demands perfection, and as we are imperfect, we must apprehend the Lord Jesus by faith, who is the end of the law for righteousness to believers, before we can be justified. Whoever, then, trusts in his good works, or in the good works of any other than Christ, confides “in damning* idolatry.”

ART. XVI. THE CHURCH. There has been from the

* 2 Pet. ii. 1.

beginning, and there is now, and there always will be, a visible Church — a society of men called out of the world, to worship God in Christ, according to divine appointment. This Church is one in all nations, where there are such as worship God according to the institutions of Christ. The Church invisible is composed of those whom God hath elected to everlasting life, and is known to God alone.

ART. XVII. IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL. The souls of the saints ascend to heaven at death: those of the reprobate descend to hell, as soon as they leave their body.

ART. XVIII. MARKS OF THE TRUE CHURCH. As satan labors to make his synagogues resemble, in many things, the congregation of the Lord, we ought to have a clear conception of the marks by which the true Church of God is distinguished. They are

1. The true preaching of the Word.
2. The right administration of the sacraments.
3. The faithful exercise of discipline, by the courts of Christ, where vice is repressed and virtue nourished.

ART. XIX. SCRIPTURE AUTHORITY. It is derived from God, and not from the Church.

ART. XX. COUNCILS. Ecclesiastical councils are convened, not to give authority to the divine word, nor enact new laws; but for the confutation of heresies, and for delivering a pure system of faith to posterity; and for arranging things decently and in order, in the house of God, by government and discipline. Their doings are to be received and honored, only when they are agreeable to the word of God.

ART. XXI. THE SACRAMENTS. Under the Jewish law, the saints had two chief sacraments, circumcision, and the passover. We have now but two, baptism and the Lord's supper, which are badges of distinction between the

Church and the world—and seals of the blessings of God's covenant of grace to his own people.

To believe in transubstantiation, or the conversion of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, is a damning sin.

ART. XXII. ADMINISTRATION. In order to the right administration of these sacraments two things are requisite.

1. That the administrator be lawfully ordained a minister of the Gospel.

2. That both the minister and the people understand the nature of these holy ordinances.

“We flee from the papistical church, because their ministers are no ministers of Christ; and because they have corrupted the sacraments with their own inventions, so that ‘no part of Christ's action abideth in original purity.’”*

ART. XXIII. TO WHOM THE SACRAMENTS APPERTAIN. The infant children of church members are entitled to baptism, as well as those believers and professors that have arrived at the age of discretion. But the Lord's supper is to be dispensed to those adults only, who have a knowledge of the doctrines of grace, and who practice godliness. Therefore applicants should be carefully examined on both doctrine and practice, before admission.†

ART. XXIV. OF THE MAGISTRATE. Civil power is ordained of God, for his own glory and for the good of mankind. Civil rulers are to be loved and honored, while they praise and defend good men, and punish all open malefactors. Civil rulers are bound to be “nursing fathers to the Church,” as were David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah.

* This accords with the practice of the Church in Geneva, in the time of Turretin. They ordained to the ministry the popish priests that acceded to them. See Tur. De. Ec. Regimine.

† To admit those who know not and believe not the creed of the Church, is sin.

ART. XXV. GIFTS TO THE CHURCH. The word, sacraments and governments. Evil men may, under hypocritical pretences, creep into the Church. But the saints of God in the Church militant, have bestowed on them, remission of sins; and though sin remain in them while on earth, it is not imputed to them for their condemnation; because they are clothed in the righteousness of Christ. At death, their souls pass into the full enjoyment of the Lord, their glorious God and Redeemer. At the resurrection, their bodies shall be raised up in glory; and then, soul and body united, they shall fully enjoy God to all eternity; while their enemies shall be sent to perdition.

“ Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be confounded: let them flee before thy presence that hate thy holy name: give thy servants strength to speak thy word with boldness, and let all nations attain to thy true knowledge.*

This instrument was approved by parliament, as a document, which that body embraced, and to which it professed its adherence, after it had been several times read. The whole Confession was also entered on the minutes, as the national, subordinate standard of doctrine. Thus popery was solemnly abolished, and the Protestant religion embraced by the Scottish nation.†

Until this time, the Reformers in Scotland had used the Genevan Book of Discipline, which was Presbyterian in its great outline. There were some forms of prayer, which, though orthodox, they thought improper to be embodied in their directory for worship, and system of ecclesiastical order; because they tended to cherish a cold and formal worship.

They used that disciplinary formula, as a help; but it never received the sanction of any judicatory, or became a law in Scotland.

* Coll. Con. vol. ii. pp. 21, &c.

† Stephenson. vol. i. pp. 107, 108

When the confession of faith was adopted by parliament, a committee was appointed to draught a book of discipline. It consisted of John Knox, John Doughlass, John Row, John Willock, John Winram, and John Spottiswood. The committee completed and presented it to the lords of the congregation, in 1560; soon after, it received the sanction of the church, and was subscribed by many of the Scottish nobles, and commons.*

The progress which the Reformation had made, is illustrated by the distinguished names, attached to the Book of Discipline.† Among others, we have the dukes of Chastlerault, Argyle, and Queensberry; the earls of Arran, Rothes, Marshal, Morton, Glencairn, and Monteith; lords Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray, and entitled the Good Regent, Boyd, Ochiltrie, Yester, Sandquhar, and Lindsay; Gordon, bishop of Galway, having become a Presbyterian; and Alexander Campbell, St. Johnes, William of Culross, Drumlangrig, master of Lindsey, Bargannic, laird of Bargannic, Lockinvar, Garleiss, Cunninghamhead, James Haliburton, John Lockhart of Bar, John Schaw of Halie, Scott of Haning, master of Maxwell, George Fanton, Andrew Kerr of Fawdownside, Andrew Hamilton, and the dean of Murray.

The names of these rulers of Scotland, who thus early came up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, gave encouragement to the timid and wavering; and procured for themselves a memorial of lasting honor.

The parliament of Scotland did not adopt this Book of

* Collection of Confessions of Faith, together with Acts of Assembly. &c. vol. ii. p. 515. Edin. 1721. This is a valuable and rare collection. It contains Calvin's and the Palatine Catechisms, with the Book of Common Order.

† They subscribed their names on the 7th of January. The year began then on the 27th of March. Coll. Con. pp. 606 — 608.

Discipline, as they had done the confession of faith. It was found more difficult to overcome the prejudices of many on the subject of ecclesiastical government, than it had been, in relation to doctrine. As the topic was more abstract, they required more time for examination. The parliament's refusal to receive at that time, the whole Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government, is, perhaps, creditable to them, and makes their approbation of the Protestant confession of faith, more valuable.

This instrument became a law of the church, and the members of parliament, that had demurred to its adoption by the nation, are not known to have thrown any obstacles in the way of its application to the government of the house of God. *

This was an important and salutary advance in the great and holy work of Reformation. Compared with this system of directions, the Book of Common Order that preceded it, was very imperfect. That formulary was composed by Knox, for the use of his Genevan congregation, while he was its pastor.* Calvin had approved of its provisions. As a display of the interior economy of the Reformed church in Geneva, and as, upon the whole, approaching nearly to the divine model of the government and worship of the Lord's house, it is a very interesting document. The people were directed to elect their own pastors, while a Presbytery judged of their qualifications, and ordained them. The elders and deacons were elected in the same way as the pastors; and there was a weekly meeting of the ministers, elders and deacons, which they called a consistory.† They sung in the praises of God in their families and congregations, a version of David's psalms as near the idiom of the Hebrew original, as they could procure.

* Coll. Con. pp. 383, 406. † Ibid. p. 411.

No minister proceeded to officiate in the consummation of a marriage, until the purpose of the parties had been proclaimed, in the congregation assembled for worship, three several days. This excellent and most needful precaution, in so important a transaction — this measure authorized in the law of espousals, in the Hebrew commonwealth, was afterwards incorporated into all the ecclesiastical codes of the Reformed church in the kingdom of Great Britain.*

In the burial of the dead, it is ordained that the corpse shall be conveyed to the place of interment, and committed to the tomb, without any formal religious services of prayer, praise, or preaching, or any other rites, such as had been practised by the papists, and had been the means of introducing prayers for the dead.†

This Book of Common Order was printed, and sent to the Protestant churches in Britain, and on the continent, accompanied with a circular, in which the necessity of a reform in the government, and order of the house of God, is ably argued; and a faithful display made of the tyranny and corruptions of the Roman Catholic church. The instrument bears internal evidence, that it is from the pen of Knox. It has the power of Calvin but not the polish of his style and manner. Its date is 1556, May 10th, Geneva.‡ The forms of prayer were evidently designed for a people, just emerging from the depths of popish ignorance; but this apology was not deemed sufficient for their adoption by the Scottish Reformers. Knox probably had seen the malign influence of such forms on the continental churches. He is not known to have pressed the acceptance of the Book of Common Order. It was rejected by the church, and, as we have seen, Knox was on the committee that composed a formula, designed to occupy its place. It was happy for vital godliness, that the Spirit

of God directed the church, to abandon those forms of devotion, which have resulted to many portions of the great Protestant commonwealth, in much cold formality; the mere form, without that holy fervor of soul, which is characteristic of the prayer of faith. The First Book of Discipline contains many wholesome regulations, not expressed in the Book of Common Order. The details relative to the qualifications of the ministry are worthy of all acceptance. Whatever may be the pressing call for ministerial labor, presbyteries are forbidden to ordain "*unable persons*." When any one not well known to the judicatory offers himself for licensure, an edict is published throughout the commonwealth, and especially addressed to the place, or places, where he has been educated; that he may be well attested as of good christian deportment, and decent parentage.*

Kneeling at the Lord's table, in the reception of the supper, and dispensing the sacrament elsewhere than at the communion table, are forbidden. Hence, the administration of the ordinance, to the dying in their bed-chambers, is adjudged to be superstitious. The bread and wine of the eucharist, must be received from a lawfully ordained minister. †

It is ordered that suitable provision be made for the temporal support of the ministry; and for their widows and children, after their death. "We judge it," say they, "a thing most contrarious to reason, godliness and equity, that the widow and children of him, who in his life, did faithfully serve in the kirk of God, and for that cause, did not carefully make provision for his family, should after his death, be left comfortless of all provision; which provision, for the wives of the ministers after their decease, is to be remitted to the discretion of the kirk." ‡

The education of youth occupies an ample space in

* Coll. Con. vol. ii. p. 527. † Ibid. 520, 521. ‡ Ibid. pp. 532, 533.

this book. We have, doubtless, in this part of the manual, the rules adopted in Geneva, for the diffusion of literature. To its most wise and judicious enactments on this subject, we may trace the present gigantic fabric of British learning. Knox brought from Geneva, the wisdom of Calvin, Beza, and Farrell, and embodied it in the seventh chapter of the Book of Discipline.*

Children may be viewed under their three fold relation. 1. To their parents. 2. To the church, and 3. To the state. It is in the latter, or their political filiation chiefly, that directions are given here for their education. It is enjoined on the government, to make ample provision, for the endowment of schools; "for the advancement of Christ's glory, that the youth may have knowledge, and erudition to comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus."

It is provided that there shall be a school in every parish, a teacher appointed who shall be able at least to teach grammar and the Latin language. That in all the "notable towns," there shall be colleges for instruction in the learned languages, in rhetoric and logic—and that the children of the poor shall be educated free of expense. It is ordered that opulent parents, shall send their sons to those seminaries of learning, on pain of church censure, that their offspring be not a curse, instead of a blessing to the community. Grave men were to visit the schools, for the purpose of examining and selecting those pupils who made the greatest proficiency, that the parents of children of the most promise, might be enforced to continue their education, until they had acquired the higher branches of literature. These examinations were held quarterly.

The study of the Holy Scriptures and the formularies of sound doctrine and church order, was a part of the

* Coll. Con. pp. 547—562.

collegiate course. They recommended the founding of three universities, one at St. Andrews, one at Aberdeen and one at Glasgow. The four classes that we now have in our best colleges, originated in Britain with John Knox, who brought them from Geneva. These again were adopted, in part, from the learned institutions of Florence and other places in the North of Italy, which were in a highly flourishing state, more than one hundred years before the organization of the Scottish universities. After the completion of the collegiate course, no one could receive a degree in theology, law, or medicine, until after a study of five years. During that term he heard lectures read on his profession, and the cognate topics of literature.*

In relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, ministers, with their sessions, are ordered "to examine sharply" applicants, and to admit none who are incapable of reciting the Lord's prayer, and the Confession of Faith; or of giving a summary of the doctrines of the christian system, and of exhibiting a satisfactory knowledge of the doctrine and use of the sacraments of the New Testament.†

The clergy are ordered to live prudently within their income; and because of the effect which the example of their families may have on the wives and children in the congregation, they are subjected to the guardianship of the superior ecclesiastical courts, to the same extent with the ministers. This statute was extended also to the households of the ruling elders and deacons.‡

All those who falsify the seals of the covenant by swearing falsely at the table of the Lord, are adjudged worthy of the highest act of censure, as guilty of treason against the King of kings and Lord of lords.§

* Coll. Con. vol. ii. pp. 547—558. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 585. ‡ Ibid. p. 580. § I. Book of Dis. chap. xvi.

This code of ecclesiastical law, created the office of superintendents, to preside over ten or twelve dioceses, into which Scotland was divided. The committee probably had in their eye, the twelve ministers or rather thirteen, who composed a Culdee presbytery; and both they and the Culdees, seem to have had the college of apostles, in their view. The Reformers did not perhaps clearly perceive that the apostles, who had the superintendence of all the New Testament congregations, were extraordinary officers; and that their apostleship became extinct at their death. The condition of the church in Scotland, did somewhat resemble that of the apostolic age; but still, it was not proper to depart from that form of ecclesiastical government, which Christ has instituted to continue to the end of the world, in all conditions of society. The superintendents were to be elected in the first instance, by the parliament, which was altogether improper, as it blended the ecclesiastical and civil power, in an unhalloved manner. After the first nomination and appointment, they were to be elected, and were in fact chosen, by the officers of the church over whom they presided, and were amenable to them, for their administration. But with all these restrictions, there was too much of the prelatial, or monarchical spirit in this provision of their code.

The power granted to the ministers to try the superintendents, was not merely nominal. The superintendents of Fife, Angus, and Juedburgh, were tried by the general assembly of 1563, and deposed from their office; the two former for failure in the administration of their office, and the latter for immorality.*

Knox was appointed one of the superintendents, and performed the duty with great labor and fidelity. The

* Brown's Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 38.

number of professors greatly increased, and the whole character of the population of Scotland, in relation both to knowledge and morals, improved visibly every year.

This state of things was exceedingly disagreeable to the young queen, who, with all the prejudices, bigotry and gaiety of a popish princess, from the dissolute palace of the French monarchy, arrived in Scotland, soon after the death of the queen regent. David Rizzio, a fidler from Turin, in the north of Italy, came to the court of Mary, in the suite of the Piedmontese ambassador, and soon became a favorite of the queen. When the ambassador returned home, the Italian musician remained at her request in Scotland, as the queen's secretary, and as the Reformers believed, her paramour. He favored the suit of Darnly, a young and profligate nobleman, who partly by his influence, became the queen's husband. This match had been in vain opposed by the Protestant nobility and people. Darnly soon became jealous of the Italian fidler, and assassinated him with his own dagger, by the hand of his friend Doughlass, while his arms were thrown around Mary for protection.

But the queen took terrible vengeance on him. By the aid of Bothwell, who succeeded to her favor, after the death of Rizzio, she procured the murder of her husband, by an explosion of gun powder, under his bed chamber.*

The queen soon after married Bothwell, the known assassin of her husband. She was, besides, suspected of an intention to murder the young prince James, who had been entrusted to the keeping of the earl of Mar. The

* Dr. Robertson, and all the early Protestant historians charge Mary with the murder of her husband. It has become fashionable for such writers as the Infidel Chambers, who writes for Constable's Miscellany, and those who write for the Family Library, and the popish Dr. Lingard, to defend the character of Mary. No historian believes them.

Protestant noblemen formed a league to defend his life. The queen raised an army to oppose them. But Bothwell her commander was cowardly, his troops fled; and Mary was made a prisoner, and dethroned. Thus ended in Scotland the domination of Popery. The earl of Murray was appointed regent, during the minority of James VI, in 1567. He was assassinated by the popish Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, as Henry the IV. was by Ravallac.*

The exceeding profligacy of the popish Mary, Darnly, and Bothwell, with the utter debasement of morals, at court, were well calculated to bring the whole popish idolatry and tyranny into disrepute. The moral sense, and holiness of the people, had been too much improved, not to regard with disgust and abhorrence, the profligate manners of a court given over to Sabbath violation, revelry, harlotry and other vices. They saw how utterly incongruous it is for those, who by office are the guardians of the national morality, to be themselves examples of almost every vice. The ministers of the sanctuary boldly reproved the vices of the rulers.

On the 25th of December, about a year after the marriage of the queen to Darnly, the general assembly proclaimed a fast to be continued for one week; two days of which they enjoined total abstinence. The causes occupy no less than fifty-five pages in the Collection of Confessions, where public sins are specified in a manner illustrating the fidelity of the ministry. Knox composed the document.

The causes of fasting embrace the sins of individuals, of churches and of nations; and for these, the Lord's people humbled themselves, with much sorrowing for sin. The ungodly government of the state did not unite with

* Russell's Modern Europe, vol. i. p. 455. New York, 1830. Stephenson quotes Defoe, a French historian, asserting that Mary murdered Darnly. Steph. vol. i. p. 123.

the church in this penitential confession. Mary's young son, notwithstanding the request of the commissioners of the general assembly, had been baptized according to the popish forms.* The court despised the godliness of the clergy and people; and God gave them over to a reprobate mind, so that they rendered themselves infamous, by their immoralities.

The reasons of fasting, and the religious services connected with a protracted and solemn humiliation of seven days, were the means of subverting the dominion of a bigotted, popish dynasty. The act enjoining the fast is dated Edinburgh, 1565, Dec. 25.† In less than two years, 1567, July 29th, Mary was degraded from her throne,‡ and soon after fled to England.

When the Protestants came into power, the example of the court, though there was some turbulence, owing to the long habits of dissipation and ignorance of truth, among the Scottish nobility, was favorable to religion. A race of godly youth grew up under the culture of a holy, learned and faithful ministry, and of able and pious teachers and professors, in the primary schools and colleges. Popery, ignorance and revelry were banished from the south of Scotland, to the rugged mountain fortresses of the north, and to the popish islands on the west of the kingdom.

In labors, Knox was very abundant and successful. Having seen the throne of idolatry and tyranny demolished, and the pure doctrines of the grace of God embraced, by a great majority of the people of his native land, he died full of faith, and having fought a good fight, 1572, Nov. 24th. His last words were:—“Now my battle is at an end; and without pain of body or trouble of spirit, I shall change this mortal, for that happy and

* Cruik. Scot. vol. i. p. 7. † Coll. Con. vol. i. p. 468. ‡ Cruik. Scot. vol. i. p. 8.

immortal life. Lord Jesus receive my spirit.”* Thus was gathered to his people in peace, he whom the continental and British papists, had sought to murder for more than twenty years. God raised him up, as he did Moses, to be the honored instrument of freeing a nation from bondage, to become the glory of all nations. The whole Protestant church mourned his death, but not with “the pomp and circumstance” of modern funeral display, which has no connection with genuine grief. They lamented in silence the loss of a great and good man. His name is embalmed in hearts of the saints, and will be had in everlasting remembrance.

Soon after the death of Knox, the general assembly of the church forbid pluralities, and so limited the labors of each minister to one congregation.† Instead of the superintendents, who had been appointed for life, they instituted the office of commissioners of provinces, whose duty it was to visit all the congregations of their several districts. They held their office no more than one year. The young prince, at twelve years of age was crowned king, 1577, March 11th, at Sterling. Though but a child, he began to indicate a disposition to retrench the ecclesiastical power, and to strengthen the royal prerogative. Hereditary princes and all ungodly rulers have ever been hostile to Presbyterian church government. But such was the consistency, which the church courts had acquired, that neither the power of James, nor that of all his predecessors, could effect their subversion.

The offices of superintendent and commissioner were abolished; and those of elder and deacon rendered permanent; the right of the assembly to meet and adjourn, independently of the royal authority, and the right of appeal from the inferior to the higher judicatories, were

* Steph. vol. i. p. 141. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 144.

all embodied in the Second Book of Discipline. This instrument, by which the First Book was superceded, received the sanction of the general assembly in 1578. So that the attempt of the king and his nobility to make encroachments on the church, resulted, in rendering her system of order more perfect. The Protestant church in Scotland became then Reformed Presbyterian.*

The happy progress made by the Scottish Reformers, in the purification of the church from all the corruptions of Popery, was highly offensive to ungodly statesmen, at home; and alarmed the popish hierarchy on the continent. The Roman pontiff sent to Scotland dispensations, granting papists the liberty to swear, and subscribe to all the covenants and confessions of faith of the Protestants, provided they could promote the cause of popery by such acts of perjury. These despatches were intercepted, and revealed to the Presbyterian Covenanters, the extent and iniquity of the measures, which were devised by their enemies, to demolish the goodly fabric, that had been erected. †

This led to the oath of God, commonly called the National Covenant of Scotland. For this very solemn and important act, the church and nation had been prepared by a long and successful conflict with the powers of darkness. There had been diffused extensively among all ranks, a knowledge of the way of salvation through a crucified Saviour, and of the application of the doctrines and precepts of the word of the Lord to all the relations of human life. The effect of this diffusion of religious knowledge was visible in the practical piety, good order, prosperity and happiness of the church and nation.

In order to secure all these against the machinations of the enemies of God and man, and to establish their hearts and strengthen their faith in the good ways of the Lord,

* Coll. Con. vol. ii. pp. 753—783. † Aik. Buch. vol. iii. p. 39. Stephenson, vol. i. p. 150.

they formed a covenant, embracing all the attainments which they had made, from the commencement of the Reformation. It was written by John Craig, the king's chaplain.*

This covenant contains a solemn appeal to Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, that the Covenanters, after careful examination, profess in good faith their reception of the whole doctrine embraced in the Scottish Confession of Faith and Form of Religion, as then adopted by both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the commonwealth. It also, with the same dread solemnity, renounces all contrary doctrines as erroneous, and specifies many of the tyrannical claims, false doctrines, idolatrous and superstitious rites, and unrighteous deeds, of "the Roman Antichrist," as the church of Rome is designated. It denounces the council of Trent as a conspiracy against the Church of God; and, as the popish church was represented in that assembly, the covenant decides for those who have embraced it, that that church is not a part of the commonwealth of Israel. There is also a most solemn promise to use all lawful means for the farther reformation of religion, to endeavor in the strength of promised grace, the removal of all monuments of idolatry; and to be diligent, in the diffusion of the pure doctrines of the Gospel among all people. Finally, it contains an engagement to live godly in Christ Jesus, and to maintain the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace.

Previously to this deed of covenanting, no less than thirty acts had passed the Scottish parliament, by which that legislative body had embraced for themselves and recommended to others, the word of God and the formularies of sound doctrine and ecclesiastical order, that had grown up with the growth of the New-Testament Church. The

* Knox, vol. i. p. 42. Coll. Con. Edin. 1739, p. 117—129. Aik. vol. iii. p. 39.

National Covenant consolidated the whole edifice, and united, under the most solemn vow to maintain it unimpaired, the whole people of all ranks.*

The king, who was then fourteen years old, with the royal household, bound himself by this oath of God in 1580.† Early in the following year it was sworn and subscribed by his privy council, which consisted of the earls of Ogilvie, Lenox, Bothwell and Ruthven; and lords Agiline, Cathcart, James Stewart and others. Immediately afterwards, at the example and recommendation of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, it was sworn and subscribed, by the nobility, by the members of parliament, by the judges of court, by the officers of the army, by the ministers of the Gospel and by all the people. The pulpits of the Reformed church in Scotland, were much occupied with discussions of this remarkable instrument, to illustrate its high and holy import, and to vindicate it against all gainsayers. The whole mass of the people seemed to be actuated by one spirit, and to engage in this great social duty, with the fervor and zeal of the apostolic age. The great officers of state, six hundred ministers of the Gospel, and nine hundred and fifty congregations, in the year 1581, engaged themselves to God in this covenant.

By this act, the Scottish nation, with the church, issued a solemn declaration of independence, by which they separated themselves from the church of Rome;‡ they fortified themselves against the league which France and Spain had formed, under the mediation of Rome, to extirpate the Reformation; and they promoted their own

* Stephenson, vol. i. p. 150. Cruik. vol. i. p. 9. † Cruikshank says it was 1580, Jan. 28th. The Westminster Confession says 1580. The English began their year then on the 25th of March. ‡ The American declaration of Independence, on the 4th of July, 1776, may be traced to the acts of the British Reformers in the times of which we write.

sanctification. The harmony and energy of the Church, and the prosperity of the nation were increased, while the glory of the God of Israel was advanced, by this transaction.

In 1582, the general assembly prohibited all presentations of ministers to charges by patrons, or opulent land holders; and thus confirmed the right of congregations to elect their own pastors. They also defined the sins which were relevant to deposition from the ministry, among which were “immoderate usury, common drunkenness, plurality, neglect of pastoral duties for forty days in the year, unless for relevant grounds.”*

These measures, so well calculated to eradicate the remains of the popish idolatry, and the immoralities of popish priests, stimulated the wrath of the continental papists. A vast naval armament was equipped by the Spanish monarchy for the invasion of Britain—an armament under the weight of which the ocean seemed to groan. But God brought it to nought. It was beaten by the British navy, and put to flight. On its return to Spain, a storm overtook it, and in a few hours, the *Spanish Armada*, proudly named *invincible*, was reduced to an entire wreck.† About the time of this signal deliverance, 1588, Scotland renewed her covenant with God, and kept two days of fasting, humiliation and prayer. In answer to these prayers of the saints, the Church was thus protected from all the power of the popish thrones of iniquity on the continent.‡

Still, some popish lords in Scotland corresponded with the foreign Romish despots, for the purpose of procuring another invasion. The discovery of this traiterous correspondence led to the renewal of the covenant in 1590, so

* Brown, vol. i. pp. 44, 45. † Russell's Mod. Eu. vol. i. pp. 488, 489.

‡ Brown, vol. i. p. 51.

that in the course of ten years, the nation had repeatedly bound itself by an oath of allegiance to Messiah, the Prince of the kings of the earth. Though the king who entered into these oaths to the living God, was probably, at the time of his swearing the covenant sincere; yet he was of a fickle disposition, and soon evinced a remaining attachment to the popish superstition of his mother, and to those catholic noblemen, who had-so frequently access to him, both when a child, and after he ascended the throne.

In the year 1603, the crowns of Scotland and England were united in James, on the death of Elizabeth.* This event gave an aspect somewhat new to the affairs of the Church in Britain. The progress of the Reformation had been comparatively slow in England.

Henry VIII. the father of Elizabeth was a papist, and constitutionally a tyrant. In the providence of God, there was in his character a strange mixture of qualities, which do not often meet in the same person. He became enamoured of a beautiful young woman of the queen's household. But he was not willing to indulge in the violation of the seventh commandment. He sought a divorce from his queen Catharine, who was the sister of Charles V. emperor of Germany and king of Spain and the Netherlands. No divorce could be obtained, that would satisfy the conscience of a popish prince, but from the Roman pontiff. The pope was ever ready to gratify great princes, such as the king of England, yet he dare not, in this instance, incur the displeasure of his powerful neighbor, the queen of England's brother. He evaded for some time, and at length refused the dispensation for a divorce. Henry consulted the heads of the universities on the question in casuistry, whether he could be lawfully married to Catharine, who had been espoused to

* Russ. vol. ii. p. 41. Aik. Buc. vol. iii. p. 167.

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his brother, before he had married her. He was answered in the negative, divorced the queen, declared England independent of the sect of Rome, and married Anna Bolyn. He assumed that headship over the Church which he had wrested from the pope, and still professed to be attached to the Roman Catholic faith in some degree. But in sustaining himself against the head of the popish church, he necessarily employed the great influence of the crown, in diminishing the veneration which his subjects entertained for the Romish idolatries and tyrannies.*

The progress of the Reformation was thus accelerated by the relations of the throne to the Roman Pontiff. But it rather consisted in the weakening of the popish power, than in the illumination of the English people. In a few years of Henry's reign, 643 monasteries, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals and 2,374 chantries and free chapels, were closed, and many of them demolished. Yet the parliament of England, shortly before the death of Henry, in 1547, prohibited the reading of the Bible in the churches, and forbid all farmers, mechanics, servants and women to read the New Testament.

His son Edward, at nine years of age succeeded Henry. A regency was appointed, in which the power of the Protestants, at whose head was archbishop Cranmer, preponderated. The reading of the Bible was encouraged by the regency, and all Protestant writers enjoyed the liberty of the press and the countenance of court. The truth mightily grew. The Papists were alarmed, and rose in rebellion; but their army, amounting to 30,000 troops, was soon dispersed.

Archbishop Cranmer and bishop Ridley wrote out forty two articles, substantially the same as the present thirty-

* Robertson's Charles V. vol. iii. pp. 34, 70

nine articles of the church of England. They were reviewed and generally approved by John Knox. Original sin, the total inability of the sinner to perform good works of himself, regeneration by the Spirit alone, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and the perseverance of the saints, are doctrines taught in this Confession of Faith. These articles were embraced and signed by the privy counsel. A liturgy was composed, and the whole recommended by the English parliament, to be used after All-Hallow, 1552.*

In the following year, Edward died, and was lamented by all Protestants, especially as he was succeeded by his popish sister, Mary. As soon as she was settled on the throne, she married Philip of Spain, and commenced a violent persecution of the Reformers. In the summer of 1554, no less than forty distinguished Protestants suffered martyrdom, being burnt at the stake; among whom were Cranmer, Hooper, Latimore, Ridley and Bradford, known among the martyrs by the appellation of holy Bradford. Bonner, a popish bishop was the chief instigator of this very fierce persecution, which signalized for cruelty, the reign of the bloody Mary, as she has been emphatically styled by the Scottish historians. The church was relieved from intense suffering, by the death of this merciless tyrant, in 1558, after a short reign of five years. Brown says of her, truly, "Mary was the object of her husband's contempt." She was grossly ignorant, melancholy, cruel and revengeful. This Mary was the personification of popery. †

Elizabeth, a daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine, though she had been declared by an obsequious parliament illegitimate; imprisoned, and treated with great cruelty by her sister Mary. She was a Protestant, but one

* Brown, vol. ii. pp. 97, 109. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 181.

that understood the way of God very imperfectly. Though the nation suffered much from her notions of high prerogative, and unwarrantable assumptions of power both in Church and state, yet her reign was favorable to the progress of truth, while her great talents infused vigor into every vein, artery and sinew of the commonwealth.

The accession of James to the throne, on the death of Elizabeth, 1603, was rather favorable to the cause of the Reformation. In the eighth year of James, the present authorised version of the Bible was issued under the royal sanction. The bishops' Bible, which was a revisal of Tindal's, had been published in 1568.* It was a very imperfect translation, and dissatisfactory to all learned Protestants. James assigned to some of the best scholars in England the work of furnishing a better version. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that there never has been a more perfect rendering of the original. God has greatly honored it, by its wide circulation through the Bible Society. It will live to the end of the world. It is a lasting memorial to the honor of the Protestant religion, and to the credit of king James, that this version was made in his reign.

David's Psalms were translated into metre and used in all the Protestant churches of Britain, on the principle that they are a manuel of praise furnished to the Church by the Holy Ghost, and to continue to the end of the world, as the authorised matter and form of worshipping God by praise. The extensive reading of the Holy Scriptures translated into the vernacular idioms, and the use of the inspired Psalms, in the praise of God, did more than any other means to prosper Reformed Presbyterian principles.

* Brown, vol. ii. pp. 133, 165.

On the death of James, 1625, he was succeeded by Charles I.,* professedly an Episcopalian, and the son of a Protestant father. Charles was more intimately connected by natural temperament, with popish tyranny and unholiness, than with the godly Reformers. He had spent much of his youth in fox-hunting, with an ungodly young nobility, in the nightly revels of ball-room dissipation, and in the still more debased haunts of vice. On the Lord's day he had heard little godly conversation, and had seen much Sabbath profanation, in gay dinner parties, and in the transaction of the mere secular affairs of state. Family worship, such as the ancient Culdees and the modern Covenanters practised, with secret devotion and meetings for prayer and christian conference, he had been taught to consider, as proceeding from fanaticism and bigotry. The young noblemen of the court were all educated in the same godless life. The confederacy of the government, with the popish courts of the continent, and the intimacy of social intercourse, especially with the profligate statesmen of the dissolute queen regent of France, Mary de Medicis, increased greatly the corruption of manners.

Charles's character corresponded with his education. He was proud, extravagant, dissipated and even profligate, when he ascended the Protestant throne of his fathers. He was sometimes seen in church on the Lord's day forenoon, when he could find time to hear prayers and a sermon read. Wine and feasting detain all such princes from the house of God, in the afternoon. The card-table, and the profane song were the family orgies of the evening, instead of household devotion. The lascivious amusements of the theatre occupied the week

* Russ. Mod. Europe, vol. ii. New York, 1830, pp. 65, 66.

evenings that should have been devoted to the fellowship meetings of the saints.

To support all this luxury and dissipation of the palace, required resources far beyond the revenues of the crown; and hence the people were oppressed. The exchequer of the kingdom would scarcely have sufficed to gratify the vanity of Buckingham, the king's ungodly prime minister and favorite.

The licentiousness and prodigality of the throne spread among all ranks, both in Church and state, and had a malign influence on the young generation, that in Scotland and England had taken the place of the godly Covenanters of the former nation, and of the pious Protestants of the latter. The design of the king and his courtiers, was to relax still more, the tone of christian morals, under the notion of curing what they were pleased to call the fanaticism of the saints. For this purpose Charles resolved to abolish Presbyterianism in North Britain, because it was adverse to his ungodly pleasures; and to establish prelacy, as more favorable to his own claims to high prerogative, and more accommodated to his sensual gratification.* All this he would have attempted by the power of the throne, and without assembling parliament, had the state of his finances allowed that course. But he was in want of money, and that could be procured in no other way than by application to parliament. For that reason, it was convened, soon after his accession.

During the sessions of parliament in 1625-6, God sent a heavy scourge on London, and other parts of the kingdom, in a plague of extraordinary malignity, which cut off so many people that the nation was filled with consternation. †

* Brown's Compendious History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 160. This book is pregnant with important facts.

† Russell's Mod. Eu. vol. ii. p. 66. and contents, p. 10. The references are, throughout, to the edition of 1830, New York.

The folly of the prime minister involved the kingdom in a disastrous war with France, by which vast sums of money were idly wasted, and in which there was a great destruction of human life. Cadiz was lost to England by the intemperance of the soldiers, and by a disease, somewhat analogous to the cholera that now desolates many parts of Europe, and which was brought on by intoxication among the troops. All these judgments of heaven reformed neither the king, nor the royal household. But the nation became exasperated against the king as the author of the public calamities, and especially of the illegal exaction of money, to support courtly dissipation at home, and ruinous wars abroad. The public indignation fell chiefly on the favorite, through the influence of whose pernicious counsels, Charles was believed to have been led into his tyrannical measures. Russell says, "that his attachment to this worthless man was such as to exceed all belief." Buckingham was assassinated in 1628, and however wicked the deed was, few, except the king, regretted the removal of this unprincipled minion from the royal counsels. But the king did not see in these events either the wrath of heaven, or the loss of favor among his subjects, as hastening his own ruin. He pursued the same mad career of high handed oppression, worthy of an ungodly civil ruler, who neither fears God nor regards man. In Scotland, patriotic statesmen, and the ministers of the sanctuary regarded him as an enemy to the kingdom, and as hostile to the whole covenanted Reformation. Charles knew this, and hence he determined to make war on the Scottish nation, and abolish their religion. For this purpose, after the failure of his misdirected and unfortunate descent on the court of France, he made vigorous preparation for the invasion of Scotland.

The general assembly of the church and the parliament petitioned the king to allow them the free exercise

of the religion which for several generations they had embraced, to which they were solemnly pledged by the most sacred covenants, which was established by law, and which all ranks devoutly believed to be founded on the word of God. The petition which they sent to that effect by the marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner, he treated with the contempt which God's people expect and never fail to experience from those profane men who occupy places of power. He dissembled however his purpose, and while collecting an army which he intended should not be less than 50,000, he denied with his characteristic duplicity, that he had any intention to make war upon them, and professed much affection for his Scottish subjects.* But men whose minds were enlarged and invigorated by a saving knowledge of the great truths of the christian system, were not easily deceived. The acts of parliament, and all the deeds of the highest ecclesiastical judicatory from the commencement of this reign, indicate clearly, that they saw the secret doings, and understood the purpose of the king to demolish the whole fabric of the Church of God, and thereby destroy the liberty of the nation. These good and great men, believing that the prosperity and strength of a nation consists in the favor of God, and that the means by which they are promoted, is soundness in the faith and holiness of life, applied themselves with all diligence to removing the remains of the leaven of popery that had not been purged out, and to correcting abuses that had crept into the Church, through the malign influence of an unholy administration of the government.

In vindication of their cause they published a circular letter, addressed to the Protestant churches in England, Ireland, and on the continent. The display of the truth

* Brown, vol. i. p. 159.

made in this able document, attracted the attention of all good men, and was every where applauded. At all this, as calculated to defeat his purpose of restoring Episcopacy, and establishing his own claims to high prerogative, the king was greatly enraged. Instigated by the Scottish bishops, Charles issued a proclamation denouncing the Presbyterian Covenanters as traitors. To this royal denunciation of the people and cause of the Lord Jesus Christ, a faithful and able reply was issued by the Church. They now perceived clearly that it was the intention of the king to make war on them, and after much and solemn deliberation they determined on resistance.*

Both the liberties of the commonwealth, and the immunities of the Church were put in jeopardy, by a tyrannical administration. Charles's father had never arrogated so much, as the throne now claimed, and yet the citizens had been oppressed, and the purity of the ecclesiastical courts corrupted. The experience which they had of the evil interference of ungodly rulers in ecclesiastical affairs, admonished them to act promptly and firmly.

In the preceding reign, six assemblies of the Church had been convened and packed by the crown; at Linlithgow, 1606 and 1608, at Glasgow, 1610, at Aberdeen, 1616, at St. Andrews, 1617, and at Perth 1618. The assembly at Linlithgow was composed of delegates not elected by Presbyteries, but chosen by the king, the other at the same place was also an unfair representation of the Church. That of Glasgow, 1810, was not only composed of delegates appointed by the crown, but ten Presbyteries. Brecker, Arbroth, Kircudbright, Argyle, Cowper, Linlithgow, Paisley, Hamilton, Dumfries and Dunkell, sent each more than three delegates, the number fixed by a former statute. The Aberdeen assembly was moderated

* Brown's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 160.

by an officer chosen by the king and not elected by the members; and delegates, not ordained to any ecclesiastical office were permitted to sit and vote. That of St. Andrews was irregularly convened. The Perth assembly was composed of members from Presbyteries that sent delegates beyond the number prescribed by the statute of Dundee, 1597. On all these accounts, a succeeding assembly, declared all the acts of these irregular conventions to be "*null and void.*"* This remarkable transaction, is an act of the twelfth session of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, held in Glasgow, 1638, Dec. 4th. On the day following, the Book of Canons, the Service Book, the Book of Ordination, and the High Commission, which episcopal forms Charles I. was attempting to force on the church, were all solemnly condemned.

The prelatial bishops, who, contrary to the covenant obligations of the church and kingdom of Scotland had received ordination from the English Episcopate, were libelled before the Assembly, at its fourteenth session. They were cited to appear at the bar of the Assembly and answer to the charges of covenant-violation, of the contravention of the "Statute of Cautions," passed 1600, of uttering lies, of oppressing the church and of other gross and scandalous sins. They refused to obey the summons, denied the jurisdiction of the court, and treated the citation with the utmost scorn. Though they were a small minority of the church in Scotland, yet relying on the power of an episcopal king, they hoped to set at defiance that power with which Christ has invested the ecclesiastical thrones of judgment, and to obtrude, by force of arms, the prelatial regime on the church in Scotland. The Assembly, on their refusal to appear, proceeded to their

* Acts of Gen. Ass. C. Scotland, 1562, pp. 8, 15.

trial, though the recusant bishops sent in a declinature by Dr. Hamilton, their procurator. The Protestant church had not then learned the doctrine, convenient for the scandalous, that an offender may escape censure and even trial, by declining the authority of the church, and by professing to abandon her communion. The libel was discussed from the 6th to the 13th of December, when bishops Spotswood of St. Andrews, P. Lindsey of Glasgow, D. Lindsey of Edinburgh, Sidserfe of Galway, Maxwell of Ross, Ballantyne of Aberdeen, Wedderburn of Dumblane, Guthrie of Murry, Graham of Arkeney, Fairley of Lismoir, Campbell of the Isles, A. Lindsey of Dunkell, and Abernathie of Caithness, were deposed and excommunicated. The sentence was pronounced by the moderator, Alexander Henderson, in the presence of a great concourse of approving Presbyterians, in the High Church of Glasgow. By this noble act of fidelity to the church and her glorious Head, they put to defiance not only those opulent and ungodly nobles in Scotland, who preferred a pompous ritual, nearly popish, to the simplicity of New Testament worship; but they also demonstrated that they would obey God rather than a powerful monarch, who was preparing to invade them with all the forces of the English army. This magnanimous deed was the means of saving the Protestant church in Britain from the power of a godless tyrant, who sought to reduce it to a worldly sanctuary, like the papal apostacy.

The act of deposition and excommunication was read in all the Presbyterian churches of the kingdom by order of the General Assembly, and every where cordially approved by the body of the faithful, as soon became manifest from the course of events.*

* Acts of Church of Scotland, pp. 18, 25. This deed appears to have been signally approved of the Church's Head; for, to say no more, the

The next act of this illustrious Assembly was a solemn condemnation of Episcopacy, as contrary to the word of God, to the statutes of the church and to the laws of the realm. They declare the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, and Circumcision to be utterly abolished; kneeling at the communion is forbidden; the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper "*in private corners*," prohibited; and confirmation by the imposition of hands discarded, as having no foundation in the "Law and Testimony," and therefore superstitious.

While the judicatories of the church by those salutary enactments, purified her, strengthened her bulwarks, and encouraged the friends of truth; they treated the crown with great respect. A petition was prepared and presented to the king's "most excellent majesty," praying him in a very humble manner, not to abolish the religion which they knew to be agreeable to the word of the Lord; and to which his royal father, together with the nation, at large, had bound themselves by solemn oath. This petition the king treated with contempt, though he dissembled, as to the evil designs which he meditated.

The body of people whom the king thus treated with scorn, were neither a small minority of his subjects, nor the uneducated multitude merely. The Assembly that petitioned his majesty, was composed of representatives from fourteen Synods, embracing sixty-five Presbyteries.* As each of these was entitled to a delegation of three clerical representatives, the Glasgow Assembly, provided all were present, was composed of one hundred and sixty-five ministers of the Gospel, besides the lay

Scottish Episcopate, have not been distinguished for piety, since the Glasgow excommunication.

* Acts Gen. Ass. Ch. Scotland, pp. 53, 56.

delegation of ruling elders. A great majority of the nobility of Scotland were with them, in the cordial approbation of the Presbyterian form of church government, of the Confession of Faith and of the National Covenant.

The acts of the Glasgow Assembly of 1639, and of those that met in the following years, until 1648, are an imperishable monument of their piety, learning and talents.* They trusted, however in God and not in man; in the promises and truth of God and not in their own learning or strength. Such decision and faithfulness in the cause of God, demonstrate that the blessing of heaven followed the renewal of the National Covenant of Scotland, in the month of February, in the year of the Glasgow excommunication. In this renovation, the nation's oath to God, the ministers of the Gospel were the leaders, and Alexander Henderson was the instrument raised up of heaven, for exciting the church and nation to this important, solemn and delightful duty. The ardor of all ranks, in consecrating themselves, according to the covenant of their ancestors, was scarcely less, than that of 1580, when Scotland's "day of her espousals, was the day of the gladness of her heart."

So greatly was the work of the Lord prospered, that Charles I. could no longer openly resist its power. He abandoned the war which he had commenced, visited Scotland, and in the year 1641, ratified and swore the oath of God, as embodied in the National Covenant.† Charles, in testimony of his favor to the Covenanters,

* The book which embodies many of these acts, was extracted from the original records, probably by the Rev. James Renwick, and published, in 1682. By whom, or where it was printed, does not appear on the title page; for it was that year that the solemn League and Covenant was by act of parliament rescinded; and Claver-house, sent into the county of Galway to shoot down all Covenanters without trial. These acts should be read by every divine.

† Cruikshank, vol. ii. pp. 133, 134. Scot. Ac. and Tes. p. 15. Step. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 1034, 1035.

1541, November 15th, in Holyroodhouse, created the earl of Argyle, who was the most prominent of the covenanted Presbyterian noblemen, a marquis, earl of Kirtyre and lord of Lorn.

The renovation of the National Covenant of Scotland, the pious magnanimity of the General Assembly, and the termination of Charles's crusade against the Scottish Covenanters, stimulated the Papists to ten-fold rage. This rage vented itself on the Protestants of Ireland in one of those wanton acts of merciless cruelty, that makes humanity hide its face in shame. The following account of this tragedy is copied from Stephenson, a learned gentleman of the bar, by whom it is thus described.* "The Papists being set on by the priests — entered into a covenant to extirpate all Protestants, especially the English. So high did their enmity run against Protestantism, that they blasphemed God, bidding the ministers of the Gospel, whom they had first stripped naked, to go to their God and let him give them clothes. They broke into churches, and burnt the pulpits and seats, in detestation of the reformed religion; avowed that they would not leave a Protestant in the kingdom; dragged several by the hair into the churches, where, stripping, whipping and cruelly using them, they added these taunting words, if you come to-morrow you shall hear the like sermon. And to fill up the measure of their iniquity, they cast the Holy Scriptures into the kennel, and thence taking them out, dashed them into the faces of professors. In other places, they tore and burnt the Bible, causing a bagpipe to play all the while, and pouring forth their execrations against it, as the occasion of all the quarrel. But what pen can set forth, what tongue can express, what eye can read, or heart reflect on the more than barbarous cru-

* Stephenson, vol. iii. pp. 1019, 1021. His. C. Scot.

elty exercised upon Protestants, by those bloody tygers? Many thousands were driven into lakes and rivers, and there drowned, and vast multitudes shut up in thatched houses and there burnt, their enemies rejoicing and saying they fried sweetly in the fire. Many thousands were treacherously butchered and hewed to peices, after quarters had been given them. Some had their bellies ripped, their entrails tied to a tree and" — (the pen refuses to record the remainder of this sentence.) "Many women had their children's brains dashed out before their faces; of others pregnant, some were cast into prison, others hanged — children born in these agonies were thrown to swine. Some were forced to hang their own husbands. Young women were forced to lead their parents to execution. Many were by violence constrained to go to mass, to profess their belief of transubstantiation, and that the Pope is supreme head of the church, and then were barbarously murdered, their popish enemies saying they would kill them while they owned the right faith, lest they should turn heretics, thus destroying both soul and body. Many were miserably wounded, and then fastened into the ground, with their heads above it, and left in that deplorable condition till they lanquished to death; and multitudes of others left half murdered, and begging to be quite despatched, while their enemies counted it a favor, if after two or three days they came and knocked out their brains. Vast numbers they drove in frosty weather on ice, till the same breaking, they fell in and were drowned. And great numbers whom they killed not, they forced to wander about naked on the mountains, and in the woods, till they perished with cold and hunger. Besides other cruelties, the rebels used stratagems to facilitate their wicked designs; for when small numbers of the Protestants joined together, they assured them of

their lives, goods, and a safe conduct, confirming their promises with their hands, and sometimes with oaths, but having got them in their power, they set them at the pleasure of the merciless soldiers. In several places they borrowed their arms, under pretence of securing them from those who were in arms in the next county, and then turned them out of doors. And, that they might more easily destroy the English, and keep the Scots from assisting them, they professed to spare the latter, (which they did at first,) pretending they should live quietly among them, not doubting but they should afterwards manage them as they pleased; by which means the English that were assembled on all sides, could never make head against the rebels. The truth is, that though some small parties did bravely defend some churches and castles, yet generally speaking, every one took care to do the best he could only for securing his own family, and so exposed themselves, almost without resistance, to the merciless cruelty of the Papists, who having received the watch word from the priests, rose up, as if actuated by one spirit, at the same time: and so rapidly did the destruction overflow, that from the 23d of October, when that dreadful massacre was first begun, to the month of January, when troops were sent from Scotland and England to suppress them, they depopulated all the protestant countries, put about 150,000, some say 200,000 Protestants to death, and took possession of, or destroyed their estates, houses and goods.”*

* A massacre so extensive, and directed solely against religion, is almost incredible. It would indeed exceed all belief, were it not attested by all the historians of that age, and in the true spirit of the Bartholomew Bushel, and other Pagan murderous slaughters of Christians. Yes, *other* Pagan murders of the saints, for Papists are Pagans. Russell (*Mod. Eu.* vol. ii. pp. 97, 98.) says:—“ He,” the king, “ hoping that the same zeal which had induced the Covenanters twice to run to arms, would make them fly to the relief of their Protestant brethren in Ireland, now laboring under the cruel

This massacre, for cold-blooded cruelty, is perhaps unequalled in all the history of our sinful race, except by two similar events — the slaughter of the Christians by Nero, after his burning of Rome, and the general butchery of French Protestants, by the Papists, in what has been called the Bartholomew Bushel. All the three are Pagan murders of the disciples of Christ, for France and Ireland have always been Pagan, since the birth of Christ.

persecution of the Catholics," &c. This persecution he describes in his graphic manner (p. 96.) "They," the Papists, "began with seizing the houses, cattle and goods of the unwary, &c. After rapacity had exerted itself, cruelty began its operation: a universal massacre commenced of the English Protestants, now defenseless and positively resigned to their inhuman foes, who exercised on them a degree of barbarity, unequalled in the history of any other nation, and at which credibility is startled. No age, no sex, no condition was spared: the wife weeping over her murdered husband, and embracing her lifeless children, was butchered with them. The English Protestants were marked out by the Catholic priests for slaughter as heretics abhorred of God and detestable to all holy men. Perfidy as well as cruelty were represented as meritorious." Aikman, (vol iv. pp. 42, 43.) says, "Roger More, lord Macquire and Sir Philem O'Neale, descended from the ancient Irish — were the principal conspirators. A universal indiscriminate massacre, without regard to rank, age or sex, accompanied by circumstances of atrocious, cold blooded horror, unparalleled except in the crusades against the Waldenses, or the Hugunots (Reformers) of France, followed a scene of rapine and pillage." Read the whole passage: it is all in the fine style of this eloquent historian. See Brown's Compendious History of the Church of England, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202. Brown says: — "It now plainly appears from the accounts given by Burnet Birch, and lately published papers of Clarendon, that Charles himself, as well as the queen and Nuncio, were deeply chargeable with this bloodshed." See also, Life of Rev. John Livingston, pp. 35, 36. This is a very important autobiography. Mr. Livingston was a very distinguished Covenanter, who suffered greatly for his attachment to the Covenant of Scotland, and that of the three kingdoms. He was first settled at Kinlinchie, afterwards at Stranrawer, both in Ireland. He became pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian congregation of Ancrum, Scotland, and after the passage of the act Recissory, pastor of the congregation of exile Covenanters at Rotterdam and Holland. The late Rev. Dr. Livingston, and the present governor of this state, are numbered among his descendants. He was contemporary with the Irish massacre.

at least though, by a sad misnomer, called Christian. Indeed Popery is but another name for Paganism. In both kingdoms there have been some followers of the Lamb, probably since the apostolic days, but the majority have never been better than civilized Pagans.

The king of England was chargeable with the ocean of christian blood shed in this ruthless act, notwithstanding all that is alledged by lord Clarendon, the Episcopal historian, and some others to the contrary. This appears :

1. Because it is utterly improbable that the Papists in Ireland, who had remained comparatively quiet, for more than one hundred years from the commencement of the Reformation, would have been guilty of an act, so wantonly cruel and daring, at a time when the Church had become so strong, unless they had the royal favor and approbation.

2. On the 11th of October, three weeks before the Irish massacre, there was a plot discovered in Scotland, of which lord Carnwath was appointed the acting head, to assassinate the earl of Argyle and other covenanted noblemen, in the very palace of the king. Some of the king's particular friends were in the plot. On its discovery, the leading Protestant statesmen retired from court, in the night, with their retainers. The public were alarmed, the troops assembled, the conspirators were overawed, and the massacre prevented. The parliament was assembled, and the king swore profanely by his Maker in the legislature, that the lords who had fled from his court, impeached his honor by doing so, and that they must speedily repair the injury. His conduct was in all respects such as might have been expected from a participation in the plot.*

3. He came up to the parliament house with five hun-

Aikman, vol. iv. pp. 34, 35. Ibid. p. 36.

dred armed men, intending to overawe the members; but the stronger guards of the Covenanters prevented him from proceeding to violence.

4. He who could swear the National Covenant of Scotland, as a treacherous act of policy, to put the Reformers off their guard, was capable of any cruelty towards his subjects.

5. He was known to favor popery.*

6. The Irish Papists who were guilty of the massacre — the leading priests and noblemen always affirmed that they acted under the royal authority, and shewed the warrant under the king's seal. Clarendon does not deny that they had the king's seal, but pretends that it was torn off some old instrument. Others think that as the queen was notoriously in the popish interest, she appended the royal seal, without the king's knowledge. These are all gratuitous assumptions. She would not have dared to do such an act.

7. Charles's lenity, or rather favor towards the leaders in these murderous deeds, proves incontestibly, that they had massacred the Covenanters of Ireland, with his approbation.

8. The best of the saints, at the time, believed Charles to be author of the murder; and from the day of the Irish massacre, till his death, he was abandoned by a great majority of the British nation, whose fault has always been too great attachment to their royal oppressors.

The proceedings of the parliament of England, which had met the year before, were calculated to exasperate the king, against the faith of the Covenanters, as favorable to the cause of liberty, and as adverse to the high prerogative which he claimed.

* Stephenson, vol. iii. pp. 1023, 1024. Charles's letter to the Duke of Asmond, 1663, July 13th.

It had manifested great favor towards Presbyterianism, which was identified with the Scottish National Covenant — had condemned and executed his favorite Strafford for treason; and had commenced the work of retrenchment. The king's doings in Scotland emboldened the English parliament to proceed still farther. An assembly of theologians was called, and met in London, 1643. This Synod, from the name of the Abby, where it met, has since been known by the name of the Westminster Assembly of divines.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE YEAR 1643 TO THE YEAR 1661.

The Westminster Assembly, and the Commonwealth under Cromwell, to the Act Recissory.

THE object for which the Westminster Synod was assembled, as set forth in an ordinance of Parliament, dated 1643, June 12th : — was for the purification of the Church from the remains of corruption, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government.*

The time when this theological convention met, was eventful, and the attention of the people of England was intensely fixed on two great and all absorbing topics — on the conflict between Protestantism and Popery; and on the liberty of the commonwealth. The popish nobility and clergy, under the name of Prelacy, were undermining the rights of British freemen, by secret attempts to reduce the nation to the ignorance and bondage of the fifteenth century; while the court was extorting, by royal violence, large sums of money from the people, to support their extravagance. The Protestant faith was not only endangered from the hostility of the court party, and the

* See a curious collection of rare and invaluable documents, entitled: — “The Confession of Faith; The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with Scripture proofs at large; The Covenants, National and Solemn League; The Acknowledgement of Sins and Engagement to Duties; The Directories for Public and Family Worship; and the Form of Church Government, with the Acts of Assembly and Parliament, relative to and approbative of the same, together with the Sum of Saving Knowledge and the Practical Use thereof.” This collection embraces the principal results of some years labor of the W. M. Assembly. For the ordinance referred to, see p. 13.

power of popish and ungodly noblemen; but from division in the ranks of the Reformers. Some were favorable to the Romish Hierarchy, under the name of Prelacy, partly from attachment to ancient forms of government, partly through the bishops' fondness of power, and partly through ignorance of a better frame of ecclesiastical rule. On the other hand, a very large body of the more enlightened, and better portion of the christian community, whose eyes had been fully opened on the tyranny and danger experienced, and to be farther apprehended from investing a few with lordly power, quite independent of the citizens of the religious commonwealth; rushed into the other extreme, and maintained that the government of the Church is a democracy, lodged in the body of the faithful. This class was subdivided into Congregationalists and Independents. They are known to history by the name of Puritans. There was a third class, who saw the advantage of securing the rights of the laity by the elective franchise, in the exercise of which the people elect all their rulers. They taught also that the ordination of the ministry, elders and deacons, by the constituted courts of Christ, with the permanent tenure of office, unless forfeited by transgression, was necessary, in order to impart a salutary energy to the "testimony of David." These were called Presbyterians. They too, were subdivided in doctrine, as to what was technically called the *jure divino* question, i. e. whether Presbyterianism is established by Christ the Head, exclusively of any other, or is left to the wisdom and discretion of the Church, to be adopted or rejected, according to her views of the condition of society. Some affirmed, others denied.* With these subjects of vital importance, there were others which related to doctrines, worship, and the

* Neal's History of the Puritans.

exercise of discipline, not less momentous. From the meeting of the Synod of Dort, the great questions of the decrees, election and reprobation; the total depravity of man by nature — his condemnation, on account of Adam's sin; and justification by the righteousness of Christ alone, were agitated in England with warmth and even vehemence. Laud, the archbishop, was an Armenian; and while he exerted all the influence of his primacy to sustain the old and unholy hierarchy, he was not less zealous in his opposition to what has been very properly denominated *the doctrines of free grace*. These questions, it is true, had all been settled in the church of England, so far back as the time of Cranmer, Knox and Edward IV. by the Thirty Nine Articles; and Laud, with all his inferior clergy, had sworn to a system adverse to Arminianism. But when his mind became corrupt, he little regarded his faith plighted to the church, to the nation and to God.

Both the king and the primate were of course opposed to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Charles had given it the royal sanction. But the results of the war that he had waged upon his Scottish subjects, had been so disastrous to all his schemes of self-aggrandizement, and so favorable to the cause of God and man, that the progress of sound doctrine and of liberal principles alarmed him. By proclamation, he declared the Assembly illegal. Under the protection of Parliament, however, they disregarded the royal inhibition.

The number fixed by the parliamentary ordinance, was *one hundred* ministers of the Gospel, *ten* lords, *twenty* commoners, and *thirty* lay assessors. Among these were included Presbyterians, Independents, and Episcopalians. But few of the last obeyed the summons; and nearly all of them withdrew, when they saw the complexion of the

Assembly. The learned Lightfoot was the only prominent minister of the Prelacy, that held his seat; and there is pretty good reason to believe that he soon became a convert to Presbyterianism.*

When the Assembly was organized it consisted of about one hundred members, besides the delegates from the church of Scotland, the scribes and other officers. They were men who had had access to all the learning of the age; and many of them had filled the highest places and the most responsible stations in the universities, colleges, Presbyteries and Synods of the Reformed church in England. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford, were the most learned literary foundations in Europe, except those of Scotland; and few Englishmen would make that exception. Indeed, it may well admit of a doubt, whether it ought to be made.

Dr. Calamy, another member of this Assembly, was entered in the university of Cambridge, at the age of sixteen, July 4th, 1600. In his nineteenth year, he received the degree of A. B. He was employed thirteen years more in the study of theology and general literature, before he was graduated, B. D. Sixteen hours a day he devoted to close application, in the pursuits of literature. The works of Augustine, in Latin, he read over five times, explored the hidden treasures of scholastic learning, and read Bellarmine, the popish defender of idolatry, with the answers of Chamier, Whitaker, and other learned and godly Protestant Reformers.†

* Aikman, vol. iv. pp. 133, 134. It has been plead in favor of these ecclesiastical anomolies, called Treaties of Correspondence, that they resemble the Westminster Assembly of Divines. This is an error in history. The W. Assembly was a consultative body, and not a delegation from the Church courts. They met as neighbors to discuss important doctrines. It is affirmed that Episcopalians, &c. were members. How could they have sworn the Solemn League and Covenant in good faith? Impossible.

† Reed's Lives, vol. i. p. 105.

Dr. John Conant, another member, was born at Yeatenton, Devonshire, England, 1608, Oct. 18th. At the age of eighteen, he was admitted a freshman in Exeter college, Glasgow. Previously to his entrance in college, he had been educated in the Latin, Greek, and other languages, under the care of his eminently learned father, the Rev. J. Conant. After his matriculation at Exeter, it required seven years to complete the literary course— what would now be called seven classes from freshman to senior, inclusive. He was made A. B. at the bachalaureate of 1633, July 3. On the same day, he was chosen fellow of that illustrious school, and became the instructor of the sons of the most eminent British noblemen.

He prosecuted his theological studies, with collateral literature, for nine years after he graduated, and at the age of thirty-six, was ordained to the holy ministry.*

The members of the Westminster Assembly, were among the most learned pupils of those schools. Dr. William Twisse, the Moderator of the Assembly, was transferred from the Academy of Winchester to the New College of Oxford, at eighteen years of age, where he continued *sixteen* years, in the prosecution of literary and theological studies, before he was admitted to the degree of A. M. He was soon after ordained to the holy ministry, in the year 1604. At the age of forty-four, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. James I. chose him chaplain to his daughter Elizabeth, the princess Palatine, whom he accompanied in her travels through Germany, where this eminent scholar had an opportunity of consulting the German libraries, and forming an acquaintance with the Protestant divines of Saxony, and of other circles of the Germanic empire. The legislature

* Reed's Lives, vol. i. p. 250. There is some doubt whether Dr. Conant, or the Rev. J. Conant, was the member of the W. Assembly.

of Friesland offered him the theological chair in the University of Franker — an offer which he refused to accept. He was as distinguished for his eloquence, as for his stores of literature, and still more eminent for the holiness of his life and for his godly zeal in the defence of the truth, both from the pulpit and from the press. He became pastor of the congregation of Newbury, a village of England, fifty-six miles from London, where he faithfully fed the flock of God, labored in the composition of those very able works in polemical theology, by which he successfully defends the doctrines of free grace against the Arminian corrupters of the Gospel, and vindicates Reformation principles against Papists. At the age of *seventy-one*, he was called to preside over the deliberations of this very venerable, learned and godly theological council.*

The Rev. Thomas Willson, another Westminster divine, had an education analagous to those of Twisse, Calamy, and Conant; but he became a minister of the New Testament, much earlier in life. He was ordained at the age of twenty-three, in the year 1626. This was owing to the ardor with which he pursued his studies in youth, his quickness of perception and retentive memory. His progress in literary attainments was unusually accelerated, by his natural endowments, and by his entire devotedness to God, on whom, even in early youth, he relied for aid in the walks of literature. “When,” says his biographer, “engaged in academical learning, he did not neglect divinity, nor reading the Holy Scriptures. ‘*From*

* Memoirs of the Lives of the Westminster Divines, by the Rev. Jas. Reed, Paisly, 1811, vol. i. pp. 37, 67. This is a learned and faithful compend of the lives of eminent divines. Reed’s Lives will be celebrated for ages after those of Plutarch are forgotten. Every minister of the New Testament should not only have this book, but he should read and study it to be instructed, humbled, edified and comforted.

a child he knew the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation.' The Bible was exceedingly precious to him; and much he read it. It is said that, before he was bachelor of arts, he had read Junius and Tremellius* on the whole Bible three times over. His constitution, which was strong and healthful, enabled him to apply unweariedly to his studies."† He was ordained at Capel. He afterwards became the pastor of Teddington congregation, in Hampshire. He had preached but a few sermons at Teddington, until such was the effect of his ministry, that their Sabbath market was closed by the magistrates, who, like Nehemiah of old, issued a proclamation:—"That no person for the time to come, should bring *any victuals or ware* whatsoever to be sold on the Lord's day, but that Saturday should be the time for the sale of their commodities." The faithfulness of Mr. Willson was not without exciting violent opposition. When they persecuted him in one city, he fled to another. He was translated from Teddington to Otham, in Kent, where "his great popularity and usefulness soon awakened the envy of profane sinners, and also of neighboring ministers; but he constantly went on without dismay, trusting in the Lord, who with the blessing which alone makes rich, crowned his labors with great success."

From Otham, he was removed to Maidstone, in Kent. There his ministry was still more eminently distinguished. He had been but eight years employed in pastoral duties, until his fame became so extensive as to attract the attention of the archbishop Laud. The occasion was, however, remarkable. The king, with the approbation of the primate had published an edict, allowing, or rather

* A very learned and excellent Latin Commentary, published at Geneva, 1590: Tremellius was a converted Israelite and a very learned and eminent saint of God. † Reed's Lives, vol. ii. pp. 251, 252.

authorising various amusements, such as racing, the chase, tennis, &c. on the Lord's day. In these violations of the christian Sabbath, Charles and his courtiers indulged habitually. Such progress the truths of the word of God, taught by the Reformers, had made, that these desecrations of the day of holy rest, rendered both the rabble and the rulers who practiced them, unpopular. The edict, called "*the Book of Sports*," was issued to justify the profligacy of the government.* All the ministers of the Gospel throughout the kingdom, were ordered by the archbishop, to read this impious "Book of Sports" from their pulpits on the Lord's day. Some read and approved it, as many do, whatever is ordained by unholy civil rulers. Others read it and exposed its wickedness, warning their people against its dangerous tendency. A third class of the clergy refused utterly to profane the Sabbath, by the reading of so tyrannical and ungodly a decree. Among this last class was Willson.† For the refusal, he was cited to appear before the lordly primate at Lambeth, where 1635, April 29th, fourteen charges were presented against him in the bishop's court. All these were manufactured out of the one act of obedience to God rather than man, in the sanctification of the Sabbath. The charge on that subject was in the following words:—

"You refused to read the king's declaration for sports on Sundays, and spoke disdainfully to the apparitor and officer of the court." His answer was as follows. "I said unto the apparitor, 'Remember you to keep the Sabbath day;' and I said no more. I refused to read the book, not out of contempt of any authority, but as being commanded by no law. The king's majesty doth not in the book, command or appoint the ministers to read, nor it to

* Brown's His. Ch. Eng. vol. ii. pp. 183, 184. † Reed's Lives, vol. ii. p. 255.

be read, but published. Neither came it with, nor do I know of any seal to confirm it. And seeing there is no penalty threatened, nor authority given, that I know of, to any one to question those persons who refuse to read it, my refusal to read it was upon sufficient grounds of law and conscience; which, for the satisfaction of this high court, and to clear myself from contempt, I shall briefly express myself thus: His majesty's express pleasure is, that the laws of the kingdom, and of the crowns of the church, be observed in all places of the kingdom; and, therefore, in Kent, and in Otham: but this book, as I conceive, is contrary to both. It is contrary to the statute laws, Edward VI. Anno 5. Cap. III. Caroli, Anno I. Cap. I. and Can. 13. Our Church is against it. It is contrary to the ecclesiastical laws. It is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, Exod. xx, 8. Isa. lviii, 13. It is contrary to the councils. It is contrary to divines, both ancient and modern; as Augustine, Chrysostom, Irenæus, Ignatius, Babington, Lanchy, Junius, and Alstead. And it is contrary to reason." Mr. Willson enlarges on these topics, in a very judicious manner.

It evidently appears, that Laud had laid the snare to catch Mr. Willson, chiefly for refusing to read the Book of Sports. And in this, that great oppressor of the Lord's heritage succeeded according to his wishes: for Mr. Willson's answers, in which he explicitly declared his refusal to read the book, were no sooner given, than the proud archbishop haughtily replied, "I suspend you forever from your office and benefice till you read it." And this eminently pious and laborious servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, continued suspended for about the space of four years.

In the year 1639, the Scottish army having entered England, and a parliament being called; Laud took off Mr. Willson's suspension. But his troubles and sufferings were

not then at an end ; for, on Sep. 30th, in 1640, he was cited to appear before the archbishop's visitors at Feversham, in Kent, together with other ministers in that county, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scotts. Upon the appearance of those ministers, Mr. Edward Bright, being called first, was asked whether he had read that prayer ; and said he had not ; the archdeacon immediately suspended him both from office and benefice, without admonition, or even giving him the least time for consideration. That tyrannical court often proceeded in a very summary manner. Mr. Willson, who was a witness of this rash procedure, and now perceived that the service was to be much hotter than he had expected, was next called. When he was asked whether he had read the prayer against the Scotts, he answered in the negative ; adding, "because in the rubric of the Common Prayer, it is enjoined that no prayer shall be publicly read, excepting those which are contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that prayer against the Scots was not there." This very unexpected answer so puzzled and confounded the archdeacon, that he did not know what to say. It cooled his fury, and caused him to proceed more deliberately with Mr. Willson than he had done with Mr. Bright.*

When he was slandered, persecuted for his opposition to an ungodly government, his house plundered, his family reduced by a merciless soldiery and low rabble, to beggary, and his life threatened, he was asked by "*some fellows of the baser sort*" — "Willson, Willson, where is your God now ?" He consoled himself by faith in Christ. His holy reflection was : —

" But our God in the heavens is :
What pleased him he hath done."

* Reed's Lives, vol. ii. pp. 250, 258. For authority, Reed refers to the Life of Willson, published 1672, and to Brooks's Liv. Pu. vol. iii.

“In all things,” says Reed, “he shewed himself a pattern of good works.”* Such were the Westminster divines.

At the request of the English Protestants, Scotland was requested to send commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, and complied.

Henderson, Baillie, Gillespie, and Rutherford, men whose praise is in the churches, were appointed by the General Assembly and accepted the appointment. Henderson, at about twenty-six years of age, was ordained to the ministry at Leuchars, while he was a professor in the ancient and very respectable university of St. Andrews. At the time of his ordination, being young, and looking forward to literary preferment from an Episcopal throne, he was somewhat favorable to the prelacy. Reed seems to admit that bishop Guthrie speaks the truth, where he represents Henderson as promoted to the parish of Leuchars, for his being “episcopally inclined.” The fact that the people of his charge were opposed to him, when he was ordained, is proof enough, for the *people* of the humble parishes had not declined, so much as many of the clergy. By the grace of God, and the blessing of the Holy Ghost on his theological studies, and on his intercourse with a godly and orthodox congregation of Presbyterian Covenanters, he soon became a zealous advocate for the whole Covenanted Reformation. Then, and not till then, did he manifest much regard for his flock. He commenced the performance of family visitation, and all those other parochial duties that are not less

* Before the death of the late Dr. Jas. P. Willson of Philadelphia, there were at least twelve ministers of the Gospel in the United States of the name of Willson. They are all thought to have been descended from this member of the Westminster Assembly. As the godly father of one of them often said to his son: — “Let us beware that we be not the dross of silver. Our ancestors were godly Covenanters — let us be like them.”

important to the spiritual health of the flock, than the public preaching of the word, but which time-servers neglect. He was very assiduous in the pursuits of literature, and became profoundly versed in the whole doctrine of the church, in polemic theology, in pastoral duty, and in the order and history of the Presbyterial regimen.

In August, 1619, he was summoned to appear before the High Court of Commission, in St. Andrews, to answer to the charge of publishing an "odious book," as it was called, entitled the Perth Assembly. The object of the book was to prove that the deeds of that Assembly were not binding on the church of Scotland, because, the presbyteries had not been fairly represented. It was this pamphlet that led to the important results heretofore recorded in this history, respecting that *packed Assembly*. The bishops cowered and quailed before the power of his arguments, and the masculine and holy energy of his eloquence. The people, too, were with him, as the enlightened and pious laity always are with God's ministers who stand forth boldly for the truth and oppose corruption. The prosecution was soon abandoned. But it rendered the great learning of Henderson conspicuous. All people read "The Assembly of Perth." Persecution, as usual, in the overruling providence of Him who brings light out of darkness and order out of confusion, promoted the covenant cause of Jehovah. Henderson was afterwards often moderator of the Assembly, and appointed on committees and ecclesiastical embassies of great importance. No one was more conspicuous in the great revival of God's covenant cause in Scotland, in 1637 and 1668, or in the important event that succeeded.

Baillie was educated at Glasgow and ordained at the very early age of twenty-three. He was eminently learned and godly.

Gillespie was also of St. Andrews. He, too, entered

on the ministry when young and took the pastoral charge of the Wemeys congregation, in consequence of his ample and various learning, ardent piety, and the irresistible power of his divine eloquence. When but a youth, he was chosen by one of the most venerable Synods of any age or nation, to represent the Church of God, at a deeply interesting crisis.

Rutherford was a graduate of the very learned college of Edinburgh, where at a very early period of life, he was elected a professor. We could have no more substantial evidence of the high reputation for learning, which he sustained among the most competent judges. His letters, his sermons, his sufferings in the cause of our blessed new Covenant Head, will render his name and works most savory to all holy men of God — to all tender hearted, and fervent “lovers of Him,” who is fairer than the sons of men. O, lovely Rutherford!* The earl of Cassils, lord Maitland and Sir A. Jonston, were the ruling elders of the delegation.†

The Scottish commissioners were all learned men, and so well qualified to represent the enlightened and godly church of Scotland, in such a body of divines as were assembled in Westminster Abbey.

This convention of learned and godly Reformers met in very perilous times.

Portugal, under an able but bigoted popish prince, John IV., had again become independent of Spain, and furnished, three years before it assembled, through Lisbon and the mouth of the Tajo, facilities for the diffusion of the slavish doctrines of Rome and her idolatrous devotions through Britain, and all its dependencies.‡

Cardinal Mazarine, who had been drilled in the school

* Reed's Lives, vol. ii. pp. 307, 362. † Steph. His. Ch. Scot. vol. iii. p. 1090: ‡ Russ. Mod. Eu. vol. i. p. 183.

of Machiavillean politics, under Richelieu, was prime minister to Lewis XIV. during his minority, and ably wielded the power of France against the Protestant nations of the continent.*

Ferdinand III. who occupied the throne of Germany, was exerting his energy to crush the Protestant princes of the empire, who had become not a little disheartened by distressing wars with the implacable and powerful popish emperors, and by the death of Gustavus Adolphus. God had raised up that able general to sustain for a while the drooping spirits of the reforming princes, by leading his brave Livedes, against the popish crowned heads. His fall in 1632, was a severe blow to the cause of liberty. †

Urban VIII. at that time pope, was an ambitious, unprincipled, warlike, and able statesman. He made war with success, and formed, by the wisdom of his negotiators, alliances among the Catholic kings; some of the feeble, who would not come into his measures, he crushed; others he bribed, and all, he overawed. ‡

He fostered the Jesuits, who had grown into enormous power in the course of a century, from the founding of their order by pope Gregory, in 1540. Nearly all the courts of Europe were filled with their pliable, faithless, learned and subtle emisaries. They had made themselves the keepers of the consciences of princes, and had penetrated the secrets of cabinets, by becoming the confessors of the leading statesmen. §

In 1620, he had founded “*the congregation for propagating the faith.*” It was directed by twelve of his ablest cardinals, who governed a vast popish missionary society, which was soon put in motion. They had become, in

* Russ. Mod. Eu. vol. i. p. 543. Tytler's Gen. His. p. 143. † Ibid. p. 583. ‡ Mos. Ec. His. vol. iii. p. 116. § Ibid. vol. iii. pp. 117, 167.

twenty-three years, exceedingly opulent. The exchequers of kings and the coffers of ecclesiastical dignitaries, poured funds into their treasury, for the propagation of Popery, with all its Pagan corruptions.*

To furnish this society with learned missionaries, he had instituted "*the Seminary for the Propagation of the Faith,*" in 1627. They erected schools and colleges, with very opulent endowments, over christendom, from which, like the locusts of Egypt, the *Propagandists* issued in swarms that darkened the ecclesiastical heavens of the civilized world.† These armies of the man of sin, were marshalled not merely to demolish the strong holds of the Reformation in the kingdoms on the continent, but with the definite purpose of re-subjugating the kingdoms of Scotland and England, to the lordly tyranny of the Romish Anti-Christ. Charles and all his court, with the Episcopal dignitaries were, though nominally Protestant, not less opposed, nor less virulent in their hostility to the Covenanted Reformation of Scotland, than Philip IV, or Urban VIII.

Besides all this, the able and impassioned pulpit exhibitions of those ministers of religion, that accompanied the Scottish ambassadors to London, at the opening of the Parliament, goaded the idle bishops, whose churches were deserted to madness. Henderson was powerful in the pulpit, and he preached often. The chaplains of the earl of Rothes, and of the other ambassadors occupied the pulpits of London every Lord's day; and often officiated three times on one Sabbath, besides frequent lectures on week evenings. These great and good men justly ascribed all the evils that afflicted both nations, to the influence of carnal members of the episcopal hierarchy, who flattered the king, to gain his favor, and winked

* Mos. vol. iii. p. 383. † Mos. His. vol. iii. p. 384.

at the profligacy of the court, to procure liberal bounties from the royal treasury. The attempts of the throne to rob the nation of its civil liberty, and of its still dearer spiritual privileges, they believed were made, through the efforts of the Prelacy. They uttered all this in terms so plain that no one could misunderstand them. They reasoned with cogency in defense of the divine right of Presbyterian regimen, and demonstrated its indissoluble connection with the civil liberties of the subject. - Their sermons were heard with breathless attention by vast crowds of delighted auditors, who had felt the gripe of the unholy tithing master, and smarted under the lash of the priestly tax-gatherers. They were delighted to hear their cause so boldly and so ably plead, against their oppressors. But above all, the Scottish ministers of the New Testament, in the midst of the very large audiences, which filled to overflowing the large and splended meeting houses of that old and opulent capital, preached the pure and holy doctrines of the cross; they expounded the living oracles of Jehovah and fed the redeemed of the Lord "with wholesome words of good doctrine." Their preaching was no pretty little moral dissertation, *read* in half an hour to please the fancy and gratify the literary fastidiousness of opulent and ungodly merchants, lawyers and judges, and other carnal rulers. They poured forth in all the majesty of truth, the full flood of the river of life, to adorn, enlarge and fructify the garden of the Lord. All London was moved. It moved the whole commonwealth. The power of the Holy Ghost accompanied the preaching of these faithful servants of the Lord of hosts; and the word of God did not return unto Him void. In three years, or a little more, the effect of the Scottish labors in London, was the call of the Westminster Assembly of divines.

But the fact of the amazing success of the Gospel as

preached by North Britains, whom the English bishops regarded, as the Jews did their northern neighbors, little better than savages, moved through envy the whole persecuting spirit of the hierarchy. It was a crisis of deep interest, in the annals of the commonwealth of Israel. Almost all Europe was in motion against them, the king, the nobility and the bishops at home, mustering armies, the queen's arrival from the continent in February, 1643, and her intrigues with Montrose. That traitor had broken his most solemn covenant engagements, and took part with the base men, who opposed the Covenanters, his own brethren: and was negotiating the sale of the religion and liberty of Scotland to the Papists. These calamities taught our fathers of Westminster, the necessity of trusting in the Covenanters' God.

Amidst all these dark features in the aspect of the times, it was cheering to the saints, that the members of Parliament were, at least, not hostile to the truth, and certainly friends of British liberty. Among the members of that body, there were many men of the most eminent talents; not a few very learned and eloquent; and some leading men of undoubted orthodoxy and piety. That popular branch of the English legislature, which had been acquiring strength for many generations, began about that time to be an effectual barrier against the encroachments of the king and the nobles on the rights of the people. The Parliament saw in the Reformers the genuine friends of the people, and able advocates of scriptural and national liberty. Many of the members of parliament, were long tried friends of the divines of the Assembly. The libertine and infidel age had not arrived, when statesmen began to think the ministers of Christ ignorant fanatics, worthy of scorn only. The high dignitaries of the Episcopate did indeed despise, or effect to despise, the Presbyterian clergy. Not so the commons. The daily ex-

penses of the members were paid from the national treasury ; because they were employed in affairs relating to the public weal. The following account of this distinguished Assembly by Baillie, will be read with great interest.

“ The like of that Assembly, I did never see, and as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor any where is shortly like to be. They did set in Henry VII.'s chapel, in the place of the convocation ; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem-chamber, a fair room in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the college Farehall, but wider at the one end, nearest the door, and on both sides are stages of seats, as in the new assembly house at Edinburgh, but not so high, for there will be room but for five or six score. At the upmost end, there is a chair set in a frame, a foot from the earth, for the master prolocutor, Mr. Twisse. Before it, on the ground, stand two chairs, for the two master assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. Whyte ; before these two chairs, through the length of the room, stands a table, at which sit the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung, and has a good fire, which is some dainties at London. Foranent the table, upon the prolocutor's right hand, there are three or four ranks of forms. On the lowest, we five do sit, upon the others, at our backs, the members of Parliament, deputed to the Assembly. On the forms, foranent us, on the prolocutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house, to the chimney, and at the other end of the house, and backside of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of forms, whereupon the divines sit as they please, albeit commonly they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door, there are no seats ; but a road for passage. The lords of Parliament use to sit on

chairs in that end, about the fire. We meet every day of the week except Saturday. We commonly sit from nine, to two or three, afternoon. The prolocutor, at beginning and end, has a short prayer." "Ordinarily, there will be present about three score of their divines. These are divided in three committees; in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded, who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the Parliament gives order in writ, to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and on the afternoon meeting, prepares matters for the Assembly, sets down their minds in distinct proposition, backs their propositions with texts of scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and scriptures, whereupon the Assembly debates in a most grave and orderly way. No man is called upon to speak, but who stands up of his own accord. He speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name, whom they desire to hear first. On whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long, and very learnedly. They study the question well, beforehand, and prepare their speeches, but with all, the men are exceedingly prompt and well spoken. Its marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make.

"When, upon every proposition, and on every text of scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will, has said his whole mind, and the replies, and duplies, and triplies are heard, then the most part calls to the question. Byfield the scribe, rises from the table, and comes to the prolocutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says — as many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say *I*; when *I* is heard, he says, as many as

think otherwise, say *No*. If the difference of *I* and *No* be clear, as usually it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first scripture alleged for proof of the propositions. If the sound of *I* and *No* be near equal, then says the prolocutor, as many as say *I*, stand up; while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minds, when they are set down, the *Noes* are bidden to stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more of that matter; but if a man will deviate, he is quickly taken up by master assessors, or many others, confusedly crying, speak, to order. No man contradicts another, expressly by name, but most discreetly speaks to the prolocutor, and, at most, holds on the general, as the reverend brother, who lately, or last spoke on this hand, on that side, above, or below — they follow the way of their parliament.”*

The Assembly had, early in its sessions, a day of fasting and humiliation, confessing their own sins, the sins of their fathers, and those of the nation. For this they had the example of many saints — Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel, and others who sought the Lord in that ordinance, and “were heard in that feared.”

Delegates were appointed to attend the sessions of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, on behalf of the Westminster Assembly. They were eminent divines — the Rev. Messrs. Stephen Marshal and Philip Nye. The English Parliament also sent as commissioners to the same body, some of their most eminent statesmen — Sir W. Armine, Sir H. Vane, T. Hatcher, and H.

* Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 399, 400; as quoted by Aik. vol. iv. pp. 134, 135.

Darnley, with whom they associated the earl of Rutland and lord Gray.

On the 8th of July, the 6th day of the sessions, the moderator, Mr. Henderson, announced that the English commissioners had arrived. A committee was appointed to confer with them, and they were treated with very great respect. But so jealous was that learned and godly judicatory of the approaches of danger — so cautious were they of admitting to ecclesiastical fellowship, commissioners from a church so far behind them in Reformation attainments, that they did not permit the commissioners from the Westminster divines, to sit in the Assembly-chamber as delegates. They allowed them free access to be present and hear all the discussions; not to take part in them. “But as commissioners they behoved to attend in a loft of the new church, next the Assembly house, betwixt which and the Assembly house, correspondence should be maintained by the above committee of the Assembly and them.”*

A letter was written to the Assembly of the church of Scotland, by seventy English divines, imploring the aid of the Lord’s ministers and judicatories, in North Britain, for advancing the Reformation of Britain, south of the Tweed, and beseeching their prayers for the Protestant cause, laboring under the wrath of the crown, and attacked by the standing army. The representations made to the judicatory of the church, respecting the great distress of all Lord’s people in England, were such, as to excite great commiseration. Tears of sympathy were shed profusely. The object of the ambassadors from the English parliament, was to procure assistance in arms and troops, for maintaining the cause of liberty against despotism. The whole power of the regular army, was, of

* Stephenson, vol. iii. pp. 1084, 1086. Aik. vol. iv. pp. 112, 113.

course, at the disposal of the king. It was devoted, too, to Charles; for like him, the officers and men were utterly profane. They fought with zeal against those godly men who were propagating a religion, that was adverse to their profane swearing, drunkenness, and harlotry. With such an army, the king had laid siege to the large commercial, and opulent city of Bristol, one hundred and twenty-four miles west of London. That city had incurred the royal displeasure, by espousing the cause of liberty and countenancing the Reformers.*

It was expected that Bristol would be compelled to surrender to a superior force, and that the army of Charles would immediately march to the metropolis, attempt to disperse the Assembly of divines, drive out the parliament, and crush both Presbyterianism and liberty. The cavaliers, as the king's troops were called, occupied the counties bordering on Scotland, and it was certain, that should the parliament and Protestantism be vanquished in England, the victorious hosts of the Popish king, for such he was, would next invade Scotland. On all these accounts, but especially for the maintenance of the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Scottish estates, or civil power, to the joy of the church, resolved to send a reinforcement to the army, which the friends of truth and liberty were raising, under the sanction of parliament for the defence of both.†

This aid was offered on condition that the ambassadors from the parliament and delegates from the Westminster Assembly, would assent to a Solemn League and Covenant, or treaty, in which they bound themselves to maintain the true religion. This consent was not obtained without much argument. Sir Henry Vane, though a

* Stephenson, vol. iii. p. 1086. Aik. vol. iv. p. 114. † Brown's Ch. Eng. vol. ii. p. 20.

friend to liberty and a man of holy life, was not an enlightened ecclesiastic. The Rev. Mr. Nye did not understand the nature of the government of the church. They were both on the extreme of democracy, and having seen the evils of the hierarchy, they wished not only that, but every other form of government in the church abolished, except what is vested in the people. They would have made the church a pure democracy, by abolishing the principle of representation. This has since been called by the name of congregationalism. They learned the way of God more perfectly in their intercourse with the Scottish Presbyterians. It was their interest, too, to listen to the arguments of the learned and godly Scottish Presbyterians, who were inflexible, and would not compromise the good order of the house of God, for an alliance with England. God had put it into their power to demand what they wanted with effect. Some ignorant writers have maintained that they demanded too much; more enlightened posterity will regret rather, that they did not demand more.* The Solemn League and Covenant was a great attainment in England. Scotland has not yet gained much in holiness at home, by her English alliance.

The League and Covenant, as originally draughted by the Rev. Mr. Henderson, was somewhat more explicit, than the form in which it passed. It was received with acclamation by Assembly.

We give the instrument entire, as containing a most solemn and important transaction, in which a whole great and learned empire, the most enlightened and religious by far, of any then existing, or that ever had existed in our world, did swear allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ,

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 116.

who, in his mediatory character, is made Lord of all, to the glory of God the Father.

“ We, noblemen,* barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens and burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, by the providence of God, living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honor and happiness of the king’s majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdom, wherein every one’s private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion and professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies: We have now at last — after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings — for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God’s people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all sub-

* We quote it from Aik. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 117, 120. This learned historian has done honor to the Scottish bar, of which he is a member, by the faithful and friendly account which he has given of this Act of National Covenanting.

scribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

“1. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavor, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall endeavor to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

“2. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavor the extirpation of popery, prelacy — that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy — superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men’s sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

“3. We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavor, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdom, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or in-

tensions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

"4. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavor the discovery of such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

"5. And whereas, the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavor that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union, to all posterity; and that justice, may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

"6. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honor of the king; but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote

the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be fully prevented or removed, and which we shall do as in the sight of God :

“ And, because these kingdoms are guilty of so many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profess, and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially, that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not labored for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavored to receive Christ in our hearts, to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavor for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other christian churches groaning under, or in danger of anti-christian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of

the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of christian kingdoms and commonwealths.”

After having passed this Covenant, the General Assembly adjourned on the 19th of August, and Henderson, Gillespie, and Maitland, with Hatcher and Nye as commissioners, repaired with it immediately to London. It was first presented to both houses of parliament, where after solemn argument and frequent prayer to God, with several days of fasting and humiliation for direction from the Spirit of the Lord, it was approved and sent by the lords and commons to the divines in Westminster Abbey. There, too, it became in a fifth deliberative body, the subject of learned and powerful argument. In the Assembly chamber, in the congregations of London, in fellowship meetings, in families, and in the closet, the people of God called fervently and effectually on their God for “that light that cometh down from above.” They also held days of fasting, humiliation and prayer. With these solemnities was the Solemn League and Covenant approved finally by the divines in London. Where is there on earth a document that has passed through such an ordeal? Draughted by Henderson, one of the greatest and best men of any age or nation, canvassed and approved in the General Assembly of the church of Scotland; passed in the Convention of Estates — a body of profound civilians, not like those modern smatterers that are called statesmen; discussed in the English house of peers with talents of a nobler order, than the upper house of that parliament can now boast; and sent down with approbation to the house of the people; where it was solemnly and prayerfully sealed; and, by the Westminster Assembly ratified in the name of the Lord of hosts. Infidels, dare you sneer at this transaction? Are the Lord’s saints to be alarmed at your profane banter? Heaven and the saints scorn your opposition to this sublime and holy deed.

No. 3.

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NOTICE TO OUR AGENTS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

The Editors of the *Albany Quarterly*, encouraged by the suggestions of their patrons and influenced by the expectation of more extensive usefulness, make the following proposal for the enlargement of their publication.

1. To increase the Magazine department containing reviews of intending publications, original pieces, record of passing events of moment to the church, so as to make each number to contain 100 pages instead of 76 as it now stands. To continue the Historical Department as it is now conducted, until completed.

2. To raise the price of annual subscription to two dollars instead of one and a half as it now stands. When

(See page 3 of Cover.

On Monday, Sep. 25th, both houses of the British parliament met with the Westminster divines, in St. Margaret's church, for the purpose of engaging themselves to the Lord, in the oath of this covenant. For this holy solemnity, their minds had been immediately prepared by the preaching, the psalms and the prayers in the churches on the day preceding. Never was any event regarded, in the city of London, with so intense interest as that day's doings. Prayer was offered up by the Rev. Mr. White, greatly distinguished for the holiness of his life, and for walking humbly with God. The Rev. Mr. Nye was appointed to address the assembly and read the covenant. His address, still on record, is replete with divine pathos. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Henderson, the Scottish delegate, who reasons with the greatest gravity and solemnity in recommending faith and repentance, while they give themselves to God in a covenant not to be forgotten. The whole parliament of England, and the ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, the ruling elders of the Westminster Assembly, with the Scottish commissioners, lifted up their hands and swore by the name of the Lord Jehovah, to abide by this Solemn League and Covenant. The Rev. Dr. Gouge, one of the most practical, godly members of the Westminster Assembly, closed the solemnities of that ever memorable day, with a sermon.

London rejoiced with great joy; for the Spirit of the Lord made them glad in binding themselves, by their representatives, to the throne of Messiah their Prince.

On the following Friday, Sep. 29th, the London nobility, with the orders of knighthood and gentry; the officers of the army, and many of the rank and file; the Scottish residents of London, and the clergy of the city, assembled in the same large church, where the covenant had been first taken four days before, for the same holy

purpose. The Rev. Mr. Coleman of the Assembly, preached a very eloquent, faithful and appropriate sermon to this interesting assemblage of Covenanters, from this text:—“*Who is this that engageth his heart to approach unto me, saith the Lord?*”

On the following Friday, Oct. 5th, people of all ranks, who were willing to engage themselves to the Lord, assembled in St. Margaret's church, Westminster; and after a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Caryl of the Westminster Assembly, swore the oath and subscribed the covenant. During all these events, the corporation of the city of London, had not directly given their pledge to the good cause. The people were before them, as, undoubtedly, they had been before both the parliament and the Westminster Assembly. The power of the Holy Ghost, in the demonstration of his divine energies, had moved and sanctified the public sentiment, to such a degree that the opulent and learned men, who composed the corporation, could no longer resist the force of truth and the power of holiness.

The mayor, sheriffs, aldermen and common council on the 14th of Jan. 1644, met in the Micheal Basinshaw's church, to enter into the League and Covenant. The sermon on this day, ever memorable for the most learned and most opulent city in the world, was preached by the Rev. Mr. Calamy of the Westminster Assembly. It contained a solemn warning against covenant violation, from these words, II. Tim. iii. 3. “*Truce breakers.*” History, criticism, argument, exhortation and reproof, animated by a spirit of holy indignation against traitors to God's covenant, impart an elevated tone to this pulpit exhibition. The discourse occupies fifty-two closely printed pages, and probably was not delivered in less than two hours. Those were not the times of short sermons. After this solemn address, and after hearing the subject canvassed for

four months in Parliament, in the Westminster Assembly, in the pulpits of the city, in the public journals, in many pamphlets, and in private conversation, the corporation of that great capital, solemnly bound the city by a covenant ordered in all things and sure, and never to be forgotten. For though the government of the metropolis of the christian world have long ceased to remember the covenant of their fathers, yet the King of Israel, who is a merciful King, has not forgotten the day of her espousals. Though there have been many very ungodly rulers and ungodly deeds committed in that city, yet her sons in her have been blessed. Her covenant head is most merciful and will bring her back to the recollection, that it is a covenanted city.

Nineteen days after, London, by her representatives, swore to the Lord of hosts, the Parliament issued an ordinance that the Covenant should be read in all the churches and tendered to all the officers of state. Those who refused to subscribe the League, were given to understand that the consequence of their refusal would be dismissal from office. In this they offered no violence to the conscience of any one. The royal army was engaged in active operations to destroy civil liberty and the true religion. The Covenant was a test of attachment to the cause of man, both as a citizen of the state, and as a member of the commonwealth of Israel. To maintain consistency with their own safety, with the rights of the people, and with the rights of conscience, they could not retain the friends of their open enemy — a tyrannical king, or the *Malignants*, as they were called, in power. That instrument was as important as the constitution of any kingdom in modern ages. It had become, by the sanction of both Church and state, the fundamental law of the empire. Any citizen of the United States, who admits that the swearing of the federal constitution may be demanded, in consistency with

the rights of conscience, cannot but admit, that this measure of Parliament was reconcilable to the rights of conscience.

The recommendation of the Covenant by the Westminster Assembly, gave much weight to the instrument with men of all ranks, who had any regard for learning, talent, piety, or the ministry of reconciliation.

In that venerable document,* there is not the least intimation of any coercion to be employed in the enforcement of the bond of the British empire; but on the contrary, the arguments are all addressed to the understanding and consciences of the freemen of the commonwealth, and to the members of the church.

The king's party now discovered that there was no hope of arresting by argument, the progress of the reformation in England, so irresistible was the progress of holy zeal in the Lord's cause, and so patriotic were Englishmen in the defence of christian liberty, founded on the word of God, and the formularies of sound words. They feared that the king would yield to the torrent, which all his ungodly courtiers labored to prevent.

On this point, Charles was as hostile to the Covenanters, as his popish and prelatical friends. But the total rout of his army by Cromwell, at the battle of Marston Muir, in which, on the 2d of July, 1642, he left dead on the field of battle seven thousand of the flower of his troops; † and the unbending faithfulness of the English nation, admitted no alternative, but the acceptance of the Covenant, or flight. He chose the latter, and made his escape to the Isle of Wight, with very few followers. There he continued to negotiate with the Sectaries, as the historians of that period call the Congregationalists, and with the Presbyterians. He thought that by playing off the former against the Church, he would be able to

* Collection of Sermons, &c., p. 373. † Stephenson, vol. iii. p. 1095.

defeat the commonwealth of Israel. But his finesse and treachery were discovered by Cromwell, who intercepted one of his letters, intimating his intention, as soon as his object was gained, to rid himself of the leader of the Independents, by the halter. That able general and wise statesman had too much good sense, to trust any declarations of a prince, who was capable of meditating such an act of perfidy and cruelty. All farther sincere negotiation, on the part of the Puritans, was at an end. But while the monarch thought he was deceiving others, he deceived none but himself.

When all the hopes of the few, that still clung to his fortunes, were blasted by the providence of God, they turned their thoughts to Scotland, where they hoped to awaken what they called the loyalty of the northern barons. For this purpose, it was necessary to render the Solemn League and Covenant odious, among the Scottish people. To effect this object, they labored, in the estates of the nation, to have a statute enacted, forcing the Covenant on the whole of the citizens, who had arrived at the age of maturity; and they succeeded in procuring the passage of that act.* But they were defeated in their attempt to carry it into execution, for the commission of the General Assembly of the church, remonstrated against so iniquitous a measure, and with the aid of all the faithful Covenanters, succeeded in defeating the prelati- cal and dishonest statesmen, who were laboring, like some later enemies of God's covenant-cause, to render unpopular the Church of Christ.

Hume, the infidel, Russell,† and after them, those ungodly historians and essayists, who do still oppose all the holy deeds of the Lord's people, have endeavored to render the Reformers of Britain odious, by repre-

* Aik. Scot. v. iv. pp. 292, 350.

† See Hume's England, and Rus. Mod. Eu. on the Reformation.

senting the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant, as forced on the citizens of that insular commonwealth. Though it is not strictly according to the canons of historical composition, to argue, respecting the facts recorded; yet, as few have access, in this age, to the original documents, and as there is a deception on the minds of many good men, it seems to be expedient, that some reasons should be here adduced to prove that no *force* was employed, but that of truth.

1. No historian has ever given us the name of any citizen, who was compelled to enter into those national and ecclesiastical bonds.

2. We know that the endeavors of philanthropists to effect any great religious or moral reformation, are regarded by the wicked with hatred, and stigmatized as ecclesiastical persecution. The attempts to stop the transportation of the mail by the national government, and the temperance reform, are decried as at war with what unholly men call the rights of conscience.*

3. With the exception of the act of the estates of Scotland, referred to above, and which Aikman proves to have been passed by the friends of Charles I., with sinister intentions, no act is known to be on record that even commanded the people of Caledonia to swear the Covenant. The church, as we have seen, prevented that statute from taking effect. It is true, that the leaders in the Scottish Parliament, never intended its enforcement on the nation generally; for they were laboring to prevent the king from giving it his sanction.

4. The truth embodied in those Covenants, forced its way in Britain, against the whole power of the crown,

* Reports by Col. Johnson, in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives, and Moulton's report against employing chaplains in the New York Legislature, published by the House of Assembly, in the latter part of the sessions of 1831 — 2.

and of the popish priesthood, and of the standing army, and of all the schools in North Britain, Ireland and England.

5. These covenant-vows were so analogous to baptism, and the Lord's supper, which the Reformed Presbyterian church have always held to be voluntary, that they never could have even thought of driving men, at the point of the sword, to swear those oaths of allegiance to Messiah, the Prince of the kings of the earth.

6. The publications of the Reforming Covenanters, in their whole tenor, disprove the slanders of the infidel Hume and his followers.*

7. The acts of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, passed between the years 1638 and 1649, when the whole of South Britain was courting them, with the English, and Irish Presbyterians, Independents, Episcopalians, and popish nobles, contain an ample refutation of the opprobrious calumny.

Cromwell succeeded in defeating the intrigues and despotic designs of the king and his faction. Charles was brought to the block, for all the blood of his subjects which he had wantonly shed, because they were in opposition to his tyranny and carnal pleasures. He passed through the forms of trial without submitting to the jurisdiction of the court. He plead to the last that a nation has no right to try a king.† Against him, it was plead that he had violated the Magna Charta, that he had made his own will the law, in utter disregard of the constitution of the realm, that he had oppressed and murdered his subjects, that he had made war on the parliament and nation, and that, in controvention of all the rights of con-

* See the Collections of Sermons, at the taking of the Covenants, referred to above, which are authenticated documents, explaining their purposes and their means of accomplishing them.

† Query. Is there any provision in the United States Constitution for suing that great body, called the United States?

science, he had most wantonly persecuted the Church of God, and endeavored to wreak on her sons and daughters his unholy vengeance.

For these high crimes and misdemeanors against all that is sacred, he was condemned and beheaded. The Scottish nation abandoned him to Cromwell and the Independents, and this is all that history has recorded of her agency in the execution of the tyrant. She had no power to do otherwise in consistency with her vows to God and her own just claims. Her army, in England, had been useful for defending the rights of the citizens, but when the *Sectaries* obtained the power in Parliament, an armed force of Presbyterian Covenanters became an object of jealousy to the leading statesmen, south of the Tweed. The officers and men had difficulty in procuring their pay. They could have marched back immediately over the Grampian Hills, but they thought it the most prudent policy, to remain until they were remunerated for their services. The event showed that they decided wisely; as the amount of the subsidy, for which the estates had stipulated was nearly paid them; but not until Cromwell found that there was no other means of being freed from their influence in favor of Presbyterianism.*

Immediately after the Scottish army was withdrawn, the dependents developed more fully their plans for rendering the government of the Church a pure democracy. Soon after Charles's execution, Cromwell was elected protector, or president of the United States of Scotland, Ireland and England. The infusion of vigor into the national guards, the navy, commerce, and agriculture, together with the *replenishment* of an exhausted treasury, so occupied Cromwell, in the time of the republican government, that little attention was bestowed on the move-

* Aikman, vol. iv.

ments of the ecclesiastical courts. Much, however, was accomplished indirectly for the dissemination of gospel truth. Able professors were brought into Oxford University, and other English schools. Dr. John Owen, whose "works praise him in the gate," was made chancellor of the most respectable college in South Britain. To this eminent divine, we are indebted for one of the best commentaries, in any language, on the epistle to the Hebrews.* His work on the Spirit, and on Indwelling Sin, are invaluable, and have been a means of sanctification and of comfort, to all good people who have read them. These publications of the very learned and godly chancellor, soon spread the reputation of that great man over the whole of Britain, and among the British colonists in America, to the east of the Hudson river.

Pool, a laborious divine, was employed to collect and prepare for the press an abstract of the best continental and British commentators. Many scribes were assigned him, for the purpose of copying out the selections which he made. Until the protectorate, most of the lecturers on the Holy Scriptures, in England and France, made their notes on the Bible in the language of Italy; it was thought best to furnish a collection, in the Latin tongue, for the learned. Pool's Synopsis, is an honor to the administration of Cromwell, which the ministers of Christ have not duly appreciated. †

* The folio copy is a gigantic work, which has been republished in the octavo form on this side of the Atlantic. Williams's abridgement may be useful to those who cannot procure the original.

† The title of such a work merits a place here. It is as follows. *Matthæi Poli Synopsis Criticorum, aliorumque Scripturæ Sacræ interpretum, et commentatorum: summo ab eodem studio et fide adornata.*" A folio impression on course paper was published ad Francofurtum ad Moerum, in the printing office of John P. Andrew, in 1712. This edition has been corrected and amended with great care, and the typography is creditable to the printer. The Synopsis on the Book of Psalms, embracing 658 pages, of

While such distinguished scholars and eminent divines were patronised by the civil government, literature flourished, and diffused among the higher ranks of society a spirit of liberal curiosity. Copies of the word of God were multiplied in England to an extent never before known in the realm. The ancient systems of philosophy, such as those of Aristotle, Plato and the Eclectics, were read and studied and canvassed. The elegant models of composition furnished by the Greek and Roman historians, philosophers, statesmen and poets, were read with eagerness by professors, and taught in the colleges and grammar schools. The chancellor of Oxford University wrote with ease and elegance the Latin language, in which he composed many poems, that in purity of style, approximate to Italian writers of the Augustan age.* But religion suffered in Britain, as it had done in the Protestant kingdoms of the Continent, by the fascinations of heathen learning. The minds of the youth who were destined to govern the taste of the next generation, and give a tone to all its intellectual operations, were embued with the lusts and warlike spirit of Virgil and Homer. The saints of God, among the poor of the land, who heard the doctrines of the christian system faithfully expounded in pulpit discussions, and who read the good word of the Lord, were changed into the image of their heavenly Father "from glory to glory, even as by the

the second volume of the Frenchfort edition, is earnestly recommended to our classical readers, and to the clergy especially, as containing a fund of learning, judiciously employed in the elucidation of christian experience and evangelical doctrine, embodied in the inspired collection of Hebrew Poetry. It is unhappy, that so fine a writer as Bishop Lowth, does not seem to have studied the Synopsis of Pool, before he wrote his Lectures on Hebrew poetry. Did the bishop despise Pool for being a republican?

* Why not use them in the schools, instead of the Pagan Horace?

Spirit of the Lord.”* But those who labored in the cultivation of Pagan learning, held communion from their childhood with the abominations of Roman and Grecian harlotry, image worship, the “oppositions of science falsely so called,” the fierceness of warriors thirsting for blood, and the ambition of factious statesmen, who knew no higher or nobler aim than their own self-aggrandizement, in wealth and power. All these “evils existing in the corrupt constitutions”† of the Grecian commonwealth, and of the Italian despotism, are adorned with the splendors of literary garniture. The scholars of England, “beholding as in a glass,” these gross immoralities, were changed into the same image from baseness to baseness, even as by the spirit “of the Old Serpent, the Devil and Satan.”‡ The gentleman of the bar, the physicians, the officers of the army and navy, the members of the house of commons, and of the house of lords, the judges on the bench became *paganized*. The most preposterous of all was, the lads destined for the ministry, whose business it was to expound the oracles of the living God for the edification of the redeemed of the Lord, spent many years of childhood and youth, in the study of the lustful Ovid, Horace and Virgil, of the profane Lucian, of the idolatrous Xenophon, and of the warlike Homer, while a few pages of the Hebrew Oracles, and Greek Testament, were deemed sufficient to qualify for the sacred desk. The clergy, too, were paganized.

Cromwell, however, did not altogether neglect religion. He was himself a constant worshipper in the meeting house which he preferred ; professed, with the solemnities of religion, his belief in Christianity ; and in his private

* II. Cor. iii. 18. Read the whole epistle.

† See Ref. Pres. Terms of Communions.

‡ Rev. xx. 2. These evils still exist in Christendom.

intercourse with his fellow citizens, spoke and wrote like a godly man. No historian has impeached his moral department, in his personal character, as a man. Could they have done so, with any color of historical truth, such sorry-authors as Hume, would not have failed to employ that weapon to defame the republican head of the commonwealth. The state papers which his cabinet issued savor of godliness. As a statesman, he has been charged with duplicity, intrigue, ambition and hypocrisy. These heavy charges have not been substantiated by any accredited historical documents, known to the public. The truth seems to be, that he believed, erroneously indeed, that the government of the church, on the Independent Platform, was the best kind of ecclesiastical regimen, and he employed the influence which a powerful mind gave him, in the promotion of Congregationalism.

The charge of political intrigue is more easily made than either proved or refuted. He had a complicated machinery in his hands — the Episcopal clergy, connected with the haughty feudal barons — the Presbyterians who adhered, without compromise, to the Confession of Faith and Covenants which they had sworn, and the vehement democracy of the Independents. Cromwell not only tolerated all the Sectaries of Protestants, but was very lenient towards the popish idolatry. Intending to use all these for promoting republicanism and independency, it is not wonderful that to men, who never had extent of view sufficient to comprehend his purposes, he should seem to have been an intriguer, whose sole object was to manage men for self-aggrandizement. One error, he undoubtedly committed, and it was a common one in that age, — he thought that by securing the interest of a few influential men in the church, in the army, in the navy, and in the ranks of the nobles, he would carry all his plans: not

aware that the power of the people, enlightened by religion, must prevail in the end, over all mere personal influence. The statesmen who composed his cabinet, adopted the maxim that civil government had been instituted for the sole purpose of promoting the acquisition of property, rendering secure its tenure. That he was bound as a civil ruler to be the guardian of moral order in the commonwealth, and for this purpose, according to the Lord's promise, to be "*a nursing father to the church,*" was what Cromwell did not understand.

That he became ambitious of royalty appears by his securing for his son Richard the protectorate at his own death. But the character of the father, his name and his influence did not descend to the son. Richard was soon compelled to yield the sceptre to other hands. The Papists, the Episcopalians, the nobility, and the Presbyterians were always heartily opposed to the commonwealth. The Papists were adverse, because it was Protestant, and did not directly abet their worship of idols. The Episcopalians were hostile, on account of their loss of the civil power and wealth, which they had possessed by the the crown, from the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. The nobility despised a plebeian, and thought themselves and the kingdom degraded, when its sceptre was in the hands of a ruler, who was not enobled by the blood of some ancient Danish Saxon, or Norman savage chieftain, running in his veins. The Presbyterians saw the tendency of the protectorate, to demolish the whole fabric of the Covenanted Reformation. The Presbyterians have been charged with attachment to the kingly form of civil government, and hostility to the representative system. The only evidence which has been adduced is, their never cordially supporting Cromwell. But their opposition to him can never be shewn to have

proceeded from a disregard to the rights of the people. They loved the people and labored to promote both their present and eternal welfare. In the government of the Israel of God, they adopted from the word of the Lord, the system of representation; for no one can rule as either a pastor, or an elder, or a deacon, without being elected by a majority of the congregation over which he is a ruler. The democratic regimen of the church, they thought to be contrary to the word of Christ, to the national pledges, and so inconsistent with the fundamental law of the empire. As Cromwell was an Independent, and as every civil ruler, whether Pagan, Mahomitan, Popish, Infidel, Unitarian, or Christian, will give his countenance and support to promote what he believes, so they saw Cromwell do to Independency. They knew that influence to be offensive to God, and ruinous to the best interests of the commonwealth of Israel. They did, therefore, wisely refuse to give their support to the protectorate.

An impulse was given to biblical discussion, and to the investigation of the history, laws, doctrines and promises of Christianity, by the Presbyterians, during the five years and seven months sessions of the Westminster Assembly, that all the licentious and carnal policy of the commonwealth, could not stop. The learning of England, adorned as it was by the chancellor of Oxford University, and by Mr. Francis Rouse of the same institution,* the

* See the Dedicatory Epistle, prefixed to the *Archeologiæ Atticæ Libri Septem*, 7th edition, Oxford, 1671. This work of Mr. Rouse is the source from which all modern writers on Grecian Antiquities, in Great Britain, derive their materials for illustrating the classic writers of Pagan Greece. One cannot but regret that the labors of so learned a scholar as Mr. Rouse, had not been employed in something calculated to prepare men for the enjoyment of God in heaven. But heathen Greece has hitherto had great fascinations for the learned, who have found more profit and in many cases, more pleasure in gathering flowers from the classic fields of Greece. than

very learned author of an unrivalled metrical version of the Psalms of David; was laid under contribution, to expound and apply the christian system in preaching Christ to the congregations of the Lord. Richard Baxter, the pious author of "The Saint's Everlasting Rest,"* tells us in his diary, that such preaching as he heard in the pulpits of England at that period, would have refreshed his soul, when in his youth, before the Solemn League and Covenant, he panted for the sincere milk of the word, but could not find it in the lean moral dissertations, read by the ignorant and immoral curates of the Episcopal church.

The work of the Lord was greatly prosperous in Scotland, at the time of the prevalence of the Sectaries in England. All the intrigues of the prelatial and aristocratic faction, and all the fury of the traitor Montrose, who abandoned them, and swept like a desolating torrent, for a short space, over the northern counties, could neither seduce nor intimidate the Scottish Covenanters from maintaining the whole ground occupied by the confessions, catechisms, forms of order and Covenants, to which they had bound their souls by the oath of God. On no other terms than a coronation oath, embracing the whole Covenanted Reformation, would they permit any king to reign. The efficacy of the Covenant pledge was perceived by the enemies of the Lord, and the duke of Hamilton framed a counter oath, called the "*Duke's Engagement*,"

in cultivating the vineyards of Engedi. This work, however, of Rouse was written when he was a young man. After he had been exposed to much reproach and suffering otherwise, for the cause of Christ, his consecration of all his treasures of learning, to the versification of the Book of Psalms, in a form which has edified millions of the redeemed of the Lord, who are now singing the song of Moses and the Lamb, shews that riper years, and growth in grace, taught him more delightful themes than the lore of Pagan Greece.

* See the last No. of the North American Review

whereby the anti-covenanters were, though not really, yet in substance sworn to wage war with the church and truth of God. The General Assembly of the church issued solemn testimonies and warnings against this bond of iniquity. Covenanters hearkened to the voice of the church, and kept themselves from the snare which had been spread for them. That many of the citizens of the commonwealth, and some traitorous professors of the truth had been carried away by the flood, was afterwards lamented by the nation in a solemn acknowledgement of national sins, and especially of covenant-violation, as a cause of fasting and humiliation.

The cities of Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh; the smaller towns, from the mouth of the Tweed, to the straits of Port Patrick; and from the Grampian Hills to Pentland Frith; and the country congregations, over the whole land, were illustrated by such joyful days of Covenanting as those, which are recorded above, of the city of London. "The floods clapped hands and the hills declared their joy," when Scotland avouched the Lord to be her God, and became "the glory of all lands."

The estates had wrought great evil by their being seduced into the interest of Charles I. But, by the persevering efforts of the ministry of reconciliation, the ruling elders, the deacons, by the pens of the learned of all ranks, and above all, by a copious effusion of the Holy Ghost, in answer to the prayers of the faithful, the progress of the torrent was not only arrested, but rolled backward on the foe. The promise given to the church: "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord," was remarkably fulfilled. In the year 1648, the Solemn League and Covenant was renewed by the nation in her representatives and by the people. In this transaction, the standards of the Westminster Assembly

were embraced, as the faith of the church in Scotland. The nation and the church bound themselves to "preserve the purity of religion against all error, heresy and schism, and to study and endeavor to carry on the work of uniformity." A letter was written by the General Assembly of the church, to the brethren in England, exhorting and beseeching them to continue steadfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. Of which the following is an extract.*

"Although there were none in the one kingdom who did adhere to the Covenant, yet thereby were not the other kingdom, nor any person in either of them, absolved from the bond thereof; since in it we have not only sworn by the Lord, but also covenanted with Him. It is not the failing of one or more that can absolve others from their duty or tie to Him. Besides, the duties therein contained being in themselves lawful, and the grounds of our tie thereunto moral; though others do forget their duty, yet doth not their defection free us from the obligation which lies upon us, by the Covenant, in our places and stations. And the Covenant being intended and entered into by these kingdoms, as one of the best means of steadfastness for guarding against declining times, it were strange to say, that the backsliding of any should absolve others from the tie thereof; especially seeing our engagement therein, is not only national, but personal; every one with uplifted hands swearing for himself, as is evident by the tenor of the Covenant."

This testimony in behalf of the Covenant of God, was given on the 6th of August, 1649, six months and six days after the execution of Charles, and when the church of Scotland perceived that there was danger of the Covenants being cast away by the Congregationalists of Eng-

* See Scottish Act Declaration and Testimony, Edinburgh, 1747, p. 17.

land, through the influence of Cromwell.* This letter demonstrates that the Covenanters who wrote it, thought the Solemn League and Covenant embraces the Presbyterian form of church government, and binds the whole nation, whether they acknowledge it or not. They knew that the obligation was voluntary, when entered into, but they never admitted that the Covenanter could annul it at his own pleasure. "Though," said they, "it be but a man's covenant, yet *if it be* confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto."†

While they were zealous for the Lord's cause, in the neighboring kingdom, they did not, as some have done, neglect its promotion at home. By a statute of the same year, the Parliament, through the influence of the church, decreed:—"That before the king's majesty, or any of his successors, shall be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall assure and declare, by his solemn oath, under his hand and seal, his allowance of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and his obligation to promote the ends thereof, in his station and calling, and that he shall, for himself and his successors, consent and agree to the acts of Parliament, enjoining the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterian government, the Directory of Worship, Confessions of Faith and Catechisms, as they are approved of the General Assembly of this kirk, and Parliament of this kingdom, in all his dominions; and that he shall observe these in his own family, and that he shall never make any opposition to these, or endeavor any change thereof."‡

The ground covered by those solemn ecclesiastical and

* Cruikshank's History of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh edition, 1751, p. 34, and Act Dec. and Tes. of the Ref. Pres. Church, Edinburgh, 1747, pp. 16, 17.

† Gal. iii. 15. ‡ Act and Tes. of Ref. Pres. Church, p. 18.

parliamentary enactments, was very extensive. Many most important and salutary laws had received the sanction of the church's supreme judicatory before that time.

In November, 1638, acts were passed, in which the canons of the assemblies of which they approved, from the year 1560, were specified. For twelve year ending 1572, the minutes of that court were signed by John Gray, as secretary. From that year until 1589, they are verified by the signature of James Richie, who was succeeded in the office of clerk by Thomas Nicholson, after whom Robert Winrame and Thomas Sandilands were the recorders. The lord regent of the kingdom, also subscribed those important documents, to verify their authenticity, and give them the royal approbation on behalf of the commonwealth. The records consist of seven large volumes, of which the fifth, embracing a history of the transactions of the Assembly between the years 1560 and 1590,* is the most voluminous.

The deeds of six assemblies, held in the reign of James VI., when the prelatical party were in power, are condemned, and the oaths exacted by the bishops are affirmed to be null and void, as contrary to the laws and covenants of the commonwealth of Israel. By an act of Dec. 8th, 1658, Episcopacy is condemned and abjured as a wicked hierarchy. This condemnation is founded on the acts of the church abolishing, after enduring long and treating gently the Prelacy. The Assembly does not reason the subject immediately from the Holy Scriptures. The divine right of Presbyterianism had been previously settled and embodied among the laws of the Lord's house, as binding on all the ministers and people. The

* It is much to be regretted that those books have not long since been rendered accessible to, at least, every officer of the church. To the minister they are as important as statute books to the lawyer.

act refers to a decree of the church, enacted in the assemblies of 1578, with its registry in 1581, sworn to at the order of the government of the church, by all her officers in their ordination-vows; to the decree of the lords of the privy council in the year 1638, and by the king's commissioner. They refer also to the subscription of their first Reformed Confession of Faith, sworn and subscribed by the clergy, 1580, 1581, and 1591. They wrote the Book of Palicy, adopted 1578 and registered 1581. The decisions of various other assemblies are also cited, as those of 1576, 1578, session 4th, 1582, in April, at Glasgow, and the Edinburgh Assembly of the same year, session 19th; that of 1587, sessions 8th and 15th; again those of 1591, sessions 4th; and of 1592, June 5th. They also cite the abolition of the acts of Parliament, to the same effect in 1584. The decree of the Assembly of 1638 is summed up in the following words:—*“Therefore all the ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of Anti-Christ, in his usurped hierarchy, which are not of one of these four sorts, viz: pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, together with offices depending thereupon, in one word, ought to be rejected.”*

The same Assembly abolished the Five Articles of Perth. 1. That baptism is necessary to salvation. 2. That festival days, such as Christmas may be kept. 3. That kneeling at the Lord's supper is proper. 4. That episcopal confirmation of children, by the imposition of hands, is allowable. 5. That the administration of the sacraments, in private, is admissible. These remnants of Popery are condemned, on the same ground as Episcopacy, because they are contrary to the laws and covenants of the church.

An act of the same Assembly, session 21st, Dec. 17, restores the church, court, known in Scotland by the

name of the Kirk Session, which had been disused and condemned in the temporary prevalence of the Prelacy.

In the 23d session of the same day, it was decreed that the presbyteries should hold their meetings weekly, during the summer season, and that there should be a discussion of some topic in polemical theology. A presbyterial visitation annually was decreed, in which a commission of the court should inquire, in the presence of the pastor, elders and congregation, into the fidelity with which pastoral duty was performed, and family religion practiced. This provision was found in experience to have a most salutary effect. It was resolved to put into execution the act of the 25th of June, 1556, that the pastors of congregations, with the regents and professors of the colleges, should try all masters of schools, respecting their soundness in the faith, godly deportment, and competency as teachers. It was also ordered that schools should be organized in the interior, and able men selected for instructors, for reading the Word of the Lord to the people, and for leading in the sacred music of the congregations.

In the Assembly of March, 1596, session 7th, there had been a committee raised, to draught a statement of the corruptions, in doctrine and practice, that had dishonored the ministers under their care. Mr. John Davidson was appointed to perform that important duty. The report which he draughted, and which was adopted, is a faithful paper, and presents a model for all posterity. The Assembly acknowledge their own sins; and among other evils, they deplore the admission of men to the holy office of the ministry, who are not qualified, either by godliness or learning, for the sacred functions of their office. They bewail the defections of some of their members from soundness in the faith, from holiness of life and from diligence in their studies, together with the neglect of

family visitation, and other pastoral labors. They order the presbyteries to proceed forthwith, in the exercise of discipline against such offenders: and if they are not reclaimed to depose them. All are also urged to more tenderness in walking with God, more devotedness in their theological researches, more engagedness in prayer and all holy practice. They* recommend ministers to strive for spirituality, in all companies, and by the tenor of their conversation, to recommend the religion of their Lord and Master.

Order had taken, in the same session, that the expenses of ruling elders, and ministers, who are sent as delegates to the General Assembly, shall be defrayed from the public fund. Measures were also put in train to ascertain the names and residences of all Papists, especially all priests and Jesuits. They enjoin it in all the local judicatories, to see that people of all ranks, under their care, subscribe the Confession of Faith and the other formularies that had been embodied in the constitution of the church, and to see to it, that the word and sacraments be punctually attended on, by all the professors of religion. None except those of rare endowments, are allowed to be ordained to the ministry, before they attain the age of twenty-five years. The holding of market-days on Mondays and Saturdays, is prohibited, as giving occasion to the violation of the Lord's day. Members of the church are warned not to have familiar intercourse with persons excommunicated. All are forbidden, both ministers and people from speaking against the standards of the church. They decree the expulsion of all diocesan bishops, abbots, priors, deans, arch-deacons, preaching deacons, chanters and sub-chanters. As great evils had resulted from the solemnization of marriage, without the proclamation of the bans, they enforce the observation of the statute of publication of bans, for three seve-

ral Sabbath days, before the consummation of the conjugal relation. Measures are ordered to be taken that the act of the Edinburgh Assembly, 1588, session 5th, forbidding burials in churches, shall be executed; and all funeral sermons are prohibited, as tending to superstition. Entrants on the ministry are commanded to read a dissertation in the Latin tongue before presbytery, to submit to a presbyterial examination on the Hebrew and Greek original Scriptures, and to produce satisfactory testimonials of the holiness of their deportment, in college, or presbytery.

The presbyteries of the Hebrides are annexed to the presbytery of Argyle, and ordered to hold their first session on the second Wednesday of May following. It is made the duty of the ministers of the congregation, in whose bounds the presbytery meet, to preach on the first day of the sessions; and of the synodical assemblies, to send two delegates, to attend with their brethren, in the sister judicatories. At the time of the passage of this judicious act, there were provincial synods of Lothian and Merse; of Dumfries, Galloway, Glasgow and Argyle; of Perth, Fife and Angus; of Aberdeen and Murray; and of Ross, Caithness and Orkney. Owing to the prevalence of Prelacy, labor in harvest, conveying grain to the mills, and even the amusement of fishing had become common in many parishes. All such desecrations of the Lord's day are strictly forbidden, and the necessity of imposing pecuniary mulcts, for restraining these immoralities, asserted.

In session 14th, of the 18th of Dec. 1638, the local authorities are commanded to proceed to the higher excommunication of all those ministers, who shall be found to disregard a previous sentence of deposition.

The Assembly annul the act that had been passed, through episcopal influence, allowing the ministers of

the Gospel to sit in parliament, as members, and to act as justices of the peace ; and they enjoin it on the inferior judicatories, “ to proceed with the censures of the church against such as shall transgress herein, in time coming.” By this act they refute the slander, which has been often uttered against Covenanters, that they wish to blend church and state. The Episcopalians and Papists did and do so. Reformed Presbyterians always opposed so unhallowed a commixture of civil and ecclesiastical authority.

Beside the above act, the following decrees were issued by the Assembly, during the December sessions of the same year.

1. That considering the many slanderous attacks made on the judicatories of the church, and her officers by the press, no printer of their communion be permitted to publish any of the deeds of the church, or any treatise respecting the church of Scotland, or “ God’s cause in hand,” unless subscribed by Archibald Jonston, clerk of the Assembly, and that those who should contravene the provisions of the act, should be proceeded against by the censures of the church.

2. That where presbyteries are refractory, the commissions of the synods summon them to appear before the next General Assembly “ to abide their trial and censure.”

3. That each presbytery procure a copy of the acts of the superior judicatories, certified by the clerks, and insert it in their books of records, that until this be procured, they have an authenticated index, with the titles of the acts, and that every session procure and pay for a printed copy of the proceedings of the courts, to whose jurisdiction they belong.

4. “ That all ministers, masters of colleges and schools and all others,” under their care, subscribe the National

Covenant, as it was sworn in February, of the same year.

5. That the Assembly, and all its inferior judicatories have power to appoint their own meetings, independently of the indiction of the civil government, and, on urgent necessity, to call *prorenata* meetings, of which occasional sessions, due notice shall be given to all presbyteries, colleges and burroughs, and that when the civil government shall call an extra session, it shall be attended by delegates from the presbyteries, literary institutions and cities.

6. That a letter of thanks be sent to the king for the indiction of that Assembly, and praying him to co-operate with them in the maintenance of the great system of Presbyterian truth and order, which, for the glory of God and the good of the commonwealth they were endeavoring, by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, to promote. This ecclesiastical paper is dated Glasgow, 1638, Nov. 21.

Soon after the constitution of the Assembly of Edinburgh, 1639, August 12th, a renunciation of prelacy and promise of adherence to Reformed Presbyterianism, signed by "George Graham, sometime pretended bishop of the Orkneys," was read, received and recorded.

Among many important acts of the Edinburgh sessions for this year, were the following :

1. That the minutes of the assemblies, held from 1572, March 6th, to 1573, are authentic.

2. That the doings of their commission, in the deposition of ministers, be approved.

3. That a committee be appointed to extract from the minutes, and publish important parts of their transactions — that delinquents in ecclesiastical dues be proceeded against by civil process — that the books of sessions be presented annually to their presbyteries — that deposed ministers, under pain of excommunication, demit their charges — that all former acts against Papists be revived —

and that a formulary of catechising be adopted, throughout the whole kingdom, to test applicants for admission to the Lord's supper.

4. That the king's commissioner be called on, to take order that Walter Balcanquell, dean of Durham, be put on trial before the judge ordinary, for a slanderous and erroneous publication, issued in his name, and of which he is the reputed author.

During this session, the lords in council decree that in all time coming, the king and all his subjects be bound to subscribe the National Covenant, as a qualification for the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship. The members of council who, at this time, approved the National Covenant, were John Earl of Rothes, James Earl of Montrose, (the traitor) John Lord Loudon, Sir George Stirling, Sir William Doughlass, Sir Henry Wood, John Smith, one of the burgesses of the city of Edinburgh, Robert Barclay, Provost Irving, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Jonston. This statute was enacted at the request of the General Assembly of the church. The slanders uttered by the press and in private, against those who were opposed to Prelacy, and who were active in favor of the covenant-cause of God, it was apprehended, it would weaken the influence of the ministry of reconciliation. The Assembly knew that this is the weapon, which the enemy has always used, as his favorite dagger, to stab the church. On this account he is called in the word of God, "*the accuser of the brethren.*" The court of Christ wished it to be understood, that the reason of all these calumnies, was opposition to the Confession of Faith and Covenant. As these instruments were founded on the Holy Scriptures, and divinely appointed means of preserving the purity of the church; both the church and state united in commanding all under their care, to perform their duty to Messiah, "the Prince of the kings of the

earth." The National Covenant had become, fifty-nine years before, the constitution of the kingdom. It was binding on every citizen. Not so the Solemn League and Covenant, which was sworn four years afterwards, as we have mentioned.

The faction of Charles I., attempted in the Parliament of Scotland to force the Covenant on the nation, to render it odious. The commissioners of the church resisted, as we have seen, successfully that intrigue, because the Solemn League and Covenant had never before been sworn to by the nation.

August 30th, of the same Assembly, it was decreed. 1. That no appeal could be carried up from a session to synod until it had been tried in presbytery, unless it was immediately preceding synod, and after presbytery had adjourned. 2. That no new statute should be passed, in the supreme judicatory, until it had been referred, as an overture, to the subordinate synods, presbyteries and congregations. 3. That there shall be a weekly catechising, in some part of every congregation, that the families shall be catechised at home by heads of families, of which duty the ministers shall take account, assisted by an elder, and that family worship shall be performed in each household, morning and evening.*

At the sessions of July and August, the following year, it was enacted. 1. That the members of the Assembly shall sit together, and that other persons shall not be admitted among them. 2. That all the monuments of popish idolatry, such as crucifixes, images of Christ, of Mary and of other saints, shall be removed. 3. That the minister who speaks against the National Covenant, after having pledged himself to it by subscription, shall be suspended from office; and if he do not reform, the censure

* Act of Gen. Ass. pp. 88, 89.

shall be excommunication. Also, that any private Covenanter who impugns the Covenant shall be censured, as guilty of perjury. 4. That expectants who shall refuse subscription to the Covenant, be disqualified for preaching, reading, teaching and residency in an incorporated town, university or college.*

The sessions of the Assembly, 1641, of July and August, holden in the cities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, were addressed by a letter from Charles I., which John Earl of Weymes, his commissioner for the church, presented.† In this state paper, the king accepts for himself and for the government, the acts of the Edinburgh Assembly, and promises adherence to them. He also expresses his full approbation of the "true reformed religion," in which, by the graee of God, he promises to live and die. He pledges his royal word that the colleges and schools shall be well endowed, in order that a learned and able ministry may be provided to dispense the ordinances of the Gospel. We have seen how faithless, on his part, these solemn promises were.

This year the following laws were enacted by that learned and godly judicatory :

1. That the Rev. Dr. Howie, provost of the new college of St. Andrews, in consideration of his long and useful services and advanced age, together with all other superannuated ministers of the New Testament, who continue faithful, be declared emeriti, on the full salary which they received, when laboring in the service of the Gospel. Dr. Howie was requested to prepare his valuable papers for the use of the church.

2. That deposed ministers shall not be suddenly restored to office; and, in no case, without satisfactory evidence of their repentance.

* Act of Gen. Ass. pp. 91, 94 † pp. 97, 98.

3. That as the prosperity of the Church of God, is intimately connected with the good condition of the seminaries of learning, so their revenues shall be increased by appropriations, made out of the funds of the chapter and collegiate congregations, for the maintenance of professors and bursars; and for the enlargement of literary edifices and libraries. It is also ordained, in the same act, that there shall be a correspondence among the colleges, by annual meetings of delegates, for the promotion of piety and learning. All institutions of literature are commanded to procure and induct none but competent teachers, and such as are well affected to the reformation, and to the order of the church.

4. That all pastors of congregations be exemplary "in all manner of godly conversation," and that nothing shall be uttered by them, which doth not minister to the edification of the body of Christ. The reason assigned for this canon, is, "that error, heresy, schism, scandal, self-conceit, despising of others, pressing above the calling of Christians, *usurping of the pastoral vocation* by laymen, contempt of public means, unprofitable questions which edify not, and uncharitable censuring," may be corrected and prevented.*

5. That no innovations in the order of the house of God shall be introduced, until allowed by the General Assembly.

6. That every presbytery consisting of twelve ministers, and smaller ones uniting with some members from those that are larger, to that amount, shall maintain a bursar.† In the same act is provided, that no minister or licentiate who is an expectant of a congregation, in a pres-

* Act of Gen. Ass. pp. 99, 101.

† It is evident that every presbytery had a fund, and so there should be now. The Lord's people will furnish the means, when proper application is made to them.

bytery to which he does not belong, shall be permitted to preach in public, until he is tried as to his learning and orthodoxy, and produces satisfactory testimonials from the court, to whose jurisdiction he is subject. It is also provided, that when any expectant is educated at college or at a theological school, or who comes from a presbytery unsound in the faith, he shall go through all the forms, appointed for admission to the holy ministry.*

7. That covenants embracing any thing contrary to the covenanted reformation, be disallowed.†

A letter, dated London, July 12th, from the Presbyterian ministers of England, was received by this Assembly in Edinburgh, craving their aid against the spread of congregationalism, or independency, in England. A very learned and godly reply is given to this epistle, encouraging the brethren of South Britain, to persevere in the defence of the divinely appointed Presbyterian form of church government. They also condemn every other scheme of ecclesiastical polity, as contrary to the word of the Lord.

The congregation of Campheir, being composed of people from Scotland, notwithstanding that it was in a foreign country, this Assembly allowed to become a member of the Scottish church, and to admit its minister, William Spang, with a ruling elder as delegates to the next and succeeding sessions.

The Assembly of July and August, 1612, was held in St. Andrews, at which the following acts were passed :

1. That, under pain of deprivation, the clerks of the synods lay before the Assembly the records of the presbyteries.

* Acts of Gen. Ass. pp. 101, 102.

† This provision bars all congregational covenants not embracing the whole confession of the church.

2. That the kirk-sessions fill vacancies at their own election.*

3. That, on this translation, a minister shall not be put on trials as for ordination; but, that as eminent abilities are requisite in cities and professorships, the extent of the trials where there are satisfactory testimonials, shall be at the discretion of the presbytery, in whose bounds he is to be settled.

4. That as the king claims the right of choosing from a list of six ministers presented to him, the pastor of any congregation of which he is the patron, the presbyteries shall forward their lists of able ministers to the Assembly, or to the Presbytery of Edinburgh; and that when the presentation is made by the king, or by any lay pastor, the presbyteries shall be very careful, in the trials of the expectants, for a period of six months probation.†

5. That as in the Highlands, six expectants could not be found, competent to preach Erse, or *Irish*, (as the acts calls the language of the north, or mountainous districts) the king would be pleased to accept a list containing fewer names.

6. An overture against Papists. The Assembly resolved to draw up a supplication, to be presented to the counsel, by the presbytery of Edinburgh, that the penal laws against them should be faithfully executed. Masters are not to retain popish servants in their employ. Mass is utterly abolished. The children of Papists are committed, after seven years of age, to Protestant teachers. All who refuse to attend the ordinances of the

* This act violated the right of the people to elect their own rulers. Acts i. 23. "They," the people, "appointed." And, vi. 3. "Look ye," the people, "out among you, whom we may appoint."

† In this act, the church was striving against royal encroachments on her rights. The patron chose the pastor for the congregation, by a gross act of tyranny.

Gospel are to be reported to the synods. Presbyteries are ordered to do their duty in watching against popish corruptions. A list of excommunicated Papists must be presented to the council. The council is required to supplicate that no regiment leaving the kingdom, shall be under the command of a popish officer, of a higher or lower grade. Presbyteries are enjoined to proceed against non-communicants, whether Papists or others.

7. A letter was draughted to the king, in which Charles is thanked for the good wishes expressed in his address, at the opening of the sessions, for the reformation of the British nation. But a close inspection of the paper, will satisfy any one that he was insincere.

8. A friendly letter was also addressed to the English Parliament, in reply to one which that body had addressed to the Assembly. Those were not the days when letters and petitions from Christians were treated with scorn.* This reply to the Parliament's epistle, breathes a spirit of kindness and faithfulness.†

9. Five ministers of the Gospel, Robert Blair of St. Andrews, James Hamilton of Dumfries, Robert Ramsey of Glasgow, John McClelland of Kircudbright, Robert Ballie, professor of theology in the university of Glasgow, and John Livingston of Stranrahr, were appointed to preach the Gospel, four months each, during the ensuing year, in the kingdom of Ireland. These missions were sent to the neighboring island, at the earnest petition of Irish Covenanters, who had emigrated thither, and of others who had embraced the Protestant faith, after the pure doctrines of the Gospel had been taught there by the Reformers. The popish massacres and the prelati- cal oppressions had left the Reformed Presbyterian peo-

* As the late petitions, on the Sabbath mail, have been by the United States Congress.

† Acts of Gen. Ass. pp. 124, 131.

ple in a very destitue situation. The eminent character of the missionaries, shewed the importance which they attached to the mission. One part of the hope, expressed by the petitioners from Ireland, remains yet to be realized. They say :—“ The day may come, when a General Assembly in this land, may return to you the first fruits of thanks, for the plants of your free gift.”*

9. “ Considering the malice of divers persons in raising calumnies and scandals against ministers, which is not only injurious to their persons, and discredit to the holy calling of the ministry, but doth also prove a great prejudice and hindrance to the promoting of the Gospel; we do, therefore, ordain presbyteries and synods to proceed diligently in process against all persons that shall reproach or scandal ministers with the censures of the kirk, even to the highest, according as they find the degree or quality of the scandal deserve.”

10. The Assembly-chamber is ordered to be kept in good repair.

11. They petition the king and Parliament of England, not to be wanting in their duty to promote the glorious work of the reformation. The afflicted church of England, and the persecuted Protestant Irish are earnestly recommended to the prayers of the Lord’s people. They appoint a fast on account of 1. The great wickedness of all ranks. 2. The war in Ireland. 3. The civil war threatening England. 4. The necessity of prayer for the advancement of the Lord’s work, at home and abroad. 5. That Anti-christ may be destroyed. 6. That the harvest may be blessed.

* Acts &c., p. 150. The Covenant-cause of God, was greatly promoted by this and other missions, in the counties of Down, Antrem and Derry. John Gordon and Hugh Campbell were the commissioners to the Assembly, from Ireland. The act alluded to was passed 1642, Aug. 6, p. 148.

12. The Sabbath shall be better sanctified.*

The king's letter, delivered by Sir Thomas Hope, to the Assembly of Edinburgh, 1643, August 2d, is short and hypocritical, like the doings of all those who are attempting to destroy the purity of the church. He talks of peace, which he affirms he will preserve. By which he means that the efforts to reform gross immorality, heresy and idolatry, disturb the peace of Israel.

During the sessions of the Westminster Assembly, the general synod of Scotland was chiefly occupied in maintaining a correspondence with the church in England.

In that important period the following, among other acts were passed :

1. That those church members who refuse to subscribe the National Covenant, shall be proceeded against by the censures of the church.†

2. That diligent search be made in the sea-ports for all popish books, tending to produce schism in the church.

3. That all bills proceed by gradation, from the inferior to the highest judicatory.

4. That professors of divinity are eligible for membership in the Assembly.

5. That no honorary inscriptions to ministers or people, after their death, shall be put up in any church.

6. That no inferior judicatory remove the censure, imposed by a superior.

7. That employers be responsible for the sanctification of the Lord's day, by their hired people.

8. That a directory for worship be prepared, with all convenient speed and sent down to the inferior judicatories, in the form of an overture, to the inferior courts.‡

* Acts, &c., pp. 153, 156. † Ibid. p. 162.

‡ This act is justified by the declaration, Acts, xv. 22, 23. "The apos-

9. That some students in theology be instructed in the Erse language to preach in the Highlands.*

10. That the Solemn League and Covenant, prepared by committees of the convention of estates, and of the Assembly, be approved. This passed unanimously. As passed in Scotland, it was designed to embrace the whole covenanted reformation, and as sworn in three kingdoms, it embraces, by fair inference, all former attainments, and among others the National Covenant of Scotland. Posterity would have rejoiced had it been as full and explicit as the Scottish vow.

11. That intimacy of social intercourse, with excommunicated persons be relevant to suspension, and for a reiteration, to deprivation. The doctrine of this act is:—
“With such a one, do not to eat.”

12. That persons disaffected to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, be censured by the local authorities.

13. That the ministers who officiate as chaplains, in the army, shall be appointed to that office, by the presbyteries to which they are amenable.

14. A letter in the Latin tongue is prepared and sent to the Protestant congregations in the Netherlands, recommending the British covenants.

15. That the discipline of the Lord's house be exercised on all who violate the laws of the church.

16. That the first day of the sessions of the Assembly be observed as a day of fasting and humiliation, not only by the members of the court, but by all the brethren of the town in which they assemble.

tles, elders and deacons send greeting.” How did the “*brethren*” give their assent? They judged and decided, in their congregations, when it was an overture. Scribes could *read* to them copies of the bill.

* As we ought, in German and French to preach to the Germans, in Pennsylvania, and in Upper Canada, and to the French in Lower Canada.

17. That the practice of making marriage festivals, by the contributions of the guests, shall be discontinued, on account of the revelry to which they have led.*

18. That all cases of anti-nuptial fornication, shall be censured by rebuke before the congregation.

19. That Robert Earl of Seaforth, be summarily excommunicated, for joining his troops with those of the rebel, James Graham, in opposition to the Lord's covenant-cause.

20. That Christmas and Easter holidays are superstitious, and that the masters of schools be forbidden to countenance them, by vacating their schools during those popish and sinful festivals.†

21. That promiscuous dancing is scandalous. This act, by fair inference, forbids sending children to dancing schools; for why learn art at the expense of the precious time and of the property that God gives us, when it is not to be practiced?

The following declaration of that godly and very faithful Assembly is worthy of all acceptation :

**“ENORMITIES AND CORRUPTIONS OBSERVED
TO BE IN THE MINISTRY, WITH THE
REMEDIES THEREOF.”**

ENORMITIES.

The first and main sin, reaching both to our personal carriage and callings, we judge to be, not studying how to keep communion and fellowship with God in Christ, but walking in a natural way, without the employing of Christ, or drawing virtue from him, to enable us unto sanctification, and preaching in spirit and power.

* Acts, &c. p. 286. An act to prohibit the sale of ardent liquors, and their use as a luxury, would be of the same nature. The revelry of the Pennybridals of Scotland, was not greater than the evils of drunkenness, in these United States.

† Acts, &c. pp. 185. 186.

IN OUR LIVES.

1. Much fruitless conversing in company, and complying with the sins of all sorts, not behaving ourselves as becomes the men of God.

2. Great worldliness is to be found amongst us, minding and speaking most about things of this life; being hurried about many things, but forgetting the main.

3. Slighting of God's worship in their families, and therefore no cordial urging of it upon others; yea, altogether a wanting of it in some, if it be credible.

4. Want of gravity in carriage and apparel, dissoluteness in hair, and shaking about the knees, lightness in the apparel of their wives and children.

5. Tippling and bearing company in untimous drink, in taverns and ale houses, or any where else, whereby the ministry is made vile and contemptible.*

6. Discountenancing of the godly; speaking ill of them, because of some that are unanswerable to their profession.

7. The Sabbath not sanctified after sermons, which maketh people think that the Sabbath is ended with the sermon.

8. There are also to be found amongst us "some" who use small and minced oaths.

9. Some so great strangers to Scripture, that except in their public ministry, though they read many things, yet they are little conversant in the Scripture, and in meditation thereof. A duty incumbent on all the people of God.

IN OUR CALLINGS.

1. Corrupt entry into the ministry in former times, and following in the course of defection, though forsaken, yet

* These and other evils had been introduced by the prevalence of Prelacy before the second reformation.

never seriously repented of: as also present entering into the ministry, as to a way of living in the world, and not as to a spiritual calling.

2. Helping in and holding in of insufficient and suspected men, who favor the things of this life, and keeping the door straiter on them whom God hath sealed, than upon these who have less evidence of the power of grace and holiness.

3. Partiality in favoring and speaking for the scandalous, whether ministers or other persons, teaching them how to shift and delay censures.

4. Silence in the public cause, not laboring to cure the disaffection of people, not urging them to constancy and patience in the bearing of public burdens, not to forwardness in the public cause, whereby malignants are multiplied: yea some are so gross herein, that, even in public fasts little or nothing is to be heard from them sounding this way.

5. Some account it a point of wisdom to speak ambiguously: some incline to justify the wicked cause, uttering words which savor of disaffection: and all their complaining of the times, is in such a way as may steal the hearts of people from liking of good instruments in this work, and consequently from God's cause: yea, some reading public orders, are ready to speak against them in their private conference.

6. Idleness; either in seldom preaching, as once on the Lord's day, or in preparation for public duties, not being given to reading and meditation: others have but fits of pains, not like other tradesmen, continually at their work.

7. Want of zeal and love to the conversion of souls, not being weighted with the want of success in reclaiming sinners, nor searching in themselves the cause of not preaching *ex officio* nor *ex conscientia officii*.

8. Self-seeking in preaching, and a venting rather of

their wit and skill, than a shewing forth of the wisdom and power of God.

9. Lifelessness in preaching, not studying to be furnished by Christ with power; and so the ordinance of God reacheth not the conscience: and thereto belongeth the not applying of the doctrine unto the auditory and times.

10. The indiscreet curing of the indiscretion of pious people and ministers, whereby godliness hath gotten a deep wound, and profanity hath lifted up the head, contrary to that wise and gracious order set forth in the General Assembly holden at *Edinburgh*, 1641.

11. Little care to furnish our army, either abroad or at home with ministers; one of our grievous sins and causes of our calamity.

12. Last, it is to be feared that ministers in secret are negligent to wrestle in prayer, for a blessing to be poured out upon their labors, contenting themselves with their public performances.

REMEDIES.

1. That presbyteries make great conscience, to have all vacant places within their several bounds filled with godly and able men, wherever they are to be found: and that under pretence of being a helper, or second to another, none to be taken in, but such as are able for the same charge.

2. Whereas it is known, that private trial in presbyteries are for the most part perfunctorious, the brethren are hereby exhorted to be more serious and faithful herein, as they will be answerable to Christ, the Chief Shepherd, and in a way previous thereto, that brethren be free, in loving admonition one of another secretly, from time to time; and that whosoever keeps not the presbytery or synod, after grave admonitions, may come under further censures.

3. That accuracy be used as to visitation of congregations, and that the elders one by one (the rest being removed) be called in, and examined upon oath, on the ministers behavior in his calling and conversation.

4. That course be taken to divide congregations in parts; and by the help not only of elders in their several parts, but of neighbors also, the evils and neglect of persons and families, may be found out and remedied.

5. That every minister be humbled for his former failings; and make his peace with God, that the more effectually he may preach repentance, and may stand in the gap to turn away the Lord's wrath: running between the porch and the alter, sighing and crying for all the abomination of the land.

6. Special care must be had, that ministers have their conversation in heaven, mainly minding the things of God, and exercising faith for drawing life out of Jesus Christ the fountain of life, arming themselves thereby, with power against the contagion raging, and wickedness of the world.

7. Care must be had of godly conference in presbyteries, even in time of their refreshment, and the moderator is to look to it, that matter be furnished thereunto.

8. It is also very necessary for every minister that would be fruitful in the work of the Lord, to bring home the word of God to his own heart and conscience, by prayer and meditation, both before and after the public ordinance.

9. Use must be made of the roll of the parish, not only for examination, but also for considering the several conditions and dispositions of the people, that accordingly they may be admonished, and particularly prayed for by the ministers in secret.

10. It is very expedient that ministers have more communion among themselves for their mutual stirring up,

and strengthening their hands in the Lord's work, and rectifying of those who are not incorrigible.

11. That ministers in all sorts of company labor to be fruitful, as the salt of the earth seasoning them they meet with, not only forbearing to drink healths, (Satan's snares leading to excess) but reprovng it in others.

12. All ministers should be careful to cherish the smoking flax of weak beginnings in the ways of God, and ought courageously to oppose all mockers and revelers of the godly.

13. As at all times, so especially now, when the Lord is calling us to an account, it becomes the ministers of Christ, with all diligence and faithfulness, to improve their ministry to the utmost, to be instant in season and out of season; yea, even frugally to employ their time in private, in reading, and meditating on the Scripture, that the word of God may dwell plentifully in them.

14. That the providing of the army with ministers be preferred to any congregation, and these who are appointed to attend the same, and are deficient, be without delay, severely censured, according to the act of the General Assembly, and that all ministers, not only in public, pray for our armies, especially those that are to encounter with bloody enemies within the land, but also continually to bear them up before the Lord, that their lives being reformed, their hearts and their hands may be strengthened, and their undertaking blessed of the Lord with success.

15. That beside all other scandals, silence or ambiguous speaking in the public cause, much more distracting and disaffected speeches be seasonably censured; and to this effect, all honest hearted brethren would firmly unite themselves to the Lord, the younger honoring the elder, and the elder not despising the younger.

16. Finally, both for the corruption of the ministry and

for the remedies thereof, we refer the brethren to the act of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 1596, received in the late Assembly at Glasgow, 1638.

Persons who withdraw themselves from the public ordinance, are ordered to be dealt with privately, by the pastors of congregations. If they refuse to reform, the minister is ordered to report them to session that they may be censured as despisers of the ordinances of the Gospel.

In the August sessions, 1647, the Confession of Faith, framed by the Westminster Assembly, is adopted as a term of communion. But the Assembly explain that part of the 31st chapter which relates to the calling of councils, by civil rulers, as to be applied only in unsettled states of the church. In 1648, the larger and shorter catechisms were adopted, as subordinate standards.

While they thus enacted laws against private persons who are delinquent, they ordered the exercise of discipline upon ministers who neglected their duty. Those who absented themselves from the judicatories of the Lord's house, are to be suspended from office, unless their absence is on reasonable ground.*

The Assembly also ordered the inferior judicatories to inflict the censures of the church on all ministers who are not faithful in reproving the doctrinal and practical evils of the times, both in church and state. At the same time, all are declared to be guilty of scandal and deserving of censure, who speak against the ministers of Christ for their faithfulness.†

Students on being received into colleges, and persons when first admitted to the Lord's supper, are to swear the Covenant of the church and nation.

While the church was thus employed in the removal

of popish and prelatical corruptions, and in perfecting her system of ecclesiastical order, the enemies of the truth were not idle. In Scotland they were abashed. The abandonment of the Presbyterian form of government by Cromwell, and the admission to office of men of every shade of moral and immoral character, and of doctrine, opened a wide field for intrigue and collision. But the truth had many powerful friends, who contended nobly "for the faith once delivered to the saints." The termination of the protectorate in 1660, paved the way for the recall and coronation Charles II.*

General Monk, who is represented by nearly all the historians, as an unprincipled soldier of fortune, like most modern soldiers, was a republican, a monarchist, a devotee, or a profligate, as best suited his own avarice, or ambition, had command of the English army. When professing adherence to the cause of religion and liberty, he entered into negotiations with Charles II., who was at Breda in Holland. While the Parliament was deliberating on the subject of sending commissioners to treat with him, General Monk intimated that if any terms were insisted on, he could not answer for the peace of the country. This threat overawed the friends of religion and liberty, who had no means of resisting the prelatical members, and the army. Charles II. was invited to accept, without conditions, the crown which his father, with his head, had deservedly lost, twenty years before. Episcopacy and tyranny now gained, once more, to the full of its ascendancy.†

The Parliament of the following year was opened with great pomp, and soon shewed its base subserviency to one of the worst tyrants that ever trampled on the rights of man and disgraced human nature. It was ordained

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 469. † Reformation Principles, p. 74.

that the king did not hold his crown as the representative of the people, but immediately from Almighty God, and that the king was the fountain of law. The Solemn League and Covenant was annulled, and its renewal, without the king's warrant, was prohibited under severe penalties. This impious act of a tyrannical, Episcopal king and Parliament, is called in history "the Act Recis-sory."*

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 477. The people of God, in the three kingdoms, have always mourned over this most wicked act of defection. It was incomparably more alarming to all good men, than it would now be, in the United States, should General Jackson, at the head of his army, in a drunken revel, abolish the United States constitution, and proclaim military law; for the people saw not only liberty, and peace, and home, but their altars of religion demolished. The tyrant, who would do so now, would soon feel for his crown. Witness the late king of France.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT RECISSORY, TO THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

FOR a short time after the unhallowed restoration of Charles II., the lords of the Articles set aside the doings of the Parliament in detail. Every act of theirs was in accordance with the profligacy of the wicked men, who continued in the court of the lawless king. This mode of evading the laws of the realm, was found to be inconvenient. Aikman gives the history of the act rescinding all the laws, which the reformers had passed as follows :* “ A jocular remark of Primrose, that the better and shorter way would be to declare all the proceedings since 1633, irregular and unconstitutional, was adopted by the junto at a debauch : the draught of a bill to this effect, carried at the board by drunken acclamation, was passed at the Articles without inquiry, and next day sent to be ratified by Parliament.” “ This summary proceeding was evidently and avowedly adoped for the purpose of overturning the Presbyterian form of church government, and introducing Episcopacy.”

In Parliament there was a strong minority opposed to this unconstitutional, and most unrighteous measure, some of whom were genuine Covenanters. But the majority were miserable sycophants, having no higher object than the base flattery of an iniquitous throne, for the purpose of personal self-aggrandizement. Their spirit was, however, soon broken by the fury of the tempest that was beginning to rage. On the final passage of the bill, their number was diminished to forty.

* Aik. vol. iv. pp. 478, 479.

The drunken revel of the king and his council, soon sealed the decree of these midnight orgies, with the best blood of the kingdom. Archibald Marquis, of Argyle, was tried and condemned on the accusation, among other charges, that he had signed the Solemn League and Covenant. When the sentence was passed on him that he should be beheaded, he received it kneeling. As soon as he rose, he said: — “I remember that I first put the crown on the king’s head, and I hope God will bestow on him a crown of glory; for I have ever wished him well.”* When he returned to the Tolbooth prison, he found the marchioness in waiting for him, to whom he said: — “They have given me to Monday to be with you, my dear; therefore, let us improve the time.” She embraced him, and weeping, in the bitterness of her agony, exclaimed: — “The Lord will require it, the Lord will require it!”

He spent the intervening Sabbath with great calmness and cheerfulness of spirit, in the exercises of holy devotion. “I am naturally,” said he to his friends, “of a timid disposition; but you see how wonderfully I am raised above all fear.” At his own request, the marchioness took leave of him on the evening of the Lord’s day. He slept tranquilly that night. On Monday, at twelve, he dined with his friends, and appeared to be filled “with joy unspeakable and full of glory,” in the prospect of entering on the possession of the heavenly inheritance. After dinner he retired to his closet, for a short space, that he might enjoy the “fellowship of the Father and his Son Jesus Christ,” through the communion of the Spirit. On leaving the prison for the scaffold, he said: “I could die like a Roman, but I choose rather to die like a Christian.”

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 485.

Accompanied by several noblemen and others, in mourning, he walked with great steadiness and composure, along the street, to the place of execution, and ascended cheerfully the stairs to the block. He warned all present to beware of violating the Covenant of the Lord of hosts, which the nation had sworn, and admonished them to adhere steadfastly to their vows; as no earthly monarch, legislature, or court could absolve them from their oath of allegiance to Jehovah, or annul its obligation on their consciences. He, saying that he pardoned his persecutors, kneeled down and prayed for them. He then laid on the block his head, which the knife of the maiden instantly severed from his body. The holy resignation of this covenanter nobleman's death, moved even his most bitter enemies to some symptoms of relenting. But they still thirsted for more blood of the saints. The British nation mourned, and all good men regarded this most merciless execution of a great, patriotic and godly man, with indignation and abhorrence. The Episcopal tyrant and his ruthless cabinet knew this, and resolved to follow up the blow which they had aimed at all liberty and all religion, with such measures as would overwhelm patriotism and godliness with terror and consternation.

James Guthrie, an aged, learned, eloquent and faithful Reformed Presbyterian minister, who was esteemed one of the ablest and most influential advocates of the Lord's covenant-cause, speedily followed his friend and fellow-Covenanter, Argyle, to the scaffold. He had written and published a book entitled, *Causes of God's Wrath*, and several other able and seasonable tracts, by which the Lord's cause, in the hands of Covenanters, had been eminently promoted. His piety towards God was eminent and his deportment as a Christian very exemplary. Guthrie never owned the authority of Cromwell, as the ordinance of God, because the protector disregarded the divinely au-

thorized government of the church, and did not adhere to the covenants of the realm. On the other hand, as Charles, at his coronation in Scotland had given his most solemn pledge to the whole attainments of the reformation, this eminent servant of Christ regarded him, as clothed with the authority of a civil ruler, who reigns as the minister of God. He did not confide, however, in the personal integrity of Charles, whom he faithfully admonished to beware of departure from his duty, in the violation of his Scottish coronation oath.*

All these considerations marked him out as a fit object of the king's terrible vengeance, and thirst for christian blood. Guthrie was in 1661, February 20th, put on his trial, which lasted till the 11th of April. In the conclusion of a very able and luminous speech, pleading his own cause in court, he says : — " God is my witness that what I have spoken, written or acted, in any of these things, with which I am charged, hath been merely and singly from a principle of conscience, that according to the light given me of God, I might do my duty as a minister of the Gospel — I do assert that I have founded my speeches, writings and actions, in these matters, on the word of God, and on the doctrine, Confession of Faith, and laws of this church and kingdom, upon the National Covenant of Scotland, and on the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms. If these foundations fall, I must fall with them ; but if these sustain and stand in judgment, as I hope they will, I cannot acknowledge myself guilty of either sedition or treason."† Near the close of his very long trial, he, with the noble intrepidity

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 488. This consideration vindicates that holy martyr of Jesus and his fellow sufferers for the crown of our King, from the charge of undue attachment to the kingly form of government.

† Ibid. p. 489. It was the ordinance of God and God's holy laws, and Covenant they loved. They were the subjects of Messiah, and resolved to honor those rulers, who pledged themselves to honor Him.

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ERRATA.—In No. III, Part II, page 29, for “Michael Jonson,” read Michael J. Johnston.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

We have opened a correspondence with Drs. Chalmers and McCree, of Scotland, by which we hope shortly to have access to the best theological journals of Great Britain. We have also employed an agent, who resides in Lubeck, at the foot of the Baltic, through whose agency we hope soon to negotiate an exchange with several Holland and German periodicals. We have also commenced a correspondence with one of the most distinguished of the Protestant divines in France.

All new theological publications, which authors or publishers wish to have reviewed, we shall receive with thankfulness. If sent by mail, they must be post-paid, as must all letters, except those containing the names of new subscribers, or making remittances.

We invite the ministers of the New Testament, who hold the pens of ready writers, to aid us in the defence of the purity of gospel truth, and in contending “against all the evils that exist in the corrupt constitutions of church and state.” We are happy to say that we have enlisted the best talents in the church to furnish articles for the Albany Quarterly. We beg for an interest in the prayers of our brethren in the Lord.

Our next No. will consist of 100 pages instead of 76.

of one endowed with a large measure of the Holy Ghost, in an address to the Lord Chancellor, says:—“My lord, my conscience I cannot submit; but this old crazy body, and mortal flesh, I do submit, that you may do with it whatsoever you will, whether by death or banishment, or by imprisonment, or any thing else; only I beseech you, ponder what profit is there in my blood; it is not extinguishing me, nor many others, that will extinguish the covenant and work of reformation since 1638. No, my bondage, banishment, or blood will contribute more for their extension than my life or liberty could, were I to live many years!”*

In the course of his trial, he was offered the royal favor, and promotion to a bishoprick, on condition that he would abandon the covenants, renounce Presbyterianism and become an Episcopalian. But he counted “the reproach of Christ,” in the sufferings and ignominy of the scaffold, “greater riches than the treasures of Egypt,” Heb. xi. 26. He was condemned and beheaded, having “fought a good fight, kept the faith, and received the crown of glory.”† 2 Tim. iii. 7.

Samuel Rutherford would have been honored with the crown of martyrdom, had not his death, by a lingering disease, disappointed the persecutor of that blood for which he thirsted.‡

Middleton, the king’s commissioner to Scotland, who had been the leader in these deeds of iniquity, returned to London, reeking with the blood of the saints, to receive the thanks and the rewards of the king. As the

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 490.

† Russell, the infidel advocate of tyrants and enemy of the rights both of God and man, says, in his *Modern Europe*, vol. ii. p. 184. “Argyle’s case was thought peculiarly hard; but as Guthrie had insulted the king, his fate was lamented only by the wildest fanatics!” These “*wildest fanatics*” were all the real Christians and enlightened patriots in Britain.

‡ Aik. vol. iv. p. 491.

Parliament of Scotland had declared the king supreme in all ecclesiastical matters, and rescinded all that the Reformers had done, the order of the church in North Britain was next to be settled in a cabinet council. Charles had given a formal pledge to the presbytery of Edinburgh, that Presbyterianism should be preserved inviolate. Some members of the council were professed Presbyterians, and it was known that a great majority of the Scottish people were zealously attached to that form of church government. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, it was soon decreed that the whole Presbyterian fabric should be demolished, and the Episcopal hierarchy forced upon the Lord's heritage. In violation of his plighted faith, the king issued a proclamation abolishing presbytery, and establishing prelacy. All meetings of presbyteries were denounced as illegal; and ministers were forbidden to preach or speak against the change, under pain of imprisonment. All Presbyterian Covenanters, were declared to be disqualified for the holding of civil offices, in the boroughs, and their election to the charge of congregations, disallowed, under high penalties.

As the dignitaries of the Episcopal church denied the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and as there was but one prelate in Scotland, Sharp, Fairfoul, Hamilton and Leighton were summoned to London, where Sharp was ordained primate, and the other three consecrated bishops, to govern with an iron, priestly sceptre, the Covenanters of Scotland. The new arch-bishop, in royal magnificence of equipage, returned home and was greeted upon his arrival, with revelry and dissipation. On the 8th of May, 1662, two days after the arrival of the bishops, the second session of the Parliament was opened. It forthwith decreed that the whole external order of the church belonged to the king's prerogative, and that in obedience to his royal will, the Lord's house should be go-

verned by arch-bishops, bishops, &c., who were declared to have jurisdiction, *ex officio*, over temporal causes, and that all the future edicts of the king and the bishops should be held binding on the church. Patronage was restored; all the ministers who within thirteen years had entered by the election of the people, and Presbyterian installation, were deprived of their salaries, unless in four months they received inauguration, or, as they called it, *collation* from a bishop.* Collation could not be obtained on any other terms than the renunciation of their covenant with God, and an oath recognizing the headship over the church, impiously claimed by the king.

The same terms were imposed on the Presbyterian clergy of England, (1662, Aug. 24,) and 3000 of them resigned their charges, in order to maintain a good conscience.† Their example was followed by 300 of the Lord's servants in Scotland, who were turned out of their dwellings, and deprived of the support which their congregations had promised, and were willing to pay them.‡

The British Protestant Covenanters were astonished, at the adventurous and chivalric cruelty with which Charles dared to attack the great body of the nobles, clergy and commons; a large majority of whom had espoused the cause of liberty and religion, fortified by the most solemn covenant-oaths. They little knew the aid on which he relied, or the resources which he had at command. While

* Aik. vol. iv. pp. 494, 497.

† They are called by the English ecclesiastical historians, *Nonconformists*. They were eminent for their learning, eloquence, and godliness. Their sufferings were very great, like those of whom the Spirit speaks, Heb. 37: 39: "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. And these all obtained a good report through faith." The lives of a few have been well written, and are read with fond remembrance of their holiness and sufferings, by the saints of God in England.

‡ Russ. Mod. Eu. vol. ii. p. 185.

the Covenanters were quietly prosecuting their holy and benevolent plans of purifying the nation from the pollution of Pagan and Popish idolatry, and cultivating holiness in the fear of the Lord, the king was in correspondence with the papists of the continent, and was in high favor with the powerful dynasties of the south of Europe. These all abhorred the religion of Jesus, and dreaded the progress "of that liberty, wherewith Christ makes his people free." France, with whom "*the bloody house of Stuart*," were always intimately connected, was strengthening her papal despotism against the Protestant Presbyterian church, which embraced several millions of her best citizens. From their character, Cardinal Mazarine, the unprincipled prime minister of Louis XIV.,* and the whole profligate court of St. Cloud, learned to form some estimate of the freedom which the Covenanters of Britain were promoting so efficiently. While they reproached them as the wildest fanatics, they knew them to be powerful antagonists of tyranny, and enemies of all base sensual indulgence. †

Anne, of Austria, reposed her whole confidence in Cardinal Mazarine, ‡ to whose keeping she committed her popish conscience. The Austrian court, governed then, as now, the Germanic empire; whose throne of iniquity has always been the great support of feudal, popish, and despotic domination. That priestly tyrant, and fitting successor of Richlieu, § and the real executive of France, had under his control nearly 40,000,000 of Papists in Gaul and Germany. These two powers governed nearly all papal Europe. Urban VIII. was succeeded by Innocent X., 1664, whose successor was Alexander VII., the reigning pontiff, when Charles II. was crowned. He was

* Mos. Ec. His. vol. iv. 110.

† Sabine, p. 444. ‡ Mod. Eu. vol. ii. p. 139.

§ Sabine's Ec. His. pp. 440, 441.

using all his efforts to crush, by the power of impious kings, Protestantism, in all lands.* It was not without some degree of success that this ghostly tyranny made “*war against them*,”† that testified for the truths of the Gospel; for the continental Christians never seem to have thought of casting off allegiance to the thrones of iniquity, who constitute the horns of “the beast out of the bottomless pit.” Their connection with those tyrannical and popish governments, whom they improperly considered the ordinance of God, had not a little corrupted them. They were present in the courts of these profane rulers, and there drank of the cup of intoxication, with which the “mother of harlots,” ‡ riding on “a scarlet colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns, intoxicates the nations.”§ Because of this, there had been a great decline of orthodoxy, godliness, and zeal in the reformed churches, which rendered them less adverse to the Romish idolatry, and tyranny; so that the plotting of the conclave of the cardinals at Rome, and the conspiracies of princes against the liberties of the nations, were less opposed, than they would otherwise have been. Charles, with his Episcopal friends, knew this; and they were emboldened to make the most furious and unrestrained warfare on the British Reformed Presbyterian Covenanters.

The storm that had been collecting on the other side of the channel, from the meeting of the Westminster assembly of divines, now broke, in a furious and desolating tempest, on the Protestant Isles of Great Britain. The judicatories were scattered, the ministers banished or slain,

* Mos. vol. iv. p. 383. † Rev. xi. 7. ‡ Rev.

§ Rev. xvii. 3. This woman is Popery, and the beast “*out of the bottomless pit*” is the present governments of Europe. See Dr. Scott on Rev. xii. 3, and xvii. 5—9.

some churches were closed, and became a desolation, while others were occupied by fox-hunting, sabbath-breaking and essay-reading curates, on whose unholy ministry, the lovers of God and his truth, and covenant, could not attend with edification or good conscience. But while they mourned over the departed glory, they did not forsake their Redeemer, who was their rock ; nor the assembling of themselves together. Many, indeed, went out from the Covenanters, because they were not of them. It was the will of the Church's Head, that the floor should be purged ; " for what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord ?" The time had come when the Lord's people must give testimony before the whole world, and for the good of all posterity, that they were moved by a holy zeal for the honor of Christ, for the truth, and for his church, in the work of reformation, which they had been permitted to perfect. To honor Messiah, their Head, they were called to follow Argyle and Guthrie in sealing, with blood, their testimony.

Little remains for the historian of the church, in that period of trial, but to record their testimony and their sufferings.

The members of the Scottish parliament, the judges of the court, the great officers of state in England, and the dignitaries of the Episcopal church, spent their time in the most shameless revelry and dissipation. The parliament of Scotland that had usually met, at an early hour in the forenoon, could not be got together, after whole nights of criminal indulgence, until the afternoon. To show their obsequiousness to the persecuting power, which countenanced, by its example, those licentious practices, they granted the king an army of 20,000 infantry, and 2000 cavalry, and appropriated the revenues of the nation for their support, that the religion of Jesus might

be suppressed.* The holy lives of the Lord's servants, they, like Nero, considered a reproach of their base profligacy. The sum voted, as an annual appropriation for this object, was \$177,600.

Lord Lorn, the son of the martyred Marquis of Argyle, was condemned by the parliament, and would have suffered, after the example of his father, had not Charles pardoned him, from reasons of state. Indeed, cruel and profligate as Charles was, his ferocity lagged far behind that of the bishops, who goaded him on to the murder of the Covenanters.

Lauderdale, who, while the cause of God prevailed, professed to be a zealous Covenanter, had become recreant to the truth, and succeeded the infamous Middleton, in administering the government of Scotland, on behalf of the crown. Upon his arrival in North Britain, the prelatical clergy repaired to his court, and prevailed on him to wreak their vengeance on the people, who refused to attend on their ministrations. All, even Episcopal historians, such as Burnet and Clarendon, do not attempt to deny that the lives of the curates and even higher orders of that worldly sanctuary, were scandalous. The lovers of gospel truth could not, with edification, or good conscience, attend at those churches where they officiated. †

They were so illiterate, that instead of *preaching* to the people, they *read* discourses, copied from learned writers, or *hired* laymen to write for them, those essays, which they read to congregations, rather for their amuse-

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 447. Hind let loose, or Scotland's Wrestlings, p. 205. This very able defence of the cause of truth, and of the Covenanters, ought to be reprinted in this country. It demonstrates that the Church is the best advocate of the rights of man, while she pleads for those of God. This work also illustrates well the tyranny of the Episcopacy.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. and Kirkton, p. 160, as quoted by Aikman.

ment, than for their sanctification.* It was not surprising that those intelligent, orthodox and godly professors, who had been fed with the sincere milk of the word, by the able ministers of the New Testament, whom prelacy had ejected, should refuse to countenance, by their presence, the profane mockery of the embassy of reconciliation, which the tyrant had thrust into the temple of the Lord, as its ministering servant.

The ejected clergy admitted to their family worship, those of their people who were in their neighborhood, or who visited them in their distress, to impart comfort. It was the practice of the ministers, in the best times of the reformation, in family devotion, to make some brief explanatory remarks, on the portion of the word which they read. When Christian people were admitted to the devotions of their households, these exercitations were enlarged; the numbers of people who attended to hear them, increased: the private houses could not contain those who sought the bread of life, and they resorted to the fields. In this manner, Aikman says, the field preaching commenced, or the "Conventicle," as mockers called it, originated.†

Sir Archibald Jonston, or Lord Worrison, who had greatly distinguished himself, as clerk of the Assembly, fell, at this time, of course, under the displeasure of the tyrant. For two years he had resided in peace among the German Reformers. On his way home, he came to Rouen, in France, and was demanded, from the French government, as a British subject, delivered up, tried, con-

* It is painful to state that the practice of reading sermons has been permitted to find its way to some extent, into the Presbyterian and Congregational pulpits of the United States. We hope, however, that the clergy generally write their own dissertations. The prophet Ezekiel was commanded to **EAT** the roll, and **SPEAK** to the people.—Ez. iii. 1—4.

† Aik. vol. iv. p. 511.

demned, and suffered martyrdom ; because he would not renounce his covenant-engagement to the Lord of hosts. Very old and infirm, he was conducted with ignominy from Leith to Edinburgh, amidst the scorn of the rabble. When he was led out to the place of execution, his former vigor of intellect returned, and animated by the near prospect of the crown of glory, “ he died in faith, giving glory to God.”* This display of the power of divine grace, animated and cheered the sufferers, while, for a little, it overawed the persecutors, and moved something of sympathy, even among his enemies. In him was verified the promise : —

“ Mark thou the perfect and behold,
The man of uprightness;
Because that surely of that man,
The latter end is peace.”

In order to systematize their deeds of cruelty, the High Court of Commission, which the historians of that age compare to the Spanish inquisition, was instituted. It was composed of nine ecclesiastics and thirty-five laymen ; Sharp, the bishop of St. Andrews, pre-eminent, in shedding the blood of the saints, “ who made the streets to run down with blood,” was its president. To be accused before this tribunal was to be condemned. Its proceedings were so illegal, oppressive and violent, that all men of common decency, were shocked ; and, in two years it fell, “ drunk with the blood of the martyrs,” into disgrace, and was discontinued. †

For the execution of the merciless edicts of the High Commission court, Sir James Turner, who like all that prove recreant to the cause of truth, was recommended by his zeal, in destroying what he had once professed to

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 512. Some able hand ought to write the life of this distinguished martyr of Jêsus.

† Ibid. p. 515. Mod. Eu. vol. ii. p. 228.

build up, was promoted to the command of the army of the west, for the purpose of shedding the blood of the Lord's servants. He invaded the sanctuaries of the worshippers, whom his cruelty had driven from their homes and altars to the mountains. His dragoons, with their claymores, dashed into the congregations of Covenanters, who were worshipping their Father in heaven, among the rocks of the mountains, and sprinkled with the blood of the communicant, the altar of the Lord. Aged disciples, mothers with their infants at the breast, "young men and maidens too," begging in vain for mercy, fell by the sabres of the soldiery. But "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The ferocity of the Roman soldiers, under the pagan emperors, in the early ages of Christianity, might be deemed benignity, when compared with the ruthless fury of the king's troops, urged on by this traitor. Such were, in those days, the doings of the Episcopal hierarchy; for Charles, Sharpe, Turner, and their myrmidons, were Episcopalians, and professed to be fired with zeal for the interests of religion and for the honor of the crown.*

It cannot be said of them, as Paul says of himself, that they "did it ignorantly and in unbelief." They were moved to all this wanton and enormous cruelty, by ambition to please the ungodly, to gratify their own enmity against God and his church, and by their avarice. The common soldier loved plunder, and hated holiness. Human nature blushes that such monsters, in human shape,

* Russ. Mod. Eu. vol. ii. pp. 221, 228. Goldsmith's England, p. 196. Mavor's Uni. His. vol. xxii. pp. 179, 180. These three historians are enemies of the Covenanters, and of all true godliness. The stubbornness of facts, wrested these confessions from their pens. Act and Testimony of the Scottish Seceders, 1747, p. 34. Aik. vol. iv. p. 535. Reformation Principles Exhibited, New York, 1806, p. 80. Scotch worthies throughout.

belong to the race of men. God will give the government of England blood to drink ere long, for it is worthy. Soon will we hear the song of victory:—"Thou art righteous, O Lord, because thou hast judged and avenged thus."* These frightful devastations did not deter faithful ministers from assembling with the Lord's people, to dispense to them the bread of life. Welch, Blackader and Semple, were among the most distinguished of the servants of Christ in this holy work of administering the consolations of the Gospel to the suffering disciples of Jesus; "not counting their lives dear," they preached daily, in the fields, on the mountains, "in dens and caves of the earth," and dispensed the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, without licence from the bishops. The prelatial dignitaries were stimulated into ten-fold rage, when they saw their congregations deserted; and were stung by a guilty conscience, on account of their unholy lives, and treachery in the discharge of their official functions. They attempted to suppress all discussion, by sharpening the sword of the persecutor, they inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience, and non-resistance — asserting that the subject has no right to inquire whether the command of the ruler is right or wrong, or whether his acts are despotic or holy. They said, "his mandates must be blindly obeyed, and his most tyrannical doings supported." The Episcopal pulpits are also prostituted to the harshest denunciations of all the Covenanters, who dared to proclaim the word of the Lord, without their licence, and to pray or sing praises without their sanction. These base panders of tyrannical power, in the legislative halls, on the bench of justice, in the court of the monarch, and at the writing desk of the pamphleteer, of the newspaper essayist, of the poetaster,

* Rev. vi. 5.

and historical scribbler, pronounced all acts of divine worship not licensed by themselves, to be wild fanaticism. They knew not God savingly, and they thought, or pretended to think, all zeal hypocrisy, and all love to Christ, his truth, his church, his covenant — fanaticism.

Several able advocates dared to employ their pens, in defence of the rights of God's saints, in vindicating the cause of human liberty. Among these was Mr. Cruikshanks, who translated Buchanan's *De jure regni apud Scotas*.* No printer was found who would publish the work of even so distinguished a scholar as that author. A few copies, circulated in manuscript, were proscribed by proclamation, and ordered, under the pains and penalties of sedition, to be delivered up to the common council.

About the same time, the *Apologetical Relation*, said to be from the pen of a celebrated Holland divine, John Brown of Wamphray, was put into circulation. It contained an irrefutable vindication of the cause of the Covenanters, from the year 1660, the accession of Charles II. This work "had," as Aikman says,† "the honor of being condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman." The effect of this tyrannical proscription, was, as usual, a much more widely extended circulation of the pamphlet, to the great annoyance of the persecutors.

While the court party, instigated by Sharp, and the inferior orders of the Episcopal hierarchy, were thus imposing fetters on the press, and attempting to enslave the minds of the citizens, Turner was bathing his sword in the blood of men, women and children, in the hamlets and cottages of the west of Scotland.‡ The gentlemen

* Of what civil government is lawful in Scotland.

† Vol. iv. p. 519.

‡ History of the Indulgence, p. 132. This is a valuable collection, and

of the country were disarmed. Until this time, some mercy had been shewn to that class of society, in the hope that the slaughter of their poor tenants, would alarm them. But when their sympathy was found to be awakened, they became the objects of Turner's vengeance. But even he was not cruel enough to please Lauderdale and Sharp, who appointed in 1666, Dalziel and Drummond, to command the dragoons, that Turner had rendered fierce and savage by innuring them to deeds of blood. The former, who is honored in history by the title of Sir Thomas Dalziel of Binns, is thus described by the learned Aikman,* to whom we are so much indebted in this history: — He was “a demi-savage, whose native ferocity had been improved in the Moscovite service, at that time, the most barbarous in Europe,” Of Drummond, he says, “he had been trained in the same school.”

The Covenanters knew what they had to expect when two so stern warriors, tutored among the barbarian bands of the Russian forests and swamps, were appointed to the command of the troops, sent by the king to force them into the violation of their baptismal, eucharistic, ecclesiastical and national covenants. They perceived that they had no alternative, but extermination, or self defence. They chose the latter: though they did not resort to arms, until the measure was almost forced upon them. Four Covenanters, who had fled from their homes, and sought safety among the mountains and fastnesses, in the county of Galway, had left their caves to seek for

contains an able vindication of the Covenanters, in the sufferings which they endured. Its title page is, “Faithful Witness Bearing, &c.” Kilmarnock, 1783, pp. 340.

* Vol. iv. p. 521. He is described in a note, as wearing a long beard, and dressed more like a fierce savage than like a civilized man; and yet an intimate friend of Charles II., who evidently loved him for his ferocious and cruelly savage mind. He was indeed a fit companion for so bloody a tyrant, who made Britain drunken with the blood of the Lord's people.

some food, near the village of Dalrey, met an armed band of Dalziel's forces, driving before them as cattle, a few of their friends, in order to employ them in threshing the grain of a poor old man, that they had driven from his home. At first they did not interfere: but when they learned, in the village, that these robbers had seized the unoffending, aged farmer, and were about to roast him on a red hot gridiron, it was resolved to attempt a rescue. They attacked the soldiers, and after a slight skirmish, effected the deliverance of the helpless man. They then marched to the quarters of Turner, and made him a prisoner. Many of those, who were exiles from their homes, with a few of the farmers of the neighbourhood, soon assembled, and resolved to stand in defence of their lives. Arms were not to be had. Gentlemen of property, more attached to their earthly possessions than to the truth of God, the welfare of their souls, or the cause of human liberty, refused to join them; so they had no leader of experience.*

The small, persecuted band, were not discouraged by these adverse circumstances, though their little army did not exceed 300. Dalziel was ordered by Sharp, who presided in the council, to concentrate his forces, and make Glasgow his head quarters. Some of the gentlemen of Edinburgh murmured curses on the archbishop, when he ordered them to join the army, for the purpose of slaughtering their fellow citizens. The friends of the Covenanters in Edinburgh met, and resolved to aid them. Col. Wallace, the Rev. Mr. Welch, and a few followers joined the covenanted troops, where they were posted at the bridge of Doon, in the county of Ayr. Col. Wallace was chosen commander in chief of the Whigs, who now assumed the appearance, and were put under the discipline,

* Ref. Pres. Tes. of Scotland, pp. 20—31.

of a regular army. They resolved to defend their lives, and put themselves in the breach, as the *forlorn hope* of religion and liberty, the church and kingdom.*

A council of war was held on Turner, their prisoner, and it was resolved, that however guilty he had been, they would not execute him ; partly because his orders from the bishop were still worse than his murderous deeds.

Encouraged by the demonstrations of the people of Edinburgh in their favor, the army of the Covenant, resolved to march to the north, in expectation of meeting a reinforcement, on the head waters of the Clyde. They were not altogether disappointed, as their force, when they arrived at Lanarck, on the north of the Clyde, about twelve miles above the city of Glasgow, amounted to about three thousand. On the Lord's day, with great solemnity, they renewed their covenant with God and with one another, commending themselves in defence of their altars and homes, to the protection of their new covenant Head. As they thought the love of religion and liberty among the people of Lothian and the city of Edinburgh, must prevail over the fears of the citizens, it was resolved to march north. Having advanced within a few miles of Edinburgh, they turned to the right, and encamped on Pentland Hills. This is a range of mountains, situated to the south-east of the city, and about ten miles in length. Heavy rains had rendered their march fatiguing, especially as they exposed themselves in the night season, to the toils of the road, and the cold rains of November. Their number were greatly diminished from these causes; and the terrors of superior force, under the command of so fierce a man as Dalziel, and the dread of the king's

* Browne's Church of Scotland, pp. 266, 269. The author of this work, was a professor of theology in the Secession church of Scotland.

wrath, prevented all the timid, wavering, and pusillanimous from joining their ranks.

The weather had become cold, and the ground was covered with a fall of snow on the 27th of November. They encamped on the east side of a hill, which descends towards the south, where they were waiting, not so much for the purpose of engaging in battle, as to try the effect of petitioning the council for the exercise of justice, in the redress of their grievances, and to collect their forces and recruit their strength, exhausted by privations, sorrow and suffering. About noon, a messenger brought the news that Dalziel was near, and in full march to attack their encampment. Colonel Wallace coolly awaited the approach of the enemy. McClelland, of Garscob, with a small company of gentlemen from Galway, occupied the left wing: on the right, Major Learmont, with a troop of horse, had the command; and the infantry, if raw troops, with little armor, may be called by that name, were in the centre.

For some time Dalziel reconnoitered their position from the opposite hill, as if hesitating whether it was prudent to attack, even a small band, so strong in post, and resolved to defend it bravely. He determined to dislodge them, and sent forward about fifty horsemen, who commenced an attack upon the left wing of the Covenanters, on the lower ground. Wallace deployed a troop of fifty cavalry, under Captain Arnott, to cover the part of his line assailed by the enemy. They met in the valley. A few shots were exchanged. They rushed together and with the Scottish broad sword, a tremendous weapon, and fought hand to hand. Dalziel's cavalry were speedily routed and driven back in confusion. They soon rallied, and charged impetuously the right wing, under major Learmont, who gallantly routed them, after a severe conflict. The enemy retreated, collected their

forces, and Dalziel, at the head of his whole army, about sunset, attacked with drawn sword and sabre, the Covenanter-right and feeble centre, who were unable to sustain the shock of so superior a force, many of whom had not been engaged in the battles of the afternoon. Our lines were soon broken, and could not be again rallied. The darkness of the night intervened and prevented the indiscriminate slaughter of this gallant little army. Dalziel pursued them, as Saul did David, with demon-fury, to exterminate them from the earth.

The army of Col. Wallace did not exceed nine hundred at the commencement of the engagement, of whom about fifty were left dead on the field of battle.* The loss of the royal troops was inconsiderable in killed. The number of their wounded was great. More Covenanters would have fallen in the pursuit, had not the detachment, which Dalziel sent out to slaughter the dispersed, been gentlemen, drafted from the militia. Most of them, O shame! believed the doctrines of the Covenanters, and admitted the justice of their cause. They disobeyed the sanguinary orders of the Moscovite monster, sympathized with their friends, and spared their lives. Those, however, whom they mercifully spared, were reserved, in the holy providence of God, for greater sufferings, to demonstrate the strength of their faith in Christ—their Christian fortitude, and their sanctified stores of divine knowledge.

Conducted to Edinburgh, the prisoners were thrust into Haddo's hole, there to await the cruel revenge of the primate, who with more than savage ferocity, resolved, in violation of the terms of capitulation, "*to wear out*

* This battle was fought on Rullion Green. The historians generally call it "the rising at Pentland." It will long be celebrated, as the grave of fifty martyrs for the truth of God and Scotland's liberty. Rullion Green will never be forgotten. Aik. vol. iv. pp. 326, 327.

the saints of the Most High," with protracted tortures. Quarter had been promised them, but it was resolved, at the council-board, that the pledges of the commanding officer, on the field of battle, did not bind the government. Ten of the leading men were put on trial, among whom were Major M'Culloch, Captain Arnott, and two young men of the Gordens of Knockbracken.

In recording their tribulations and Christian magnanimity, the cause of truth cannot be better promoted, than by copying for the reader a few extracts from the learned, faithful and judicious Aikman.*

Of the trial, disposition and testimony of these holy men, he says: † — "The pleadings were long and ingenious: but the court sustained the relevancy of the indictment, and, coinciding in judgment with the council, the prisoners were sentenced to receive the doom of traitors: they all died with constancy, and left behind them a united testimony, which must ever exculpate them from the charge of fanatical rebellion. 'They were condemned,' they said, 'by men as rebels against the king; but this was their rejoicing, the testimony of their conscience, that they suffered not as evil doers;' and they justified themselves upon the natural and imperishable rights of liberty of conscience and self-defence; 'in opposition to which, the laws for establishing prelacy, and the acts, orders and proclamations issued to enforce compliance, being executed against them by military force and violence, they, for their simple forbearance, were fined, imprisoned, exiled, scourged, stigmatized, beaten,

* As this historian is not an ecclesiastic, but an eminent member of the bar, he will not be suspected of undue partiality to the church. As it may seem almost incredible that the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries of the Episcopal society of Britain, could be guilty of such wanton cruelty towards Protestants, the authorities quoted by Aikman are all given.

† Vol. iv. pp. 528 — 534.

bound as beasts, and driven into the mountains for their lives, by which hundreds of families were beggared, and the whole country-side laid waste ; and all this arbitrarily, not only without law, and without respect to guilt or innocence, but in direct opposition to all conscience, justice and reason, and without regard had to the penalty specified in their enactments ; and, besides, all remonstrances against grievances, and petitions for redress, however just, being restrained by acts condemning all former remonstrances in similar cases, no remedy was left them but the last.’ They all rejoiced in a species of prophetic anticipation of deliverance for their country, and their last breathing died away, in wishes for the welfare of Scotland. The heads of the sufferers were distributed throughout the country, but their right arms, because they had with uplifted hands renewed the covenant at Lanark, were sent to that town, to point to heaven from the top of the prison. The effect produced by the dying declarations of such men, whose undaunted resolution on the scaffold gave them a solemn energy, was powerful ; but it was deepened to a degree, that was never eradicated by the sufferings of the next who followed.”

“ Nine of the first ten were public characters, or persons known beyond the private circles their virtues adorned ; but the persecutors enraged to find that the concurring of all the prisoners proved clearly that in this tumultuary rising there was no settled plan of rebellion, that it originated solely in oppression — which goads on the wisest to madness — and in a system of mismanagement, which they could not suppose any government in Britain, however debased, would tolerate or excuse ; were anxious to extort from some of the leading characters such a confession as would give at least plausibility to the terrific statements, they had sent to court in the first moments of alarm, and justify the proceedings they had adopt-

ed and the system of cruelty which they intended to pursue. The question was therefore introduced and the *boots*, which for many years had lain unused in Scotland, were again resorted to.”*

“Neilson, of Corsack, and Hugh McKail were selected to be interrogated in this manner. Neilson had suffered the utmost extremity of wretchedness, and might be supposed capable of entering into, or devising the most desperate schemes; and from the injuries he had sustained, he had merited the confidence of his associates; and, from the respectability of his station, and his high character for piety, it was likely that he was acquainted with all the springs and movements of the insurrection. He had been severely fined and imprisoned; he had been forced to leave his house and wander in the mountains; Sir James Turner had quartered his soldiers upon him, till the stock of his manor was eaten up; his lady and children were then turned out, naked, to the mercy of the elements; his tenants obliged to furnish the military with sheep, lambs, oatmeal and malt, till they too were ruined; and then every hoof that remained were collected, driven to Glasgow, and sold; nor was there exhibited against him one charge to authorise these cruelties, except that he would not conform to Episcopacy, and regularly attend the preaching of a curate, contemptible alike for his dissolute habits and mean abilities; yet when Sir James Turner was taken prisoner, and some of the poor sufferers, justly incensed against him, would have put him to death, Corsack interposed and saved him; and, amid the barbarity of the times, it ought not to be forgotten, that

* This instrument of torture consisted of four pieces of narrow boards nailed together, and hooped with iron, of a competent length; in which, after the accused had his leg inclosed, wedges were driven, and the limb compressed, with the most excruciating pain, till it frequently exhibited appearances too shocking for description.

Sir James made application, though in vain, for mercy to his preserver. Rothes, who had returned from London, was present at the examination, but all they could draw from him was, what he had uniformly declared, that the oppression of the country had caused the tumult; a declaration so unsatisfactory, though repeated amid the most agonizing shrieks, that the commissioner frequently called for the other touch.”*

“ Hugh McKail, who was similarly tormented, was a young man, about twenty-six years of age, a probationer of the church of Scotland, remarkable for piety, and a warm, impressive manner of preaching. He had been only a few days with the insurgents, and had left them previously to the battle of Rullion Green, on account of the weak state of his health. Being unable to give any account of a plot of which he had never heard, his account of the origin of the rising, was the same as Neilson’s; and the unfeeling Rothes, enraged and disappointed, ordered his leg to be shattered with eleven strokes of the executioner’s mallet, notwithstanding the meek sufferer solemnly protested before God that he could say no more, though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as his poor leg. Great but unavailing intercession was made for him, by the Marchioness of Douglas to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and by the Duchess of Hamilton to the Earl of Rothes. He was condemned to die, for having been present with the rebels. He heard his sentence with a placid resignation, and in the interval, before his execution, was not only composed, but cheerful; and so unaffected, that he could even playfully allude to his own situation. When asked by a friend how he felt his shattered leg, he replied with a smile, ‘the fear of my neck makes me forget my leg.’ On the scaf-

* Kirkton, p. 252.

fold, his courage was elevated beyond the common reach of humanity; and the ecstatic expression of his countenance evinced the truth of his assertion, that every step of the ladder was a degree nearer Heaven. The sublime enthusiasm with which he bade adieu to all sublunary objects, and anticipated the opening glories of eternity, melted the spectators to tears, and has attracted the admiration of every historian by whom they have been noticed. Having lifted the napkin from before his face, ‘this is my comfort,’ said he, ‘that my soul is come into Christ’s hands, and he will present it blameless and faultless, and then I shall be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! Now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all its delights! farewell meat and drink! farewell, sun, moon, and stars; welcome God and Father! welcome sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant! welcome blessed Spirit of Grace, and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life! welcome death!’ Then, after praying a little within himself, he said aloud, ‘O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed my soul. Lord God of truth,’ and while these words quivered on his lips, he was turned over by the executioner. Never was a general sympathy more powerfully excited than by the death of this young preacher, nor greater indignation, than when it was afterwards understood that the king had sent down an order to prevent further executions, which was withheld from the council, by the two archbishops, till after McKail, who was particularly obnoxious to Sharp, had suffered.”*

* Dr. Cooke thinks Sharp was innocent of this charge, so generally brought against him; but Kirkton asserts the fact, p. 255. Hume, vol. vii.

“ Besides those who were executed in Edinburgh, Rothes accompanied a justiciary commission to the west country, by whom numbers were to be hanged at Glasgow, Ayr, and Irvine, and several at the doors of their own habitation; but so general was the feeling in their

p. 444, London ed. 1786, narrates, that McKail died under the torture, and quotes Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255, as his authority; but it is evident he had never looked into Wodrow: for that author, at the part quoted, supports the statement given in the text. Lord John Russell has fallen into the same blunder in the life of his patriotic ancestor, vol. i. That there had been a plot of some kind in Scotland,* in the beginning of the year 1666, seems sufficiently plain by the statement subjoined; but by whom or to what extent, is doubtful; this only is certain, that it had no connection with the rising in Galloway, and no person seems ever to have been examined, or brought to any trial on account of it, for the west was disarmed in 1665, and the principal gentlemen imprisoned in September of that year, could have no connection with the proceedings in Holland which refer to it.—Extract from the register of the secret resolutions of the States General, dated July 15, 1666.—“ It was notified in the Assembly, that overtures had been made by certain friends of religion in the dominions of the king of Great Britain, who had resolved without delay to seize upon the first good opportunity for vindicating from restraint and oppression the reformed worship of God, to take arms, and do their utmost, and get possession of some one or more towns or fortresses, lying in the aforesaid king of Great Britain’s dominions. Their high mightinesses, therefore, feel themselves here called upon to give assurance, that how soon soever they shall be masters of one or more such towns or forts, assistance shall be promptly sent to them, and arms and ammunition of war expedite to such town.” Among the articles to be sent, were the following:—for the foot, 3000 muskets; 1000 match locks; 1500 pikes, with side arms, for the musketeers and pikemen; and 10 brass field pieces: for the cavalry, 2000 brace of pistols, all with snap looks, and 1000 horsemen’s carabines. Besides the supplies in arms and ammunition, a subsidy of 150,000 gulden was promised.—Memoirs of Veitch, &c. p. 378. In a manuscript in the Advocate’s Library, the circumstance is thus noticed: “ there was indeed a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Sterling, and Dunbarton, in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done.” The plot, however, for which Neilson and McKail were tortured, was one of the government’s own exciting, as narrated in the text. The following particulars respecting McKail, are from the same MS., and

* This note of Aikman refers to the aid expected by the Covenanters from the republic of Holland.

favor, that the common executioners refused to put the sentence of the court in execution; and so strong were the sensations excited, by the solemn declarations of the martyrs, that recourse was had to the execrable expedient of drowing, by the noise of drums, the last words of the dying men.

contain *one* striking feature of the times not generally known:—“ Upon the Thursday thereafter the bishop went to St. Andrews, and Mr. Mathew (McKail,) afterwards Doctor of Medicine in Edinburgh, followed him on Friday, but reached only to the Weims that night. After dinner he arrived at the bishop’s house, on Saturday, and the servant told him that the barber was trimming him, and when he had done Mr. Mathew would get access. In the meantime, while he was walking in the outer room, the bishop’s son (about twelve years old) came and inquired of Mr. Mathew if he came from Edinburgh; to which it was answered, yes: then he inquired for the news there, and Mr. Mathew answered there was none, but that other four of the west countrymen were hanged yesterday. Then the youth said, ‘no more! it will be long before they hang them all;’ and thus verified the old proverb, ‘as the old cock crows, the young cock learns.’ When Mr. Mathew got access, he delivered to the bishop one letter from the Marchioness Dowager of Douglas, in favor of Mr. Hew, whose brother, Mr. Mathew, was governor to her son, Lord James Douglas, and another from the bishop’s brother, Sir William Sharp’s lady: and when he had read them, he said, ‘the business is now in the justiciaries’ hands, and I can do nothing; but, however, I shall have answers ready against the next morning;’ at which time, when Mr. Mathew came, the bishop called his family together, prayed, and desired Mr. Mathew to come and dine with him, and then he would give the answer: then he went to the church, did preach and inveigh much against the Covenant. Immediately after dinner he gave the answers to the letters: and Mr. Mathew, said he hoped that his travelling that day about so serious a business would give no offence: to which the bishop answered, that it would give no offence. Then Mr. Mathew went to inquire for his horse, but the stabler’s family were all gone to church, so that he could not travel till Monday morning early; and when he came to Buckhaven, the wind being easterly, the first boats were coming into the harbor, and he hired one of them immediately, and arrived at Leith in the evening; having sent his horse to Bruntisland. He went immediately to the archbishop (Burnet) of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him, who did read it, and then said, that the business was now in the justiciaries’ hands. The next day, being Tuesday, Mr. Hew was arraigned before the Justice Court, which sentenced him to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on Friday next; and the night before, Mr. Mathew went to the executioner’s, John Dun-

“Military execution followed the more tardy method of judicial punishment. Dalziel and Drummond were sent westward to improve the victory, and exterminate the whigs; and their barbarities reflect equal disgrace on the parties who authorised, and the myrmidons who inflicted them. The soldiers were indulged in the most unbridled licentiousness; wherever they went they took free quarters, and with more insult and rapacity than if they had been in an enemy’s country. On the highways and in the fields, rapes, robbery, and murder, were committed with impunity; complaints only occasioned aggravated suffering; suspicion was reckoned evidence; nor was any proof of innocence allowed, or any mitigating

more’s house, and did drink with him, and gave him six dollars, desiring him not to meddle with Mr. Hew’s clothes; and the next day the executioner did nothing but put the rope about his neck, and a napkin about his face, and turned him off the ladder, and Mr. Mathew received him, and drew down his feet. When he was cut down he was laid into his coffin, which Mr. Mathew had provided, and was carried to Magdaline’s chapel; and when his grave clothes were put on, he was carried to the Grey Friar’s churchyard, and was interred near the east dyke, a little above the stair at the entry, being conveyed by a great company of honest men. It will not be amiss to insert here, that immediately after the execution of the fore mentioned four men, there came a letter from the king, discharging the execution of more, but the bishop of St. Andrews kept it up till Mr. Hew was executed, and then no more were panelled for that business. The night before his execution, the said Mr. Mathew did lie with Mr. Hew, who did sleep, as before related in the print, which the said Mr. Mathew knew, having slept very little that night. because of a pain in his head, wherewith he was frequently troubled. And because *no friend durst put on mourning*, the said Mr. Mathew did wear his black hair stuff coat, wherein he was hanged, and that as long as it lasted.”*

* These particulars demonstrate that even when the merciless Charles II. relented, and probably was goaded by a guilty conscience, to stay the work of death, and devastation; the Episcopal bishop, thirsting for blood, murdered the saints, contrary to order. Traitors are always the bitterest enemies of truth.

circumstance attended to, except money was produced. The examinations were conducted in private, and torture inflicted by the sole authority of the commanding officer. For some time Dalziel fixed his head quarters at Kilmarnock, where he thrust into a low, damp, confined dungeon, known by the name of the Thieves Hole, so many prisoners, that they were unable to sit or lie, night or day; nor were they even allowed the most necessary accommodation to preserve cleanliness; and when one, who was dangerously ill, had been let out upon bail, the unfortunate man dying, his relations were forced to bring the dead body to the prison door, where it was brutally exposed for a considerable time, before it was allowed to be buried."

"With these ruffians, filial piety and conjugal affection were crimes. In a fit of intoxication, Dalziel ordered a son to be hanged, because he would not discover where his father was concealed. Sir William Bannatyne, who rivalled him in Galloway, caused a woman to be tortured to death, by burning matches, applied to various parts of her body, for a supposed accession to her husband's escape. Whoever was guilty of being absent from church, was immediately visited by some of these worthy apostles of Episcopacy, in a sufficient number to ruin them by spoilation, or by "eating them up"*— as it was termed — in a night; till the people, terrified at the unprecedented outrages, from which there was no relief, either fled to the caves or pits, or were constrained to assume a hollow uniformity."

Some changes in the cabinet of Charles, removed the leaders in these violent acts of persecution. The voice

* These workers of iniquity,
Do they not know at all,
That they my people eat as bread,
And on God do not call?—Ps. liii. 4.

of the majority of the nation was against the court-party; but the army was in the hands of our enemies, and the people dared hardly express their sympathies with the sufferers, except in secret aspirations for their support, in groanings under the oppression, felt throughout the whole kingdom, and in remonstrances against the profligacy of the private lives, and political dishonesty of the king's ministers. These were so loud, that even the cabinet of the monarch was compelled to listen to them. The disastrous results of the war against Holland, incurred the discontent of the nation, with the ministry; for while the vengeance of the hierarchy and the throne fell upon all the Presbyterians of Britain, for their love of religion and liberty, the seven United Provinces, for their Presbyterianism and liberty, were attacked, in war, by the same persecuting power. But God did not permit them to succeed. The Scottish privateers, under the orders of the persecutor, had plundered the Dutch Reformed Presbyterians, on the high seas. The government of that republic, sent out a strong fleet, under the command of the distinguished admiral De Ruyter, to make reprisals, who proceeded up the Thames, and destroyed the British shipping.

Charles, on account of the discontents, which these reverses his cruelty had caused, recalled his military officers, and civil deputies from Scotland. Dalziel and Drummond, his most brutal executioners, were rewarded with large estates. Sir James Turner and William Bannatyne were brought to trial; the former had leave to withdraw from the service; the latter was fined \$200 sterling, and banished. Sir Robert Murray was appointed Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, from whose wilder character, and literary culture, the Covenanters hoped for, and did obtain, some remission of their sufferings. It was shortly after the appointment of Murray, that the Teviot-

dale* sacrament was held. We give a specimen of the Covenanters' devotedness to God, as we have it from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Blackader, one of the ministers of Christ, who officiated in its administration.†

“At the desire of several people in the Merse, Mr. Blackader, and some other ministers, had resolved on a meeting in Tiviotdale, and day and place was fixed for keeping a communion, but from apprehensions of danger, this resolution was changed, as it was feared they might come to imminent hazard. It was agreed to delay it a fortnight; and advertisement was sent to the people not to assemble. The report of the first appointment had spread throughout the country, and many were prepared to resort thither from distant and divers quarters. This change had occasioned great uncertainty; some had taken their journey to the Merse, willing to venture on a disappointment, rather than miss so good an occasion by sitting still. Mr. Blackader was determined to go, seeing his stay would discourage others: and if kept back, they would blame him. He told them it was not likely the meeting would hold; yet, lest any should take offence, he was content to take his venture with them. On Friday night he took horse, accompanied with a small body of attendants, and was joined by Mr. John Dickson at the port, who rode with him eleven miles that night. Many people were on the road, setting forward to be in time for sermon on Saturday morning. Not a few west of Edinburgh, hearing the report of the delay, remained at home, and others returned on the way. Nobody was certain, either from far or near, till they reached the place; where

* This place is in the south of Scotland, among mountains which are a continuation of the Grampian Hills. It is not far from where John Knox administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in both kinds, the summer that he was ordained.

† Aik. vol. iv. p. 539.

they would all have been disappointed, if providence had not ordered it better than human arrangement ; for the earnest entreaties of the people had prevailed with Mr. Welsh, in the same way as Mr. Blackader, to venture a hazard. And had it been delayed a day or two longer, it would have been utterly prevented, as the noise was spread, and the troops would have been dispersed to stop them.”*

“ Meantime the communion elements had been prepared, and the people in Tiviotdale advertised. Mr. Welsh and Mr. Riddel had reached the place on Saturday. When Mr. Blackader arrived, he found a great assembly, and still gathering from all parts ; which was a comfortable surprisal in this uncertainty ; whereat they all marvelled, as a new proof of the divine wisdom, wherewith the true Head of the church did order and arrange his solemn occasions. The people from the east brought reports that caused great alarm. It was rumored that the earl of Hume, as ramp a youth as any in the country, intended to assault the meeting with his men and militia, and that parties of the regulars were coming to assist him. He had profanely threatened to make their horses drink the communion wine, and trample the sacred elements under foot. Most of the gentry, and even the commonality, were ill set.”

“ Upon this, we drew hastily together about seven or eight score of horse on the Saturday, and equipped with such furniture as they had. Piquets of twelve or sixteen men were appointed to reconnoitre, and ride towards the suspected parts. Single horsemen were despatched to

* It is evident that, in the good providence of God, of the uncertainty of which Mr. Blackader speaks, was the means of security to the Lord’s people, in the enjoyment of this feast. Had the enemy known with certainty, they would have dispersed or slaughtered, by their dragoons, the communicants, before they had eaten and drunk the bread and wine of the Lord’s supper.

greater distances, to view the country, and give warning, in case of attack. The remainder of the horse were drawn round to be a defence at such distance as they might hear sermon, and be ready to act if need be. Every means was taken to compose the multitude from needless alarm, and prevent in a harmless defensive way, any affront that might be offered to so solemn and sacred a work. Though many, of their own accord had provided for their safety — and this was more necessary, when they had to stay three days together, sojourning by *lions' dens and the mountains of leopards* — yet none had come armed with hostile intentions.”

“We entered on the administration of the holy ordinances, committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of hosts, in whose name we were met together. Our trust was in the arm of Jehovah, which was better than weapons or war, or the strength of hills. If the God of Jacob was our refuge, we knew that our cause would prosper ;— that in his favor there was more security than in all the defences of art or of nature. The place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water side, (the Whitadder.) On either hand there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was a clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising to be indeed one of the days of the Son of Man. There was a solemnity in the place befitting the occasion, and elevating the whole soul to a pure and holy frame. The communion tables were spread on the green, by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom, full as pleasant a sight as was ever seen of

that sort. Each day, at the congregation's dismissing, the ministers, with their guards and as many of the people as could, retired to their quarters in three several country towns, where they might be provided with necessaries for man and horse, for payment."

"Several of the yeomen refused to take money for their provisions, but cheerfully and abundantly invited both ministers and gentlemen, each day at dismissing. The horsemen drew up in a body, till the people left the place, and then marched in goodly array, at a little distance, until all were safely lodged in their quarters; dividing themselves into three squadrons, one for each town, where were their respective lodgements. Each party had its own commander. Watches were regularly set in empty barns, and other out houses, where guards were placed during the night. Scouts were sent to look about and get intelligence. In the morning, when the people returned to the meeting, the horsemen accompanied them: all the three parties met, a mile from the spot, and marched, in a full body, to the consecrated ground. The congregation being all fairly settled in their places; the guardsmen took their several stations as formerly."

"These accidental volunteers seemed to have been the gift of Providence, and they secured the peace and quiet of the audience; for from Saturday, when the work began,* until Monday afternoon, we suffered not the least affront or molestation from enemies, which appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension; but the

* The circumstances of danger, in which they were placed, prevented them from the formal holy convocation on their preparation Sabbath, and from the usual observation of the fast day, on the Thursday preceding the dispensation of the Lord's supper. Their numbers, and the forces collecting to disperse them, in their opinion, rendered it inexpedient to observe *together* the following Sabbath, as a thanksgiving.

people sat undisturbed, and the whole was closed in as orderly a way, as it had been in the time of Scotland's brightest noon. And, truly, the spectacle of so many grave, composed, and devout faces, must have struck the adversaries with awe, and been more formidable than any outward ability of fierce looks and warlike array."

"We desired not the countenance of earthly kings: there was a spiritual and divine majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the great master of assemblies was in the midst. It was, indeed, the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old, that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians, encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains, we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria; that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings or material temples. We remembered the ark of the Israelites, which had sojourned years in the desert, with no dwelling-place but the tabernacles of the plain. We thought of Abraham, and the ancient patriarchs, who laid their victims on the rock for an altar, and burnt meet incense under the shade of the green trees."

"The ordinance of the last supper, that memorial of his dying love till his second coming, was signally countenanced; and backed with power and refreshing influence from above. Blessed be God, for he hath visited and confirmed his heritage when it was weary. In that day Zion put on the beauty of Sharon and Carmel; the mountains broke forth into singing, and the desert place was made to bud and blossom as the rose. Few such

days were seen in the desolate church of Scotland, and few will ever witness the like. There was a rich and plentiful effusion of the Spirit shed abroad on many hearts. Their souls, filled with heavenly transports, seemed to breathe in a diviner element, and to burn upwards, as with the fire of a pure and holy devotion. The ministers were visibly assisted to speak home to the conscience of the hearers. It seemed as if God had touched their lips with a live coal from his altar, for they who witnessed declared, they carried more like ambassadors from the court of heaven, than men cast in earthly mould."

"The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted, without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through: the communicants entered at one end and retired at the other; — a way being kept clear, to take their seats again on the hill-side. Mr. Welch preached the action sermon, and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do on such occasions: the other four ministers, Mr. Blackader, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Biddle, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in their turn: the table service was closed by Mr. Welch, with solemn thanksgiving — and solemn it was — and sweet and edifying to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as all parts of the service. The communion was peaceably concluded; all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the Rock of their salvation. It was in full unison along the hill, the whole congregation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms.

"There were two long tables, and one short, across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat on each side, at every table: there were sixteen tables in all,

so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day.”

“The afternoon sermon was preached by Mr. Dickson, from Genesis xxii. 14; and verily might the name of the place be called Bethel, or Jehovah-jireth, where the Lord’s power and presence were so signally manifested. After so thick and fearful a darkness had overshadowed the land, the light of His countenance had again shone through the cloud with dazzling brightness, and many there would remember the glory of that day. Well might the faith of the good old patriarch be contrasted with theirs on that occasion; they had come on a journey of three days into the wilderness to offer their sacrifice; they had come in doubt and perplexity as to the issue; but the God of Jacob had been their refuge and their strength, hiding them in his pavilion in the evil day. The whole of this solemn service was closed by Mr. Blackader, from Isaiah liii. 10.”*

This eucharistic solemnity was held in 1674, when some hopes were entertained, that their sufferings were near a termination. But it was the will of the church’s Head, that they should see more days of grief and trouble, for which they were strengthened by these communications of grace, imparted by the Holy Ghost, in the breaking of bread, according to Christ’s appointment. They had the passover of the Isrealites, and the sacrament, at Troas, where there were about eight ministers of the New Testament, employed, for several days, in dispensing the word, connected the ministration of the Lord’s supper; to authorize their protracted sacramental service. †

While the worshippers of Jehovah were employed in seeking the face of the Lord their God, and endeavoring

* Chrichton’s Life of Blackader, p. 198, and seq. as quoted by Aik. vol. iv. pp. 573 — 578.

† Acts, xx. 4 — 12.

to build up the broken down walls of Jerusalem; while they were praising their Redeemer, in songs eudited by the Holy Ghost; while they were listening, with joy, to the exposition of the oracles of the living God; and while they were pouring out their souls in humble supplication to their Saviour, and sealing their covenant with him, in the symbols of his broken body and shed blood, the king and his most profligate court saw, in these acts of devotion, nothing but conventicles of sedition and rebellion. Though there were comparatively few, who met together, for those holy duties, yet the court parasites, seem, in the guilt of their consciences, to have peopled every mountain, cave and fastness with multitudes of armed bands, assembling, and on drill for war. It was, indeed, true that the more the people were persecuted, the more their zeal for the ark of the covenant became inflamed. The greater their troubles were, the more near did they approach to the mercy seat, where their only relief could be found. The numbers, too, of those who fled to the mountains, to hear the pure word of the Lord from the Welches and the Blackaders, multiplied. It was true also, that the groans of an oppressed empire could not be shut out of the palace. The king and his court, however unwillingly, were compelled to hear them. They dreaded the effect of a powerful reaction.

To this cause is to be ascribed the peace that was made with Holland, and the marriage of the niece of Charles, to the prince of Orange.*

These measures on the part of the crown were adverse to the plans of the Papists, on the continent, with whom the king was closely connected in principle and in council. He was a pensioner of Louis XIV. of France, who furnished him with funds to persecute the Presbyterians of

* Aik. vol iv. Rus. Mod. Eu. vol. iii.

Britain, when his own resources failed him. But the successes of the French arms, directed against the Protestants, especially Holland, by the boundless ambition of the reigning monarch, even alarmed English and Scottish statesmen, who had no regard to the religion of Jesus; and made it necessary to appear friendly to the United Provinces. Louis had reduced many of the frontier fortresses of the low countries, and erected courts in the towns of France, for adjudicating causes among the German principalities. He had passed, with his victorious armies over the Alps, and humbled the pride of that Roman Pontiff, on whom he had relied, in the beginning of his reign, for aid, in his projects of boundless ambition. When the surrounding nations, alarmed by the success of his arms, had made a peace, such as he dictated, and had disbanded their troops, he kept on foot a large army.

He had sought aid, even from the Turks, whom all Europe dreaded, and whom all princes and people called Christian, very properly thought it infamous to encourage, in their inroads, on the civilized world.

Tekeli, the king of Hungary, had invited, with the concurrence of France, to aid him, in his wars on Germany, the Turkish armies. Mahomet IV. prepared the largest army that had ever, from that quarter, invaded Christendom. His grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, passed through Hungary, at the head of 50,000 janizaries, 30,000 Spahis, and 200,000 rank and file, and advanced on Vienna. In vain the troops of the Austrian empire endeavored to arrest their progress. They sat down before the capital of Austria, after having ravaged Silesia and all other countries, that lay in their course. The emperor fled to Passau, among the mountains, leaving his dominions to the mercy of the invader. Poland was destined, in the providence of God, to be the instrument of preserving the south of Europe from utter devastation.

John Sobieski, the Polish king, joining his forces with those of Saxony and the other circles of Germany, at the head of an army of 60,000 men, appeared before Vienna, having advanced with such speed, that the Turkish commander was first apprized of his approach, by his appearance on the neighboring heights. Mustapha gave the Poles battle; but he was routed and fled with precipitation, leaving behind him the celebrated standard of Mahomet, with his baggage, artillery and military stores.*

Thus the God of heaven sent the Turks to waste the territories of the fourth beast, and avenge on Popish nations the blood of the Protestants which they had shed in Anti-Christian Europe. But he did not make a full end.

Louis XIV. of France, perceiving that he was rendering himself infamous, and in danger of exciting against him a confederacy of all the powers of Europe, by the encouragement which he gave the Turks, refused to join his forces to those of Turkey,

Alliance with such a tyrant as Louis, who had become an abettor of the common enemy of Christendom, was calculated to render Charles II. odious to all nations. Though he could not have foreseen that the fortunes of the French king, from the time of the Turkish invasion, would be on the wane, yet he knew before the peace with Holland, that the merciless persecution of his own subjects at home, and his alliance, as a stipendiary, with so ambitious, and for a time successful tyrant, was dangerous, and that if he did not take some measures to wipe

* Russ. Mod. Eu. pp 236 — 241. The reward of this has been the destruction of Poland by Germany. Such is the gratitude of these Popish despots. After all, Protestants did not act according to God's law, nor, of course for their own good, to join their arms with those of Popish Austria. Association, in arms, with *malignants*, always harms the people of God.

away the stain, he must soon begin to feel for the crown on his own head.

The partial relaxation, in his oppressive measures, at the time when he appeared to separate his fortunes from those of France, was but of short duration. Sharp and the other Episcopal dignitaries had so much influence over him, and were so determined on shedding Presbyterian blood, that Charles soon recurred to all his violent measures of persecution.

The primate knew that the great body of the Scottish nation were hostile to Episcopacy, and that he was the object of both the deepest hatred and greatest terror to the body of the people. One incident in his life, he never either did or could forget. After he had shed oceans of blood, and there appeared to be no relief for the sufferers, but in the destruction of the tyrant, James Mitchell, a probationer, fired a pistol at him when in his coach. The ball missed him, and passed through the arm of Honeyman, bishop of the Orkneys, who was by his side. At that time he is said to have uttered the only religious expression, ever observed to have passed from his lips, after he was made a bishop. In his alarm, he said, in the words of the Psalmist David: — “O Lord, my times are in thine hand.”

Mitchell, like Moses, when he fled from Egypt to the land of Midian, left his country and spent some years abroad. After his return, about six years from the time when he made the attempt to kill the tyrant, he resided in the neighborhood of Sharp, and was recognized by the primate, as resembling the person who had fired the pistol. He was examined, but there was no evidence against him. To deceive him, the faithless bishop swore by Jehovah, that if he would confess the fact, there should no harm befall him. On the faith of this promise which was also confirmed by the oath of the other members of the coun-

cil, and among them were the leading persecutors, whom Charles had entrusted with the government. He was, however, put on trial, but as a man's confession, by the Scottish law, could not be brought against him, on the trial in chief, and as he understood that in case he would confess in court, his right arm should be cut off; when asked whether he was guilty or not, he refused to answer; and as there was no evidence, he could not be condemned, at that time, when the king and the primate wished to preserve, before the Protestant world, some semblance of justice. He was, therefore, not dismissed, but sent to prison, where he remained for two years.*

He was again put on trial, and the bishop and his council, when Mitchell's lawyer plead the promise of safety previously given, swore most solemnly that they had never given any such pledge, but they refused to refer to the books of the council, where the pledge was recorded. But on the adjournment of court, the judge went into the office and found the record. They were covered with shame. Lauderdale insisted that Mitchell should be dismissed, but the primate swore he should die. Then said Lauderdale most profanely: "let him glorify God at the Grass Market," a place where many Covenanters suffered martyrdom. He was executed, in violation of all the solemn pledges that had been given him; and by his patience, and joyful hope of a blessed immortality, he did glorify God, when he received the crown of martyrdom, at the Grass Market. Public indignation was great against the cruelty of Sharp and the perjured council, in the execution of Mitchell; while all sympathized with the sufferer. When on his trial he was tortured by the boots, in order to extort from him some fact that would involve all the Covenanters, in the accusation of attempting the life of

* Aik. vol. iv. p. 540.

the bishop, that the council might be furnished with justification of their past cruelties and a pretext for proceeding to greater acts of severity, if that were possible. Nothing of the kind could be extorted from him, and it appeared that the intention to execute vengeance on the persecutor, was the act of Mitchell alone.*

The king and council seem to have determined, at this time, to exterminate utterly, all who were in any degree favorable to Presbyterianism or to liberty. For this purpose a general rendezvous of the savage Highland Papists, was called for in 1678, January 14th. Upwards of 8000 of these barbarians assembled at the time and place appointed, under their chiefs, the marquis of Atholl, and the earls of Mar, Moray, Caithness, Perth, Airly and Strathmore. They were joined by the king's regular troops, under Linlithgow, and marched to the south-west, wasting and destruction marked their path. They wasted Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew and Kircudbright. This host of barbarian marauders found the people every where in the country engaged in the peaceful labors of agriculture. In Glasgow the Christian congregations, having had a day or two of warning that the bands of savage Highland Papists were ordered down from their mountains to plunder and waste the Low Lands, assembled in their churches, on a day of fasting humiliation and prayer, that God would avert the dreadful calamity.†

The earl of Cassalis, a pupil of the learned Buchanan, with several noblemen of the Low Lands of Scotland, repaired to London for the purpose of remonstrating against these most wanton and barbarous outrages. As soon as it was known that they were on their way to

* For a full account of the attempt on Sharp's life, by Mitchell, see Cruikshank's Church of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 241 — 245. Aik. vol. iv. pp. 606 — 612.

† Aik. vol. iv. pp. 614. 615.

London, orders were issued that they should not proceed. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the extreme oppression of the times, than the fact that these noblemen of the first rank, are spoken of by the historians of Scotland, as worthy of praise for boldness in *daring* to proceed to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. It was generally expected they would be sent home, put on trial, and condemned to death, for their insolence, in petitioning the crown, to withdraw his barbarian bands of robbers. The king, however, did not proceed to such extremities. With his usual duplicity he received them courteously, and amused them with ambiguous expressions of favor. They were dismissed, but their petition was disregarded, and utterly ineffectual.

Bishop Sharp, though he had remitted somewhat his severities, for several years, after Mitchell fired on him, became more fierce and cruel than ever he had been before, about the time of the invasion of the Highland host.

In the spring of 1679, the council enlarged the powers of a committee that had been appointed for public affairs, entrusting to its hands the whole administration of the executive and judiciary of the kingdom of Scotland, and empowering any three to act as a quorum. This deed committed, in fact, the whole government of both church and state to the management of three men, the two archbishops, and the bishop of Galloway, who had a dispensation of non-residence, allowing him to reside in Edinburgh. The fires of persecution were now expected to blaze forth with new vehemence against all the Lord's people, and against all who dared to plead the cause of human liberty. The country curates, and other creatures of the lordly and ungodly prelates, acted as informers against all who refused to hear them, and against all who waited on the ministrations of the Covenanted ministers. Sharp, acting by the committee, an ecclesiastical trium-

virate of which he was the soul, sent out his sheriffs and armed bands, to plunder the property and seize the persons of all who were reported as delinquents in hearing the curates.

Among the most active and obnoxious of these, was a sheriff of the name of Carmichael — a broken merchant, and formerly a bailie of Edinburgh, who held the office of chief executioner in the county of Fife. He was selected by Sharp, for his known cruelty and intrepidity in the work of oppression. This evil man did all that the malevolence even of Sharp could have expected. The small farmers were reduced to beggary, their servants, their wives and their children were put to the torture, to extort from them information respecting “the dens and caves of the earth, in which the Covenanters were destitute and afflicted.” Women, even those in confinement, were exposed to the most brutal insults from the sheriffs. All law was prostrated, and Carmichael was really a robber and murderer, licensed by Sharp to exercise on all peaceable citizens, every species of violence. The army and the king were the perpetrators of these robberies and murders. The nobles, with the daring earl of Casilis at their head, had been humbled and their spirit broken. Every heart in the nation seemed to be subdued, but that of the Covenanter, which was not conquered, because it reposed its confidence in the Lord God of Israel.

To arrest the ravages of Carmichael, some farmers determined to execute on him that vengeance which their insulted country, and the holy majesty of justice demanded. David Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour of Burleigh, James Russell, Andrew Gibson, William Danziel, Balfour of Gilston, and two gentlemen of the name of Henderson, met on the 3d of May, for the purpose of killing Carmichael, as they would a beast of prey. The sheriff had warning and fled; but arch-bishop Sharp, they heard,

had just arrived in the neighborhood. They viewed this as the doing of the Lord, who had brought to their doors the principal, the head and cause of all their sufferings, and that as Carmichael had made his escape, they were bound to free the land from the despotism of the chief tyrant and traitor. Hackston, alone of the nine, was averse to taking the life of the primate; all the rest agreed that it was their duty. But Hackston would not desert them. They saw Sharp's carriage about two miles from St. Andrews. Russell rode forward to ascertain whether the primate was in it; and when he discovered him, he threw off his cloak and cried out "Judas be taken." The bishop screamed, and ordered his coachman "to drive," which he did, but the party of executioners overtook, and compelled him to halt, and dragged him from his chariot. He begged them earnestly to spare his life and promised that no harm should befall them. Their decision had been made and the time set in the decree of Heaven, to avenge on this signal murderer, the blood of God's saints, was come. They reminded him of his treachery and murder in the case of Mitchell and of all the blood which he had wantonly shed, and bid him prepare for death, as he had but a few minutes to live. Instead of preparing for death, he entreated with great earnestness that his life might be spared. They again reminded him that he had kept back a letter from the king, until he murdered McKail the preacher and ten others. They said they cherished no personal hatred—that they had no private quarrel with him to avenge; but that they thought it their duty to free the country from a murderous tyrant. They speedily despatched him with many wounds.

Of these executioners of Sharp, Gilston and Hackston only were apprehended and suffered. The following ac-

count of his trial and death is extracted from the Cloud of Witnesses :*

His interrogations and answers before the council, July 24th, 1680. 1. "Whether or not had you any hand in the murdering of the late bishop of St. Andrews? Answered, he was not obliged to answer that question, nor be his own accuser. 2. What he would declare as to the authority? Answered, that authority that disowns the interest of God, and states itself in opposition to Jesus Christ, is no more to be owned; but so it is, the king's authority is now such, therefore it ought not to be owned. 3. Whether the killing of the arch-bishop of St. Andrews was murder, yea, or not? Answered, that he thought it no sin to dispatch a bloody monster. 4. If he owned the new covenant taken at the Queen's Ferry, from Mr. Cargil, one of their preachers? Answered, that he did own it, in every particular thereof, and would fain see the man that in consciencè and reason would debate the contrary. 5. If he were at liberty, and had the power to kill any of the king's council, and murder them as he did the bishop of St. Andrews, whether he would do it, yea, or not? Answered, that he had no spare time to answer such frivolous and childish questions."

"The chancellor told him, that if he were not more ingenuous in his answers he would presently be tortured. He answered, that is but a little addition to your former cruelties, and I have that comfort, that though you torture my wounded body, yet ye cannot reach my soul. The chancellor urged him with several other questions, which he refused to answer. But, said he, I would gladly speak a little if I could have liberty, which was allowed him. Then he sa e know that youth is a folly, and

* Pages 28 — 42. These testimonies give a better view of the condition of the church and the character of the *two witnesses* in that period of their history, than any other record by the pen of the historian.

I acknowledge, that in my younger years I was too much carried down with the sport of it ; but that inexhaustible fountain of the goodness and grace of God, which is free and great, hath reclaimed me, and as a fire-brand hath plucked me out of the claws of Satan, and now I stand here before you as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, for adhering to his cause and interest, which hath been sealed with the blood of many worthies, who have suffered in these lands, and have witnessed to the truths of Christ, these few years by gone, and I do own all the testimonies given by them, and desire to put in my mite among theirs, and am not only willing to seal it with my blood, but also with the sharpest tortures you can imagine. Then being interrogated by the bishop of Edinburgh, what he would answer to that article of the Confession of Faith, that difference of religion doth not make void the magistrate's right and authority? He answered, he would not answer any perjured prelate; the bishop replied, he was in the wrong to him, because he never took the covenant, therefore he was not perjured, and so deserved not that name. But some of them asked him, how he would answer that question? He answered, that question was answered long ago by the Solemn League and Covenant, which binds us only to maintain and defend the king in the defence of the true religion, but now the king having stated himself an enemy to religion and all that will live religiously, therefore it is high time to shake off all obligation of allegiance to his authority. Next day, they asked him if he had any more to say? He answered, that which he had to say was said already in every particular thereof; and, said he, I will not only seal it with my blood, but with all the torture ye can imagine."

*An extract of the proceedings of the King's Council,
Edinburgh, July 29, 1680.*

"In presence of the lords justiciary, clerk and com-

missioners of justiciary, compered David Hackston of Rathillet, and declines the king's majesty's authority, the authority of the commissioners of justiciary, as his judges, and absolutely refuses to sign this declaration, as being before persons who are not his judges. He refused to answer concerning the murder of the late bishop of St. Andrews, and says, the clauses of his declinement are, because they have usurped the supremacy over the church, belonging alone to Jesus Christ, and have established idolatry, perjury, and other iniquities; and in prosecuting their design, in confirming themselves in this usurped right, have shed much innocent blood. Therefore the said David, adhering to Christ, his rights, and kingly office over the church, declines them that are his open enemies and competitors for his crown and power, as competent judges; refuses, as formerly, to sign this his declaration, dated from his own mouth; whereupon his majesty's advocate takes instruments, and requires the commissioners of justiciary to sign the same in his presence, as for him; and his majesty's advocate takes instruments, that the said David had declined his majesty's authority, and the authority of his commissioners, and refused to deny the murder of the late bishop of St. Andrews, and requires Messrs. John Vas, James Balfour, and the men of the court, witnesses to the foresaid declaration. *Sic subscribitur*, Sir Robert Maitland, James Foulis, David Balfour, David Falconer, Rodger Hodge."

Upon Friday, July 30th, being again brought before the council, it was asked of him if he had any other thing to say? He answered, that which I have said I will seal it. Then they told him, they had something to say to him, and commanded him to sit down and receive his sentence; which willingly he did, but told them they were all bloody murderers, for all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that these years by-gone they

have not only tyrannized over the church of God, but have also ground the faces of the poor, so that oppressions, bloodshed, perjury, and many murders were to be found in their skirts. Upon which he was forthwith carried away to the scaffold, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, where he died with great tortures inflicted upon his body, not being permitted to leave any testimony to the world, except what is comprehended in these missives directed to some of his Christian acquaintances, from his prison, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; which are as follows :

Copy of a letter written by David Hackston of Rathillet, to his Christian friend N., dated from the 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, they 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 priviledges 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 deliverance 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 mibelief. I desire you would dis-

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 honored me, in all that I have been trys-
ted 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 own strength, so now he hath been faithful in all things to me, and hath furnished me sufficiently for what he hath called me to do, 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 and believe on him!

But the lukewarmness and want of love to God, and indifferency in Christ's matters, 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, that when they are fallen he may be glorified in his justice, by bringing that stroke of vengeance that seems to be hanging over these lands; because of their fearful idolatry, robbery, bloodshed, blasphemy, and other abominations, the whole land is, this day, guilty. Lord grant repentance and a spirit of mourning; brokenness and contrition of spirit is the only sacrifice well pleasing unto God. First, our representatives establish these sins, in our national decrees, which we have homrologated in owning them ever after; and much more have we homrologated their sins, in contributing 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,

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. A statement of some recent transactions in the Southern Reformed Presbytery, addressed to the members of the Reformed Presbyterian church and to the Christian community at large, by several ministers of the Southern Presbytery, New York, printed at the Greenwich printing office, 18 Barrow street, 1833, pp. 32, octavo. This pamphlet is signed by the Rev. James Chrystie, of Lebanon, N. J., Rev. Robert Gibson, of New-York, Rev. Moses Roney, of Newburgh. All Covenanters should read this statement, as it exposes ably the persecuting spirit of New Lights. The Appendix consists of four pages. It is the decision of the Vice Chancellor in the New York Chancery Court, *against the New Lights*, in the case of the Chamber-street church.

2. Animadversions on the Proceedings of the Convention of Nov. 21st, 1831, met in Sixth street church, New York, (extracted from the American Christian Expositor,) octavo, pp. 8, and was written by the Rev. John Gibson, of Baltimore, before he left his church to join the Presbyterian body, and published by the editor of the Expositor, a suspended clergyman of New-York. It was published in opposition to the Synod, of which the author was then a member. The argument is a sophism, the style is temperate.

3. Reply to the Rev. John Gibson and others, by the Rev Mr Gibson of New-York, duodecimo, pp. 12, 1833 March. This is an able vindication of "*the Testimony of Israel.*" The style is nervous. The edge of the weapon has some keenness.

4. An Exposure of Dr. M'Master's Brief Inquiry, by the Rev. David Scott. "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh after him, and searcheth him out." New-York, printed by H. Bunce, 110 Fulton-street, 1833, octavo, pp. 28. This pamphlet sustains the reputation of the author as a scholar and divine. We know the *facts* stated to be true, and the *acts*

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 had faith towards God, concerning me, let not this strangle their faith, but rather strengthen : there is nothing can contradict what God hath determined, but over all opposition he will perfect his work in and by me, 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 reckless prayers, that prevail not with God, because of unbelief. I know these sufferings will be a great stumbling to many, but let it not be to you : I bless the Lord, it is not to me, but rather the power, yea, the love of God to me ; for it was not altogether unexpected unto me, as I cannot deny, but it was in opposition to 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 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, not to venture to follow any man over conscience ! There were choice godly men among us, but one Achan will make Israel to fall. I fear the

want of faith among us, all alongst 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.”

“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 muirside all night; and Thursday about ten hours we went to take some meat, and sent out other two, and 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 taken some meat, we came to a piece of grass, and lay down, and presently we were all alarmed that they were upon us; and 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 and found a strength for our advantage, and drew up quickly eight horses 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. The enemy advanced fast, about one hundred and twelve, well armed and horsed; who sending about twenty dragoons on foot to take the wind of us, we sent a party on foot to meet them, and the rest of us advanced immediately after, when our horse fired and wounded and killed some both horse and foot; our horse advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other; I being foremost, and finding the horse behind me broken, I then rode in amongst them, and went out at a side, without being wounded; I was pursued by several, with whom I fought a good space, but at length I

was stricken down with three on horseback behind me ; and receiving three wounds on the head, and falling, submitted to them. They gave us all testimony of brave resolute men. What more of our men were killed, I did not see nor know ; 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 staunched the blood.”

“Next morning I was brought to Lanark, and brought before Dalziel, and Lord Ross, but I not satisfying 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 being admitted to look to my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next morning they brought John Pollock and me, with 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 up into a room alone, where the chancellor came, and asked if I knew him ? I answered yes, I was brought in before the council, where the chancellor read charges against me. First, as to 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 last 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 remembered not where you were 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. Cargil's papers, which they called the new covenant taken at the Ferry? I answered, I would know what any could say against them. He asked, if I owned the king's authority? I said, 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 showing it, in that they were setting men-defilers, 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 mandefiler, liberated at the Sheriff's 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 Pilate and that judicatory, who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges ? I replied, 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 what I durst not doubt, but 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 respecting 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 the defence of religion, but not in the destruction of religion. The chancellor threatened me with 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 truth against his open enemies, and referred it to their own acts of parliament 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 ev-

er I said to a shepherd of 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 said so to him were liars. I was asked by some, concerning our strength. To which I told, how few we were, and how surprised by such a strong party, and that knowing with what cruel orders they came against us, we were forced to fight. After 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, not. The chancellor said, he would do it for me. Some one of them asked, at the first 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 daily 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 these despicable ones whom Christ chose. They said, it was a Quaker-like answer. I said 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 disadvantage. 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 rude

to the bishop. I replied, 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 they all found, I was a man of great parts and also of good birth. I replied, 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, that our fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before me. Then I was called by all, a murderer; I answered, God should decide it between us, to whom I refer it, who were most murderers in his sight, they or I."

"Ye have an account, as near as I can give, of what passed among us. Be ye, 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 shew this to my friends in that cause with me, especially D. K. Let all be prostrate before the Lord, that he would shew 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 beloved Lord, who sympathizes with us in our afflictions.

A letter written by him to a friend, dated from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 28, 1680.

“MADAM,

The bearer shows me, your ladyship desires to know what I mean by the Achan I mentioned in my other ; which I shall explain : and alas ! that I have such a wide field to walk in, when I name such a thing ; for I know not how to find out the man that is free of the accursed thing among us, for which God is contending against the land ; especially against such as would be most free of the public sins, and most faithful for God. Only I de-

sire both to reverence, and admire the holy wisdom and loving kindness of God, that is, by these dark-like dispensations, purging his people, that he may bring forth a chaste spouse to himself in Scotland. These are tokens of his fatherly love : and I fear a delivery, while we stand guilty of such things, as are so open whoredoms against our married husband, that might rather be looked upon as a bill of divorce, than joining again in a married relation : and first, I must explain the natural sins, according to the light God hath bestowed upon me, out of his free grace, who is not tied to any, but chooseth and revealeth himself to whom he will ; and often glorifies his free grace in making use even of the greatest sinners, as I confess I have been one, which national sins are contained in our national decrees.”

“ And *first*, 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, in 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 ecclesiastical 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, is a law contrary to it, and so by this are rescinded. Now, besides this sin of idolatry ; by the act recissory, all the acts, oaths, covenants and engagements that the nation is 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, and burnt by the hands of the hangmen, through se-

veral places of these kingdoms. This is a legal perjury and breach of covenant, unpardonable 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 rendezvous 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.

“I could mention many other circumstances, wherein this question has touched the accursed thing, and has bowed the knee to that Baal-like idol of the Lord’s indignation and anger, but I shall only mention, besides these two, a third, of some who have appeared in arms against God, for, and in my company with his enemies. Now, that way of giving and taking satisfaction for these sins, which some are for, I cannot consent to. For, first, these sinful practices being practices immediately against God, and the first table of the law, no satisfaction to man can be sufficient. I close not that door that God hath opened in mercy to the real penitent, but I say, real evidences that God has given it, should be, before a joining with such in society. I know the gospel should be preached to all, that they may repent, that being the means God hath appointed for conversion, when men have sinned. But O! when men lightly fall into these things, and others counsel and advise them to such things, fearful shall their doom be, if God prevent them not in his mercy! Now, Madam, there were some such among us, and as I have observed, God has still punished that party that has been appearing for him, when they have taken in and joined, with the men of these abominations; and as it were, laid by such as have complied with the times’ apostacy, I doubt not, reserving them to the general stroke he is threatening the whole land with. O that one and all were making their soul’s interest sure with God!

I am, Madam, your Ladyship's, in all humility, in Jesus Christ.

DAVID HACKSTON."

A letter of his dated July 28, 1680, while in prison.

"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 now love the truth, as it is this day owned by the smallest handful that pretend thereto ; that I was yesterday, before the lords of justiciary ; they charged me with several things ; I declared the king's authority as an usurper of the prerogatives of the sons of God, whereby he hath involved the lands in idolatry, purjury and other wickedness : and I declined them as exercising against 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 of 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. Wherever Mr. D. C. is, acquaint him with my case, 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 disbelieve, 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 among 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. I remain your's in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ.

DAVID HACKSTON."

A letter to his sister.

" 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 honor 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 take part with these 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 fall on the transgressors, and those that have received the greatest talents from God, and have made that use of them to strengthen the enemies' hand by bonds, or otherwise owning them, shall be most severely stricken, and shall not be honored to testify for Christ, who is despised, robbed, and contemned, by this generation. Remember me to all relations and friends, and give warning to cleave to Christ's truths and interests. 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.

DAVID HACKSTON.”

In these letters there is a specimen of the godly simplicity and integrity of those men who executed Sharp, the man who filled Scotland with lamentation and mourning by his murders of the saints of God. Hackston died in the full assurance of faith, esteemed by all good men, a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, who with others had performed a deed in which the nation rejoiced. Some doubted whether it was a justifiable homicide. But it is evident from the concurrent testimony of the martyrs, when on their trials, that they approved the transaction. They referred to the example of Phinehas, who “executed judgment, and the plague was stayed,” “in the matter of Peor.”* This was the common opinion of the friends of truth and of the rights of man. They believed as the advocates of Roman liberty did, in the killing of Cæsar by Brutus, that Sharp, like the tyrannical dictator, had made war on his country, and that to cut him off was not only allowable, but that duty required it, as much as the killing of any foreign foe that invades our country. The universal detestation of the archbishop for unexampled cruelty and irreligion, and the holy lives of the men who were his executioners, were well calculated to produce such a sympathy for Hackston and his associates in the justice which they were believed to have done upon the church’s and the nation’s enemy. It was generally thought remarkable that Hackston, whose character we have spread out so much at large, was the only one of the party averse to the taking of Sharp’s life. Those who es-

* Psal. cvi. 30. Num. xxv. 7. The act of Phinehas was undoubtedly proper, as he was moved by holy zeal, and God expressly approved the deed as greatly praise-worthy and well pleasing to him.

escaped were believed to have been peculiarly favored of God, who had, in his providence, protected them from the avenger's cruel hands. The godly of Scotland said of Sharp's death:—"So, O Lord, let all thine enemies perish."

We have reserved, to present it in one view, the narrative of what is called by historians the *INDULGENCE*. Though the king's troops were victors in the battle at Pentland-hills, yet it was evident from the heroism of the Covenanters, displayed on Rullion Green, and from the admiration of the valorous deeds, excited in the country, that mere killing would not destroy the Reformed Presbyterian church. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. In Scotland the sufferers found general sympathy; and the ejected Presbyterian ministers of England were allowed greater liberty to exercise their ministry, after the rising at Pentland. It was resolved by the king and his court to proceed both by violence and by the acts of seduction. The earl of Tweeddale held conversations with Sterling, Douglas and other persecuted ministers, on whom he prevailed to send a letter to court, from which the persecutors might at least pretend that some portion of the saint's testimony would be relinquished, provided their sufferings were mitigated.*

The king issued his proclamation, which allowed the Covenanted ministers to return to their flocks, on certain conditions. This insidious edict, intended to sow dissensions among the Reformers, was published 1660, June 7. It authorizes, "patrons to present to churches such ministers as should receive collation from the bishops;" but that if any seditious speeches were uttered from their pulpits, they should "be silenced again, or altogether

* Cruikshank's Church of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 246—254. Brown's Church History, vol. i. p. 269.

turned out." Those who accepted this indulgence were strictly prohibited from "holding conventicles," which meant that they should preach only in those places, in which a layman, called the patron, had placed them, and that they should abstain from holding meetings for prayer and christian conference. But few accepted these conditions. Those who refused plead that by acceding to the terms proposed, they would be guilty of renouncing that ministry which they had received from Christ, and of accepting an office from the hands of bishops that were reeking with the blood of their martyred brethren; and that the acceptance would virtually acknowledge the king to be head of the church, and be an engagement not to preach against the covenant-breaking-heresy and impiety of the rulers of the land, and other apostates and enemies of the Lord's truth and people.

Their refusal, however, afforded a pretext for increasing the violence of their murderous persecutors. They held the sword in one hand and the indulgence in the other, to terrify, seduce, divide and conquer. Having succeeded in terrifying some and seducing others, the king was induced to publish on the 3d of September, 1772, another act of indulgence, in which he named about 120 of the most distinguished ministers.* Some accepted the offered permission to preach where the king commanded, and to avoid bearing testimony against the evils of the government. The pretences which they made of excepting to the sinful conditions of the edict, were frivolous, and however they might silence for a time the clamors of their accommodating and corrupt consciences, did not satisfy the Lord's people, nor vindicate their base recreancy before the nation. They became objects of scorn to their enemies, whom they soon began to flatter, and of

* Cruikshank's, vol. i. pp. 288, 289. Brown's C. Scotland, pp. 269, 276.

contempt to that wicked civil power, whose favor they sought to gain, by their tame surrender of the ark of the covenant into the hands of the enemies of Jehovah. The Lord withdrew from them the sanctifying aids of his Holy Spirit, and their preaching became jejune and vapid. Their apologies for the *defects* and their arguments to vindicate or palliate the *positive evils* of a magistracy that dishonored the Head of the church, more emboldened the throne and the bishops to trample them in the dust, as miserable tools of oppression and cruelty. Their own flocks, even those who despised them for their apostacy; and sensible men, who weighed their motives, in this abandonment of their suffering brethren, and in making cause with those whom they had long opposed, wrote on them, “*mene, mene Tekel*, weighed in the balances and found wanting.”

The indulged traitors became clamorous for peace! peace! charity! charity! but it was peace with persecutors, with ungodly men, with profligate curates, and with lordly, fox hunting, intemperate bishops. It was not peace with their former brethren, or with the house-hold of faith. Truth and its *application* against the corruption of the times, against the despotism of the rulers, and against the errors of the synagogues of Satan, were buried in their church yards, among “those who had been long dead.” Such scenes of bloodshed, and of tyranny in its very worst forms, dishonest pretensions to promote the good of his subjects, and insidious plans to cause dissensions among the people of God, characterized the whole reign of Charles II. He was arrested in his iniquitous career of wonton cruelty, by the hand of death, on the 5th of February, in the year 1685.* It had been long thought he was in heart a Papist; though he professed to be an

* Cruikshank's Scotland, pp. 292, 293.

Episcopalian, and took many oaths sacred and official to that low form of the Protestant faith. On the bed of death, his attachment to popery was settled, beyond all question; for the three popish sacraments of *Penance*, *Extreme Unction* and the *Antichristian corruption of the Eucharist*, were administered to him by Huddleston, a benedictine monk. So his death was a solemn avowal, that all his professions of Protestantism, during his life, had been for the sake of a crown, and contrary to his conscience.

James, Duke of York, was thought to have been guilty of the death of his brother Charles, by causing poison to be administered to him, that the throne might be left vacant for his own occupancy.*

Whether guilty of the murder of his brother or not, he was proclaimed king in London a few hours before his death. Burnet, as quoted by Cruikshanks, says it was a heavy and painful solemnity. "Few tears were shed" for the monarch who was dying, and there were no shouts of joy at the accession of the duke of York, from whose known character for duplicity and cruelty, no mitigation of the national suffering was anticipated. As the procession moved through the streets, a dead silence reigned in the city, while one despot, stained with the blood of thousands of the saints, was departing to the tribunal of God; and another was grasping the axe of the executioner, to bathe it in the blood of many more of Christ's witnesses, who were prophesying in sackcloth.

When with these forms, James was inaugurated, he delivered his address, in which he promised to imitate the character of his brother, in the administration of the go-

* See Cruikshanks, as above, who refers to Burnet, the apologist of the tyrant, because he had professed to be an Episcopalian. Burnet would scarcely have recorded the opinion as that of *many* had he not himself given it credence.

vernment, and, as if to make much more bitter the agonies of a suffering empire, he said he would especially copy the example that Charles had set, “in his *clemency* and *tenderness to his people*.”

James did not *profess*, like his brother, to be a Protestant — he openly avowed his popery; though he took the oath of office prescribed by the constitution of England, by which he was an Episcopalian, as a king and Papist, as a man.* This distinction is monstrous and shocks all conscience; and yet we have in our own age and country what is analagous to it, and perhaps more preposterous — a president of the United States, professing to be a Christian personally, and an infidel as a public functionary.

He refused, however, to take the coronation oath prescribed by the law of Scotland. No doubt he had been taught by all the cruelties which his brother exercised against the saints and against all the immunities of the citizens, to despise the land of his nativity and of his fathers' sepulchres.

It was for his neglect to take the constitutional oath that the convention of states in Scotland, 1689, April 11th, declared him very justly a usurper. They say: — “James VII, a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as king without ever taking the oath required by law, whereby every king, at his access to the government, is obliged to swear to maintain the *Protestant* religion, and to rule the people according to the laudable *laws* — and that by this he hath forfeited the right to the crown.”† They refer, in this act, to the establishment of religion at the time of the reformation. Indeed, all the laws securing a Protestant succession to the crown

* Cruikshanks, as above, p. 294. Aikman, vol. iv. Brown's Church of Scotland.

† Ibid. vol. i, p. 299.

of Britain, are to be traced to the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms. This act of the Scottish legislature, though passed four years after the accession of the duke of York, is recited here to shew that the representatives of the people, justified all the sufferings of the Covenanters, rather than declare that they yielded a conscientious subjection, and voluntary obedience to the commands of this *usurper*, even when the things commanded were just in themselves.

Though James refused to take the oaths prescribed by the fundamental law of the nation, yet he entered on the administration of the kingdom, as if he had been a lawful king. By an ukase* sent down from London, he was proclaimed king of North Britain. In the proclamation, he assumes the crown on the claim of all the despots of Europe and Asia — a power from heaven in utter disregard of the will of the people. It is as follows, “ For as much as it hath pleased the Almighty God to call Charles II, our late sovereign lord of glorious and ever blessed memory, from a temporary crown to inherit an eternal in the heavens, whereby the undoubted right of succession to him, in the imperial crown of this realm, was immediately devolved on the sacred person of his royal and dearest brother, our present sacred sovereign (whom God long preserve) therefore we, the lords of his majesty’s council do, with the concurrence of several others, lords spiritual and temporal, barons and burgesses of this realm, hereby declare and proclaim to all the world, that our sovereign lord, James VII, is by lawful and undoubted sue-

* The Russian word, for a decree of the autocrat of all the Russias. James’ assumption of the crown, contrary to the will of the people, is in accordance with the whole theory of the despotisms of the old world. This defect of title vitiates all their claims to legitimacy. So the 13th of the Romans does not respect their authority.

cession and descent, king of Scotland, England, France,* defender of the faith, and whom we shall humbly obey, dutifully and faithfully serve, maintain and defend, with our lives and fortunes against all deadly, as our only righteous king and sovereign, over all persons and in all causes, as holding our imperial crown from God alone. And for testification whereof, we here in presence of the Almighty God, and a great number of his majesty's faithful people — declare and publish that our said sovereign lord, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, is of Scotland, England and France, the most potent, mighty and undoubted king. And hereby give our oaths, with uplifted hands, that we shall bear true and faithful allegiance unto our said sacred sovereign, James VII, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and his lawful successors; and shall perform all duties, service and obedience to him, as becomes his loyal, dutiful and faithful subjects, so help us God.”†

These monstrous claims to unlimited power did not seem to awake, in the aristocracy, any other sentiment than that of admiration. Literature was humbled into the basest submission. The university of Oxford sent up to the king the most fulsome, adulatory address, declaring that the chancellor, professors and fellows could never be moved from their loyalty to his most excellent majesty. How fallen from their dignity when Dr. Owen was at their head! As in all other ages and countries, “when vile men were high” in place, the fountains of science became polluted. The pulpits, too, of the Episcopal and indulged clergy were loud in praise of the tyrant, and were meanly employed in apologizing for the defects

* They did not condescend to mention Ireland, in some respects the most important limb of the empire, as will fully appear hereafter.

† Cruikshanks' Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.

of his administration. The strong hold of civil society, the judiciary, was worse than demolished. Jeffries, the chief justice, was a grossly immoral man, and animated by those fierce and violent passions which characterize habitual drunkards; for he was shamelessly intemperate.

All was subdued but the church of God, which could not be humbled by the tyrant, so far as to do him homage. The Covenanters utterly disowned his authority, and refused to consider him the minister of God to the nation for good, however great their sufferings might be, in maintaining their testimony in favor of the claims of Messiah, and of the rights of the saints of the Most High. They regarded the king and all who administered the government under him, as usurpers of the prerogatives of Christ, in the pretensions of the monarch to be head of the church. They taught the doctrine that the whole nation in its civil capacity, and all the members of the church were bound by the National Covenant of Scotland, and by the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, and that no deed of the crown, of the parliament, of the nation or of the church, could free them from their voluntary and lawful oaths to the Lord of hosts. All who acknowledged the usurpation of James, and who bound themselves by oaths of allegiance to the support of his throne, were charged by the church with the sin of apostacy from God, by the violation of their covenant obligations.*

Beside all these reasons for their refusal to acknowledge the authority of James, the Covenanters held that he was disqualified for being king, because he labored under the sentence of excommunication for his popery, persecution and gross immoralities. He had been laid under this censure in the year 1680,† by the Rev. Donald

* Cruikshanks, vol. ii. p. 255. Brown, vol. ii. *Cloud of Witnesses*.

† Cruikshanks, vol. ii. pp. 68—70.

Cargil. At Torwood, in Sterlingshire, on September 17th, of that year, he preached to a very large congregation. His lecture in the forenoon service was on Ezek. xxi. 25—27, and the text of his sermon in the afternoon, 1 Cor. v. 13. Having prepared the people, by these discussions, for the solemn act of censure which he was about to pronounce, he declared that he was moved to this act by no spirit of private revenge, but solely from the sense which he entertained in his conscience, of the duty which he owed to his Lord and Master and to the church. After these prefatory remarks he proceeded to the following effect:*

“I being a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, and having authority from him, do in his name and by his Spirit excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver over unto Satan, Charles II, for the following sins. 1. His evil deeds in mocking God, by returning into those ways of iniquity in which his fathers walked, and that after he had acknowledged them to be sins and solemnly promised to renounce them. 2. His perjury in renouncing those covenants which he had twice solemnly sworn and subscribed, and burning them by the hands of the common hangman. 3. His rescinding all the laws enacted for the preservation of the true reformed religion and the maintenance of the Lord’s covenant cause, enacting laws contrary to them for the establishment of popery. 4. His shedding by the hands of his soldiery the blood of the Lord’s servants for no other reason, than their continued adherence to the truth of God to which they were bound by many most solemn covenants, which they conscientiously believed and loved. 5. That in his administration of the government, he has opposed the Protestant faith and protected popery, by hindering the exe-

* Reformation Principles, Ed. 1824, p. 78.

cution of those wholesome laws that have been enacted against the Papists. 6. His relaxation of governmental authority by the pardon of murderers, which no king hath power to do. 7. His drunkenness, adultery and other open and gross sins."

"I do also in the same manner excommunicate James, duke of York, for the setting up of idolatry in Scotland, and using his influence to seduce the people into the commission of the same sin."

For similar offences and with the same solemnity, he excommunicated James, duke of Monmouth, John, duke of Lauderdale, the duke of Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Thomas Dalziel of Binns.

In justification of this act, which was in some respects out of the common course of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, he plead that there was no necessity of a formal trial, as the scandalous sins which deserved the censure, were long known to the whole church — that their perpetrators gloried in them, after all the warnings and admonitions that had been tendered to them, and that the glory of God, and the interests of the church required that such apostates should be cut off from the commonwealth of Israel.

That this sentence reached the consciences of those men, is evident; for it filled them with tenfold rage, and madness against the Covenanters; and such is always the effect of the discipline of the Lord's house, where it is not blessed for the reformation of offenders.

On the following Sabbath, Mr. Cargil, when preaching at Fallowhill, said:—"I know I am and will be condemned by many for what I have done in excommunicating these wicked men; but condemn me who will, I know I am approved of 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 the

performance of any duty, it was that act of excommunication; and I shall give you two signs whereby you may know I am in no delusion. 1. If some of these men do not find that sentence binding upon them ere they go off the stage, and be not obliged to confess it from their terror and to the consternation of others. 2. If these men die by the ordinary death of other men, then God hath not spoken by me." The duke of Rothes was filled with alarm, and seized with the greatest horror of conscience and despair before his death, by which he was forced to acknowledge that Jehovah had made him feel the power of the Torwood excommunication. Charles II, was believed, on reasonable grounds, have died by poison,* and the other excommunicated persons died by violent deaths such as the Lord's servant had denounced against them.

Some historians have represented this act of church censure, as quite irregular and disorderly, because the persons excommunicated were not formally cited and tried by a constituted ecclesiastical court. This argument is defective; for such men as Charles and James, never would have obeyed the citation of the presbyteries in whose bounds they resided, to appear for trial. If the mere non-appearance of men who violate their vows to the church, is a reason why they should not be subjected to censure, then every offender may escape at pleasure. But that is absurd, for the power of purging the church must be exercised, whether the guilty appear for trial or not. We have in the ministerial debaring from the Lord's table, what is equivalent to the excommunication of all who hold the errors, or are guilty of the immoral practices specified.

Again it has been said that there was no regularly con-

* Russell's Mod. Eu. vol. ii. p. 235. Brown's Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 299. Cruikshanks, vol. ii. p. 293.

stituted court. Owing to the condition of the Covenanters, this was not possible ; but Mr. Cargil had what was substantively the same thing, in the existing state of the church — he had the sense of all the godly expressed in their known and avowed detestation of the evil practices of those most profligate apostates. It may be safely affirmed that not one good man in the whole nation, thought or could think that such drunkards, whoremongers, profane swearers, Sabbath breakers and murderers, as Charles and James, were worthy of participation in the seals of God's covenant. All were agreed then that the censure was merited. There were numerous office-bearers in the Lord's house, with whom Cargil had intimate communication and consultation. Their known opinion and decision were that these wicked men deserved excommunication. What, however, ought to put the question at rest, is, God by the withdrawing of his Holy Spirit from them, gave them over to a reprobate mind, and made them feel and acknowledge by their horror of conscience and their despair, that the sentence was just. He is a God of order and never ratifies what is wrong. The historian, then is justified in affirming that what was done in the Torwood excommunication, on earth, the Lord Jesus Christ, the church's glorious Head ratified in heaven. The holy man of God was moved, as he himself affirmed, and he knew best, by the Holy Ghost, to deliver over these cruel persecutors to Satan.

This act of excommunication increased the rage of the persecutors against this godly man. He, with Richard Cameron and others, had been the authors of a very celebrated ecclesiastical paper, known by the name of the Sandquhar Declaration, the magnanimity of which fills the soul with holy admiration, after the lapse of more than two centuries and a half. It was written at the time when the dragoons of the persecutors were scouring the

south-western counties of Scotland, for the purpose of slaying all the Covenanters, who would not swear oaths of allegiance to the apostate throne, and worship in the churches of heretical curates of profligate morals, and in the temples of fox-hunting bishops. It was read by Michael Cameron, in the public square of Sandquhar, and affixed to the market cross.*

Its substance is as follows: — “It is an eminent token of the Lord’s goodness to this nation, that however great the defections from the pure truths of the gospel, and from the good order of the church, there have always been some to bear witness for the whole attainments of the Reformation. We have had witnesses for God, who honor the truth, and they have been the instruments of bringing to light the glorious doctrines of the cross of Christ, and who have borne testimony against Popery, Prelacy and all the other corruptions that mar the beauty of the church. These witnesses have also testified against the Erastian headship over the church, arrogated by the king, who as the descendant of former monarchs, claims to be lord over God’s heritage. This ruler has apostatized from his own solemn vows to Israel’s God, in both ecclesiastical and civil things, as is known to all in the land. We have reason to mourn in humiliation before the Lord, and to esteem it a reason of the Lord’s controver-

* Cruikshanks, vol. ii. p. 156. This paper was published 1680, June 22, when the rage of the king against the Covenanters was most violent, and in the year when the terms Whig and Tory originated. Russell says the monarch was often present, like Nero, gratifying his cruelty by witnessing the dying agonies of the martyrs, while “they were tortured not accepting deliverance.” Russell, vol. ii. p. 229. The House of Commons, in England, were at the same time making some feeble resistance to the cruel tyranny of the throne. These friends of liberty were reproached by the Tories as Covenanters, or *Conventiclers*, as they called Reformed Presbyterians, for their attendance on societies for prayer, praise, christian conversation and the catechizing of children. Russell as quoted above.

sy against the nation that we have not disowned the legitimacy of his authority, and refused allegiance to those officers of state, who bear rule by a power derived from this usurper. They are all enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ and his crown and to the true Protestant, Presbyterian interest in these lands, and to the church, which is “the bride, the Lamb’s wife.”

We are the friends of civil government, when constituted according to the Lord’s holy word, and our solemn covenant engagements; but we for ourselves and all who adhere to us, the representatives of the true Presbyterian church, and covenanted nation of Scotland, in order that we may be under sin no longer, do disown Charles Stuart, who has reigned for some years, as a tyrant and usurper, on the throne of Britain. We affirm that he hath no right, title or interest in the crown or government of Scotland, which he has forfeited by his perjury, and breach of covenant with God and with the church, and by the usurpation of the crown and royal prerogatives of Christ our king, and by his violent persecution of the Lord’s people and by his tyranny in the administration of the national government. He is not entitled to be obeyed for conscience sake, having forfeited all claim to be the minister of God to the nation for good.

“We also, under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Captain of our salvation, do declare war with this tyrant and usurper, and with all his abettors, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, to his cause and to his covenant. We do also recognize our declaration, published at Rutherglen, 1679, May 29,* and the faithful testimonies of our

* See this able ecclesiastical document in Cruikshanks, vol. ii. pp. 2—4. It contains a solemn declaration of their adherence to the National and Solemn League and Covenants, and testimony and warning against the ungodliness of the civil rulers — against the infamous act recissory, and against the lawless acts of the truckling and ungodly legislature.

brethren who have not counted their lives dear, in witnessing for the royal prerogatives of Christ our King. We also disown the reception of the duke of York, by some members of the church, as repugnant to our principles and vows to the Most High God, and as a great and just reproach to the church. We also protest against the succession of this Papist to the crown of Britain, and against all the steps which have been taken or countenanced, for securing that object, as prejudicial to the cause of the reformation.”

Though we have no direct historical testimony on the subject, yet it is almost certain from the complexion of the Rutherglen and Sandquhar Declarations, from the conspicuous place that Cargil occupied among the Reformed Presbyterians, from his magnanimity and courage, from the abhorrence that he manifested on all occasions to tyranny, from his distinguished learning, eloquence, and especially from the infuriated malice of the enemies of God and of the Covenanters against him personally on their account, that he was the writer of those documents. Before this tremendous storm of persecution broke on all the faithful of the land, he had been known as the pastor of the Barony parish in the city of Glasgow, where he was very assiduous in the discharge of parochial duties. On all these accounts, he was the object of the peculiar vengeance of the persecutors. It was not long after the issuing of this paper, that he was called to seal his testimony with his blood, and receive the crown of martyrdom.

As it has been said that these martyrs of our Lord Jesus Christ, were a stern and fierce people, and defective in the power of vital godliness, and as the tone of their piety is worthy of imitation, no better course can be taken to subserve the cause of truth and vindicate them from the unholy aspersions of their character, by many

of their recreant posterity, than to copy at large the dying testimony of this eminent saint of God.*

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY OF THE
REV. MR. DONALD CARGIL,

Sometime minister of the Gospel, in the Barony Parish of Glasgow, delivered by him in writing, before his execution at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

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 near 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 shewed 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

* See the *Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 1—19. This work which was collected by the pious John Howie of Loughgoine, a man who was willing to employ his wealth in the publication of books written in defence of truth, is in the hands of a few Covenanters, who have emigrated from Scotland and Ireland to America. But the copies are very rare, and the greater part of those who are reaping the fruits of the contendings of these men of God for the truth, have never had access to its pages. It is, moreover, an *old book*, which few, especially the young, are very likely to read. It is most desirable that the minds of American Covenanters should be imbued with the spirit which breathes in these dying testimonies of our fathers. These considerations will plead our apology for copying so largely from the *Cloud of Witnesses*. We may also add that we have known one Covenanter, who blesses God that he was freed from a temptation to become a New Light heretic by a careful and prayerful reading of the *Cloud of Witnesses*. Next to the Bible, there is scarcely any better antidote against defection from the cause of truth, than this book.

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 now is 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 apostacies. The religion of the land, and zeal for the land's engagements, are come 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 will 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 of them have that yet to do; and let no one think, that he is in the right exercise of true religion, who 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 as to 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 cause 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, was made essential to 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 essential to 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 his crown; and seeing they are so express, we ought to be plain, for otherwise it is to deny our testimony, and consent to his robbery.

When he was come to the scaffold, standing with his back towards the ladder, he fixed his eyes upon the multitude, and desired their attention; and after singing a part of the cxviii. Psalm, from the 16th verse to the close, he looked up to the windows on both sides of the scaffold with a smiling countenance, requesting the people to compose themselves, and hear a few words that he had to say, which (said he) I shall direct to three sorts of folks, and shall endeavor to be brief. First, All you that are going on in persecuting the work and people of God, O beware for the Lord's sake! and refrain from such courses, as you would escape wrath eternally, which will be a torment far beyond what we are to endure by the hands of cruel and bloody murderers. Upon this the drums were beaten, at which he smiling said, now ye see we have not liberty to speak, or at least to speak what we would; but God knoweth our hearts. But, O ye that are called ministers, and professors in the church of Scotland, who are wearied in waiting upon the Lord, and are turned out of his way, and run into a course of gross defection and backsliding! truly, for my part, I tremble to think, what will become of you, for either you shall be punished with sore affliction, I mean, in your consciences, because of sin, or else you shall be tormented eternally without remedy, which shall be shortly, if mercy prevent

it not, which I pray God may be the mercy of all these to whom he has thoughts of peace. All ye that are the poor remnant, who fear sinning more than suffering, and are begging for his returning to Scotland to wear his own crown, and reign as King in Zion, in spite of all that will oppose him, whether devils or men : I say to you that are thus waiting, wait on, and ye shall not be disappointed ; for either your eyes shall see it, or else ye shall die in the faith of it, that he shall return ; and “ if you suffer with him, you shall also reign with him,” which reign, will be glorious and eternal. I come now to tell you for what I am brought here to die, and to give you an account of my faith, which I shall do as in the sight of the living God, before whom I am shortly to stand. First, I declare I am a Christian, a Protestant, a Presbyterian in my judgment, and whatever hath been said of me, I die testifying against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all manner of defection from the truth of God, and against all who make not the Scriptures, which are the word of God, their rule, that so they may commend Christ and his way to strangers by a holy and gospel conversation. The cause for which I am sentenced to die here this day, is my disowning of authority in the unlawful exercise thereof, when they instead of ruling for God, are fighting against him, and encroaching upon his prerogatives, by that woeful supremacy which my soul abhors, and which I have testified against since I was apprehended ; and now again, I disown all supremacy over the consciences of men, and liberties of Christ’s church.” Whereupon the drums were again beaten, and he kept silence a little, and then said, “ Of this subject I shall say no more.” Only I think the Lord’s quarrel against this land is, because there has not been so much heart religion and soul exercise among either ministers or professors, as there seemed to be, when the land owned Christ and his truths ; I wish

there were more true conversion, and then there would not be so much back-sliding, and for fear of suffering, living at ease, when there are so few to contend for Christ and his cause.

Now, for my own case, I bless the Lord, that for all that hath been said of me, my conscience doth not condemn me ; I do not say, I am free of sin, but I am at peace with God through a slain Mediator ; and I believe that there is no salvation, but only in Christ : and I abhor that superstitious way of the worshipping of angels and saints, contrary unto the word of God ; as also I abhor the leaning to self-righteousness and Popish penances. I bless the Lord, that these thirty years, and more, I have been at peace with God, and was never shaken loose of it ; and 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 no more terrified at death, nor afraid of hell, because of sin, than, if I had never had sin ; for all my sins are freely pardoned, and washed thoroughly away, through the precious blood and intercession of Jesus Christ ; and I am fully persuaded, that this is his 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 my eyes did see. Now I entreat you, study to know and believe the scriptures, which are the truths of God, these I have preached, and do firmly believe them. O ! prepare for judgments, for they shall be sore and sudden. 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." At this the drums were beaten a third time. And then be-

ing taken to the north side of the scaffold, he stood a little, during the space that one of the rest was singing. And then being carried to the south side of the scaffold, he prayed. Thence he was brought to the east side of the scaffold, and then he said, "I entreat you prepare you presently for a stroke, for God will not sit with all the wrongs done to him, but will suddenly come and make inquisition for the blood that has been shed in Scotland." Then he was commanded to go up the ladder, and as he set his foot on the ladder, he said: "the Lord knows I go up this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach." And when he was up, he set himself down, and said: "now I am near to the getting of my crown, which shall be sure, for I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils, and men, and sin; they shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, and pray the Lord may forgive all the wrongs that any of the elect has done against him. I pray, that 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 all earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproaches 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 praying.

Because this dying testimony and last speech are but short, which was occasioned through want of time, and the persecutor's severity, who took his larger testimony from him the day before he died, paper and ink being conveyed to him secretly by a cord through the window, the night before his death, it is thought proper to subjoin these

following letters of his (they being all of public concern) to give a more full discovery of the testimony which he held. And particularly of his witnessing against the errors about that time broached by the infamous John Gib, as the letter written to the prisoners in the correction-house manifests.

*Letter of Cargil, to Mr. James Skeen, who suffered
Martyrdom in Edinburgh.*

DEAREST FRIEND,

“There is now nothing upon earth that I am so concerned in, except the Lord’s work, as in you and your fellows; that you may either be cleanly brought off, or honorably and rightly carried through. He has begun in part to answer me, though not in that which I most affected, yet in that which is best. My soul was refreshed to see any that had so far overcome the fear and torture of death, and were so far denied to the affections of the flesh, as to give full liberty to the exoneration of conscience, in the face of these bloody tyrants and vile apostates; and yet these by our divines must be acknowledged as magistrates, which very heathens, indued with the light of nature, would abominate; and would think it as inconsistent with reason, to admit to, or continue in magistracy, such perjured, bloody, dissolute and flagitious men, as to make a wolf the keeper and feeder of the flock. But every step of their dealing with God, with the land, and with yourself and brethren, is a confirmation of your judgment as to them, and sufficient ground of your detestation and rejection of them; and it is the sin of the land, and of every person in it, that they have not gone along with you, and these few in that action; but since they have not done that, they shall not now meet with the like honor, if ever they meet with it, till vengeance be poured out upon them: and they and their king shall either be kept

together in wrath, or divided in wrath, that they may be one another's destruction. But go on, valiant champion, you die not as a fool, though the apostate, unfaithful and lukewarm ministers and professors of this generation think and say so ; they shall live traitors, and most part of them die fools ; I say traitors, as some men live upon the reward of treachery, for their quiet and liberty ; if it may be called a liberty, as it is redeemed with the betraying of the interest of Christ, and the blood of his people. But he himself hath sealed your sufferings, and their thus saying condemns God, and his sealing condemns them ; but neither regard their voices, nor fear, for God will neither seal to folly nor iniquity ; he then not only having sealed your sufferings, but your remission, go on to finish and perfect your testimony, not only against them, but against all that obey them, side with them, or are silent at them. And as for these men that will be our rulers, though they have nothing of worth or virtue in them : I am persuaded of this, that none can appear before them, and acknowledge them as they have now invested themselves (standing on a foundation of perjury, which is an act recissory of their admission to the government) with Christ's crown on their head, and a sceptre of iniquity, and a sword of persecution in their hand, but must deny Christ, and in effect, the whole land generally hath denied Christ, and desired a murderer ; and as a very unsavory salt hath lately appeared, acknowledged them, and was ashamed of this testimony, and in so doing, gave the first vote to your condemnation ; and proclaimed a lawfulness to the rest of assizers and murderers, to follow in their condemnation ; God shall require this with his other doings at his hands ; and I am somewhat afraid, if he be not suddenly made the subject of serious repentance, he shall be made the subject of great vengeance. But forgive and forget all these private in-

juries, and labor to go to eternity and death, with a heart destitute of private revengés, and filled with zeal to God's glory ; and assign to him the quarrel against his enemies, to be followed out by himself in his own way, against the indignities done to God, and against the mocking perfidiousness, impieties and lukewarmness of this generation ; and for yourself, whatever there has been either of sin or duty, remember the one, and forget the other ; and betake yourself wholly to the mercy of God, and the merits of Christ. Ye know in whom ye have believed, and the acceptableness of your believing ; and the more fully you henceforth believe, the greater shall be his glory, and the greater your peace and safety. Farewell, dearest friend, never to see one another any more, till at the right hand of Christ. Fear not, and the God of mercies grant a full gale, and a fair entry into his kingdom that may carry sweetly and swiftly over the bar, that you find not the rub of death. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

Yours in Christ, D. C.

A Letter to some friends before he went abroad.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I cannot but be grieved to go from my native land, and especially from that part of it, for whom and with whom I desired only to live : yet the dreadful apprehensions I have, of what is coming upon this land, may help to make me submissive to this providence ; though more bitter. You will have snares for a little, and then a deluge of judgments. I do not speak this to affright any, much less to rejoice over them ; as if I were taken, and they left ; or were studying by these thoughts, to alleviate my own lot of banishment ; though I am afraid, that none shall bless themselves long upon the account that they are left behind ; but my design is, to have you looking for snares and judgments ; that ye may have both the greatest readiness and the greatest shelters ; for both shall be in one.

Clear accounts and put off the old, for it is like that what is to come, will be both sudden and surprising, that it will not give you time for this. Beware of taking on new debt. I am afraid, that these things, that many are looking on as favors, are but come to bind men together in bundles for a fire. I am sure, if these things be embraced, there shall not be long time given for using them; and this last of their favors and snares* is sent to men, to shew that they are that, which otherwise they will not confess themselves to be. Tell all, that the shelter and benefit of this shall neither be great nor long: but the snare of it shall be great and prejudicial. And for myself, I think for the present, he is calling me to another land. But how long shall be my abode, or what employment he has for me there, I know not: for I cannot think he is taking me there to live and lurk only. I rest,

DONALD CARGIL.

*A Letter to John Malcolm and Archibald Allison,
Prisoners.*

DEAR FRIENDS,

Death in Christ, and for Christ, is never much to be bemoaned; and less at this time, than any other, when these that survive have nothing to live among but miseries, persecution, snares, sorrows and sinning. And where the only desirable sight, viz: Christ reigning in a free and flourishing church, is wanting and the greatly grieving and offensive object to devout souls, viz: devils and the worst of the wicked reigning and raging, is still before our eyes, and though we had greater things to leave, and better times to live in, yet eternity does so far exceed and excel these things in their greatest perfection, that they who see and are sure (and we see indeed being made sure) will never let a tear fall, or a sigh go at the farewell, but would neither make a slip to get death, nor

* Indulgences.

to shun it, if both were not equally detestable to them, upon the account of God's commandments, whom they neither dare nor are willing to offend, even to obtain heaven itself. And there are none who are his, but they must see themselves infinitely advantaged in the exchange. And accordingly hasten, if sin, the flesh, want of assurance, did not withstand; and there is no doubt, but these must be weak and poor spirits, that are bewitched or enchanted, either with the fruition or hopes of the world. And as earth has nothing to hold a resolute and reconciled soul, so heaven wants nothing to draw it; and to some to live here, has been always wearisome, since their peace was made, Christ's sweetness known, and their own weakness and unusefulness experienced: but now it becomes hatefully loathsome, since devils and the worst of men are become the head, and dreadful by their stupendous permissions, loosings and lengthenings in their reigning, and friends are become uncomfortable, because they will neither Christianly bear and bide, nor rightly go forward to effectuate their own delivery. But for you there is nothing at this time, (if you yourselves be sure with God, which, I hope, either you are, or will be) which can make me bewail your death; though the cause of it doth both increase my affection to you and indignation against these enemies. Yet for you, notwithstanding of the unjustness of the sentence, go not to eternity with indignation against them upon your own account. Neither let the goodness of the cause ye suffer for, found your confidence in God, and your hope of well-being; for were the action ever so good, and performed without the least failing, which is not incident to human infirmity, it could never be a cause of obtaining mercy, nor yet commend us to that grace from which we are to obtain it. There is nothing now which is yours, when you are pleading and petitioning for mercy, that must be remembered, but

your sins ; for in effect, there is nothing else ours. Let your sins then be on your heart, as your sorrow, which we must bewail, before we be parted with them, as the captive her father, not because she was to leave him, but because she had been so long with him. And let these mercies of God, and merits of Christ be before your eyes, as your hopes, and your winning to these as the only rock upon which we can be saved. If there be any thing seen or looked to in ourselves but sin, we cannot expect remission and salvation entirely through free grace, in which expectation only it can be obtained : neither can we earnestly beg, till we see ourselves destitute of all that procures favor, and full of all that merits and hastens vengeance and wrath.

And besides, it heightens the price of that precious blood, by which only we can have redemption from sin and wrath ; it being the only ransom in itself, and only acceptable to the Father, and so it must be, being the blessed and gracious device and result of infinite wisdom, which makes the eternal God to be admired in his graciousness and holiness, having found out the way of his own payment without our hurt, and which makes all return to their own desires, and there to rest in an eternal complacency ; for this way returns God to his glory, justice to its satisfaction ; disquieted consciences of men, frightened and awakened with the sight of sin and wrath, to ease, peace and assurance, and the souls of men to fellowship with God, and hope of eternal salvation. Now the righteousness of Christ being made sure to us, secures all this for us, and this both is believed and apprehended by faith, it being the hand by which we grip this rock, and if it be true, it cannot but be strong, and we saved. Look well then to your faith, that it be a faith growing out of regeneration, and the new creature, and have Christ for its righteousness, hope and rejoicing, and be sealed by

the spirit of God. And what this sealing is, when it comes, it will abundantly show, itself; and there can be no other full satisfaction to a soul than this: but seek till ye find, and whatever ye find for the present, let your last act be to lay and leave yourselves on the righteousness of his Son, expecting life through his name, according to the promise of the Father. Dear friends, your work is great, and time short; but this is a comfort, and the only comfort in your present condition, that you have a God infinite in mercy to deal with, who is ready at all times to forgive, but especially persons in your case, who have been jeoparding your lives upon the account of the gospel, whatever failings or infirmities in you, that action hath been accompanied with; for it is the action itself, which is the duty of this whole covenanted kingdom, and not the failing, for which you are brought to suffering. Seek not then the favors of men, by making your duty your sin; but confess your failings to God, and look for his mercy through Jesus Christ, who has said, "Whosoever looseth his life for my sake, shall keep it unto eternal life," and though it will profit a reprobate nothing to die after this manner; for nothing can be profitable without love, which only is, or can be in a believer; yet it should be no disadvantage, but in a manner, the best way of dying; for it would take some from his days that he might have lived, and so prevent many sins that he would have committed, and so the sin is lessened, that is the cause of eternal sufferings.

And let not this discourage you, or lay you by, that the work is great, and the time short, though this indeed should mind you of your sinful neglect, that were not better provided for such a short and peremptory summons, which you should always have expected. It also shews the greatness of the sin of these enemies, that not only take away unjustly your bodily life, but also shorten your

time of preparation, and so do their utmost to deprive you of eternal life. Yet, I say, let not this either discourage, or lay you by, for God can perfect great works in a short time, and one of the greatest things that befall men, shall be effectuated in the twinkling of an eye, which is one of the shortest. I assure you, he put the thief on the cross through all his desires, convictions, conversion, justification, sanctification, &c. in short time, and left nothing to bemoan, but that there did not remain time enough to glorify him upon earth, that had done all things for him. Go on then, and let your intent be seriousness; the greatness of your sorrow, and the height of love, in a manner make a compensation for the shortness of time, and go on, though ye yourselves have gone short way, for where these things are, one hour will perform more than thousands where there are not, either such inforcements or power; and be persuaded in this, you have him as much and more hastening than yourselves, for you may know his motion by your own, they being both set forward by him: and dear friends, be not terrified at the manner of your death, which to me seems to be the easiest of all, where you come to it without pain, and in perfect judgment, and go through so speedily, before the pain be felt, the glory is come; but pray for a greater measure of his presence, which only can make a pass through the hardest things cheerful and pleasant. I bid you farewell, expecting though our parting be sad, our gathering shall be joyful again. Only your great advantage in the case you are in, is, to credit him much, for that is his glory, and engages him to perform whatever ye have credited him with. No more, but avow boldly to give a full testimony for his truths, as you desire to be avowed of him. Grace, mercy and peace be with you.

DONALD CARGIL.

To the Prisoners in the Correction-House of Edinburgh.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I think ye cannot but know that I am both concerned and afflicted with your condition, and I would have written sooner, and more, if I had not feared that you might have been jealous (under your distempers) that I had been seducing you to follow me, and not God and truth. It had been my earnest and frequent prayer to God, (as He himself knows,) to be led in all truths. I judge I have been in this graciously answered; but I desire none, if they themselves judge it not to be truth, to adhere to any thing that I have either preached, written, or done, to any hazard, much more to the loss of life: but I have been afflicted with your condition, and could not but be more, if God's great graciousness in this begun discovery, and your sincerity and singleness gave me not, that God's purpose is to turn this to the great mercy of his poor church, and yours, if ye marr it not; and yet the great sin, and pillar of Satan, that is in this snare, makes me tremble. It was God's mercy to you, that gave you such convictions, that made you, at least, some of you once to part with these men: and it was undoubtedly your sin, that you continued not so, but after convictions, did cast yourselves into new temptations; for convictions ought to be tenderly guided, lest the Spirit be grieved from whom they come; but this second discovery, though it be with a sharper rebuke, as it makes God's mercy wonderful, so it shall render your perseverance in that course, sinful and utterly inexcusable, for God has broken the snare, and it will be your great sin, if you go not out with great haste, joy and thankfulness, when God's wonderful discovery has made such a way for your delivery; for God having now shown you the ringleaders and authors of these opinions, to be persons of such abominations, calls you not only to deny credit to them, but also

to make a serious search of their tenets, which will, I know, by his grace, bring you undoubtedly to see that these things are contrary both to God's glory and truth that they so much pretend to.

And now, dear friends, as I cannot be tender enough of you, who in your zeal and singleness have been misled; for though this did betray a great simplicity and unwatchfulness, yet it did also betoken some zeal and tenderness, that being beguiled, it was in things that were veiled and busked with some pretences to God's glory, and public reformation: and on the other hand, I cannot have great enough abhorrence of the persons, who knowing themselves to be of such abominations, did give out themselves to be of such familiarity with God, and of so clear illumination, to make their delusions more passing with devout souls. Let nothing make you think this is malignity, or natural enmity against the power of godliness, or progress in reformation, that is venting itself in me: for though I cannot win forward as I ought, yet I have rejoiced to see others go forward. And I am sure, there lies in this bed, within you, a viper, and a child; Satan transforming himself into an angel of light, has put these two together, to make it passing with some, and to be spared of others, who are of tenderness. But my soul's desire is, to kill the serpent, and to keep the child alive: and God is calling you loudly to sever the good from the bad, that the wit of Satan's subtily has mixed together, and to deliver yourselves speedily, as a roe from the hand of the hunter; and not only return, but bitterly mourn for your high provoking of God, in offering such foul sacrifices to his glory, and sewing your old clouts upon that new garment; in your making the enemy more to despise that cause and company who are enough despised already, and discouraging those who were following, and going forward with you in that which was right,

so that now, neither have they heart nor hand for the work, nor can they look out till God recover them again. There is much in the whole of those, that may, and does weigh and overwhelm some spirits: but there is nothing in all their cogitations about it, that they found comfortable, unless it be, that he is cleared in afflicting us, and continuing to afflict us, because there were such persons among us. I speak this but of some of you, and beloved by us, though ignorantly; and we wish that this be the last and great stop that was to be removed, before his coming to revenge himself, and reign. I would not say, but by this also he shewed his tenderness, of preserving integrity of doctrine, and sound reformation, and his purpose not to suffer errors and heresies to prosper. This, I told you, when I met with you, that there were some things ye were owning, which were highly approved of God; such as, an inward heart-love and zeal to God's glory, which I perceived to be in some of you, so far as it can be perceived, and setting up that before you, as your end, in pursuing it always as your work, and a forgetting of all other things in regard of it, excepting only these things without which we cannot glorify him, (as a workman that intends his work, must mind his tools,) even our own salvation, and the salvation of all others, as if there were not things wherein he is greatly glorified, for his glory is in righteousness and mercy, and in, and by these, is the salvation of man infallibly advanced, and to these it is inseparably connected.

Next, I would advise you, to set apart more, yea, much more of your time, for humiliation, fasting and prayer, in such an exigence, when the judgment of God appeared to be so near, and so great, so that it be done without sin, for God cannot be glorified by sin; for if my lie hath "more abounded to his glory, why am I judged as a sinner?" I was against such as deny nature, and others,

their right dues, for he that allows dues to others, allows them to be paid also ; and we must be like prisoners, who are of great debt, and honest hearts, who know they cannot pay every one their full sums, yet are resolved to give every one some, and to the greatest most, and to the rest accordingly ; and as there cannot be a total abstinence from meat, without self-murder, so there cannot be a total denying others their dues, such as the benevolence of husband and wife, and a total abstaining from work, without a transgression of God's commandments and laws, which can never be a glorifying of him, which the more impartially they are kept, the more he is glorified. Next, ways are allowed of him, that ye may make yourselves free, so much as in you lies, of all the public defections. Whatever may involve you in these, or contribute to their upholding, without either an overpowering force, or an indispensable necessity ; for I may buy meat and drink in necessity, whatever use the seller make of that money I give for my meat and drink. Next, he allows these particulars of reformation, such as change of the names of days, of weeks, of terms of the year, and such like, warranted by the word, and example of the Christians in scripture, that have been neglected before in our reformation ; so that there be not too much religion placed in these things, and other things more weighty, (which undoubtedly have more moral righteousness in them) made little in regard of them ; but in these good things Satan will quickly (if it be not already) over-drive you in your progress, and leave you only to hug a spurious birth. But there are other things that ye maintained when I spoke with you, (and the viper has more since appeared) as truths and parts of God's glory, that are utterly contrary to, and inconsistent with the glory of God. As first, laying aside of public preaching, some of them saying no less, nor they had no missing of it ; so that ye thought,

“ye had reigned as kings without us, and, would to God, ye had reigned.” Your flourishing should have delighted, though we had not been the instruments and means thereof: but alas! this your liberty, that you so much boasted of, would have lasted but a little while, and was among your other beguiles; and was nothing else but Satan stirring you about to giddiness, and raising of fantastic fumes to the tickling of the imagination; but leaving you altogether without renovation of heart, or progress in sanctification: so that I cannot compare this your liberty to any thing else, but to an enchanted fabric, where the poor guests, only placed in imagination, fancy themselves to be in a pleasant place, and at a royal entertainment; but when God comes, and delusion vanishes, they will find themselves cast in some remote wilderness, and they left full of astonishment and fears.

I told you, while I was with you, that the devil was sowing tares among your thin wheat; but I was not long from you, exercised in thoughts about you, when I saw clearly there was sorcery in the business: and now I tell you, I fear sorcerers also: I know I have spoken this against my own life, if they get the power they desire; but I am in a defiance of them, and I know also in a defence by him who hath preserved, and I know will preserve me, till my work be finished. But if your liberty that you talked of had been true, it would at least have staid till it had brought you to other thoughts, other works and other comforts, and it might have been easily discerned not a true liberty, but a temptation that led you from public preaching, the great ordinance of God’s glory, and men’s good. As the apostle has that word, “Forbidding us to preach to the Gentiles:” but especially to leave public ordinances at this time, when they are the only standards remaining which shows Satan’s victory against Christ’s kingdom in Scotland, not to be complete.