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ON

THE LORD'S SUPPER:

*Its Nature, Uses, Ends, and Perpetual Obligations;
Exposure of Romanist and Ritualistic Perversions,*

&c. &c.;

WITH PRACTICAL DIRECTIONS FOR
ITS DUE OBSERVANCE.

BY THOMAS HOUSTON, D.D.

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REV. THOMAS HOUSTON, D.D.

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WORKS

DOCTRINAL AND PRACTICAL

OF THE

REV. THOMAS HOUSTON. D.D.

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WORKS

DOCTRINAL AND PRACTICAL

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REV. THOMAS HOUSTON, D.D.,
KNOCKBRACKEN.

In Four Volumes.

VOL. IV.

SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION.

LIFE OF REV. DR LIVINGSTONE.

THE RACES.

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I.

SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION.

SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE prophet's message to Eli, "Wherefore the Lord God of Israel said . . . THEM THAT HONOUR ME I WILL HONOUR" (1 Sam. ii. 30), declares a fundamental law of the Divine government, which the history alike of individuals and of communities has illustrated in all by-past ages. The works of many men of eminent talent and remarkable energy—admired in their own day—have speedily passed into oblivion, or have been productive of few permanently salutary results. Despising God, "they have been lightly esteemed." Those, on the other hand, who honoured God, and were devoted to his service, however humble their talents or position in society, however contemned and persecuted by the world, have been honoured of God. Their labours have been accepted to advance his glory in the earth, their memories have continued long fragrant, and their principles and character have furnished the most valuable instruction and the brightest examples to future generations.

Of this we have a striking instance in James Renwick, the last, and in various respects the most illustrious of the Scottish martyrs of the seventeenth century. Hated and persecuted in his own day by the men in authority in Church and State, calumniated and reproached by ministers and others, who professed evangelical sentiments and affected piety, and his principles generally misrepresented and condemned even to our own day, there is yet abundant evidence to show that the Master whom he faithfully served, and for whose cause he willingly surrendered his life, singularly owned and honoured him. His faithful contendings and arduous labours contributed not a little to subvert the throne of a bigot and tyrant, and to achieve the nation's liberties. They served also to

secure the purity and independence of the Church, and to transmit a legacy of imperishable principles to future times, when "the handful of corn" upon the top of the mountains "shall shake with fruit like Lebanon." Scant and fragmentary as are the memorials of Renwick—clothed in the most homely garb, and written with no artistic skill—they have yet been the means of nurturing vital piety in many a humble breast and household, in these and other countries, from the martyr era to our own day; and not a few of the most devoted ministers, who have earnestly contended for precious truth, and been wise to win souls to Christ, have received from the record of the labours and sufferings and testimony of Renwick, some of their first solemn impressions for good, and propelling motives to holy diligence and self-devotion. As the story of Joseph in the Old Testament has been remarkably blessed, above other parts of the Divine Word, for promoting the conversion and early piety of the young, so the unadorned narrative of the life, labours, and death of the youthful Scottish martyr has led not a few to prefer the cause and reproach of Christ to the world's favour, to imbibe his spirit, and to imitate him in seeking ends the most important and glorious.

Renwick's work in the Church is not yet fully accomplished, nor is the influence of his name losing its attractive power. On the contrary, there is evidence, increasing as it is cheering, that while the one is drawing to it more earnest regard and willing workers, the other is constantly becoming more powerful and wide-spread. Let any person compare the manner in which the later Scottish martyrs—Renwick and the Society people—were spoken of in the histories, civil and ecclesiastical, emitted in these countries forty or fifty years ago, with the altered tone of historians of a recent date, and he will see that posterity is beginning to do tardy justice to the memories of men of whom "the world was not worthy"—who were the noblest, most disinterested patriots of which their country could ever boast, and whose services to the cause of pure and undefiled religion were invaluable. Occasionally we yet find, in the works of some popular writers, Renwick and his fellow-sufferers designated enthusiasts and fanatics, their principles misrepresented, and some of their most heroic deeds held up to ridicule and scorn. Even the brilliant Macaulay, while exposing to deserved condemnation their cruel and heartless persecutors, and while depicting with graphic power some of the incidents of the deaths of the Scottish martyrs, yet shows

his strong aversion to evangelical principle and godly practice, by applying to the honest confessors the same opprobrious epithets. The age in which the martyrs and their principles were kept entombed, by heaping on them reproach and slander, is past, however, not to return again. Their names are destined not to perish. God designs in his providence to honour them more and more, by bringing more clearly to light the great principles for which they contended unto blood, striving against sin. The era long predicted and desired is approaching, when the saints shall rise to reign with Christ on the earth, when the spirit which distinguished them shall be extensively revived, and the great principles of their testimony shall be triumphant.

Meanwhile, the resurrection of the *names* of the confessors and martyrs of a former age is a sure indication of the resurrection of their principles too. Through the evidence furnished by the faithful contendings and devoted lives of men of sanctified wisdom and high-toned piety, and the light reflected from the story of their sufferings and triumphant deaths, we cannot doubt that numbers will be led to earnest inquiry concerning the principles for which they testified in life, and in confirmation of which they willingly laid down their lives, that they might transmit the precious heritage to future generations. The result will be a wider appreciation of the value and excellency of a martyr-testimony; and in the period of promised light and enlargement, the lifting up of a standard in many places, and by strong hands, in behalf of the same great principles.

As prefatory to the memorials of the piety, wisdom, and devotedness of the martyr Renwick, it appears desirable to present a brief sketch of his personal history—to notice the particular time in which he laboured, and the principles for which he contended—his martyrdom, character, and the distinct and honourable position assigned him in the great work of maintaining and advancing the Redeemer's cause in the earth.

CHAPTER I.

RENWICK'S LIFE.

JAMES RENWICK was the child of godly parents in humble life. His father, Andrew Renwick, was a weaver, and his mother, Elizabeth Corson, is especially mentioned, like the mother and grandmother of Timothy, or like Monica, the mother of Augustine, as a woman of strong faith, and eminently prayerful. As several of her children had died in infancy, she earnestly sought that the Lord would give her a child, who would not only be an heir of glory, but who might live to serve God in his generation. Her prayer was heard and graciously answered. The son of her vows was born at Moniaive, in the parish of Glencairn, Gallowayshire, on the 15th of February 1662. His father died before he reached the age of fourteen, but not before he felt assured—probably from observing in the boy remarkable indications of early piety—that, though his course on earth would be short, the Lord would make singular use of him in his service. The early training of this distinguished martyr was, in a great measure, through the instrumentality of a devoted mother, who could boast of no worldly affluence or accomplishments, but whose heart was richly pervaded by the grace of the Spirit, and intensely concerned for the Saviour's glory; and who, in times of great difficulty and great trial, maintained unwavering confidence in the faithful word of promise.

If James Renwick was not "sanctified from the womb," there was clear evidence afforded that, in early childhood, he was the subject of gracious motions of the Spirit. At two years of age he was observed to be aiming at secret prayer; and as his childhood advanced, he evinced love to the ways of God, by reading and pondering the Scriptures, delight in secret prayer, and by reverential regard to the authority of his parents. Like Luther, and other eminent servants of God, Renwick was trained for his life-work in the school of *temptation*; he experienced painful mental conflicts, and the assaults of the tempter.

at a very early period. It is recorded that, at six years of age, he was conscious of distressing doubts, in relation to the Divine existence and perfections. These exercised and agitated his mind for a period of two years. In answer to prayer, and by meditation on the power and goodness of God, as seen in creation, he overcame the temptation, and attained to internal composure and tranquillity. At a time of life considerably subsequent, when he had reached mature youth, and had acquired extensive acquaintance with scriptural truth, a like temptation again assailed him. He himself relates that he fell into deeper perplexity and distress about these fundamental truths. Like the excellent Robert Bruce of the First Reformation, he was strongly tempted to Atheism. So powerful at one time was the assault, that, being in the fields and looking to the distant mountains, he exclaimed, "Were all these devouring furnaces of burning brimstone, I would be content to go through them, if I could thereby be assured of the existence of God." There was at length made for him a way of escape from this severe temptation; and not only did he attain to a full and joyful persuasion of God's existence, but to the assurance of his personal interest in God as his covenant portion.

James Renwick was endowed with a vigorous reflective mind, and from his childhood he was devoted to reading and study. Amidst considerable difficulties, he commenced and prosecuted with ardour studies for the ministry. There is ample evidence from his writings that his attainments in learning were by no means superficial. Through the kindness of friends raised up in providence, he was enabled to pursue classical studies in Edinburgh; and while attending the University there, he maintained himself till he had finished the undergraduate course, partly by teaching and aiding others in their studies. When his scholarship entitled him to a University degree, he refused to receive this honour, because it was required at the time that students, on graduating, should swear the oath of allegiance, which expressly owned the royal supremacy. In company with two fellow-students, he sometime after received his degree privately.

Continuing in Edinburgh to prosecute his studies, he was brought to attend the private fellowship-meetings of the persecuted Covenanters. He met with the "outed" ministers, and was led to study, by the light of the Divine Word and the teaching of the Spirit, the exciting and deeply important questions

of the day. Thus did he become convinced of the numerous defections from the principles and ends of the covenanted reformation of the majority of the ministers and Presbyterian people of Scotland ; and he was persuaded that the stricter Covenanters—the followers of Cargill and Cameron, and those associated in Societies, and who frequented conventicles—alone consistently carried out the grand principles and aims of the national vows. At length, after much searching of heart, and according to his words,—testifying to his deep conscientiousness.—“with great grief, reluctance, and trembling of soul,” he became identified with the persecuted remnant. Soon after, while yet only *nineteen years of age*, Renwick witnessed the martyrdom of the venerable servant of Christ, Donald Cargill. He stood near the scaffold, beheld his courageous and triumphant departure to glory, and heard the clear and powerful last words, in which he nobly testified for the crown-rights of the Redeemer, and against Erastian usurpation. “As to the causes of my suffering,” said the dying martyr, “the chief is—not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the Supremacy and Explanatory Act. This is the magistracy I have resisted, that which is invested with Christ’s power. Seeing that power taken from Christ, which is his glory, and made the essential of an earthly crown, it seemed to me as if one were wearing my husband’s garments, after he had killed him. There is no distinction we can make, that can free 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* alone, that it is of the essence of the crown ; and seeing they are so express, we ought to be plain ; for otherwise we deny our testimony, and consent that Christ be robbed of his glory:”

These mighty utterances, so solemnly confirmed by the martyr’s blood, could not fail to make a deep impression on the heart of the youthful Renwick. His purpose was fixed, and his resolution taken, to maintain the same great principles ; and reproach and persecution and death could not turn him aside. His Christian decision had its reward. He declared that he did not fully know what the gracious presence of God with his people meant, till he joined the fellowship of the persecuted remnant. A large measure of the spirit of the “faithful Cargill” rested on his youthful successor ; and when, some two years after, he entered on the work of the ministry, it was justly said—“he took up the covenanted banner as it fell from the hands of Cargill.”

At the time that Renwick united with the Society People, they were destitute of a public ministry. Cargill and Cameron had sealed their testimony with their blood. The Churches were either filled with Episcopal curates, or by time-serving Presbyterian ministers, who had accepted the Indulgence flowing from the royal supremacy. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1672 against "unlawful ordinations," the way to the ministry was barred against all who could not accept Prelatical ordination. The Societies, having organized a general correspondence, earnestly desired a stated ministry, while they manifested the strictest regard to scriptural order. Animated by a noble public spirit, they selected James Renwick and two other young men, and sent them to complete their studies for the ministry in Holland, then renowned for its theological seminaries, where deep sympathy was manifested for the suffering Church of Scotland. He studied at the University of Groningen, where some of the most distinguished theologians in Europe occupied professorial chairs. Studying in the spirit of entire devotedness, and actuated by an earnest desire to return to Scotland, where there was pressing need for faithful ministerial services, he made such proficiency, that in a short time he was fully qualified to receive ordination. According to the usage of the Dutch Church, he was ordained at Groningen, by a Classis or Presbytery of learned and godly ministers, who evinced their Catholic spirit by yielding to his request to allow him to subscribe the standards of the Church of Scotland, instead of their own formula. There was remarkable evidence of God's gracious presence being enjoyed in the solemn service. It has been appropriately said, that as the conflicts of the German reformation were acted over by Luther in his cloister, before he was called to his public work, so the struggles of the covenanted cause in Scotland were first engaged in by Renwick in his retirement and solitary chamber in Groningen. There he clearly foresaw the conflicts and trials that awaited him; and in near communion with God, he yielded himself up as an entire self-sacrifice, anticipating the blessed recompense of the reward. In the early Pagan persecutions, the Church was sometimes symbolically represented by an ox, with a plough on the one side and an altar on the other, with the inscription, "Ready for either"—prepared for work or slaughter. Such was the spirit of Renwick, as he looked forward to the work that lay before him in his native land. In a letter written from Holland at this time, he says—"My longings and earnest desire to be in that

land, and with the pleasant remnant, are very great. I cannot tell what may be in it, but I hope the Lord hath either some work to work, or else is minded presently to call for a testimony at my hand. If He give me frame and furniture, I desire to welcome either of them."

Renwick returned from Holland in the autumn of 1683. Escaping some dangers at sea, he visited Dublin, where he bore a faithful testimony against the silence of ministers in the public cause, and left behind him a favourable impression on the minds of some of his Christian zeal and devotedness. In September 1683, he landed in Scotland, and on the 3d of November he entered on his arduous work of preaching the Gospel in the fields, and lifting up the standard of a covenanted testimony. He preached on that day at Darnead, in the parish of Cambusnethan. From that time, till he closed his glorious career and won the martyr's crown, he preached with eminent fidelity and great power the glorious Gospel of the grace of God. His public labours were continued for a period of nearly five years, and extended to many districts in the east, south, and west of Scotland. In remote glens, unfrequented moorlands, often in the night season, and amid storm and tempest, when the men of blood could not venture out of their lairs to pursue the work of destruction, he displayed a standard for truth, and eagerly laboured to win souls to Christ. His last sermon was preached at *Borrowstounness*, from Isaiah liii. 1, on January 29, 1688.

Though he ever testified boldly against the defections of the times, especially the Indulgence, and insisted on disowning the Papist James, as not being a constitutional monarch, and on maintaining fully Presbyterian order and discipline, and all the covenanted attainments, his discourses were eminently evangelical. His darling themes were salvation through Christ, and the great matters of practical godliness. With wonderful enlargement and attractive sweetness, he unfolded the covenant of grace, the matchless person and love of Christ, the finished atonement, and its sufficiency for advancing the glory of the Godhead, and for the complete salvation of elect sinners. Considering Renwick's youth, being but *nineteen* years of age when he entered on his great work, he was endowed with singular qualifications as a preacher of the Gospel. These remarkably fitted him for the great work to which he was called—promoting the Redeemer's glory, in awakening and converting sinners, and edifying and comforting the Church in a season of suffering and trial.

He was, moreover, gifted with personal talents, natural and acquired, that rendered him an attractive and powerful preacher of the Gospel. His aspect was solemn and engaging. His personal appearance, even when harassed by incessant labours and privations, night wanderings and hairbreadth escapes from enemies, was sweet and prepossessing. His manner in preaching was lucid and affecting. His whole heart was thrown into his discourses. He often rose to the height of the most moving eloquence; and with the constant sense of God's presence and love, and the dread realities of persecution, and violent death, and eternity before him, he poured out his soul in such strains of heavenly enlargement, that his hearers were melted, subdued, and raised above the fear of death and the terror of enemies.

The following account of Renwick's manner of preaching, and of the impressions made on his hearers, is taken from an unpublished MS. of Ebenezer Nesbit, son of Captain Nesbit of Hardhill, and may be regarded as descriptive of the way in which he proclaimed the Gospel to the "flock in the wilderness," during his brief but singularly efficient ministry. Need we wonder, after reading this narrative, at the spiritual effects of his preaching to thousands in his day, and at the precious fruits that resulted from his labours long afterwards, and the sweet savour of his name throughout subsequent times? "The latter end of this year, I heard that great man of God, Mr James Renwick, preach on Song iii. 9, 10, when he treated greatly on the covenant of redemption agreed on between God the Father and God the Son, in favour of the elect; as also on the covenant of grace established with believers in Christ. Oh, this was a great and sweet day of the Gospel! for he handled and pressed the privileges of the covenant of grace with seraphic enlargement, to the great edification of the hearers. Sweet and charming were the offers which he made of Christ to all sorts of sinners. There was one thing that day that was very remarkable to me; for though it was rain from morning to night, and so wet as if we had been drenched in water, yet not one of us fell sick. And though there was a tent fixed for him, he would not go into it, but stood without in the rain and preached; which example had a great influence on the people to patience, when they saw his sympathy with them. And though he was the only minister that kept closest to his text, and had the best method for the judgment and memory, of any that ever I heard; yet now, when

he preached, the people crowded close together, because of the rain, he digressed a little, and said, with a pleasant, melting voice, 'My dear friends, be not disturbed because of the rain. For to have a covenant-interest in Christ, the true Solomon, and in the benefits of his blessed purchase, is well worth the enduring of all temporal, elementary storms that can fall on us. And this Solomon, who is here pointed at, endured a far other kind of storm for his people, even a storm of unmixed wrath. And oh, what would poor damned reprobates in hell give for this day's offer of sweet and lovely Christ! And oh, how welcome would our suffering friends in prison and banishment make this day's offer of Christ! And, for my own part,' said he, 'as the Lord will keep me, I shall bear my equal share in this rain, in sympathy with you.' And he returned to his sweet subject again, and offered us grace and reconciliation with God, through Christ, by his Spirit.

"Words would fail me to express my own frame, and the frame of many others; only this I may say, we would have been glad to have endured any kind of death, to have been home at the uninterrupted enjoyment of that glorious Redeemer who was so livelily and clearly offered to us that day.

"He was the only man that I ever knew that had an unstained integrity. He was a lively and faithful minister of Christ and a worthy Christian, such as none who were acquaint with him could say any other but this, that he was a beloved Jedidiah of the Lord. I never knew a man more richly endowed with grace, more equal in his temper, more equal in his spiritual frame, and more equal in walk and conversation. When I speak of him as a man—none more lovely in features, none more prudent, none more brave and heroic in spirit, and yet none more meek, none more humane and condescending. He was every way so rational, as well as religious, that there was reason to think that the powers of his reason were as much strengthened and sanctified as any man's I ever heard of. When I speak of him as a Christian—none more meek, and yet none more prudently bold against those who were bold to sin; none more frequent and fervent in religious duties, such as prayer, converse, meditation, self-examination, preaching, prefacing, lecturing, baptizing, and catechising; none more methodical in teaching and instructing, accompanied with a sweet, charming eloquence, in holding forth Christ as the only remedy for lost sinners; none more hated of the world, and yet none more strengthened and upheld by the everlasting arms of Jehovah, to be steadfast, and

abound in the way of the Lord, to the death: wherefore he might be justly called 'Antipas,' Christ's faithful martyr. And as I lived then to know him to be so of a truth, so, by the good hand of God, I yet live, thirty-six years after him, to testify that no man upon just grounds had anything to lay to his charge. When all the critical and straitening circumstances of that period are well considered, save that he was liable to natural and sinful infirmities, as all men are when in this life, and yet he was as little guilty in this way as any I ever knew or heard of, he was the liveliest and most engaging preacher to close with Christ of any I ever heard. His converse was pious, prudent, and meek; his reasoning and debating was the same, carrying almost with it full evidence of the truth of what he asserted. And for steadfastness in the way of the Lord, few came his length. He learned the truth and counted the cost, and so sealed it with his blood. Of all men that ever I knew, I would be in the least danger of committing a hyperbole when speaking in his commendation. And yet I speak not this to praise men, but for the glory and honour of God in Christ, who makes men to differ so much from others, and in some periods of the Church more than others."

The "LECTURES AND SERMONS" of James Renwick that remain were published from the notes taken, at the time of their delivery, by some of his attached hearers and followers. They were not prepared with any view to future publication; and the trying circumstances in which their devoted author was placed, wholly prevented any correction or revisal. Yet they contain not only remarkably clear expositions of the Word, and a full exhibition of the scheme of salvation, but also many passages which, for searching application to the conscience, and moving eloquence, are unsurpassed in the discourses of eminent preachers either in ancient or modern times. As specimens of the matter of Renwick's discourses delivered in the *Conventicles*, in the fields, amidst all dangers and incidents of weather, and by night as well as day, the following are selected from the published reports of his hearers:—

In a discourse on Song i. 7—"Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon"—he thus earnestly pleads:—"Love Him, and you shall not come short of the enjoyment of Him hereafter. It is true, faith is that which, as an instrument, apprehends Christ and engrafts us in Him; yet it worketh by love, and love accompanieth faith, as the sunbeams do the sun. Oh, what shall I say?

Love Him ! love Him ! Ye cannot bestow your love so well. Turn others to the door, and take in this Beloved. Here I make offer of Him unto you, here I present Him unto you ! Lift up your heads, O ye doors, that the King of Glory may come in. I present a glorious Conqueror *this night*, to be your guest. O cast ye open the two foldings of the door of your hearts, to wit, that ye may receive Him ; cast ye open the hearty consent of faith and love, that He may take up his abode with you. Oh, what say ye to it ? Friends, will ye close with Christ ? I obtest you by his own excellency, I obtest you by the joys of heaven and the torments of hell, that you close with Him. *All of you come, whatever you have been or are ; none of you shall be cast out.* Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.

“ Seeing it is the duty of people to set their love upon Christ, I exhort you to give some testimonies of love. Think ye that ye love Him ? Will ye then show that ? I would expostulate for some testimonies of your love. When Peter confessed that he loved Christ, our Lord desires him to show that by feeding his lambs and sheep. It is true you cannot show your love that way, for ye are not called to that office ; but ye ought to show it in the way that is competent to you in your stations. So as I was saying before, I expostulate with you for some testimonies of your love. Make a free and full resignation of yourselves and your all to Christ, that ye may say with the spouse, I am my Beloved’s ! Oh, ye should not prig (higgle) with Him about anything. Some prig with Him about their hearts, and will have a part thereof in their darling idols, which they cannot think to quit. Some prig with Him about their time, and will make religion but their by-work. If their worldly employments be throng, they will neglect the worship in their families, and prayer in secret. Others, if they keep any family worship, it is in the evening : ordinarily they are impatient, and haste to an end in it, and neglect it in the morning altogether. Oh, what a sad priggishness is this ! Some prig with Him about their relations. They will not quit these when He calls them to suffer for his sake ; but will tempt them, or will insinuate upon them to comply, and deny his cause. Some prig with Him about their possessions, and yielding to this or that iniquity, will keep their houses and lands—they will not quit them. And some will prig with Him about their lives ; and if the swearing of a sinful oath, the subscribing to an iniquitous bond, or denying of his cause, will save their lives, they will not lose

them. Oh, what sad priggish is this! Oh, be ashamed of it. Will you lay all at his feet, and count it your honour and joy that He dispose of the same as He pleaseth? Give this testimony of your love to Christ, rejoice in Him when present, and keep his room empty when absent. I say rejoice in Him when present. I need not press you much to do this, for in his presence there is great joy; though the enjoyment of Him here be imperfect, yet it brings exceeding gladness with it. Therefore saith the Psalmist, 'Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than when corn and wine are increased.' But when He is absent, see that ye keep his room empty for Him. When He sees it meet at any time for your correction, trial, and instruction to withdraw Himself, or hide his face, then idols or other lovers will readily present themselves, and seek to possess his room. But, be chaste and true to your Beloved, as the spouse who, in his absence, could not be contented, but used all means and diligence until she found Him."

In a sermon on Song v. 16—"His mouth is most sweet: yea, He is altogether lovely. This is my Beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters of Jerusalem"—the following affecting views are presented:—"The second property of Christ's love is, that it is a *strong* love, which appears from what He hath done for sinners. He has done great things for sinners. He took upon Himself all the sinless infirmities of human nature, not sinful nature. Yea, He endured a shameful and lingering death, besides a flood of wrath that He waded through, such a flood of wrath as would have drowned all the sons and daughters of Adam to all eternity. Thus 'He who knew no sin became sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.' Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Oh, my friends, if ye will follow Christ through all the steps of his humiliation, ye may see that the love of Christ is strong love, which makes Him endure such things for sinners. He gives great things to sinners, whereby He shows the strength of his love to them; for He gives grace and glory, and no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly; for He saith, 'Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me.' Christ gives the believer union with Himself, and communion in glory with the Father: even a share of that glory which the Father giveth Him, He giveth them. He gives them a

crown of righteousness which shall never fade away ; and He gives them to drink of the rivers of his pleasures, that are at his right hand for evermore. Oh, my friends, Christ doth not prig with his spouse ; He will keep nothing back from them that He sees to be for her profit. Oh, but his love is *strong*. He requires no more for all that He has done, and all that He hath given, but that He see the travail of his soul. He will think but little of all that He hath done, if we will but accept of his love, and lay our love upon Him. Yea, so may be said of Him, as was said of Jacob—the seven years that he served for Rachel seemed but a few days, for the love that he bare unto her. His love is so strong, that although thou shouldest run away from Him never so fast, yet his love will overtake thee, and bring thee back again. Paul ran very fast in opposition to his love, when he was going to Damascus to persecute the Church. But Christ's love overtook him suddenly. Manasseh ran very fast from Christ, when he made the streets of Jerusalem to run with innocent blood, and set up an abomination in the house of God, and used witchcraft ; and yet Christ's love overtook him, and brought him back again from the pit. If thou art one of those that the Father hath given to the Son, though thou shouldst run to the brink of hell, He will bring thee back again from thence.

“Christ's love is *pure* and *sincere* love. ‘Herein is love, not that we loved Him, but that He loved us ;’ not for any advantage that He can have by us, for He is infinite in all perfections without us ; therefore we can neither enrich Him, nor add any more glory to Him. We may well magnify his power ; that is all we can do, and all the advantage is our own. Christ's love is not a base love ; He loves us not for his good or advantage, but for our real good and advantage. It is pure and sincere love, for all the advantage is ours.

“Christ's love is an *enriching* love, for those upon whom his love is bestowed are no more poor. How can they be poor who have Christ for their riches ? for, saith the apostle, ‘All things are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.’ If ye have this love bestowed on you, then all other things are made to serve for your good—ye shall lack nothing.

“Christ's love is a *free* love. He gives his love freely, without any reward, and so it is free love ; the offer is *alike to all*. If ye will but take it off his hand, He makes open proclamation of it to you all, saying, ‘Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.’ Oh, my friends, all other love is infinitely be-

neath this. He took not on Him the nature of angels, but He took the seed of Abraham. Oh, my friends, God hath made us the centre of his love; and, therefore, I beseech you, do not despise his love. He came not to redeem any of the fallen angels, but the seed of Abraham."

In the following moving terms, he pleads with his hearers to accept of Christ and his salvation:—"Your eternal enjoyment of God will be your element, which ye shall for ever delight in, and this shall be to praise and admire his love. For, eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things that the Lord hath prepared for them that love Him. Oh; then, sirs, what think ye of Christ? Will ye not, at *this time*, say, He is your Beloved and your Friend? Oh, give your consent to become his friends, and accept of Him as your Friend. I leave this offer at your door; He is willing to befriend you if you will come into an estate of friendship with Him. Come, come, and take his offer off his hand. Say not that ye have continued so long in sin, that ye know not if He will befriend you now; for if ye will come to Him, He will yet befriend you. Therefore, for the Lord's sake, put not away such an offer, but take it *in the present time*; for ye know not if ever ye shall have an offer again. If ye will not take his offer off his hand *this day*, I will be a witness against you in the great day of judgment, that this day the Son of Righteousness offered Himself to be your Friend, and ye have made light of the offer. Yea, the hills and mountains about us shall be witnesses that ye had Christ in your offer such a *day*, in such a *place*; therefore, my dear friends, say now that He is your Beloved, and that He is your Friend."

His close dealing with the conscience, and his solemn warnings and exhortations are exemplified in the following passages:—

"Consider your own condition without Christ. Ye are lost and undone, limbs of Satan, children of wrath, hell to be your dwelling-place, and devils and damned souls to be your company eternally, and where sin shall be your eternal torment. This is your condition without Jesus Christ. What think ye of eternal exclusion from the presence and comfort of God? What think ye of hell, where there is nothing but utter darkness, weeping and wailing for evermore, to be your dwelling-place? What think ye of devils to be your continual company? And what think ye of sin to be your continual life—always blaspheming the glorious name of God? And what think ye of your

final condition—to be in continual torment, always weeping and gnashing your teeth? All this, I say, is abiding you who will not embrace Jesus Christ, whatever your profession be. For, believe me, a profession will not save you from this eternal misery, if ye receive not Jesus Christ. Whatever your sufferings be here, yet ye shall suffer this hereafter, if ye receive not Jesus Christ. My heart bleeds for many sufferers in Scotland, who shall suffer everlasting torment in hell, because they will not receive and embrace Jesus Christ, this gracious and free Saviour, who is now in your offer. Oh, embrace Jesus Christ, otherwise, be ye who ye will, and do what ye will, God's justice shall pursue you, and He shall have war against you without cessation; there shall be no discharge in that war. The great warriors of the earth are all lying with their weapons broken under their heads; but here is a war that hath no end. You who will not receive Jesus Christ, you will see that ye have made an evil choice, when ye pass through the dark gates of hell to the inner chambers thereof. To move you, further consider, that if ye will take Him, ye shall have Him and all his. Ye shall drink of the waters of life; your feet shall stand on the sea of glass before the throne. Ye shall have his name, and bear his image, and wear a crown of pure gold upon your heads, and follow the Lamb with palms in your hands, saying, 'Hallelujah! and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God.' Ye shall have the fine white linen garments of Christ's righteousness to wear in heaven, in clothing eternally. Ye shall have the glorious cloud of witnesses—angels and the spirits of just men made perfect—for your continual company; and ye shall have a life of love and joy everlasting, with Him that is altogether lovely. Oh, then, come and take Jesus Christ. Would ye make a happy choice? Then take Him and embrace Him, old and young, man and woman, lad and lass. Now Christ is in your offer; and you are all invited to come to Him. And now I charge you all, as ye respect the glory of God, and as ye desire this happy condition that I have spoken of to you, slight not this offer. Now the golden chain of salvation is let down to you. Grip, grip it fast, before it is taken up again. Go not away, fools, lest ye never be at such a market-day again.

“What shall I say to persuade you? Let the excellency and glory of his great name do it. Be entreated to accept of Christ in this present offer. Here I obtest you, by what He hath purchased for sinners, and by what He has suffered, come

and embrace Him. I obtest you by the blood He shed on the cross ; I obtest you by the great drops of blood He shed in the garden, and by all the joys that are above the clouds in heaven, that ye put not this offer away. I obtest you by all the torments of hell, that ye put not this offer away. I obtest you by the glory of heaven, and by the crowns which believers put on his head, that ye slight not this offer.

“Here I take every man and woman to witness against one another, that ye had Christ in your offer ; and I shall be a witness against all of you that have not received Christ *this night*. Yea, though He should never be glorified in such a sort by me, yet I will be a witness against you. Here, before the throne of grace, I declare in his name, that I have made an offer of Him unto you ; and, therefore, your blood shall be upon your own heads if ye perish, and I shall be free of the same.”

In another place he presses, with like earnestness, acceptance of the Gospel offer :—“If ye would be rightly concerned, ye must at once come, and be a right son or daughter of the Church, and member of Jesus Christ ; until then, ye cannot have a fellow-feeling of the body. Come, then, and Christ will give you a fellow-feeling with the sufferings of the Church. Come and embrace Himself, and He will set the stamp of natural children upon you. Without Him ye can do nothing ; without Him ye cannot be concerned with the sufferings of his name and members. Refuse not ; reject not his offers when He calls you to Himself. It is hard to say if some of you shall have an offer again. *Now* is the acceptable time—*now* is the day of salvation. He is *now* spreading his net, and will ye not come about the net’s mouth, that a catch of you may be gotten ? He is proclaiming unto you that He hath invincible power, though managed by apparent weakness. Oh, find you any of this irresistible power of Christ ? Oh, come unto Him who is the joy of heaven, and it shall be a joyful time in heaven. He will have a good report of you through heaven, if ye shall have it to say that some poor lad or lass hath put a crown upon his head in such a place. But oh, how sad will it be, if Christ shall have it to say, ‘I gave offer of myself to a people like stocks and stones, but they would not hear !’”

On the duty of devoting the best to God’s service, in another discourse, he thus forcibly reasons :—

“Observe, that it cannot but be a great injury against God,

and procure a curse, when people employ not their best things in his service. This is clear from the words, 'Cursed be the deceiver which hath in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.' So men that employ not their best things in the Lord's service, believe it, they are chargeable with this. He calls for your best things in his service, and not that you should spend that upon your lusts. Ye are called to employ the best of your time in his service; and many of you give Him but the refuse of your time, or at least, He gets but your by-time for his service. But ye should give Him the best of your time and strength, and your hearts—all should be employed in his service. Do not say that you do the best that you can; for I am persuaded that there is none of you but may do more for Him than ye do. Do not say that ye improve the talent that He hath given you to trade with, for ye but misimprove it; and the best of you, we fear, come short of improving it. If ye improve it, ye should find it increase upon your hand, and you would appear like his children. But because people do not improve their time and abilities to lay them out for God, it procures a curse. For though our obligations go far beyond our duties that we do, yet when we do not lay out all our abilities for Him, and do not bestow our love, our affections, and our time, and all that we have for Him, but bestow them upon other things, we procure his curse. Young folks, set to the work, and be entreated to give up yourselves to his service, and employ your best things for Him, now when your desires are fast and quick. Oh, will ye bestow them on precious Christ? You have a brave prize put in your hand, if ye set aright to the work; ye may see Zion's King come back, and the crown set upon his head again."

Urging the necessity of being found within the kingdom of God, he says:—

"Seeing that the gate is very strait and narrow that leads to the kingdom of heaven, then what shall become of many of you that never came the length that hypocrites have come? Oh, what will ye say, and how will ye meet with God, when He comes to count with you for a preached Gospel? What will ye think of a Mediator that was offered to you, whom ye slighted and despised—when the heaven and earth shall melt away, and great men, and mean men, shall howl and cry, and all the tribes of the earth shall wail because of Him? Oh! this will be the portion of hypocrites from God.

"It is of use for trial—for all of you to try yourselves, and

ponder in your hearts, and say, 'Oh, soul, whether art thou in the kingdom of heaven or not?' Oh, be exhorted to this, whatever be thy state, O man and woman. It is safe for thee to search thy state—if matters be right betwixt God and thy soul, it will be thy peace; if not, thou mayest possibly get righted. For my part, I count him the best Christian that is most accurate in this searching and communing with his own heart; for if ye neglect this, ye may come to lose the sight of your interest in Christ, if ever ye had it. Do not satisfy yourselves with being near the kingdom of God, but go into it. For this end, break the bargain and peace with your lusts and idols; and make up your peace with God through Christ, our Peacemaker, and ye shall find great advantage in the exchange; for the wicked have peace, but with sin and sinful men, but the godly have peace with God. Oh, will ye quit all other things, and seek to be interested in Him? For it is to be feared that many here have proclaimed peace with sin, and some idol or other. Oh, break the bargain, and make peace with Christ! Make choice of Him, for He can give you that which no other lover can give you. O break that peace with your lusts and idols, and make peace with Him. Remember, He offers himself to you freely this day. Choose, therefore, what ye will do. O seek for the fulness of the Spirit of Christ, and rest upon nothing but upon Himself alone; and seek to be in the kingdom of God, by the thorough work of conversion upon your souls.

"And now to all that are in the kingdom, I proclaim peace in the name of God, whatever troubles they are under here. So enter into the kingdom through Christ only, for that is the way to it. But as for you who will not come to Him, and enter into the kingdom through Christ only, who is the way to it, I do, in like manner, proclaim war with that soul from God, whatever ye be in profession. O friends, lay it to heart, and choose you whether it be better to have Heaven's peace, and the devil and the world's feud; or to have the devil and the world's peace, and feud with God for ever! And now to Him who is purchaser of true peace, be glory and praise for ever. Amen."

When it is understood that the discourses from which these extracts are taken were preached in the open air, and often in the night time, amidst the exposure both of the preacher and the hearers to all changes of the weather, not unfrequently in rain and tempest; and that the "Sermons and Lectures" that

bear Renwick's name were not prepared in a quiet study, in peaceful times, but in the midst of frequent removings, incessant labours, and manifold dangers, and that they are transmitted to us from the imperfect notes and the recollection of attached hearers—themselves the objects of fierce persecution—they cannot fail to impress us with a vivid idea of the remarkable power and fidelity as a preacher of the youthful martyr, and to account, at the same time, for the popularity and salutary effects of his preaching.

CHAPTER II.

RENWICK'S SPECIAL TESTIMONY.

To understand properly the position of James Renwick and his associates, and the distinctive testimony which they maintained at the peril of life, and transmitted, sealed with their blood, to posterity, it is necessary to advert to the particular time in which these devoted witnesses were called to appear in behalf of precious truth ; and to the public measures which had been adopted at that period for extinguishing the liberties of the nation, and for destroying the independence and purity of the Church.

The prelatie persecution in Scotland, which commenced with the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors in 1660, had continued for nearly *twenty-three* years, when Renwick entered on his ministry. Instead of the perfidious rulers in Church and State being satiated with the number of the victims of their cruelty, their thirst for blood became more intense as the time wore on ; and when they found they could not crush the spirit of a free people, or extinguish the light of Gospel truth, they had recourse to the most despotic and atrocious measures for effecting their diabolical purposes. What has been designated "THE KILLING TIME" of the Scottish persecution, embraced the greater part of Renwick's public ministry. The graphic pens of such able writers as De Foe, Charles James Fox, and Macaulay, have but imperfectly sketched the barbarities perpetrated by the infamous royal brothers and their base counsellors, and the sufferings of an oppressed nation, and of thousands of godly people of all ranks, during this dark and distressing period.

Two matters of general public interest, and intimately connected with the position of Renwick and his associates, excited particular attention in the concluding period of the persecution. These were—1. The measure called the Indulgence ; and 2. The limits of civil authority, and of the allegiance of the subject.

1. *The Indulgence.*

When the power of the persecutors was unable to put down the preaching of the Gospel in the fields, and to crush the spirit of liberty in the breasts of multitudes of the people of Scotland, the Indulgence was a master contrivance of the arch-enemy to divide the Presbyterians, and to seduce them to abandon some of their fundamental principles, for the sake of outward advantages. The first indulgence was issued by Charles II. and his council in June 1669. It was proclaimed as flowing directly from the royal supremacy. The power was granted to the persecuting council, at their discretion, to appoint certain of the outed ministers to vacant parishes, on ensnaring conditions. In case they refused to receive collation from the bishops, they could not have the stipends or teinds—they were only to possess the manse and glebe, and be allowed an annuity. If they did not attend diocesan synods, they were to be confined within the bounds of their own parishes. They were not to dispense ordinances to persons from other parishes, nor, on any account, to hold conventicles. They were prohibited from speaking against the king's authority, or the public measures of the government; and they were to report their peaceable behaviour from time to time to the council.

Two other Indulgences were issued at intervals during the latter part of the reign of Charles II. All of them by public proclamation denounced relentless vengeance against the faithful men who refused the royal boon. They threatened utter extermination to all who pleaded for the independence of the Presbyterian Church, and who maintained the freedom of the Gospel by holding conventicles, preaching and administering ordinances in their purity in the fields.

The Indulgence unhappily proved a snare in which by far the largest number of the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland were entangled. We cannot hesitate to agree with the historian Hetherington, in holding that "it was offered on a principle clearly subversive of the Presbyterian Church, and that not one of the ejected ministers ought to have accepted of it, because it was impossible to do so without sacrificing the fundamental and essential principle of the Presbyterian Church—that which constitutes its glory and its life—the sole sovereignty of Christ."¹ Three results followed the acceptance of the Indulgence, which

¹ *History of Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 64.

proved highly injurious to the Presbyterian Church, and which were, in all likelihood, foreseen by the contrivers of the measure, and led them to introduce it. These were—1. The constant interference of the government with the Indulged in the discharge of their strictly ministerial functions; 2. A rupture between the indulged and the non-indulged, with many of the best of the people clinging to the latter; and 3. The more systematic, virulent, and crushing persecution of those who, defying the tyrant's rage, bared their bosoms to the storm, and had the courage at all hazards to plead for the royal prerogatives of Messiah the Prince, and to contend for the chartered liberties of the Presbyterian Church. This honour belongs exclusively to Cargill, Cameron, and Renwick, and the Society people; when the large majority of the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, followed by great numbers of the people, proved recreant to sound Scripture principle, and unfaithful to the sacred engagements of their fathers. However belied and misrepresented the persecuted Covenanters were in their own day, impartial history has not failed to do justice to their memory, and to show that their faithful contendings had no little influence in the nation's deliverance from degrading oppression.

II. *The Limits of Public Authority, and of a People's Allegiance.*

A question was raised in the later times of the persecution of difficult solution, but of vast practical importance. This was the due limit of submission to civil rulers, and the withdrawal of allegiance and submission from those who had violated their compact with the people, and had trampled under foot their constitutional rights. It is ably shown by Dr D'Aubigné,¹ as had been done before, that civil freedom and religious reformation, originating with the people, have ever been closely united and advanced together. Wherever the principles of evangelical truth have been rightly understood and firmly maintained, the people have refused to tolerate civil oppression. "*He is a freeman whom the truth makes free.*" All genuine civil freedom is based on religious liberty. Calvinism, as is admitted even by many who are opposed to it as a doctrinal system, has been the irreconcilable foe of despotism all over the world; by

¹ *Calvin and Geneva*, vol. i., ii.

the heroic struggles and cheerful sacrifices of its adherents, the battle of freedom has been fought, and its triumphs achieved in many lands. Particularly in Scotland, where the Reformation, from the first, originated with the people, and was carried forward in opposition to the mandates of arbitrary rulers, and notwithstanding the relentless persecution of the civil powers, the eminent instruments whom God honoured for advancing the truth, all along contended for the liberties of their country, and earnestly pleaded that the duties of rulers and ruled should be clearly defined, and the rights of the people settled on a constitutional basis. This was the plea of the illustrious Knox, as is seen in his expostulations with the Queen and nobles of Scotland, and in his intercourse with the statesmen of the day—English and Scottish—and in his writings. The works of Buchanan, Rutherford, and Gillespie bear ample testimony to the enlarged views of their authors in relation to the proper bounds of civil and ecclesiastical authority, and to their fidelity to the cause of genuine liberty. The same great principles were contended for by Alexander Henderson, embodied in the scriptural attainments of the memorable Second Reformation, and clearly enunciated in the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, in which the Covenanters explicitly bound themselves to support the king and parliament in “the maintenance of the true reformed religion.” When the Scottish nation, forgetful of their sacred vows, tamely submitted to the tyranny of the royal brothers, and Presbyterian ministers remained silent under an infamous indulgence, it devolved upon a few despised and persecuted Covenanters—the Society people—to lift up and hold aloft the torch of freedom ; and by their faithful testimonies and declarations uttered in fields and on scaffolds, and more still, by their blood freely shed to confirm their righteous cause, to sow broadcast the principles of genuine liberty. These, after lying buried in the earth for a time, sprung up vigorously, and bore fruit, when the perfidious race of the Stuarts was driven ignominiously from the throne ; and, at the Revolution, some of the fundamental truths for which the martyrs of the covenant contended, became ascendant and triumphant. †

In the *Queensferry Paper*, penned by Cargill, in a rough draft, and found on the person of Henry Hall of Haughhead, when he was taken, the heroic sufferers expressly disowned the authority of Charles II. and his government. The terms

† See Appendix, Note A.

employed, it has been remarked, very much resemble those used by the English nation when they rejected the government of James II., and transferred the crown to William and Mary.

“We reject the king and those associate with him in government from being our king and rulers, being no more bound to them. They have altered and destroyed the Lord's established religion, overturned the fundamental and established laws of the kingdom, taken away altogether Christ's Church government, and changed the civil government of this land, which was by a king and free parliament, into tyranny.” The conclusion expresses sentiments worthy of the most distinguished patriots, and that are fit to be taken as the watchword of struggling freemen all over the world. “We bind and oblige ourselves to defend ourselves and one another in our worshipping of God, in our natural, civil, and Divine rights and liberties, till we shall overcome, or send them down under debate to posterity—*that they may begin where we end.*”

The grand principle of the rejection of tyrannical power was boldly proclaimed by Cargill, in preaching to thousands of conventicle hearers, and was prominently held forth in his last testimony:—“As to the cause of my suffering,” said he, “the chief is, not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the Supremacy and Explanatory Act. This is the magistracy I have rejected, that which is invested with Christ's power. Seeing that power taken from Christ which is his glory, and made the essential of an earthly crown, seemed to me, as if one were wearing my husband's garments after he had killed him. There is no distinction we can make that can free the conscience of the acknowledger from being a partaker of this sacrilegious robbery of God. And it is but to cheat our conscience to acknowledge the civil power alone, that it is of the essence of the crown; and seeing they are so express, we *ought to be plain*, for otherwise we deny our testimony, and consent that Christ be robbed of his glory.”

The same testimony against the Indulgence and against unconstitutional power was firmly maintained by Richard Cameron during the whole of his public ministry, and in the noble testimony emitted by him shortly before his death. Soon after his return from Holland in 1680, in one of his earliest sermons, he declared, “I know not if this generation will be honoured to cast off these rulers. But those that the Lord makes instruments to bring back Christ, and to recover our liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, shall be such as shall disown

this king and the magistrates under him." He added this warning to the persecuting authorities, with the heroic resolve—"Let them take heed unto themselves; for though they should take us to scaffolds, and kill us in the fields, the Lord will yet raise up a party who will be avenged on them. We had rather die than live in the same country with them, and outlive the glory of God departing altogether from these lands."

A short month before his death, the intrepid Cameron, his brother Michael, and some twenty other Covenanters, armed and on horseback, posted up at the market cross of the burgh of Sanquhar the "*Sanquhar Declaration*," in which are contained these ever memorable words:—

"We do, by these presents, disown Charles Stuart, who has been reigning, or rather tyrannizing in the throne of Britain, these years bygone, as having any title to, or right in the crown of Scotland, for government—as forfeited several years since, by his perjury and breach of covenant both to God and his truth, and by his tyranny and breach of the very *leges regnandi*—the very essential conditions of government, in matters civil." This was a noble deed, and ranks Cameron and his followers with the purest and most disinterested patriots of any age or country. It has been justly remarked by an eloquent writer—"The real matter of fact for which the Cameronians contended was just the old claim of the Covenanters—'a free Parliament and a free Assembly.'" "It is the glory of the Cameronians, in which no other party shares, that when most people lay prostrate, and many of the bravest stood aloof, they were the first to hoist the flag, disowning the government of the Stuarts, without whose expulsion liberty was impossible."¹

The testimony which Cargill and Cameron boldly proclaimed and sealed with their blood, was cordially espoused by Renwick, and faithfully maintained by him during the whole course of his public ministry. He was called, besides, to the great work of preaching a full and free Gospel, throughout many parts of his native country, to multitudes who were hungering for the bread of life, when through terror of oppressive rulers, or from seeking their favour, others shrunk from the performance of so important and hazardous a duty. He was required, moreover, to dispense the ordinances of religion, in scriptural purity, to the scattered, persecuted remnant, and thus to repair "the desolations of Zion," and to transmit the truth to future generations. In the year of Cameron's martyrdom, the Societies framed their

¹ Dodds' *Fifty Years' Struggle*, p. 275.

“General Correspondence,” and formed a simple but effective organization for mutual fellowship and edification; for preserving their precious Gospel liberties, and for taking advantage of any event in public affairs, for re-establishing the covenanted order in Church and State, which had been violently taken away by despotic power and prelatic intolerance. The extent of this organization, in a time of great suffering, is remarkable. Gordon of Earlston, when examined before the Privy Council in 1683, with the instruments of torture placed in view, testified that several counties were divided into districts, of which there were 80, with 7000 associated members. There is evidence that, chiefly through the Divine blessing upon Renwick’s faithful preaching, and his singular wisdom in council, those Societies increased, instead of diminishing, in the latter part of the prelatic persecution.

To the friends of evangelical truth, and the faithful witnesses for the Redeemer’s royal prerogatives, the services of Renwick, at the crisis in which he exercised his public ministry, were invaluable. He was eminently the man for the time. Through the influence of the unhappy Indulgence, the strict Covenanters were reduced to what they style themselves in the “*Informatory Vindication*,” a “wasted, suffering, anti-popish, anti-prelatic, anti-erastian, anti-sectarian remnant.” By the death of Cargill and Cameron, they were left as “sheep without a shepherd”—broken and scattered. Through the fierceness of persecution, and the machinations of enemies, they were in danger of falling into confusion, and of being entirely wasted and destroyed. We admire the gracious providence of God in preparing, at this particular crisis, an instrument of such rare and suitable endowments for feeding “the flock in the wilderness,” and for unfurling and upholding so nobly the “Banner of truth” amidst hosts of infuriated enemies.

James Renwick, though a very youth when he entered on his arduous work, and trained under great outward disadvantages, had a powerful and well-cultivated mind. He was endowed with singular administrative talent, and had great tact and skill in managing men. He was an acute and logical thinker, an eloquent and attractive public speaker, and was distinguished by fertility and force as a writer. The “*Informatory Vindication*”—his testimony against king James’s toleration—with his “*Letters*,” and “*Sermons and Lectures*,” bear ample evidence of his sound judgment, comprehensive mind, and ability as an author. His prudence, meekness, and loving dis-

position, combined with his sanctified zeal and heroic courage, deservedly gave him great influence among those to whom he ministered. He was eminently fitted to be "a first man among men." The Lord held him in the hollow of his hand, and made him a "polished shaft in his quiver."

The services which Renwick rendered to the Protestant cause were invaluable. He organized the scattered remnant, and imparted new life and ardour to their proceedings. He set forth clearly the principles of the "Society people;" and in a number of able and logical papers, clearly defined their plans of action. He rendered it, in a great measure, impossible for enemies to misrepresent and accuse them falsely to the Government. He was their secretary in their correspondence with foreign Churches; and he did much to evoke the prayerful sympathy of Protestants in other lands in behalf of the victims of persecution in Scotland. The presence and influence of Renwick among the suffering Presbyterians were of the highest importance in his own day; and not to them alone, but also to the whole Church of Christ in these lands, and to the constitutional liberties of the nation. So far as we can see, but for the singular power and devoted spirit of Renwick, and the firm and unyielding position which the Cameronians through him were led to assume, the cause of truth would have been completely borne down, and Erastianism, and Popery, and Despotism had triumphed. Renwick and his followers were the vanguard "in the struggle for Britain's liberties, and for the Church's spiritual independence." Though, like other patriots born before their time, they were doomed to fall, yet posterity owes to them a large part of the goodly heritage which they enjoy.

The *manifold labours and sufferings* of Renwick, which were ended by his martyrdom, deserve a brief notice. For a period of five years after he entered on his public ministry, he was in constant movement and unremitting and exhausting labours. He was employed at all seasons, and often in the night time, and in the most inclement weather, preaching the Gospel in the fields, visiting families, and conversing with the people individually and in groups, attending stated general meetings, taking part in their deliberations, composing differences, confronting gainsayers and opponents, and writing the papers and manifestoes of the persecuted party. His services were in constant and increasing demand, in various places widely scattered. After he had been engaged in the most arduous labours, he had

little or no rest, and no comfortable place of retirement. He was obliged to lodge in moss-hags, sheilings of shepherds, or holes dug in the ground by his followers: when sticks were kindled for a fire, and children conveyed to him food, not unfrequently without the knowledge of their parents. Naturally of a weak constitution, he was, at times, so borne down by sickness and total prostration of strength, that he was literally carried on the shoulders of faithful followers, or supported when on horse-back. He had frequently to flee from one hiding place to another, barefoot, or without some of his garments, as he had also to travel in disguise. Letters of intercommuning were launched against him. A price was set upon his head, and persons were forbidden, on pain of death, to yield him shelter, or a mouthful of food—to converse, or correspond with him by writing, or offer him the smallest service of humanity.

It is recorded that in 1687, the year before Renwick's martyrdom, the royal troops, *thirteen times*, made the strictest search for him throughout all the country. To avoid the pursuit of enemies, he had to travel in disguise, and often in the dark night, and to seek shelter in caves, and rocks, and dens of the earth. Whenever he was engaged in his ministerial work, friendly watches were placed around him, to give the alarm on the approach of danger. When he preached, a fleet horse was standing beside him saddled and bridled, by which he could speedily distance the pursuit of enemies. He had, moreover, to suffer much from disputes, contentions, and reproaches among those for whom he was expending his energies, and for whom he was prepared to sacrifice his life. On one occasion, when entering the cottage of John Brown of Priesthill, he is said to have given momentary utterance to the pent-up grief of his heart by exclaiming, "Reproach hath broke my heart." "From an enemy," he added, "he could have borne it, but it was hard when it came from those whom he loved as himself, and for whom he was undergoing such privations and sufferings." From the Presbyterian ministers and people, who had closed in with the Indulgence and James's toleration, he received no kindly recognition, nor a single act of friendship. On the contrary, they heaped on him every term in the vocabulary of abuse, calling him "Jesuit," "devil," &c. They misrepresented his principles, and sought to excite prejudice against him throughout the country and among foreign Churches, especially in Holland, where Renwick had many attached sympathisers and friends. What was the ground of

such dislike and hostility? His life, even his enemies being witnesses, was blameless. He preached fully and powerfully the glorious Gospel. He enforced a strict scriptural discipline, and he was constantly careful to promote practical godliness. His sole fault in the eyes of the indulged was that he strictly adhered to the great principles of the covenanted reformation, when his opponents had plainly abandoned them—that he refused to accept a royal toleration which was designed to establish Popery and absolute power, and that he disowned a perfidious race of monarchs whose oppressive and galling yoke was felt by many, and whose rule the whole nation soon after rejected. The fidelity of Renwick to the cause of God and truth powerfully reprov'd those who had made defection; while his holy living and devotedness strongly condemned such as, to secure immunity from suffering and the world's favour, were at ease in Zion. Therefore was it, that in the spirit of apostates in all ages, they laboured to misrepresent and calumniate him and the cause which he maintained, and abetted the designs of those who persecuted him to the death.

CHAPTER III.

RENEWICK'S MARTYRDOM AND TESTIMONY.

THIS devoted servant of Christ, though worn with incessant labours, was found actively engaged in his darling work when he was called to receive his reward. On the 24th and 27th of January he preached in Fifeshire, and at Borrowstounness on the 29th. The last night of the month he lodged with a friend in Edinburgh. On the morning of the 1st of February, the house was beset with soldiers, in the employment of the persecuting council. When Renwick attempted to escape, he was arrested near the Cowgate, and was carried by Graham, the captain of the guard, before a quorum of the council, by whom he was committed to close prison, and laid in irons. When he stood in the presence of those who had issued against him fierce proclamations, and had sought his life, they were surprised at his youthful appearance, and his comely countenance, and one exclaimed, "Is this the boy Renwick, that the whole nation was so troubled with?" Renwick replied only with a quiet smile.

On the 3d of February, he was brought before the council, and received his indictment. In it he was charged with casting off the fear of God, disowning the king's authority, preaching in the fields, and teaching the people to refuse to pay cess, and to carry arms in self-defence. It is related of Renwick, when he became a prisoner, that though he had grace given willingly to offer his life to confirm his testimony, he yet dreaded torture. Having in prayer freely surrendered his life to God, he obtained in answer the assurance that enemies would not have the power to inflict on him torture. This he afterwards told his mother in prison, shortly before his execution, when she was expressing concern about seeing his head and hands on the ports of the city. He said he was persuaded that the persecutors would "not be permitted to torture his body, nor touch one hair of his head farther."

He was so open and candid in his answers that the members

of the Justiciary were to some extent favourably impressed, and this had doubtless some influence in preventing him from being tortured. He enjoyed so much of the Divine presence from his entrance into prison till his execution, that to his mother he said "he could hardly pray, being so much taken up with praise, and ravished with the joy of the Lord." When before the Justiciary, on the 14th February, he confessed to all in the indictment, save the first article, charging him with having "cast off all fear of God." He said, "It is because I feared to offend God, and to violate his law, that I am here to-day, standing to be condemned." When asked about disowning the king's authority, he answered like a true Protestant and a heroic patriot, "I own all authority that hath its prescriptives and limitations from the Word of God; but I cannot own this usurper as lawful king, seeing both by the Word of God, such a one is incapable to bear rule, and likewise by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland until he swear to defend the Protestant religion, which a man of his profession cannot do."

At the close of his examination, when asked if he would subscribe his testimony, he did so, with protestation that he subscribed it as his testimony, but not as recognizing the authority of his judges. When condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket on the Friday following, he was asked by the Justice-General if he desired a longer time. He declared "it was all one to him; if the time was protracted, it was welcome; if it was shortened, it was welcome too—his Master's time was the best." Without his knowledge, he was reprieved for ten days, till the 17th of February, as the persecutors were to some degree sated with blood, and perhaps somewhat troubled in conscience by the demeanour of the youthful confessor. After his condemnation was pronounced, many attempts were made to shake his constancy. Several petitions were written for him, but he refused resolutely to sign any of them. It was at one time proposed to him, that his dropping a few drops of ink on paper would be sufficient; this, however, he promptly refused, alleging that it would be so far an owning of wicked authority, and a renunciation of his whole testimony.

His friends were denied access to him in prison; paper and ink were removed from him, and also part of his dying testimony which he had written. Others—persons of authority—prelates, curates, and Popish priests visited him. His Christian firmness resisted all their attempts to make him swerve from

his principles ; while several of them were struck and overawed by the power of his singular wisdom, gentleness, and unaffected goodness. Viscount Tarbet, a man of intellect, but noted for his lax accommodating principles, said of Renwick, after several times visiting him, "He was the stiffest maintainer of his principles that ever came before us. Others we used always to cause at one time or other to waver, but him we could never move. We could never make him yield nor vary in the least. He was of old Knox's principles."

The testimony of Renwick, contained in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, was written the night before he suffered, and in near anticipation of his martyrdom. His mother and sisters were allowed to be with him for a short time, on the morning of the day of his execution. In giving thanks at food in their presence, he said—"Lord ! thou has brought me within two hours of eternity, and this is no matter of terror to me, more than if I rose to go to lie down on a bed of roses. Nay, through grace, to thy praise, I may say I had never the fear of death since I came within this prison ; but from the place I was taken in, I could have gone very composedly to the scaffold." Again he said, "Let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. Could I ever have thought that the fear of suffering and death could be so taken from me? What shall I say of it? It is the doing of the Lord and marvellous in our eyes." He asked, "I have many times counted the cost of following Christ, but never expected it would have been so easy. Now, who knows the honour and happiness of that—'He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father?'" Several times he said, "*Now that I am so near the end of time, I desire to bless the Lord ; it is inexpressibly sweet and satisfying peace to me, that He has kept me in the least from complying with enemies.*" On the morning of his execution, he wrote his last letter to his most attached friend, Sir Robert Hamilton, who was then an exile in Holland, for the sacred cause for which Renwick suffered. Every part of this brief epistle is calm and thoughtful, and bespeaks the joyful serenity of the martyr's spirit. "This," he writes, "being my last day on earth, I thought it my duty to send you this, my last salutation. The Lord has been wonderfully gracious to me since I came to prison. He has assured me of his salvation, helped me to give a testimony for Him, and to say before his enemies all that I have taught, and strengthened me to resist and repel many temptations and assaults."

He closes with these simple, solemn, and affecting words—
 “But I must break off; I go to your God and my God. *Death is to me as a bed to the weary.*”

When the drums beat for his execution, he exclaimed, “Yonder is my welcome call to the marriage. The Bridegroom is coming. I am ready.” On the scaffold he sung the first part of the 3d Psalm, read the 19th chapter of Revelations, and prayed. When he was rudely interrupted, he said, “I shall soon be above these clouds. Then shall I enjoy thee and glorify thee, O my Father, without intermission and interruption for ever.” In the few sentences that he was permitted to speak to the spectators from the scaffold, after commending the Lord’s special mercy to him, in washing away his sins, and honouring him to suffer for his name’s sake, he declared he laid down his life mainly for three things—1. For disavowing the usurpation and tyranny of James, Duke of York; 2. Preaching that it is unlawful to pay cess, expressly exacted for bearing down the Gospel; and 3. Teaching that it is lawful for people to carry arms for defending themselves in their meetings for persecuted Gospel ordinances.” At the close he said, “I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and against all profanity, and everything contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; particularly against all usurpations and encroachments made upon Christ’s rights, who alone must bear the glory of ruling his own kingdom—the Church; and in particular, against this absolute power, usurped by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable property of Jehovah; and against this toleration flowing from this absolute power.” Here he was compelled to leave off speaking, and to go up the ladder. He then prayed again, and said, “Lord! I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou will make the blood of thy witnesses to be the seed of the Church, and will return again and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am ready; the Bride, the Lamb’s wife, hath made herself ready.” When the napkin was tied about his face, he uttered a few affectionate words to the single friend who was permitted to attend him on the scaffold. His last counsels then spoken to the suffering remnant, show how much his heart was with them, and the cause of truth in their hands. “As to the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me, not to weary, nor be discouraged in maintaining their testimony. Let them not quit or forego one of these despised truths. Let them keep their ground, and the Lord will provide them churches and

ministers. And *when He comes, He will make these despised truths glorious in the earth.*"

In the close of his testimony, written in prison the day before his execution, there are those sublime and affecting expressions, which were designed to be his last words from the scaffold—"Farewell, beloved sufferers, and followers of the Lamb. Farewell, Christian and comfortable mother and sisters. Farewell, sweet societies and desirable general meetings. Farewell! night wanderings in all seasons for Christ, and all sublunary things. Farewell! conflicts with a body of sin and death. Welcome, scaffold, for precious Christ. Welcome, heavenly Jerusalem. Welcome, innumerable company of angels. Welcome, crown of glory. Welcome, above all, O thou blessed Trinity and one God. O Eternal One, I commit my soul into thy eternal rest."

The relentless persecutors of our Presbyterian forefathers were not content with removing this eminent servant of God by a violent death; as if to throw upon him the utmost indignity, his body was buried in the common grave of felons, at the lower entrance of the Greyfriars churchyard, a plain slab of stone erected over the spot stating that the dust of the Rev. James Renwick lies interred with that of eight other martyrs, and with the remains of a hundred common felons. The emblem and inscription on the stone point, however, to the glory reserved for faithful servants of Christ, when the sufferings of the Church shall have been completed, and antichristian power shall have been overthrown. The emblem is an open Bible, with the words in Revelation vi. 9-11, inserted underneath.

Though enemies thus did their utmost to pour dishonour on the name and memory of Renwick, and to extinguish the cause for which he suffered, yet the Redeemer whom he intensely loved, and faithfully served, has in his providence vindicated the one, as He has preserved, and will yet more extensively and gloriously display the other. Not only have eminent historians and other distinguished writers, in recent times, done justice to the character and labours of Renwick, and the contendings of the Society people; but within the last few years, by several public commemorative services in Scotland, the spirit and testimony of the later Scottish martyrs have been held forth as worthy of the grateful regard of posterity, and commended to their imitation and adoption. The bicentenary of the SANQUHAR DECLARATION was commemorated with appropriate services, upwards of 4000 persons of different religious denominations

convening at the ancient burgh of Sanquhar for this purpose. The addresses delivered on the occasion by ministers and others, ably displayed and vindicated the position assumed by Richard Cameron and his followers, and commended to public approval their testimony. Some three years ago, a like public commemoration of Renwick's birth and martyrdom was celebrated at the place of his nativity near Moniaive, in the south of Scotland, ministers and people of the Free, United, and Reformed Presbyterian Churches manifesting the deepest interest in the proceedings. Besides the ministers and large concourse of people—many of them gathered from great distances—that met in the open air, near the place of Renwick's birth, numerous congregations assembled in different houses of worship, observed the solemn occasion with devotional exercises. The addresses delivered were a suitable tribute to the spirit and conduct of the covenanted martyrs; and various articles of their special testimony were clearly displayed and ably vindicated. An admirable sermon was preached at this commemoration by the Rev. William Anderson of Loanhead, which has since been published under the title of *The Voice of Renwick*, and extensively circulated. It contains a condensed yet lucid sketch of the life, labours, and sufferings of Renwick, a faithful portraiture of his character, and an able exposition and defence of the great principles of the testimony of the Scottish martyrs. There has been published in modern times no juster or more appropriate tribute to the character, principles, and heroic deeds of these faithful confessors, than is contained in this discourse. On this account, as well as for the weighty practical lessons which it enforces, it is of no local or ephemeral interest, but deserves to be transmitted along with the testimonies of the Presbyterian martyrs to future generations. These movements indicate the gracious design of Zion's King to put lasting and increasing honour upon those who cheerfully suffered the loss of all things in maintaining his cause, and of yet reviving the principles for which they nobly contended. Though the day may be distant when these nations shall voluntarily and generally return to allegiance to Prince Messiah, yet, as the dimness of the dawn is the sure precursor of the perfect day, and the cloud like a man's hand betokened "abundance of rain," so these grateful reminiscences of the covenanted martyrs and their distinctive testimony point to a day of deliverance and brightness approaching, when anti-christian error and idolatry shall be overthrown, and the reign of righteousness and truth shall be universally established.

CONCLUSION.

THE record of the life, labours, and testimony of James Renwick is fraught with *practical lessons* of the highest value to the Church in the present day; and ministers, theological students, and the rising youth of the Church generally, have a special interest in pondering them deeply, and in seeking to reduce them to practice.

From Renwick's personal history, we see—1. An instance of the Divine blessing on parental dedication and early religious instruction, confirming the truth of the Divine promise, and exhibiting the unspeakable benefit of the faithful labours of godly parents, especially of mothers, to the Church. 2. It is impressively shown, too, that a person's work and influence for good is not dependent on birth or station in life, or on outward advantages. Many of the most eminent servants of Christ, like Luther and Renwick, sprung from the humbler ranks of society, and before they came forward to public usefulness, had to contend with great difficulties. Grace ennobled them. God often chooses "the weak things" of the world to "confound the mighty." His servants are raised from the dunghill to sit among princes. In heaven's heraldry a man's rank is taken not from hereditary titles or possessions, but from grace renewing and sanctifying the heart, and a life of true devotedness to Christ and his service. 3. We are taught to lay no stress on present prosperity, but to do God's work, looking for the recompense of reward which He gives. A noble forgetfulness of self, and mortification to the favour of the world, have characterized all Christ's most approved servants. Dr Payson relates about himself, what has been experienced by many faithful men, "When I thought myself to be *something*, I never knew happiness of mind; since I came to feel myself *nothing*, and Christ all, I have realized full satisfaction and joy." Renwick reviled, calumniated, and persecuted in his day, while esteeming all but loss for Christ, enjoyed in life and death peace surpassing understanding—his name will be ever fragrant, and his memorial everlasting.

4. Again, Renwick's life presents a bright and attractive *example of the graces of fervent piety*. There shines forth in his character, in harmonious display and concentrated lustre, an array of lovely and ennobling features. To faith he added virtue, and knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, &c. (2 Peter i. 5-7). His Christian *wisdom* is singularly conspicuous. Renwick was blamed in his own day by time-servers and backsliders as imprudent; and those who maintain the same testimony even in our times, are characterized as foolish, imprudent, and infatuated. Certainly, if wisdom consists only in securing present temporal gain—fleeting pleasure, and the applause of the world—then Renwick and his followers have no claim to be considered wise. But if the “beginning” and spirit of true wisdom are the “fear of the Lord;” and if it is shown in preferring the advancement of God's glory and the enjoyment of his favour to all else, and in seeking the attainment of those ends by means divinely appointed and approved, then the persecuted remnant were eminently wise. By opposing Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and arbitrary power, and pleading resolutely for the covenanted liberties of the Church and nation, they proposed to themselves holy ends. Their faithful contendings, their stern denunciations of royal perfidy and tyranny, their organization of societies and a general correspondence, their proclaiming opposition to usurped authority, and, above all, their willing sacrifice of life rather than abandon right principles, evince true wisdom. These were the best means that could possibly have been adopted to expose the countless evils of the government of the royal brothers, and to rouse the dormant spirit of the nation, to hurl tyrants and oppressors from the throne, and to establish constitutional liberty.

Then the *fidelity* of Renwick and the Cameronians were seen in maintaining fully their testimony to the whole covenanted reformation, amidst manifold perils, when the large body of Presbyterians had made defection. The standard which they firmly grasped and refused to surrender had its glorious motto—“FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT.” The central doctrine of the Redeemer's headship over the Church and the nations occupied a first place in all the testimonies emitted in their general meetings, and uttered on scaffolds and fields of blood. Connected with this, as necessary corollaries, were the supremacy of Holy Scripture, the spiritual independence of the Church, and the subjection of rulers and national legislation to

the sceptre of the reigning Mediator. On these grounds they not only rejected infamous rulers, but condemned and rejected with utter abhorrence the royal supremacy. The sentiment expressed in the words subscribed to the minutes of their general meetings, "LET KING JESUS REIGN,"¹ declare the leal allegiance of Renwick and the persecuted Covenanters to Prince Messiah. Earnestly did they seek to have the authority of King Jesus universally acknowledged, honoured, and obeyed. They believed firmly the sure word of prophecy, that "all kings shall fall down before Him, and all nations shall serve Him." "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." (Psalm lxxii. 11, 8). So should we also aim to be faithful to Christ and his cause, to our own sacred vows, to the souls of men, and to the blood-bought privileges that have been entrusted to us to preserve and transmit. We are responsible not for success, but for fidelity; and the promised reward will be a glorious recompense for all trial and suffering. "Be thou faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

Renwick was, furthermore, distinguished by a *catholic, genial, loving spirit*. This characteristic is not generally thought to have been prominent in the spirit of illustrious reformers and suffering confessors. Luther, Calvin, and Knox have been represented as unsocial, morose fanatics, and gloomy bigots. Renwick has been branded as rigid and austere; and those who have embraced and faithfully maintained the same testimony have been exhibited as sectaries of the deepest die. No representation could be more unjust, and none is more opposed to historic truth. Luther was most genial and loving, as his *Table Talk*, and the record of his domestic life, abundantly testify. Calvin's *Letters*, collected by Bonnet, show how keenly and long he felt the death of his wife and infant child; how deeply his heart was affected with the sufferings of Protestants everywhere, even of those who differed from him in principle; and attest, moreover, the warmth and constancy of his friendship. Knox's declaration before Queen Mary, that he was always affected by the crying of his infant children, shows his gentle and susceptible disposition; while his letters to his wife and mother-in-law bear witness equally to his piety, and to the depth of tender feeling that filled his large heart. Renwick was, at all times, a loving, thoughtful, and confiding friend, as many passages in his *Letters* declare. The annals

¹ See "Faithful Contendings."

of the persecution, and the traditions of suffering times, testify to his genial disposition, even when he was harassed by relentless enemies, and his heart was overwhelmed with incessant cares and anxieties.

In proof of the catholic, unsectarian, Christian spirit of Renwick and his followers, the clear statements of the Informatory Vindication, the work which most fully and clearly defines their position, may be referred to. After laying down an admirable platform of fellowship and discipline, the persecuted Covenanters declare in effect, "We are not a Church at present, and cannot act fully as an organized Church. We are a broken, persecuted remnant. Our societies are not a Church, but a temporary means of enjoying proper religious instruction and ordinances of worship. They are, besides, associations for self-defence, and for watching and taking advantage of any public movement for overturning the present despotism, and recovering our liberties, civil and religious. We require to make the terms of admission strict, to guard against spies, and those who are contentious or quarrelsome." At the same time they declared the close and hallowed relations that bound them to all the true disciples of their common Lord. In a noble spirit of Christian brotherhood, they virtually proclaim, "On the communion of saints, let us impose no new restrictions. Though others differ from us in the word of their special testimony, let us embrace and love them, and acknowledge fellowship with them as Christian brethren."¹ In these noble utterances we have strikingly exemplified the true spirit of Christian brotherhood and Catholic communion. This is the genuine import of the vow of the Solemn League and Covenant, which binds Covenanters to regard whatever is done to the least of them as done to all and to every one in particular. While firmly holding fast all scriptural attainments, and contending "earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," we should cordially rejoice in the evidences of grace in Christ's servants wherever we find them. We should love them as brethren, fulfil the law of Christ by bearing their burdens, wish them God speed in all that they are doing for the advancement of his glory, and fervently labour and pray for the coming of the happy period when divisions and animosities shall cease, and when there shall be one King, and his name one in all the earth.

5. The testimony of Renwick and his associates is of per-

¹ Dodds' *Fifty Years' Struggle*, p. 275.

manent value and of special importance in our day, as it was directed against *systems of error and idolatry* which serve to corrupt the Church and enslave the State. Against Popery in every form Renwick was a heroic and uncompromising witness. At the peril of life, he publicly testified against the usurpation of the Papist James, and rejected him as having no claim to be regarded as a constitutional sovereign, and as utterly disqualified to reign in a Protestant reformed land. This was the main ground of his objection against James's toleration, for which the indulged ministers tendered obsequious thanks to the usurper. Yet this edict of toleration was issued for the purpose of opening the way for the practice of Rome's abominations, and for the advancement of Papists to places of power and trust in the nation. None of the Cameronians would, for any earthly consideration, even to save their lives, for a moment admit that a Papist had any right to exercise political power in a reformed land. Our martyred forefathers we regard as worthy of high respect and imitation, for their deeply cherished dread of the growing influence of Popery, and for their determined resistance to its exclusive and extravagant claims. The system of Popery is the abnegation of all precious Gospel truth ; and is a complete politico-religious confederacy against the best interests of a Protestant nation. The boast of its abettors is that it is *semper eadem*—ever the same. Rome cannot reform herself from within, and she is incapable of reformation from external influences and agencies. The Bible never speaks of Antichrist as to be reformed, but as waxing worse and worse till the time when he shall be completely subverted and irrecoverably destroyed. Whatever changes may be going on in some Popish countries, whereby the power of the Papacy is weakened, it is evident that the principles and spirit of the Romish priesthood, and of those who are under their influence, remain unchanged. The errors of the antichristian system, instead of being diminished, have of late years increased. Creature worship has become more marked and general. The immaculate conception has been proclaimed by Papal authority as the creed of Romanism. In these countries, and some other Protestant lands, the influence of Popery in Government and education, and so on the whole social system, has been greatly on the increase. Among those who have most deeply studied inspired prophecy, there is a general expectation that the period of Babylon's downfall is hastening on, and is not far distant. There is a general presentiment, too, that the Man of Sin,

prior to his downfall, will make some dire and violent attempt, through his infatuated followers, against the truth, and against such as faithfully maintain it. The "*Slaying of the Witnesses*," which we are disposed to regard as yet future, may take place, not so much by the actual shedding of blood, though it is plain that Jesuit policy and violence will not hesitate to re-enact former persecution and massacre, to accomplish a desired purpose. It may mainly be effected, as Scott the expositor suggests, by silencing the voice of a public testimony in behalf of fundamental truths throughout Christendom; and of this there are at present unmistakable signs not a few throughout the Churches in various countries.

The Protestant Church in all its sections should be thoroughly awake to its danger from the destructive errors, idolatry, and power of its ancient irreconcilable enemy, and should, by all legitimate means, labour to counteract and nullify its political influence. The ministry and the rising youth of the Church should study carefully the Popish controversy, and should be intimately acquainted with the history of the rise and progress of the Papacy, its assumed blasphemous power, its accumulated errors and delusions, and its plots, varied persecutions, and cruel butcheries of Christ's faithful witnesses. Above all, they should set themselves earnestly, prayerfully, and perseveringly to diffuse the Bible and Gospel light in the dark parts of their native country, and among Romanists in other lands. By embracing fully and holding fast, in their practical application, the principles of the British covenants, and by imbibing the spirit of covenanted martyrs—men like Renwick and the Cameronians—we will be prepared for the last conflict with Antichrist. The firm and faithful maintenance of a martyr-testimony will be a principal instrument of the victory of truth over the error and idolatry of Rome. "They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death."¹

Finally. The testimony of Renwick is valuable, as throwing light on *great evils connected with systems of civil government*, and *with Protestant Churches*, and as pointing out clearly the duty of faithful witnesses in relation to them. Two great principles, the one *doctrinal* and the other *practical*, were essential to it, or rather constituted its whole speciality. These were, first, that *according to the national vows and the reformation attainments*, the whole civil polity of the nation should be

¹ Revelation xii. 11.

conformed to the Scriptures ; and secondly, the positive duty of distinct separation from whatever systems in the State or the Church that are opposed to entire allegiance to Messiah the Prince. The civil constitution and the national legislation and administration, as well as the lives of rulers, were required to be in subjection to his authority, and in accordance with the prescriptions of his Word. When such subjection is withheld, Christ's servants, if they would be faithful to the exalted Saviour, cannot do otherwise than refuse to incorporate with the national society, and to homologate the acts of its rulers ; and from Churches that do not testify against national defection, they are constrained to maintain distinct separation. The past history of the Church bears clear testimony that truth has been frequently preserved, when it was in danger of being lost, by open separation from those who were bent on declension and apostasy.

In our day, it should not be regarded as enough to profess in theory the doctrine of Christ's Headship, or merely to speak in commendation of a martyr-testimony. We should aim, as Renwick and his followers, at whatever inconvenience and hardship, to give it *practical effect*. The reason why these honoured confessors disowned the authority of Charles and his brother was not solely or chiefly because of their tyranny or persecuting measures, but principally because the authority assumed was opposed to the exclusive royal prerogatives of the Redeemer. The public evils against which Renwick and the later martyrs testified to the death, did not cease at the Revolution ; nor can we admit that the Revolution Settlement embodied all the principles for which the covenanted martyrs contended and suffered and died. On the contrary, there are essential and inherent evils in the Revolution Settlement, both civil and ecclesiastical, which exist to this day, and which render a decided testimony against it dutiful now, as it was at the period of the Revolution. The Act Rescissory, which was passed at the Restoration, is still retained in the statute book ; the national covenants were abandoned, both by the Church and the nation, and neither has returned to a sense of their obligation. The scriptural attainments of the Reformation were left under a gravestone. Presbyterianism was established in Scotland—not because it was scriptural or right in itself, but because it was agreeable to the wishes of the majority of the nation, and it was set up on an Erastian basis. By the introduction of the curates into the ministry of the Scottish establishment—at the

king's behest, without any public confession or renunciation of Prelacy—the germ of moderatism was laid, which in due time budded and brought forth bitter fruits, in numerous corruptions and oppressions, and in multiplied divisions and separations.

Prelacy, abjured in the Solemn League of the three kingdoms, was, at the Revolution, established in England and Ireland, and the supremacy of the monarch as head of the national church, and in “all causes, civil and ecclesiastical,” was declared to be an inherent prerogative of the crown. These evils yet exist in the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of these countries; and others have in recent years been added, such as the admission of Papists to places of power and trust throughout the nation, the national endowment of Popish institutions, and the public favour shown by rulers to the antichristian system. The national policy in these instances, and others that might be mentioned, is wholly inconsistent with the doctrine of the Redeemer's Headship in its legitimate application, and is the source of many of the evils that in our day corrupt and degrade the Church of England, and that prevent the development and prevalence of genuine Protestantism throughout the nation. The Presbyterian Churches that claim descent from the covenanting reformers and martyrs, should seriously consider whether they do not compromise a faithful testimony, and encourage national apostasy, by incorporating with a civil system that refuses homage to the reigning Mediator, and obedience to the authoritative prescriptions of his Word.

The rising youth of the Church should carefully study in its legitimate application, and vitally important consequences, the grand article of Renwick's testimony—the Redeemer's Headship over the Church and the nations, and the cognate principles of the supremacy of the Word, the spiritual independence of the Church, and the claim of the subjection of the nation and its rulers to the authority of the reigning Mediator. Whether viewed in the light of the past or of the present state of the nations, as of America, and the kingdoms of the antichristian earth, or of prophecy yet unfulfilled, a testimony for these truths is of grand and overwhelming importance. This is emphatically the *present truth*—the cause of God and truth, now to be pleaded in the earth. It is “the word of Christ's patience,” which we are required to hold fast. It is at our peril if we be found neutral here; our preservation from the coming “hour of temptation,” is alone to be expected in fidelity to the great trust committed to us. We are assured in the

faithful word of prophecy, that the Redeemer will ere long take to Him his power to reign. The "Little Stone" shall bruise and break in pieces the feet and toes of the "great image,"—the representative of the world-powers—and become a "great mountain," and fill the earth. Then shall the cause for which Christ's witnesses testified in sackcloth, and for which chosen martyrs died, gloriously triumph. "The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ."

The peaceful, triumphant death of Renwick shows impressively that there is a reward to the righteous; that a life of self-denial and devoted piety appears at the close, enstamped with Heaven's approval; and that labours and sufferings for Christ's sake conduct to the joy of completed victory, and to perfect communion with the Redeemer, and the redeemed in glory. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace."¹ "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb."²

¹ Psalm xxxvii. 37.

² Revelation vii. 9, 10.

RENEWICK'S LETTERS.

THE "Letters" of the Rev. James Renwick contained in this volume, were written at different periods, from the time that he became closely connected in fellowship with the persecuted remnant, soon after the martyrdom of the Rev. Donald Cargill, till the day that he himself won the martyr's crown. The greater number of them were not penned in circumstances of outward ease or comfort, but after the most exhausting labours, and when exposed to imminent dangers—when sorely tried with the open opposition of enemies and the divisions and misrepresentations of professed friends, and forced to take shelter in places that offered no accommodation either for needed refreshment of body or for recruiting mental exhaustion. It never entered into the thoughts of the writer that these effusions of sanctified friendship, narratives of personal labours and trials, and counsels given in the emergent cases for which they were sought, would afterwards be published. There is no reason to think that Renwick himself retained copies of the numerous letters which he wrote to friends and fellow-sufferers in various places; nor did his circumstances, and the incessant demands upon his labours, permit him to correct or revise what he had hastily written before it was despatched to its destination. These "Letters" were collected some time after Renwick's death, and copies of them taken by those who maintained the distinctive principles of the youthful martyr, and who set a high value upon them as disclosing numerous marked features of the hidden life of this eminent servant of Christ, and as exhibiting important principles, and supplying weighty counsel, of great practical value for the maintenance of precious truth, in all succeeding times.

A large number of these Letters were addressed to Mr Robert Hamilton, or as he is not unusually called, Sir Robert Hamilton, son of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston, who commanded the forces of the Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell; who was afterwards an exile in Holland, and acted as the devoted friend and counsellor of the persecuted remnant

when they were as sheep without a shepherd; and after the death of Renwick till the Revolution, and subsequently. This excellent man has been honoured to bear a large measure of the obloquy and reproach which were cast on the stricter Covenanters, and later Scottish martyrs, in his own times; and the attempt is made even to our day to misrepresent his character, and to vilify his memory. The reasons of this dislike and misrepresentation are not difficult to be discovered. It was regarded as strange, and not to be accounted for, by the prudential maxims of those who consulted their ease and safety at the sacrifice of right principle, that Mr Hamilton, whom Bishop Burnet, who educated him, describes as "a lively, hopeful young man," should have voluntarily relinquished a station which promised him wealth and worldly distinction, and identified himself with a despised and persecuted people, at a time when their cause appeared desperate, and when persons of the higher ranks of society stood aloof from them. The indulged generally blamed him, and ascribed the defeat at Bothwell to his obstinacy or incompetency. Wodrow, who is well known to have had no good liking to the Society people, joins in the censure; and it has been repeated by Dr M'Crie, and others, till a late writer, Dodds, in his *Fifty Years' Struggle*, adds to the former aspersions thrown on this excellent man, by representing Mr Hamilton as "conceited and rash," "blown up by a vain ambition to assume the part of the commander-in-chief," for which he had "not one qualification—not even that of personal courage," and as causing the loss of many precious lives by "his panic-stricken helplessness in positions which he ought to have had the good sense and modesty never to occupy." It is sufficient to reply to these heavy charges that they are wholly destitute of historical evidence. Robert Hamilton's skill in the disposition of the little band at Drumclog is unquestionable, as his heroic courage in the fight with Claverhouse is undeniable. His fault in the eyes of many lay in that, before the engagement at Bothwell, Mr Hamilton and a few of the most tried and courageous leaders in the Covenanters' army, contended for condemning the Indulgence, and rejecting the king's authority, in their public manifesto. Who will not say that they acted honestly and rightly in this case? Whatever carnal policy may allege to the contrary if they took up arms to maintain the principles of the covenanted reformation, and to free the Church and nation from intolerable oppression, they had no

alternative left but to condemn the Indulgence, which Dodds himself admits amounted to an entire surrender of Presbyterian principles, and to denounce the authority of a Popish bigot, which the whole nation rejected at the period of the Revolution. An impartial judgment would find a considerable cause of the disaster to the Covenanters at Bothwell in the distractions in counsel caused by the indulged ministers and their adherents, previous to the battle, and to numbers of the same party standing inactive during the fight, and not to any defect in those who jeopardized their lives in the high places of the field, and who afterwards carried out their noble self-denial, even when times of peace were restored. Mr Dodds is himself constrained to admit that Robert Hamilton had "many excellent qualities." "A life of consistency and self-denial must be accepted as proof that he was, in his own way, a pious and patriotic man. They who knew him most intimately, loved and respected him most, which is always a favourable sign of any man. A contemporary poet, in mourning his death, describes him in these noble lines—

"Mirror of patience, resolute and brave ;
For all the shocks united danger gave,
Moved not his soul, which still serene appeared ;
He hated no man, and he no man feared."

It remains to be stated further, that it was chiefly through the influence of Mr Hamilton's known piety, and the weight of his personal character, that Renwick's ordination took place in Holland—that the misrepresentations of enemies to foreign Churches of the persecuted remnant proved unavailing, and that many excellent men on the Continent were brought to take the deepest interest in the cause of the Scottish martyrs. He gave proof of his self-denial by voluntarily relinquishing his right to his paternal inheritance in favour of a brother, rather than compromise the principles of the Society people by taking oaths to the government of King William. It was chiefly, too, through his wisdom and sagacity that the Society people were kept from being led into an imperfect and inconsistent measure of renewing the covenants soon after the Revolution. Such conduct, in the circumstances in which he was placed, as well as his letters contained in this volume, and in the "*Faithful Contendings*," bear the most indubitable testimony to his high-toned piety, public spirit, and singular devotedness. When these things are duly considered, we do not wonder at the strength of

sanctified friendship that subsisted between him and the martyr Renwick, or that the latter gave so full and honourable testimony to the excellence of so beloved a companion in patience and tribulation, and that when standing on the threshold of eternity, the last lines he wrote on earth were addressed to him.

We have deemed it right, together with the "Letters" from the pen of Renwick, to give a few of Mr Hamilton's—chiefly because of the light they throw upon some parts of the biography of the martyr, and of the history of the times. The Letters of the Rev. William Brackel, of the Dutch Church, are inserted as evidence of the piety of ministers in Holland at that time, and of their deep prayerful interest in the testimony of Scotland's covenanted martyrs, and in their heroic faithful contendings.

The only edition of "Renwick's Letters" that has hitherto been published, was edited by the Rev. John M'Millan of Pentland, son of the Rev. John M'Millan of Balmaghie, and was issued at Edinburgh in 1764—more than a century ago. Besides the letters of Renwick, *sixty-one* in number, it contains some *thirty-two others*, written by Livingstone, Brown, King, Cargill, Cameron, Peden, and Shields, besides a few of the Letters of the General Correspondence, signed by Michael Shields. These are omitted in the present edition, partly because a number of them are not of any general interest, and partly from the desire that the volume may not be unduly enlarged.

We willingly agree with the character which is given of these "Letters" by Mr M'Millan, in the preface; and in conclusion, present it as a suitable and just commendation of them:—

"As these 'Letters' need not human commendation, so neither will the detraction of any who are so disposed blast their reputation—they are above the one, and despise the other. They will recommend themselves to all who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil, and who can savour the things that are of God. Whoever have any acquaintance with the sweet breathings of the Spirit of God, and have placed their satisfaction so entirely in the light of his countenance, lifted upon their souls, that they cannot enjoy themselves when they do not enjoy God in Christ, will here find exemplified, in an eminent manner, what a heaven the saints sometimes have, or may have on this side of glory." Again, "The reader, by the perusal of these Letters, may see by what a different spirit these

writers were actuated—what value they put upon truth—what a lively sense they had of their vows and obligations to Christ, personal and national. Therefore, they durst not deny his name, nor break his bonds, and cast away his cords, as the wicked do. We may see also, what hardships they underwent rather than part with a good conscience, or comply with enemies in the least; and, indeed, the smallest compliance would have been yielding so far to the ruin of the work and people of God, which was undoubtedly the principal design of their oppressors, and what, even in their favours, as they called them, they intended; thereby verifying that Scripture, ‘*The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*’ They had such large discoveries of the love of Christ, especially under the cross, that their hardest trials were accounted light. But how unlike are we to them! They were zealous for the honour of Christ, and burned in love to Him; but we are cold and lukewarm, and have little concern for the cause of Christ. What they accounted their ornament and glory, we are ashamed of, and look upon it as a disgrace.”

LETTERS
OF THE
REV. JAMES RENWICK.

I.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

EDINBURGH, *July 8, 1682.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—We do not question your concernedness with us and our cause at the present; neither do we doubt of your desire to know how, and what the remnant here are doing, in reference to that which God is calling them to in this day. Upon that consideration, and out of obedience to your desire, intimate to me in a letter from our friend And. Henderson, I have presumed, though unacquainted, which is to my great loss, to write this line (though confused), unto you. And as to matters before your brother S. his departure from us, whom we expect you shall see very shortly, God willing, we remit you to his information, as being more seen and perceiving than we; and as to our procedure in matters since, I shall labour to give you a brief, yet true account. We do not question but you know already, how that, by the Lord's special providence, there is a General Correspondence, which for a while bypast hath been kept up among the Societies of this land, who profess to own the way of God, and not to say a confederacy with this untoward generation; for which end there have commissioners from their respective societies met together, at least once a quarter, that they might treat and confer anent what is required in this day. As to what was done the last meeting, the first thing after prayer, which was fallen about, was this: The commissioners' names, together

with the names of the shires from which they came, were written down; and out of these, fifteen were selected, because the whole would breed confusion, and these, being thus selected, went by themselves. Then it was asked at every one of them, man by man, if they knew the mind of those with whom they were embarked in society; and how they and their society carried as to the owning of our public declarations; and if they any ways contributed brick to Babel, by actively strengthening the hands of the enemies of our Lord; and if they joined with these once ministers, who had now left their Master, and stepped aside from the way of the Lord. All professed that they and their societies were clear for our declarations. But there were some found, who joined with those who payed cess and locality; which we may observe in those who say they own our declarations, to be a confessing God with the mouth, but denying him in works; and though they were not guilty of those things themselves, yet being clothed with the authority of those who were guilty, they were for that time casten, and desired, if the persons in their societies would not forbear these sinful courses, to separate from them; and though there were none to be found in that corner where they lived who would forbear them, by keeping at a distance from them while so, they should be received in the convention as particular persons. There were also some there who were found to have accepted the sacrament of baptism and ordinance of marriage, administered by Mr Peden, who were for the time suspended from sitting, but this was after a long and stiff debate; for some said, how could they upon Mr Peden's account be suspended, before trial was made, and he was found unfaithful? Then it was replied, that he had been many times tried, and practice had proved him unfaithful in time bypast; so the most honest thought it only best not to trust implicitly, but after trial to trust according as he was found to be. Then their empty places being filled with commissioners selected, who were not found guilty of these things; it was proceeded (as ordinary :) First, to ratify and approve what had been done by the foregoing convention; from which some receded, because it had been enacted that

¹ There were some differences in judgment in relation to public procedure, between Peden and Renwick, in the early period of Renwick's ministry; and Peden, from misrepresentations made to him, was for a time alienated from the youthful minister. It is gratifying to know that, near the end of Peden's life, a personal visit of Renwick to the venerable old man served to heal the breach, and that after Renwick had prayed, Peden gave him his parting blessing.—Ed.

your brother should go abroad, and give true information of our case, and the heads of our sufferings, to any godly Christian desirous to know, and unwilling to believe misinformations and false calumnies, which enemies of all sorts are very vigilant to cast upon us. And some (though few) who were for his going abroad at first, and would approve of sending, were not for his continuing any longer. But as to the illegal and disorderly manner of their dissentment, having at first agreed with the thing, we remit you to our friends, your brother, or A. H. Whereupon there was a great confusion, and nothing could be done, till the dissenters drawing aside, there was a new election of those who were both for his going abroad and continuance for a while. And the day being spent, all that was gotten done was only a ratification of what had been done by the foregoing convention, another day when to meet appointed, and some fast-days nominated.

Now, Sir, you have here a brief account of our late confusions; but I think we ought to look upon them as the Lord's breaking us by these things, aye and until we break fully off from our sinful courses, direct or indirect. But this is very observable, that those who dissented from that duty of sending our friend, your brother, abroad, are the only pleaders for trusting Mr Peden before trial, and justify their joining with the abominators of the time, though they do not justify the abominations, which in them is a direct sinning, and an indirect following of their duty. But O! Sir, wrestle much for the poor remnant, that they may be united in truth and holiness, which cannot be without separating from both the abominations and abominators of this time; for as the Lord hath said, "There is no peace to the wicked," consequently there will be no peace to those who are at peace with the wicked as such. No more to trouble you at the time, but leaving you on Him who hath kept you hitherto, that He may keep you to the end.—I am, Sir, your entire and obedient servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

II.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to Mr R. HAMILTON.

EDINBURGH, *September 6, 1682.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—The consciousness of my duty makes me presume to write unto you; and also your honouring me with a particular line from your hand (being unworthy so far as to be countenanced by you) superadds a tie upon me

thereunto. We received those soul-refreshing letters of yours to our friends, which to them are very encouraging, they being desirous to be thankful to the Lord for what He hath done, and to cry that He would carry on what He hath so nobly begun, and to be co-wrestlers with all that wrestle for Zion, upon the account of her desolations. According to your desire, all friends, having occasion to come to this place, see what you wrote, and I also take some copies thereof and send them to several corners of the country. But indeed I cannot express how all that hear thereof are refreshed and overjoyed. But, O ! Sir, pray that we may not be abusers of mercies, and that we may get the Lord put and kept in his room ; and because of these things, that our hearts may only rejoice in the Lord. I cannot indeed admire¹ enough how some behaved toward you while here ; but we may have peace, because it was upon the account of duty. But this I think is observable in such cases, that the Lord then lets out Himself to refresh the souls of his people ; and it is ordinary with Him when there is least outward encouragements to give most inward encouragement from Himself ; “ He stays his rough wind in the day of his east wind.” O ! doth not this magnify his wisdom and graciousness, who killeth, and yet maketh alive ? and does it not tell us that He is unwilling to afflict ? and should it not teach us only to look to Himself for encouragement, with whom there is no shadow of change ? As to your call abroad, and especially your staying where you are, surely the Lord’s hand hath been only in it, which his dispensations since have confirmed. But O ! labour to be thankful to the Lord, who hath made you any way useful where He casts your lot : And, if my heart deceives me not, my soul shall be thankful to Him upon your account ; and whatever He does, or whoever He makes use of to do anything for Him, let us only attribute the praise thereof to his free grace and mercy that honours any so far.

When these refreshing news came to our hands, my spirit was overjoyed with the hearing of them, but immediately this thought struck into my mind, that what if the Lord be now going to leave Scotland, seeing He is making his candle shine so clearly in another place ! But this thought got no abode, for it was greatly resented in the time ; and the thought of the many noble testimonies that He hath honoured a remnant here to give for Him, and the precious blood that He had taken in fields and on scaffolds, to seal his cause and quarrel—I say

¹ But be surprised.—ED.

the cries of those, I thought (though there were no more), would not let Him give up altogether with this land, especially seeing it was married to Him, and his keeping a remnant in it even to this very day, speaking good unto us. Then again, I was made to think that this rather might be the thing which the Lord would do because we have been generally so treacherous a people, that He might not possibly honour any of us to have any hand in the delivery; yet He would deliver, and could command deliverance from afar. However, I desire to believe that He who hath preserved a remnant here to contend for Him, will do so still. But Oh! He is a sovereign God. Well would it become us to put a blank in his hand, and to leave the filling up thereof to Himself, and not to limit the Holy One of Israel, but rather believe in his Word, who hath descended so far as to tell us, "that all shall work together for good to them that love" and fear Him. He is wise and mighty. His end (which is his own glory, and the good of his people) cannot be frustrated; and He can well make means work together for that end, when the contrary is intended by them. What you wrote, Sir, among many things, I think, to me speaks this, the making out of his Word, that "He shall see of the travail of his soul;" and that "He is able," as it were, "out of stones to raise up children to Abraham;" and that He will not want a testimony; yea, that if these were silent "the stones would cry out." So this should learn [teach] us to credit Him with the cause, who is the maintainer thereof, and who will show Himself to be the avenger thereof also.

Be pleased to show Mr Brackel that some friends here, and I, wish our services presented to him; and that, when friends meet, I think they will write to him in particular, from them in general, and show him that the last day of the last month was nominated by some friends, having met in this place, as a day of thanksgiving, for the noble testimony the Lord had helped him to give, and for his enabling him so signally to stand out, and not to quit any of his Master's rights. The relation of the whole business (which you wrote) being in the entry of the day read in their hearing, that it might prove a means to frame them for that duty, and show that they are not omitters of what He desires of them, they saw it to be greatly their duty, and they desire to rejoice in the Lord upon his account. And that you, and friends with you, and friends here, may be one in the Lord, and one in all our duties, I thought it fit to intimate here, that (as we reckon) the last Thursday of this instant, and

the second Thursday of October, are denominated days of public fasting by the remnant here, and that the next general meeting of our friends is to be on the second day of November. As to what was done at the last meeting, we refer you to the confused account thereof in your brother's letter.

You shall receive from the bearer all our martyrs' testimonies that are unprinted, but there are written in with the . . . two particular testimonies, or rather letters, of James Skeen, which he never intended to publish as testimonies ; so, if you think it fit (it being congruous with reason) they need not be printed, or at least not as such—the one whereof is directed to all professors in the shire of Aberdeen ; the other, to all and sundry professors in the South. Receive also some sermons of Mr Welwood's, in a little book ; but let the sermons, and all the testimonies, be well noticed ; for not having correct copies, though I wrote them, I cannot answer for the correctness of them. We have sent you also a letter, with a paper written by Mr Donald's [Rev. Donald Cargill] own hand, in answer thereunto, but it is imperfect, he being taken away before he got time to finish it. But as for that book which is in Glasgow, it is not as yet come to our hand ; but when corrected, it is promised, and when gotten it shall be sent, with all the (so called) Acts of Parliament. So, leaving you and all his people upon the Lord, for counsel and direction, I am, Sir, yours to my full power to serve you in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

III.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to the much honoured
R. HAMILTON at Lewarden.

EDINBURGH, *October 3, 1682.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—We received yours, which was very refreshful unto us, and also very seasonable, because of the many wholesome advices therein given unto us, whereof we greatly stand in need, especially in this juncture of time. But O that we could get the Lord acknowledged in all our ways ; then He would direct our paths ; for they are only well led and guided whom the Lord leads and guides. O noble Guide ! O sufficient Guide ! O true Guide ! and O constant Guide ! He is nearer than a brother ; though father and mother should both forsake, yet He will not ; “He will not leave us, nor forsake us.” Though oftentimes we be so unperceiving that we know not that it is the Lord who upholdeth, yet afterwards we will be

made to say, that "when our foot was slipping, God's mercy held us up," as the Psalmist speaketh in another case (Psal. xciv. 18); and when we were as beasts and fools in many respects, God held us by the hand (Psal. lxxiii. 22, 23). O is not such a Guide well worth the following, with all joy and alacrity? Is not such a Master well worth the serving, with all the soul, heart, mind, and strength? He is not like other masters; for there is an infinite disproportion betwixt his work and his reward; and He gives no work, but He gives also a heart for the same, and all furniture suitable and requisite for the doing thereof, which is the thing that other masters cannot do. And the more He gives, the more we may expect; for the more He gives, there is not the less behind; because that which is infinite cannot be exhausted, yea, not diminished. O this is not after the manner of man! that the more He gives, the more we may expect. And doth He not many times lay abundantly whatever we need unto our hand, when we dare not say, that either we were right in seeking thereof, or in exercising faith and dependence upon Him for the same? O! does not this hold forth the freedom of his free, free grace? Should not this stop our mouths, and cause us be silent before Him? Should not this shame us out of our misbelief, and cause us to credit Him fully and freely with all his matters and our matters? "His foundation standeth sure, He knows who are his;" and "whom He loves, He loves unto the end." There is no shadow of change with Him. O let us follow Him! O let us serve Him! O noble Master! O noble service! In serving of Him, therein we shall get all our ambition satisfied. O let us follow Him, and serve Him in his own way. He cannot be found out of his own way. In his light we shall see light; in the light of his paths, and there only, we shall see the comfortable light of his countenance. O light! O comfortable light! "There be many that say, who will shew us any good?" but let us say, "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us." He can, yea, doth gladden our hearts more than the enemies' hearts in the time when their corn and wine were increased. O let us leave the world and follow Him. Is He not saying, "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon!" O if his company will not allure us, surely nothing will; and both to ravish us therewith, and make us sure thereof, He says, "With me from Lebanon, with me from Lebanon." O worthy Sir, the Lord hath been kind unto you, and made you an instrument of much good. O you are the more obliged to his

free grace ! Therefore, be humble and be thankful ; and my soul shall desire to be thankful to Him on your account—the more He does for you, and by you, be you the more engaged to Him, and for Him only.

We have no news to write unto you ; but this is very observable now, and clearly to be seen, that the fear and terror of the Lord is legibly written upon the consciences of malignants and backslidden professors : there is not so much heart and hand to be seen amongst any, as amongst the poor remnant. How can it be otherwise with these backslidden and backsliding professors ? for they are suffering and sinning, sinning and suffering, and in their suffering they want the world's peace, and by their sinning they want the sweet, sweet enjoyment of a peaceable conscience ; and this breaks and mars all their peace with God. They are really deadened, their hearts are stricken with fainting, and their knees with feebleness ; and any life or heart that is to be seen, is among the poor remnant, whom the Lord helps, in any measure, to make Moses and Joshua's choice. O ! what means all this terror ? Is it not the forerunner of sudden and sore judgments ? He is on his way, He is on his way ; blessed are they, who, when He comes, shall be found in his way, and prepared to meet Him. Worthy Mr Brackel's letter was very refreshful to all who have heard it ; and there are copies thereof Englished,¹ and sent to several corners of the country. He may expect a line from the remnant when they meet, which, God willing, will be on the eleventh of this instant, it being called sooner than expectation, for choosing out of these young men.² But go who will, the work they are to go for is most weighty ; and their going in such a manner is also most weighty : but there is all furniture with Him who is the life and the light of men. O that none may go but those whom the Lord sends, and goes along with ; and whom He helps, and will help to look to Himself, and to Himself only, for all frame and furniture suitable. But we marvel greatly what you mean in your letters, by speaking of ordination against the Spring ; for your worthy brother knows assuredly, that we have none of whom that, or anything like unto it, can be expected.

The acts of the pretended parliament (according to your

¹ Translated into English.—ED.

² This reference is to the young men, students, who were selected by the Societies, to be sent to Holland, to finish their education for the ministry among the persecuted remnant.—ED.

desire), and the book that you wrote, shall come by the next occasion, God willing. Let us know if you received those papers, and that book which we sent with your cousins. We know it is the desire of the people, and we expect it will be done at the meeting, that you should be conjoined with your brother in his commission. We hope we need not desire you, and friends with you, to mind us. So leaving you on Him who is wise, mighty, and gracious, with my endeared love to yourself, and worthy Mr Brackel, and all our godly and concerned friends in our Lord Jesus, I am, much honoured Sir, yours to my full power to serve you in the Lord. JAMES RENWICK.

IV.—FROM MR JAMES RENWICK TO MR HENRY JENKINSON, &c.,
of Newcastle.

EDINBURGH, *October 3, 1682.*

ENDEARED FRIENDS,—We wrote to you and gave you notice of our appointed public fast days, but we never heard if our letter came to your hands ; and our still waiting to hear from you in answer to ours was the cause of our so long delay now. But, however, at this time, our concernedness with you, and the great love we have unto you in the Lord, puts us to it, that we can no longer forbear ; and that because we have heard that one Mr John Hepburn, a preacher, was amongst you ; and we see it assuredly to be our duty to desire you to beware of him, for he is one of those who handle the Word of God deceitfully ; and though he is not altogether so guilty of the public defection, and of compliance, as some, yet he condemns the laudable practices of the godly party, who were helped to give testimony for truth, and against the enemies thereof ; and he is incorporated with the rest in calumniating, reproaching, and condemning those who, in any measure, were kept faithful to their Lord and Master Jesus Christ ; and his incorporation with them therein is enough to us, though there be other variances amongst themselves. *Let us not own the way of God by halves, but wholly, fully, and in all things.* And particularly, he is against our noble and faithful declaration, published at Sanquhar, whereby that wretched tyrant, Charles Stuart, and all his accomplices, were cast off by us, as we ought ; which, alas ! was too long a doing : and by this he buries the blood, and condemns the faithful testimonies of so many worthies who have died upon that head, and therein have been eminently owned

and assisted of the Lord. Indeed, herein he will run this subterfuge, and say, he acknowledges he ought to be rejected and deposed; yea, he may possibly grant that he deserveth death, both by the laws of God and the just laws of man; yet he cannot see how that can be done without another magistrate or magistrates. But we would answer, if he sees no other ways than those, he is but blind, and that is deceitful and double dealing; for magistrates have no power but what is derivative from the people; and magistrates have nothing actually, but what the people have virtually; yea, and more than virtually, for they may actually confer it upon whom they think most fit, for the power of government is natural and radical to them, being unitedly in the whole, and singularly in every one. So whatever magistrates may do, the people may do the same, either when they want magistrates, or when the magistrates fail or refuse to do their duty.

We need insist no further upon the lawfulness of the thing; for is not this most consonant to the law of God and the law of nature? It is also sufficiently cleared by all our most sound divines, particularly worthy Mr Knox, who herein had the approbation of Calvin, and other learned divines of his time, under their handwriting; and it is likewise clear enough by the laudable practice of resolute and worthy reformers. But as to the necessity of the thing—to wit, of the rejecting Charles Stuart, as he is installed this day; hath he any power to govern, but what is established upon the ruins of the land's engagements? and hath not the exercise thereof been still according thereunto? What then can we own in him, if neither the establishment nor the exercise of his authority? And does he act in all things by virtue of his own blasphemous supremacy? The owning of him in less or in more, is the owning thereof, because the supremacy is made the essential of the crown; and it is but one supremacy that he arrogantly hath both in matters civil and ecclesiastical, which is clear from the Explanatory Act of the Supremacy: so that it is essential to the crown, is the same with the crown, and that which is one cannot be divided.

Now, dear friends, what you have done in this, to wit, in your joining with Mr Hepburn, we do not impute it to your wilful stepping aside, but to the insinuation, or unreasonable recommendation of Mr Young, who was hugely overseen therein, which is both a grief and an offence to the remnant. But O! stand still, go not you to them, but let them come to you: *join with none out of the way of God, but labour to bring*

all into it that ye can, yet go not out of it yourselves to fetch them thither; and give not ear to the instruction that causeth to err.

We hope we need not bid you beware of Mr James Welch, for he will soon kyth in his own colours. Labour to walk according to that paper sent by you unto us, and walk with none but those who will walk according thereunto. We are sure if you would pose Mr Hepburn upon these things in your paper, you should not find him to satisfy you. And if you will defend, or continue in your joining with him, or any other who stands where he is, or where he was while he was here, we must deny correspondence with you. But hoping for better things of you, and desiring an answer hereof, we leave you on the Lord for light and life.—I am, your friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

V.—From Mr J. RENWICK to the Rev. WILLIAM BRACKEL,
Minister of the Gospel in Holland.

EDINBURGH, *October 5, 1682.*

MOST REV. SIR,—Our friends when met are intended with one consent to write unto you, in token of thankfulness unto the Lord, for what He hath helped and honoured you to do for Himself; and in token of their soul concernedness with, and real affection for all those whom the Lord helps and honours to follow in his own way, in owning of, adhering to, and contending for the faith once delivered to the saints. Especially they purpose to write in token of their soul concernedness with you, whom the Lord hath so signally helped to advance in his own way, and contend for all his rights and privileges, being carried above the fear of frail mortal man whose breath is in his nostrils, and only fearing Him who is “Lord of lords, and King of kings,” the terrible Majesty of heaven and earth, “the high and lofty One who inhabiteth eternity.” Yet my soul is so united unto you upon that account, and because of your real concernedness and soul sympathy with all of us in Scotland, who desire to be helped of the Lord, to espouse his quarrel to be only ours, and his concernments to be only ours; I say, so united (though little or nothing I can say as I ought) that I cannot keep silent.

But O! what shall I say? Is not the Lord God of hosts worthy and only worthy of all service, if we could serve Him? May not that infinite and transcendant love (in the profound depth of the admiration whereof angels are drowned), which He

bore unto man before the foundations of the world were laid, so ravish and fill our souls, as that we might say, Him only will we serve who loved us ; nothing present or to come shall be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus? O ! is not "his yoke easy, and his burden light?" His cross is no cross, for He bears it Himself, and also those who take it up. His will is holy, just, good, and spiritual in all that He does. O ! what is more desirable than to live and die with Him and for Him? "For our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory ; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen." "Let us not weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not." "It is a faithful saying, if we be dead with Him, we shall also live with Him ; if we suffer, we shall also reign with Him ; if we deny Him, He will also deny us." O ! is not Moses' choice very desirable? Are not "all his ways pleasantness, and his paths peace?" Where is peace to be found? Is it not in his way? and when He gives peace, who can create trouble? He gives, and can give joy which no man can take from us. Now,

Most reverend Sir, my soul desires, while I live, to praise the Lord, for what great things He hath helped you to do, in so nobly, faithfully, and freely witnessing for his noble cause, and sweet Scotland's cause. My soul desires to honour you, because He hath so honoured you ; and to love you, because He loves you, and hath caused you to love and own his cause, and receive his truths in love ; and also to be afflicted in all the afflictions of his people, and to be such a sympathizer, and a burden-bearer with his poor remnant in this land, as that we may say of you, as Paul of the Hebrews, "Ye have had compassion on us in our bonds." O, Sir, go on in his way, and advance valiantly ; be zealous for Him, and He shall animate you—"Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward : for ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise ; for yet a little, and He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith ; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him, saith the Lord." O ! who is he that will harm you if ye be followers of that which is good? Therefore "cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted of?" Now, the Lord let you feed upon his all-sufficiency, and give all

suitable frame and furniture unto you for his work in your hands ; and give you his Spirit, whereby you may go on in his way, with all magnanimity, Christian boldness, and free speaking for Him unto the sons of men !

O, Sir ! do not impute anything said to you in this short and confused line to arrogance in me ; for what may, if mistaken, give occasion thereof, flows only from my concernedness and soul-unison with you. So, at the time, I shall trouble you no farther. But this I must tell you—and I think it is to be remarked, and may be clearly seen all this time—that the terror of the Lord is greatly engraven and legibly written upon the consciences of the compliers with the horrid abominations of this land. They are really deadened, and it is no wonder, for they have forsaken the Lord, and He hath forsaken them. He cannot be found out of his own way. *A guilty conscience is bad company* ; and what means all this terror of sudden and sore judgments from the Lord ? There is not so much spirit, courage, and voidness of slavish fear among any, whether avowed malignants or compliers with them, as amongst the poor remnant, who are desiring to be helped of the Lord in all things to make a right choice. O ! pray for the Lord's return to poor Scotland, and for his appearance unto the rejoicing of his people, and confusion of his adversaries. And pray for him who is, most reverend Sir, yours to his full power to serve you in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

VI.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable the
LAIRD of EARLSTON at Lewarden.

ROTTERDAM, *November 20, 1682.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—It is not a little troublesome to me that I should be in this place so long ; but I have occasion to go away whenever the wind offers : and I hope your honour will be careful to get conveyed unto Scotland, with all expedition, an account of what you think fit to be contained in that letter which is to be written ; for out of Scotland I cannot come, if once it pleases the Lord that I were there, until that I get that letter with me. It will be also very necessary that some should be pitched upon for catechising ; and this must be recommended to the carefulness of some who will see it done at the general meeting. And if J. V. be gotten reclaimed—for

your honour knows that he walked contrary to his own duty, and our appointments, in joining with Mr Hepburn while he was out of the way of God—I say, if he be gotten reclaimed, amongst others he may be one, as I think. It is reported in the Scottish news, that the actually Indulged (so called) ministers are required, either immediately to take their test, otherwise to lay down their charges at the feet of those men of whom they took them up; and if it be so, let the world think what they will, I dare not be sorry thereat, but on the contrary rejoice, because that indulgence hath been, and is yet a stumbling-block unto the people of God. Is not the removing of stumbling-blocks a token of sudden good to his people, how low soever they be brought? It is also reported, that Charles Stuart hath ordained his council in Scotland to proceed against Haltoun, in making him accountable for the mints. Haman's rejoicing is short.

O, Sir, I cannot get the thoughts of the weighty case I left you in, when we parted, out of my mind; but this I think, the Lord is taking several ways with your honour, in discommending all other things unto you, that so He may commend Himself unto your soul, and that you may be kept from rejoicing in anything but Himself alone. When He is the matter of our joy, that is the joy that no man can take from us. O! 'tis Himself that is the portion of his people, and the world cannot deprive them thereof, and this is our comfort.

Remember me to your worthy brother, your lady, and her sister; and as I have been partly an eye, but more an ear witness unto some of the troubles you have been put to upon our blessed Lord's account, so I hope also to be a witness of the everlasting inconceivable joy you shall be filled with, when those who overcome shall be sitting in white robes, upon thrones, with crowns upon their heads, judging the world. O are you not high up now! are you not far ben¹ in the King's palace, when you are sitting upon thrones, giving your "Amen" to the sentence which He will pass upon the world. Walk worthy of the name by which you are called. So leaving you on Him who is the Rock of Ages, whose work is perfect, for perfecting what concerns you, I am, your honour's servant in all Christian duty,

JAMES RENWICK.

¹ That is, near the King, admitted to his presence.—ED.

VII.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to the much honoured
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

ROTTERDAM, *January 18, 1683.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—I received your letter, but the intervening of some dispensations put me so that I was not in case for answering it. Our friend G. H. having written to you, therefore I shall not now speak, either of our progress or of what sad news otherwise we have heard. The Lord help us to patience, for we have need of it, and make us submissive to his will, who can do nothing but good. O, they are happy who are well away! and they are happy who will be carried through, for there are sad days coming, and these lands shall not escape. I cannot express the weighty impressions I have of it, especially since the last fast-day that they had in this province, in the morning whereof I fell into a dream, and thought that I was preaching upon these words, Zech. vii. 5, at the end of the verse—“Did ye at all fast even unto me?” (spoken by the Lord), and thought that I brought in this from it, that they were hypocritical, formal, and outside folk, or outward only in their fastings, that did not fast unto the Lord. And secondly, They who fasted and yet retained sin, and refused to let it go. And then made application to many particular sins in these lands. I think little of this as a dream, however it hath left some impression upon me. O to be helped to obey our Lord’s command, and to exhort others thereunto—“Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all those things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man” (Luke xxi. 36). O dear Sir! I cannot express the case I am in, partly with our dear friends falling into the hands of our Lord’s enemies, and partly with my being so long detained from my brethren. I cannot tell what may be before my hand; but my longings to be in Scotland I cannot express. I would spare no pains or travel, and fear no hazard; only, I do not think it my duty to go on deliberately in a seen hazard, where there is no probability of safety. Oh! I say, that the Lord would be pleased to provide some occasion which might be my duty to embrace; and that He would order all things aright for the enlargement of his kingdom. O precious kingdom! and O noble way that He is taking this day to enlarge it, by stretching out the borders thereof with blood! His house is a costly house, and it is well worthy of costly

cementing. I hope I need not bid you labour to submit cheerfully to the holy and wise will of the Lord, and be strengthening unto those that are with you. The Lord strengthen, the Lord comfort, and give Himself instead of all things to them, and to you. This is, and shall be the earnest prayer of him who is, much honoured Sir, yours to serve you in the Lord, while he hath a being in time,

JAMES RENWICK.

VIII.—From Mr J. RENWICK to the much honoured
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

ROTTERDAM, *January 22, 1683.*

RIGHT HON. AND DEAR SIR,—This afternoon I received two letters from you, wherein you call me unto you, by the desire of that worthy lady and her family. I am very sorry I cannot get you so soon answered as I would desire: for this day or tomorrow I cannot come, being detained here by a certain dispensation fallen out, of which I cannot now write; but when met (if the Lord will) I shall give you an account of the matter and manner of it. However, upon Monday I resolve to come away, and shall stay so long as I may and can be serviceable to any there. But O! that I could commend the Lord and his noble way to the world. I must say this to his praise, that He is daily giving me confirmations of his way, and engaging me thereunto, and folding me in all circumstances with his own concernments. Being in haste, I shall say no more; recommending you and that worthy family to the Lord, for all you stand in need of, I am, yours to serve you in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

IX.—From Mr J. RENWICK to the much honoured
Mr R. HAMILTON.

GRONINGEN, *February 6, 1683.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—O that now when I write to you there were for every drop of ink that falls from my pen a tear falling from my eye! There is more than cause enough for it, yea, I cannot say but I am made to see the same; for, in some measure, I see and know the poor afflicted, tossing and wandering remnant, in such a case as the waters have overflowed their heads, the Lord having covered Himself with a cloud. But

for all this (woes me !) my eye doth not rightly and thoroughly affect my heart. O ! if we could consider, that the Lord doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men ; and then reflect upon our griefs and afflictions in this day, we would be put, with amazement, to wonder at the greatness of our sins. And instead of coming to the Lord with this in our mouths and in our hearts, " That which we see not, teach thou us : wherein we have offended, we will offend no more," we are still adding sin to sin, which are both the tokens and the causes of the Lord's displeasure. O ! there is nothing, I think, so sad as the spiritual judgments of the Lord, and nothing betokens so much of his displeasure. O, Sir ! cry and wrestle with the Lord, that He would preserve a remnant from being swallowed up by this weighty cloud of wrath hanging over our heads, ready to break forth, now when we are so ripening for the same.

I shall let you know my mind in all our particulars, but as yet I can say nothing ; but as for my own present case, you may know that from what I have said ; for those things that ought and that I see, do not rightly affect my heart. And by seeing this also, I am in a confused, anxious, and disconsolate condition at present ; yet I dare not say but the Lord is kind, though I be froward : and I think, that which my soul would take as the greatest proof of his kindness, would be a melting frame of spirit from Himself. But O ! in all cases, let us have recourse to that Rock that is higher than we, where we shall find comfort for our hearts that are perplexed ; and let us lay our all under the feet of all men, but quit a hoof of God's matters to no man. LET US BE LIONS IN GOD'S CAUSE, AND LAMBS IN OUR OWN. Remember me to your brother E. and sisters. I hope, God willing, to write to him shortly. I am, much honoured Sir, your soul sympathiser,
 JAMES RENWICK.

X.—From Mr J. RENWICK to Mrs J. H. at Lewarden,
 in Friesland.

GRONINGEN, *February 13, 1683.*

WORTHY MADAM,—The sense of my duty will not let me omit writing unto you ; although, if it would please the Lord, I would desire a clearer sight of some things than I have at present, so that I might be admitted to tell you my thoughts more distinctly : but his way with me is in the depths. I cannot tell what method He would have me to take in some

things; for I find my ordinary studies that are more directly for exercitation than for edification, put me out of a concerned frame with the afflictions of Joseph. And then seeing this, when I set upon other things, my thoughts begin to slight these ordinary means. What the Lord would have me to do therein, as yet I wot not. O that He that hitherto hath condescended would condescend to let me know what course He would have me to take, and make me willing to follow the same. O it is hard to carry within measure, and to give everything its own place. O let us earnestly labour to get a sympathizing frame of spirit kept up, with that poor, afflicted, scattered, and broken remnant in Scotland; for I observe this palpably, that I am never in any sort of a good frame, but when they are lying near my heart, and when their afflictions are touching me. There are many things that are very discouraging like; but there is comfort, Jesus Christ is a King, and seeing He is a King, He will have subjects; yea, He will reign till He put all his enemies under his feet. Shall not the pleasure of the Lord prosper in his hand? "He will see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied." And may not our souls feed upon the ravishing thoughts of the pureness of that Church that He will have in Scotland? What shall be the end of all these things? shall they not all tend to the purging of Jacob from his sin?

O Madam, live near the Lord, and labour to get Him present with you. His presence will make all trials sweet. Who would not come with Him from Amana—I say with Him from Amana? "He is the chief among ten thousand; his countenance is comely as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars; yea, He is altogether lovely." A sight of the preciousness that is in Him will cause us to go through fire and water with Him and for Him. Will not the consolations of his Spirit bear up the soul in all its difficulties? especially when it is aye made to see in the end, that it could not want one dram-weight of its cup? And O the great need that there is of the consolations of his Spirit in this day! For I have these thoughts this long time, that many would be trysted with such dispensations, as would not so much call for light to lead them, as for heart comforting grace to bear up their spirits in them. I think some of our dispensations will be to some more discouraging than darkening. O mind sweet Scotland, and him who is your ladyship's servant in all Christian duty,

JAMES RENWICK.

XI.—From Mr J. RENWICK to the much honoured
Mr R. HAMILTON.

GRONINGEN, *February 22, 1683.*

HONOURED SIR,—I cannot express my obligation to you for writing to me, a poor empty nothing; and considering my present case, your letter was very seasonable: for my great exercise is, and was, how to know the motions of the Spirit, and what He would have me do in the circumstances in which I stand. You have given some marks thereof, which I think indeed are very holding. But in this I must reverence a higher hand than yours. I have, since I saw you last, had as sad conflicts, yea more sad than ever I had heretofore; but O that I could bless and praise the name of the only holy and wise God. There is not one dram in the mixture of my cup that I can want; yea, I see a necessity for all that I meet with: and though I have had very sad conflicts, the Lord (O infinite condescendence!) hath made me to possess sweet hours both in the night and day. And as to my case, I may say, “The Lord stays his rough wind in the day of his east wind;” for notwithstanding that “deep calleth unto deep,” yet the Lord keeps my spirit, in some measure, stayed and stablished as to that. But when I ponder other circumstances, I am put to many strange thoughts; yet the Lord makes me even feed many times upon this, and that even with great joy, that as He is dealing with his Church this day, so is He dealing with me; yea, I see not one circumstance in the one, but I must see it in the other: yea, and is not this matter of great joy? The Lord forbid that I should desire to be otherwise dealt with than his Church! Why should it not be so with us? But O, Sir, I see a cloud of wrath ready to fall out; and I fear that we will not be found free of it. O may not anything be easily borne; but how can this be borne? O for grace to turn speedily and repent—it may be the Lord would repent Him of the evil. The Lord is calling for mourning and humiliation; and the Lord will aye, I think, give us stroke upon stroke, and blow upon blow, until He get that effected. If my heart deceive me not, I could submit (at least desire to submit) to anything in time; but to this, viz., to have a deep hand in drawing more wrath forth, I cannot submit, I ought not to submit: O that the Lord would rather take me away in the midst of my days. But I ought not to misbelieve; He can

keep my feet from falling. He can perfect strength in my weakness. But this is the way that the Lord would have me to take ; yea, I think assuredly this is the course He would have me to fall upon—to seek all that I need from Himself by prayer. For to the praise of his free grace I must speak it, when He helps me either to pray or meditate, He is not wanting ; but in other things I do not find Him. However, I think this may be the cause of it. I cannot win to use them and keep them in their own places. But there are some things good in themselves, and good when made right use of ; but to me they are as Saul's armour to David, I can put them on, but I cannot walk with them ; and I cannot say but I could put them on, unless I should lie of the Lord, who (blessed be his name) hath given me, in some measure, a disposition.

O, Sir, as your letter was very refreshful, on the one hand, so, upon the other, it was very weighty unto me : because you say the trouble you told me of is not yet away. But I fear there may be much of a temptation in it, for I cannot see cause for trouble upon that account. But my hearing that you are troubled is no surprisal unto me, for you were often brought before me since I parted with you, and you were aye represented as one overwhelmed and weighted, and this was sometimes troublesome unto me. But when I thought upon the case of the Lord's Church, I was then made to think, why should I wish it to be otherwise with you than it is with your mother ? But is not the Lord taking all ways with us, to spean [wean] us from all things ; yea, even to make us denied to one another ? He will have us to take Himself for all our contentment and satisfaction. O noble contentment ! O sweet satisfaction ! Other airths may fail us, but the Lord will never fail any that put their trust in Him : and whatever the Lord hath to do with you in any place, as He calls you forth, so He will also, in his own blessed time, lead you whither you should go : "By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed ; and he went out, not knowing whither he went" (Heb. xi. 8). O, Sir, pray for sweet Scotland ; pray that zeal and tenderness may be kept there : and pray for him who is, much honoured Sir, your soul's sympathizer and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XII.—FROM MESSRS JAMES RENWICK, WILLIAM BOYD, and JOHN FLINT, to their friends in Scotland.

GRONINGEN, *February 24, 1683.*

DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,—It is a great part of our duty to be mindful of you, to be keeping up a sympathizing frame of spirit with you, and to be wrestling with the Lord upon the behalf of his broken down work, and precious truths, which are set at nought and trampled upon. But O! we fail in all duties, and come short in this also. Yet we may be persuaded, if we shall forget you, the Lord will forget us; and if we take ease to ourselves in this day of Jacob's trouble, the Lord will lead us forth with the workers of iniquity, when He shall cause peace to rest upon his Israel. O! dear friends, let us join all hand in hand together, and wrestle with the Lord. Who knows but He may come and leave a blessing behind Him? Let us cry unto Him, and refuse to be comforted until He come and comfort our mother that is cast out in the wilderness. Are not all the Lord's dispensations calling for this at all our hands, to return unto the Lord our God, for we have fallen by our iniquity? "For Asshur shall not save us, we will not ride upon horses; for in the Lord the fatherless findeth mercy." If it were so with us, would not the Lord heal our backslidings? He would love us freely, and his anger would be turned away. O! may not our souls rejoice to think upon the many, the noble, the strange ways that the Lord hath taken to purge away our dross, and to make us a people zealous of good works. And, upon the other hand, should we not be ashamed at ourselves, because the Lord's dealing with us hath had so little effect; for we have not yet learned the language of the rod and Him who hath appointed it. O! He is taking all ways with us, to cause us take Himself, and Himself only for our all. Why hath He brought us so low, but that we may be made high, to see our strength only to be in Himself, and that his hand may be only seen in raising us up? Why doth He suffer us to be brought into so many difficulties, but that He may manifest and magnify Himself in taking us out of them, and carrying us through them? and also to try our patience, whether we will bear his indignation, because we have sinned against Him? We think there is nothing will help us so well to bear patiently, as a full sight of the wrongs that we have done to the work of a holy God. We would then be made to say we are "afflicted less than our

iniquities deserve." We would be then put to desire no deliverance from the yoke of our oppression, without a deliverance from the yoke of our transgressions. And why hath the Lord brought us to such a pass both as to our spiritual and natural food, being deprived of the one as to the public ordinances, and brought to great straits as to the other ; but that He, for both, may be only depended upon. He will have his people's eyes this day to be upon nothing but Himself for all that they need. O noble contrivance ! O noble means that the Lord makes use of to get Himself made great to his people. It is not enough to us that He lives and reigns. Are we not rich enough, who have Him to go unto ? O ! let us remember that the Lord hath said, "When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them. I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water : that they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the holy One of Israel hath created it " (Is. xli. 17, 18, 20). This is the thing the Lord will do unto you, and He will have Himself only to be seen in it. Your children shall have this to say unto their children, The Lord brought our fathers into the wilderness, that He might shew them his wondrous and mighty works there. He made them to wander from mountain to mountain, in the peril of their lives, that He might teach them to seek rest only in Himself, who is that true rest, who is the mighty Rock in a weary land ; and that they might betake themselves only to Him, who is life itself. He made them to travel in the wilderness without leaders and teachers, that He who teacheth as never man taught, might teach them, yea, be their only teacher, who is "the true Shepherd," that makes his own sheep to hear his voice. He discovered unto them the treachery of hirelings, that thereby his care of his own sheep might be made manifest. He led them through a valley of salt-pits, that his skill in leading them might appear. Yea, He suffered rocks to be upon all hands, that his own might have Himself only to glory in for guiding him by these. He brought them into all extremities, that He might have opportunity to do them good, and that they might be made to see Himself only therein. O dear friends, as the children of Israel had many of the Lord's wonders to tell in leading their fathers out of Egypt through the wilderness, so shall your children have many of his wonders to tell in leading you through such wilder-

nesses ; but the carcasses of the murmurers must first fall and dung the land.

O therefore trust in God ; it must be by faith that you shall overcome. Through faith you shall quench the violence of fire ; out of weakness you shall be made strong. You are compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses, who have all obtained a good report through faith ; they “ had trial of cruel mockings ; they were stoned, sawn asunder, tempted, and slain with the edge of the sword ; they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth. Yea, they were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.” Therefore, “ lay aside every weight, and run with patience the race that is set before you, looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of your faith, who is touched with the feeling of all your infirmities.” Therefore go boldly unto the throne of his grace, that we may find grace to help in time of need. And seeing you have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, hold fast your profession. O be zealous for Him, “ who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross and despised the shame.” He says unto you—“ I will never leave you nor forsake you ; so that ye may boldly say, The Lord is our helper, and we will not fear what man can do unto us.” As trouble from the world abounds, let your love to God and zeal for Him increase ; that will be a good mark of true zeal. O be zealous, be zealous. There is a generation rising up, that will wish to have been living in our days, that they might have given a proof of their zeal for God. For ourselves, we wot not well what to say ; but we must be otherwise framed and disposed, ere the Lord make any use of us. The case of this day is extraordinary ; and whom the Lord will make use of in any piece of work, He will also give more than an ordinary frame. He will have them humbled, He will have them self-denied, He will have them filled with zeal, He will have them to be lions in his cause. O pray that the Lord would work his own work, and make use of whom He will to be instruments ; and, dear friends, pray for us who desire to be your companions in tribulation, and servants in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

WILL. BOYD.

JO. FLINT.

XIII.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON
at Lewarden.

GRONINGEN, *March 6, 1683.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—I received your letter with worthy Mr Brackel's, which were very surprising to me, in respect of the circumstances of the times. The sense of the work, together with my own unfitness, came so upon my spirit, that I began to give place to this resolution—that I would desire some more time; but therein I could find no peace, the mind being tortured and racked. Upon the other hand, when I considered the afflicted and affecting case of the remnant, both in respect of open adversaries, and of treacherous sitters at ease, who stand in the cross way—I say, when I considered how the glorious truths of God were wronged, by cruelty against them on the one hand, and perfidious treachery and double-dealing on the other, I thought it would be an honourable thing, the Lord calling me thereto, and fitting me therefor, if it were but to give one public testimony against the same. Yet many objections arose in the heart, flowing all from the sense of my unfitness; but the Lord (O praise be to his holy name!) answered them all with your letters, and with that word, “I have laid help upon one that is mighty” (Psal. lxxxix. 19). Also, I thought that it was so like the way of his dealing with his Church, and I saw so much of glorious wisdom and infinite love toward me in it (for if I had anything in me, I would be ready to forget Him, and not to resort to that inexhaustible and precious treasure; but now I was put to run to Himself, having no other airth [refuge] to betake me to), that I could find no place for my objections more. But oh! a weighty work indeed; I see that we can never run to Him to get the weight of anything taken off our spirits and laid on Himself, till He let us once find somewhat of the weightiness thereof, and get it, as it were, laid heavy upon us. O! I say a weighty work indeed! Who is fit for opening up the mysteries of salvation? Who is fit for declaring our sweet Lord Jesus Christ prophet, priest, and king in Zion without any competitor, and for opening up the same? Who is fit for dispensing those glorious benefits of the covenant of redemption? O! who is sufficient for these things? And why is He calling poor unworthy nothing me out to such a great and glorious work? I think that He is saying, that “the excellency of the power may be of Himself, and not of

me." So having the mouth of all objections stopped, I offer myself in all trembling, fear, and humility, yet having great reason to believe in Him for all things, though I be altogether unfit. O dear Sir, wrestle, wrestle, and desire all true lovers of Zion to wrestle with the Lord, that you and we may be directed in this great affair. O set time apart, and seek the mind of the Lord therein. You will meet with difficulties in it; but I hope the Lord will have a care of his own work, and direct you wisely. For my own part, I desire nothing but what may be for the advantage of the cause; but I hope the Lord hath so framed my affections, that whatever is seen not to be advantageous, I shall not desire.

We desire humbly to thank you for your books—the Lord will repay you; and as for your letter from Scotland, which you sent to me, it was very refreshful. I am sure the Lord moved you to send it; for I was made therein to see a great proof of the Lord's condescendency to poor me. That which it contains of Andrew Young was the thing which I was expecting, for he was still brought before me, and represented as a man full of bitter passion; yea, he was so brought still in my way, that the day, or two days before I received the letter, I said several times to my neighbours, that I was sure I would hear something of him. O! that I had the tongue of the learned, to set forth the praise of that so glorious and excellent, yet so condescending God. O! there is none that know Him but they will love Him. The many proofs of his kindness and condescendency make me many times to cry out, "What is man that He is mindful of him, or the son of man that He should visit him?" But He loves because He loves; and there can be no other reason given for it. I shall trouble you no further at the time, but present my love and service to your worthy brother. I hope he is not unconcerned at this time. As for his going to Scotland, the Lord will direct him what to do; and I shall labour, through the Lord's strength, to obey your answer hereof. O Sir! wrestle, wrestle, and desire all to wrestle with the Lord, that He would carry on his own work, and get glory to Himself in fitting instruments, and in making his people a zealous people, a holy people, a self-denied people.—I am, much honoured Sir, your sympathizing friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XIV.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to the much honoured
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

AMSTERDAM, *March 30, 1683.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—After I had sent away your French mail, and a letter with it, I received yours, but the post being just now going away, I have no time to write. But what would I, or could I say, but only desire to be submissive to the Lord's will, who hath made a necessary separation betwixt us, that I cannot have the comfort and advantage of your company? But though you be absent from me as to bodily presence, you are not long out of my mind. I wish I may get you kept in your own place, and kept from murmuring and discontent at my want. I resolve to pass for a while under the name of James Bruce. I have no time now to write to these worthy ladies; but before I go to Scotland I shall see to get it done; yet if once I were there, I think I would know better how to write of matters. The Lord himself be with you.—I am, much honoured Sir, yours to serve you in the Lord while I have a being in time,

JAMES RENWICK.

XV.—To Mrs J. H. at Lewarden, in Friesland.

GRONINGEN, *March 31, 1683.*

WORTHY MADAM,—I have no time to write anything to you, but I hope you will not think me so far out of my duty as to be unmindful of your case; for I am very sensible of the circumstances wherein you stand. However, though your trials be many, and your fears not few, yet I think not your case strange—the like hath happened to the Lord's people. O take all well out of the Lord's hand. Look to his purposes in his dispensations, and then you will be made to read love to you in the saddest of them. Away with scimpit [scant] sense, which constructs [thinks] aye God's heart to be as his face is. Faith is a noble thing—it soars high, and can read love in God's heart when his face frowns. Have you not reason to construct [think] well of Him? Bode good upon his hand. Your evening of sorrow shall be turned into an everlasting morning of joy. Let the faith of this sweeten your present case unto you. The Lord be with you all. Mind him who is, worthy Madam, your friend and servant in the Lord, and a sympathizer with you in your trials,

JAMES RENWICK.

XVI.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to the much honoured
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

GRONINGEN, *April 23, 1683.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—I received the enclosed yesterday, but I have no time to write anything, for the occasion is now going ; only I have written this day to Mr Brackel at L., and by the Lord's gracious free condescension, I was put and kept in a good frame all the while. O ! that I could praise Him for his free, free love. He lets me see much sin, and yet lets me see also that He does not contend for the same, which cannot but be great matter of wonder. No sight I think is so sweet as that sight, for it is backed with admiration of his free love, and also with self-loathing. Hoping that you will be mindful of poor unworthy me, as with my whole heart I desire to be of you—I am, much honoured Sir, yours at command to serve you in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XVII.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to Mrs JEAN HAMILTON,
at Lewarden.

GRONINGEN, *April 25, 1683.*

WORTHY MADAM,—I thought it my duty to acquaint you with what great things the Lord hath done in this place, for his own noble cause, and for us poor, weak, empty nothings. For when upon Thursday last, being the 19th of this instant, Mr J. F. and I went in before the Synod, which was then sitting, and sought ordination from them, they, for the most part not knowing us, after we had removed for a little space, began to ask among themselves what we were seeking, having heard something thereof from ourselves. Whereupon, first Dom. Philingius, then Dom. Albringha rose up and declared unto them somewhat of the case of our Church : at which some of them fell out into tears, and said, Though the kings of the earth should be against them, they would go on in our affairs. Whereupon we were called in again unto them, and three men were appointed for our trials, and the tenth of the next month, for the day [of ordination], the ministers of this town having undertaken the expense which we ought to have been at. So having many things to do, I shall detain your ladyship no further. But O ! is not this great matter of praise, that the Lord should let his

own hand be so much seen in procuring such testimonies to his noble cause. Yea, before He want a testimony, "the very stones shall be made to cry out." Therefore, come and let us worship Him, come and let us exalt his name together. He reigns, and therefore let his followers be glad.

Recommending you to his fatherly care: hoping that you will not be unmindful of poor unworthy me, upon whom the Lord hath laid so many obligations to be for Him, and whom He is now calling forth to his vineyard in such a weak condition. But my sufficiency is of Him, and to be found faithful is all my desire. My love and service to your worthy sister, the lady and her children. —Worthy Madam, yours to my full power to serve you in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XVIII.—To the LADY EARLSTON, YOUNGER.

GRONINGEN, *May* 5, 1683.

WORTHY MADAM,—I received your ladyship's letter, but I am sorry I had not the time to write sooner back to you. However, I hope you will excuse me, considering the circumstances I stand in at this time. Your letter represents to me a troubled case, but I think not a bad case, because you have the sense of it upon your spirit. You say, A hiding God, who can bear it? O that I could see those pleasant days, to hear many crying that cry, to hear many signifying their desire after Himself, by crying out, they could not want Him, that they could not be content without Him; yea, and that they could not be content with anything else, being wilful in the matter. It is true, indeed, they who know what his sensible presence is, will not get borne up in his conceived absence. If I could, I would only desire to mourn over their unperceiving temper, who can equally bear up in both. But when the soul, not being filled with sense, pants after Him "as the hart pants after the water-brooks," and getting up, and running through the fields, cries out, "Saw ye Him whom my soul loveth?" I cannot but think that the Lord is eminently present with that soul, though not to its own apprehension. Yea, and though there be no changes in the Lord, nor in his love; yet of all times, as to the outletting thereof, He is at such a time most fasht [troubled] to keep it in. Who knows not that love, the more it is covered, the more it burns; as fire, the more it is covered, the more it smokes, unless it be extinguished? For "whom He loves, He loves

unto the end." O let us not misconstruct [misunderstand] Him, for He dow [will] not abide it. For mine own part, I am made many times to go and bless his holy name, because of his withdrawing ; for I see much more of his love manifested therein, than if He were sensibly present ; because then I am made to see many things in myself I saw not before ; for it is most difficult to carry aright upon the mount. Do we not find this, that in such cases we forget ourselves many times ? As Peter, when he was with our Lord on the mount and saw his glory, said, " It is good for us to be here ; let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias ; " which Luke notes with that, that " he knew not what he said." O ! let us study that noble life of faith which the Lord is at so much pains to learn [teach] us ; for it is faith followed with holiness that all the promises are made unto, not one unto sense.

Your ladyship writes, that since you came unto this land the Lord's way hath not been ordinary with you. I think it looks the liker his way that it is so ; and though (possibly at the time) you cannot see what is the language thereof, I am sure that afterwards He will let you see it. We have the swellings of Jordan to pass through yet, and the Lord seems to be training you up for what is before your hand, learning you only to live the life of faith. O let us wait upon Him, for we many times loss [lose] our aims because we want patience to wait on a little. Let us lie near Himself, that we may not be confused nor surprised in a day of fiery trial, not knowing where to run. As for that trouble which ariseth from the finding of friends like to take offence at your not going to the kirk, I confess, in its own place, it is a matter of concernment. But we have One who is higher, whom we must look to that we offend not ; and to seek their countenance such a way, I dare not, nor will not counsel you to it. Labour to follow the Lord leading you, for I think your case, in that particular, is from the Lord ; and although that ye are humbled with your Sabbath days, being your worst days, be not too much troubled, for the Lord seems only to be trying you ; and if Satan get in his foot, and make you to question duty for the want of sense, he will get his end mightily gained. O what is the matter though all the world should forsake us, and though all men should turn against us ; if He be for us, we need not care. O sweet word, Though father and mother should forsake us, yet He will not. And though our heart and flesh faint and fail us, yet He never will fail us. O

Madam! I have not time to say what I would, but I shall omit the rest until meeting, which, if the Lord will, shall be shortly. Our ordination is going on; but, for ought I think, Mr J. F. will not go thorow (fully through). O! pray, pray that the Lord may let his hand be seen, with poor weak, unworthy me. Without Him I can do nothing. O what excessive madness will it be for me to go on without Himself. If He go not with me, I pray that He may not carry me up. My love and service to your worthy sister and all your family.—I am, your ladyship's servant to serve you in all things in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XIX.—From the Honourable Mr ROBERT HAMILTON¹ to some Friends in Scotland.

LEWARDEN, *May* 24, 1683.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND DEAR BRETHREN,—Though, as the Lord knows, I have been often made to desire and resolve upon a cottage in the wilderness, yet it has seemed good in his eyes to have me otherwise employed, and kept up, not only at home, but in all places of my pilgrimage, as a beacon on the top of a mountain, and a witness for his precious and honourable cause, interest, and people, against all his and their enemies, whether countrymen or strangers. And, however my real insufficiency and great emptiness did often terrify and affright me, at first sight, to venture upon so hot encounters as I have been trysted with, yet He, in his great love and infinite condescendency, spared no pains (as, forsooth, I had been somewhat, and could have done something for Him) once to allure me, and next, as it were, to get my consent to the service. When He did let me find (O! wonder of wonders!) in some measure what He would do for his own name's sake, in abundantly furnishing, wonderfully leading on, and honourably bringing me off; that, O praise to his glorious name! He made it often not only astonishing to myself, but admirable to onlookers, and the greatest of my enemies. For once having entered and got me to a cheerful submission and rejoicing in his will and way, I may say I had often no more ado but to “stand still, and see his salvation;” and though He used his

¹ It was thought proper to insert this letter of Mr Hamilton's in this collection, as it is not amongst those of his published some time ago, in a pamphlet called *The Christian's Conduct*, &c.

own way in correcting my untowardness and misbelief, yet, O my friends! in such a way that the world could never discern it. O what am I? Such a lump of sin, that I ever was counted worthy to be so dealt with, and chastised with such sweet, sugared, and honourable rods; no less than the golden rod wherewith our lovely Lord, Heir of the inheritance, was stricken with. Courage, my honourable brethren. Your chafings, wanderings, fightings, and contendings for matchless Him, cannot but be infinitely more glorious than all the painted, crowned vanities of the world. O they bear their reward with them, that the world knows not of; and no wonder, when dealt out by such a lovely hand, and in the sight of such a noble General, who deals out to every man his post and his blows, and furnishes accordingly, and is most concerned Himself in the battle, and in the carriage of his own, that they may be all honourable, and receive the crown, and the noble preparations of eternal glory with Himself through eternity, which He has laid up and purchased with his own blood. O continue, continue to the end, and He and you shall yet judge the tyrants, and the furious bulls of Bashan here below; keep by Him, and you shall get the victory, yea, and be more than conquerors.

Now, my Christian friends, having this so noble an occasion, I could not but give you some small account as to the Lord's leading in and through this great and last peace of service, not knowing but it may be the last edition of service to you and the land that ever I shall be honoured to perform; as also, hoping it may be for your encouraging and strengthening, and a mean to endear you to the bearer. And, I hope, through the grace of God, the great Master of the assemblies, his embassage and master-like furniture shall be more than able to commend Him unto you all. I have been made to think, if he might be the first stone of our new building—and indeed to some in this place, his first sermon was to them, as was the laying of the foundation of the second temple, “with weeping and rejoicing.” But however it be, I hope the Lord shall get great glory by it, and yet more and more approve, as He hath hitherto done in a wonderful way. But

As to the Lord's preparing and leading me on to this work, it was thus:—He hath been pleased sometimes (praise, O praise to his name!) to condescend to me, a poor worm, to let me see something of his stately goings and managements in this day, as his working out of his most noble and most intricate pieces of service, through poor despised means and feckless

[feeble] instruments, and that both of the ministers and others; as also his most glorious victories obtained over the enemies, when seemingly they were most conquering; as also, making many as prophets in and for his house, giving warning of the trials that were to come, and partly as come, and of the defections, with great blessings on them that should faithfully stand out. Indeed, Balaam-like, the most of them, and now all of them in the enemies' camp, are styling themselves as head of the rebels, and chief in the rebellion against those who, through the blessing of the Lord, took with the warning, and are to this day standing faithfully to their post; as also his making the greatest of our enemies (even when our Elias were taken away) on their death-beds confirming to the remnant, in being their own heralds, denouncing the righteous judgments of God against themselves and their posterity; and in all, vindicating the poor wrestling remnant, whom they in their health delighted to butcher, and breathing out their last, foretelling the glorious days that should be yet in Scotland, with the raising of that buried-like cause again. As also his righteous judgment, and holy justice, in taking the discipline of his own house out of the hands of the perfidious shepherds, who, at their best, in a terrible manner misemployed it. O what stately goings! doing more as to the discovery of jugglers, mockers, and hypocrites, than the wit of man could have done in a generation. And it is observable, that in a special way it reaches those who looked upon themselves, and would have others to do so, as above all reproofs and censures; so that if any poor thing, out of a holy zeal and tenderness, had but ventured to reprove a minister, it was as lese-majesty, and no more peace for them. O then the righteousness of God! Let us fall in love with it, and his infinite love in managing that which was so grievously mismanaged; and in so wealing [selecting] our rods, that he that runs may read our sin in our judgment. For how has He stirred up one within ourselves, blasphemously 'clothing himself with that supremacy, to drive out and punish (and He shall yet punish in another way than ever) for that horrid supremacy that did rage in our best times amongst professors, and especially ministers, and to this day doth as fast cleave to them and the generation as ever. O glorious! O stately goings! who, notwithstanding that He hides himself, yet abundantly shows that He is God and King of Jacob, though "riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass," yet king of Zion, and matter of rejoicing to all the daughters thereof. O noble

ground of rejoicing, when He gives out the order, and tunes the instrument to that effect, when it neither can nor will mis-give. And O! unspeakable love and tenderness! in keeping up hitherto a remnant, witnessing and contending as nobly and valiantly this day as ever; having it to declare before the world, that they have hitherto lacked nothing; and no wonder, I cannot but think, that in a special way the credit of our Lord, so to speak, is engaged for that land, and for you, who have so eminently ventured soul and body in his hand.

Now, thus as to his preparing of me; next as to his leading of me.

When our worthy friend Mr Renwick came last over, I was very inquisitive (being for a long time greatly weighted with that business) to know of two things from him—1st. How it was betwixt him and the Lord as to his state and interest; 2dly. As to his inward encouragement and call from the Lord as to his undertaking that great work of the ministry—to both which I had very great satisfaction from him, as also of his lively uptakings of the Lord's way with his Church and people in this day, all which were engaging to me. After his parting with me and going to Groningen, I was made to hear, as it were, continually in my ears, "By whom shall Jacob arise, for he is very small?" Wherewith I was for a time greatly weighted, till it pleased the Lord, after the same manner, to give me that other word, as I thought an answer of the former: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." And by this the Lord, as it were anew again, let me see his glorious and stately dealings, after the same as formerly, viz., his passing by that which the world calls "great parts"—learning, policy, and worldly wisdom, and the idols of this generation; and not only so, but He has had them, and to this day has them, all mustered against Him; and O the noble foils they have gotten already, and that by the world's fools, from babes and sucklings trained up in Christ's school. While I lay again wonderfully led in, and wondering at these things, I received a line from our friend Mr Renwick, with a short account of a notable piece of soul's exercise he was in at that present, which was after this manner:—"To the praise of his free Grace I must speak it) when He helps me either to pray or meditate He is not wanting, but in other things I do not find Him. However, I think this may be the cause of it—I cannot win to use and keep them in their own places: but there are some things good in themselves and good when made right use of, but to me

they are as Saul's armour to David—I can put them on, but I cannot walk with them; and I cannot say but I could put them on, unless I should lie of the Lord, who (blessed be his name) hath given me in some measure a disposition.”¹

After the reading over of his letter, I found my heart greatly tied to him, and was brought into a pleasant frame of calmness of spirit. But again, in two or three days, I was brought into great perplexities for the case of the Church in general, and more especially for my mother-church; but I thought I found always my former solution sounding within me, and that with great power, yet not so as perfectly to calm me: till some days after, Mr Renwick wrote another letter to my sister concerning his soul's case, which I also, as the Lord helped me, returned my thoughts of. And the evening after, going out to walk, I was strongly overpowered with the impression that Mr Renwick was presently to be ordained, and that I must lay out myself therein; and as I thought, won to great certainty, that whatever difficulties should be in the way, they should be removed, for He himself should concern himself in it. While thus, I went to our worthy friend Mr Brackel, and laid out the whole case to him; who no sooner heard of it, but he was as one out of himself, with the great satisfaction and joy he had in it, which helped to my strengthening. Whereupon we resolved to write presently to Mr Renwick anent it, and that without the least thoughts or relation to the other two; and having but small time, we wrote but in short to him; which letter you may see from himself. As it came to his hands, he showed it to the other two, who, on what grounds I know not, resolved to concern themselves alike in the affair, as if the letter had been written to all of them. And after some days, Mr Renwick sent us a very satisfying and refreshing letter, for our encouragement to move further in it; as also the other two, pretending the same clearness, wrote to me thereanent, which indeed was both surprising and weighty to me, on many accounts, for the Lord, from my very first hearing of them named, led me in a quite contrary way as to them than to the other; and I think I am not, and alas for it! disappointed of any of them, turn out as they will.

Now as to the difficulties I had to wrestle with, and our Lord's noble managing of his own cause, and poor worms concerned in it, it was thus—1st. Our friend Mr Brackel had not only a great inclination, but told me, after the receiving of the letters, that he was fully determined that they should all of

¹ See Letter XI, page 70.

them be ordained at Embden, which I durst not consent to, for the main man intended to have the management of it was Cocceian in his judgment, though he seemingly pretended otherwise; however, I could not get him off that. A second reason, as I told him, of my being against it was, that since the Lord had moved Groningen to own us, and to show kindness to us in our low estate, we could not pass by them without first giving them the offer. However, nothing could prevail, and we were like to lose our friend in it, as also others of my friends at Lewarden, who would not condescend to let me go from them. Yet I durst not yield, neither durst I stay, but as I had done formerly, venture myself on my sweet, rich, lovely, and kind Lord's hand, who never failed me; yea, was aye better than his promises. When they saw I was coming away, Mr Brackel promised to follow within some days, and gave me a letter to one of the ministers (which was all the recommendation I had from men), desiring me to deliver it to one of the ministers at Groningen, providing he was anything acquainted by friends at Groningen of my design of coming there; and finding them all strangers to it, I resolved, as to my recommendation, to cast myself on the Lord, and not to deliver my letter until Mr Brackel came himself, thinking it might be a mean to engage him the more for us. When he came, I told him my resolutions as to Embden were the same as formerly, and that I was rather confirmed than altered, having got further notice from one of the professors in the place, that Embden was not so pure in some things, especially as to the magistrate's usurpation, as Groningen; and withal, begging he might propose it to the ministers in Groningen, which he did; who told him, that it might be done well, and with great secrecy by the professors of the college, which satisfied our friend greatly, who alone laid down the whole way of it with them, and after his acquainting me of it, departed out of the town, leaving me to manage what he had proposed and concluded.

But, before I go further, I shall give a short account of Mr Flint and Mr Boyd. So soon as I came to the town, I examined all of them severally, but really I could find no satisfaction in any of them, save in our friend. Mr Flint I found floating and unstable; as for Mr Boyd, Mr Flint informed me and the rest very sadly of him, both of his untenderness in his walk, and unacquaintedness in our case; that he was not only ignorant of much of it, but taken up for the most part with the arguments of the adversaries, and defending them against his

brethren. Though, indeed, I did meet with no great disappointment, yet on many accounts it was trying, and many were our fears as to acquainting him with our resolutions in not letting him pass at the time. However, when we came to be positive in it, and stated upon such noble grounds, as not daring to lay his house with such stones, &c., the Lord removed that difficulty wonderfully, and made Mr Boyd not only seemingly willing to omit, but also confirmed others as to their duty in what they had done. Now, I say this being done, and our worthy friend Mr Brackel being out of town, I went to the chief professor, and conferring of our business with him, I found it could not be done without the concurrence of another brother-professor of his, who was professed Cocceian. Having used freedom with him, to tell him my scruples, he answered me, that the other was but to examine, and not to lay on hands. I asked if it could be done without him; he said, no. Then I told him positively, that we could not admit of it in such a way; his being present, viz., Cocceian, was essential to the ordination. So I parted with them, with this resolution, to write to Mr Brackel what was next to be done, and to acquaint him with the case. So writing to him, he could see no hazard in that way. However, if I could not grant it, there was a necessity yet to resolve upon Embden: and there was a strange providence in his letter; for in the end of it, to make me come over my former scruple, he tells me that he could assure me, unless I had a full testimony from the whole professors of Groningen to the ministers of Embden for the students, that they could not be owned there. This was a mean to clear me, the more that Embden was not the place that the Lord seemed to be then calling us unto, since we could no more accept of the Cocceian's recommendation than ordination, as it was then circumstantiated; so that matters again seemed worse than ever, being likely to have both Embden and the whole professors, and others our friends against us. But our kind Lord was then at hand, who had determined otherwise. I went again to Mr Johannes a Mark, the honest professor, and to one of the ministers, and told them our case, and the weightiness of it, and that there was no other thing before our eyes in it but the glory of God, and that we durst do no other way than what we had told him. So begging they would lay it to heart, and take it upon them to prevail with the Classis that they would take it in hand, which, to the great admiration of some of us, they undertook most willingly. However, the professor called for their testimonies

(for they were to have his also to the Classis), and which was observable, all was missing save Mr Renwick's, which was to the fore by a special providence, he having got it in my hand but some few days before. When the professor did see it, he was willing to take it off our hand, but one of the ministers being then present, told him it would never pass before the Classis. So I told them, that it could not be expected, considering the tossed case of our Church, that it could be in such a dress and order as otherwise were to be desired; and the professor owned me, and backed me in it. So that both said, since it was so, they thought my testimony and Mr Brackel's to the Classis, aye until another was procured, were sufficient. This I could not refuse to be of the Lord in a special way. However, there lay a trial to me in it, which was very great, viz., to have a special hand in Mr Flint's passing, the testimony being laid so to my door; and considering how the Lord had led me—and I thought by all dispensations was even leading me away from him—as also from what I was discovering in him, it was to me a sore strait; for he, on the other hand, was pressing it violently. Whereupon I went to him, and spake in private to him anent the business with great tenderness, signifying the weightiness thereof, as also how the Lord seemed every way to discountenance his passing. For, as to myself, I told him I could give him no encouragement to it, but, on the contrary, from the first time that I had seen him and Mr Boyd, I was made to tremble at their coming over upon such a design; as also, that the letter that Mr Brackel and I wrote to Mr Renwick was no ways designed for him. I told him also of the missing of his testimonial. However, I told him, if he had the Lord's call to it, as he wrote to me, these all might be but as trials and spurs in his way. I again begged him, as he loved his own soul, that he would not venture on such a weighty work rashly. Notwithstanding of all, he said he would go forward; so I, not without great heaviness of mind, was forced to countenance him; and so going first to the professor for his testimony, I wrote next for our worthy Mr Brackel's, which he presently and most cheerfully sent me. After these were had, and the day of the Classis come, being delivered to them, they were sustained as valid. After Mr Flint had a little harangue before them, they were sent out a little, and the Classis taking our cause into consideration after, first one of the ministers rising up, and laying it openly out, and then another—all of them,

with tears, cried out, It is the Lord's cause, and cost what it would, if all the kings of the earth were against it, they would go on in it. And, which is observable, one of them asking how it came that we passed by the Professors, and took not ordination from them? another of themselves rose up, and from that took occasion to lay out the government and discipline of our Church, and that it was inconsistent with our noble order to take such a course, and that we were much to be encouraged for it. Another, that was a deputy of the general Synod, desired to be excused, for he feared he could not attend it, being at such a distance where he lived from the place. The rest of his brethren, with tears in their eyes, stood up, and requested that no cost, pains, nor charges, might be looked unto in such a noble cause; whereupon he confessed that it was so. It being also the custom of that place that every one that passed must pay twenty guilders for the public use of the church, the brethren jointly declared that they would be at all the charge themselves. O dear friends, praise Him! praise Him! who has been so mindful of us in our low estate. And after all this, calling them in again, they received them in a most friendly way, as never hitherto had been. Their injunctions our friend himself will show you. But, which is also remarkable, that Mr Flint in his harangue gave an open testimony against all the forms and enormities in their Church. O wonderful guiding and leading of the Lord!

Now, after all these wondrous ways of the Lord with us, it might have been expected that we should have been more knit to one another—more serious, tender, and zealous than ever. However, on the contrary, Mr Flint strikes in with his old antagonist, whom he had informed so against, and states himself most bitterly against our friend Mr Renwick, to the great grief of friends and stumbling of strangers, who were witnesses to it. When it came to my ears, however heavy his carriage was to me, especially considering the circumstances, yet I thought it was not without the singular providence of God, who had permitted him to kythe and discover himself before he came a greater length; as also I thought I had now fair grounds to stop his going on any further in that so great a work. So I sent for our worthy friend G. H. (who has been greatly encouraging to me since he came over, and a great help to me) and for Mr Flint, and in all tenderness I endeavoured to lay it to him what an extraordinary work he was about, and how extraordinary his call to the land was, and the way of his

now designing to return ; and that in all I thought it required more than an ordinary case, frame, and walk, of which I could see no evidences in him. While I was going on in my discourse, he interrupted me, falling out in great bitterness, declaring he would no more meddle in it, and that he was positive, that upon no account he would go on in the work, nor go home with our friend Mr Renwick ; giving these for his three unreasonable reasons.—1. He said he was sure he would never agree with him ; 2. Because, he said, he (*viz.*, Mr Renwick) did read too little ; 3. Because of the spirit of supremacy he showed in Scotland. I asked him why he could not agree with him? He could give no reason. As to the second, I asked him, if he did not read, I desired to know how he spent his time? if in prayer, or meditation, or any other way? He answered, he durst not but think he was much in that exercise. To which I answered, these were the studies in this day most accomplishing for every work, and especially the work in hand. And for his last, he could also give no ground for it. After I had got this from his own mouth, I thought we were fairly loosed from doing any more with him ; and then we sent for Mr Renwick, who came ; and we gave him, before Mr Flint, a relation of what had passed. He would have passed from some things that he had asserted, yet he adhered to his purpose of not passing at that time, and of staying a longer time, and for another occasion. So having prayed, I again begged him to lay things to heart—how the Lord was provoked ; and pressed, and urged, that whether he staid or went, they might be as one heart. When he went home, he signified to all his resolution to stay, and bought books at a strange rate, and set himself to learn the Dutch, and went, without advertising any of us, to the Dutch kirk on the Lord's day, and was present at all their forms, without the least resentment—all sad tokens. And as before he had joined hand in hand with Mr Boyd against Mr Renwick, now again his passion turned into its old channel against Mr Boyd, which is wrath-like.

Now, dear brethren, I stood astonished, and wondered how we were again put to it, for he had received the professors' testimony, with Mr Brackel's ; as also his being before, and haranguing before the Classis ; so that it threatened no less than a sad blow to all the beginnings and expectations in that place ; as also to the cause and whole remnant at home ; as also to put a stop to our friend's passing. This caused sore fighting and wrestling, though indeed Mr Flint and Mr Boyd were no

way concerned in it than if no such thing had been, but, on the contrary, they evidenced tokens of their satisfaction with all; as also in their expecting a stop as to our friends passing. At last I wrote to Mr Brackel, advertising him that we thought Mr Flint could not pass; and with his answer I was yet more discouraged than ever, he pressing me by all arguments that he should pass, and stating if he did not, how prejudicial it would be to the cause, and such like. Now, which made our case heavier, we durst not vent ourselves so freely to strangers as we would, fearing the consequences that might follow. However, travailing in these difficulties until time would suffer no more delay, the time of ordination being at hand, we resolved to go to the preses of the Classis, and give him notice that Mr Flint could not pass. When he first heard of it, he was greatly discouraged, and had this word, which was observable: "Sir," he said, "if you had told me of it but a day sooner, I could have stopped it, and gotten a delay until Mr Flint was ready, and fully recovered" (for he himself pretended a distemper of body). I told him I hoped he would let it be no hindrance to our friend's passing. He objected again, that if Mr Flint was but able to sit on a chair before the Classis, it would be sufficient, and he might stay after in the land until he was recovered. At last, I did let somewhat fall of his other distempers that we feared were raging in him; which, when he perceived, he seemed presently satisfied, and undertook in a most Christian manner the management of the business, and that Mr Renwick should be ordained. O wonderful love and condescendency! and noble Governor, who can ply, and doth ply the hearts of all as He will! Then I went to another of the ministers, who had all along been a great agent in the business, and told him Mr Flint was resolved not to pass. He enquired a reason. I told him he pretended his sickness. He told me that could not be, for he and all the ministers and professors of the town saw him daily on the streets, and but one day before in the public college. Now the ordination was to be the next day. Seeing it was so, I told him the whole account of him, which, when he heard, he was so far from being offended, that he adhered to all, and approved of our tenderness. Yet he said it would greatly reflect upon us, our cause, and the whole remnant at home; and pressed, that if it were possible, he might offer himself to the ordination, and then we need not let him go home until we found him accomplished. This again began to work new stirs upon us; yet after some time laying it before

the Lord, He was pleased to let us see that it was but a temptation, and that upon no account were we to offer Him a sacrifice of that we could not take to ourselves. After this all our fears and scruples were removed, and we fully determined to lay it all on the Lord, and the management of events and consequents on Himself. So immediately going to Mr Flint, I desired to know his mind; which he said was the same, not to pass or go home. After some speaking to him, I desired he might go to the preses himself, and make his own excuse, but not to pretend that which was not, viz., his sickness; which he did, and the preses accepted of it well. O my friends, who is to mean, that has such a God for their God! so condescending, so loving, so mighty, and so powerful, that He can do in heaven and earth what He will. There was yet one remarkable trial, and honourable outgate that we had, viz., before the ordination. The minister had told me that it was impossible, and that he could not pass, without subscribing three things—the one was their Catechisms; the other two our friend will give you an account of. I desired to see their Confession, and we found that there is in it mention of the forms and enormities of their Church, which we plainly told them we disowned, and were engaged in our solemn vows to the contrary. This was again like to stop all. However, I went to others of them, and gave them an account of our Confession and Catechisms, and that we could subscribe none but these, which, at last, they condescended unto—a practice never before heard of in these lands. O praise and wonder! and wonder and praise! for the Lord's minding of us in our low estate, and concerning Himself in us before strangers. I also desired of them to have liberty, with our friend G. H., and my brother Mr Gordon, to have access to be witnesses to the on-laying of the hands of the Classis, or presbytery, which likewise they granted, though this is not usual in that place.

Now, the day of ordination being come, Mr Renwick, with my brother Mr Gordon and G. H., came into my chamber, but none of the rest. After prayer we went out to the Church, where the Classis was to meet; and walking together in an outer room there, as we had been desired, until our friend was called in—which they did in a most honourable way, not by the ordinary servant, but by one of the brethren ministers. After he was in, we returned, and spending some time together in prayer, we again returned; and about two in the afternoon (the examination lasting from ten to two) one of the oldest of

the ministers was sent out (as they had promised) to call us in, to be witnesses to the on-laying of the hands. When we came in, the whole of the ministers saluted us most kindly and affectionately; and after some exhortations, they proposed to him the subscription, which they jointly declared to be nothing else than the subscribing of our own Confession. After their reading it over again and again, Mr James started a scruple in it, which, through the Lord's blessing, was both seasonable, and made acceptable to all, and then he subscribed it. Then with prayer they went about the laying on of the hands, in a most solemn and a most tender way; and the whole time our friend was upon his knees, the most of the whole meeting were joining with the tears in their eyes. After, he was desired by the preses to take the brethren by the hand, which they all gave him in a most affectionate way; and after he had done, he (our friend, I mean) had a most serious, grave, and taking discourse to the whole Classis, and so was dismissed. When going out of the room, the preses called me, and desired that Mr Renwick and I might dine with the Classis, which we promised; and coming in amongst them, they were as brethren at a strait, every one of them, how to express their kindness to us. The preses desired me to sit on his right hand at the head of the table; and soon after he declared to me the great satisfaction that the whole brethren had had in Mr Renwick, that they thought the whole time he was before them he was so filled with the Spirit, that his face did shine; and that he had never seen such evident tokens of the Lord's being with them, as in this affair all along, and so he blessed and praised the Lord for what he had seen. Then he desired that a relation might be given to the brethren of our cause; which I did, both of our sufferings and wrestlings. They were all so affected, that you would have thought they were both weeping and rejoicing—grieving for our case, as they said; and rejoicing that the Lord had honoured us in such a noble piece of service, promising to mind us both in public and private; they also offered themselves anew again for the same service, whatever might be the hazard. Then the preses told us that the magistrate was usurping as much upon them, and there was as great yielding amongst them, as in our land; and if they followed not our practice, the Church would be ruined, and they and their posterity rooted out. There was also another minister who declared he had been twenty years a minister in that place, but had never seen nor found so much of the Lord's

Spirit accompanying a work as that; and declared he would die and live with us. O tune up your harps, and sing praises unto Him, whose mercy endureth for ever, and who has had compassion on us in our low estate!

Now, my honourable brethren, here you have a short account, yet not the hundredth-part of what the Lord hath done for us in this affair. The bearer, with our dear and honoured friend in the Lord, viz. G. H., will give you a fuller account of matters than I was able in the time to do.

But now, when we thought the battle was fought, and the storm over, it began afresh again upon us from another airth [quarter], presenting itself as terrible as any of the former; though blessed be his name, through his rich blessing, we were never once suffered to be cast down at the thoughts of it! O again admire and wonder! The morning after the ordination, as I was lying in my bed, I received a letter from Mr Brackel, wherein he gave me an account of a letter from Holland to stop the ordination, for he was to receive a libel against us all, subscribed by the church of Rotterdam, Mr Br., Mr Hog, younger, and Mr Thomas Langlands, accusing us of many terrible things. He sent me a statement of three or four of the chief of them, which I have sent with our friend; and withal he desired me, so soon as it came to my hands, to show his letter to me to the Classis, and either to vindicate ourselves before them, or otherways to stop Mr Renwick and Mr Flint's ordination; for then he had not known Mr Flint's determination and ours, and that pretence of Mr Flint's sickness. The letter was sent by an express to me for its greater haste, and might have come three days sooner to my hand than it did, but the Lord in a wonderful way stopped it, but what way we could never yet learn. O wonderful Counsellor! for if it had come but a day sooner, in all probability it had stopped our friend's passing, for there had been a necessity for my showing it to the Classis; and they could have done no other than to have taken it into consideration, and so have delayed the diet for that time. But O his wisdom, infinite wisdom and power! After I got it, I went to the professors, and ministers, and others of the godly, and gave them a full account of all, and of all my letters. They were nothing troubled, but justified us in all our dealings against these ministers, and promised to own us in all, and give us an account of any informations that should come against us; for Mr Brackel's letter told us they were presently to write to Groningen against us, and cause print their

accusations against us. So the Lord was still gracious unto us, in keeping us in continual exercise, that our dependence might be the more on Himself. For when He had wrought for us and broken the snare, we were made to fear Mr Brackel and friends in Friesland : for in his letters they had promised to have their libel ready against us at Amsterdam, against such a day as they named ; and Mr Brackel, without acquainting any but one or two, cast himself to be at Amsterdam the same day. When he came, the libel was not ready, but they would have been at telling it by word of mouth to him, but he refused to hear them unless in writing ; and indeed he was wonderfully helped to own the Lord's cause, and poor Scotland's cause. When he left them, they promised to have the information and libel against us sent to him within four or five days. But now the time is long over, and there is no word of it ! So he returned to us all, to the wonder of all, and the joy of many, more our friend and Scotland's friend than ever. And he told me a strange passage : that the day before he went to their meeting, he was walking in his own yard, and there he saw a little bird hotly pursued by a great hawk, and, after many tossings and turnings, the bird at last flies to him for shelter, and he relieved it, which was borne in upon him at the time, as a lively emblem of ours and the church's case. O praise to Him ! when we had won to good hopes of that storm's being broken, we must yet again enter into another, threatening as terribly as the other. That same day, in the evening, that I received Mr Brackel's letter with the apostate ministers' libel, arrived James Russel, Patrick Grant, and David Robertson, with full assurance to stop the ordination, but, through the Lord's goodness, they came also a day too late, and were disappointed, I think, every way. As to that affair, I refer you wholly to the bearer. They are still staying here ; I fear their design is not good ; and I think, in that place they shall have none of our two, Mr Flint and Mr Boyd, much against them. O Lord, give wisdom, and come yet and be seen. O honourable friends, hath He not been gloriously seen in this business ?

Now, what can I say unto you ? Our engagements are great, let our thankfulness be answerable. Get you the gospel, O the precious gospel, amongst you ; hold it up by prayer amongst you. Be more in tenderness, humility, watchfulness, crying, and wrestling than ever ; for He is a holy and jealous God. O be much for Him, downright and upright for Him, cost what it will ! He is more than able to bear your charges

on whose shoulders the government is laid. And my poor advice is, That, with all haste, you would write to London, discharging Mr Nisbet to come here, for his base sitting of time, amid such special calls. As also to send for the two that are here; for now we are keeping fire in our own bosoms, and, if the Lord prevent it not, putting weapons in mad men's hands; as also to seek the Lord's mind in ordaining of more ministers, and that among yourselves. My own judgment has been, that providing you can find such, qualified with holiness, tenderness, and examples, as Paul says of the believers, in word, in conversation, in spirit, in faith and purity; and such as (Acts i. 21,) accompanied you in your tribulations, and have been witnesses to your contendings and wrestlings, and given proof of their constancy and faithfulness, that these you should choose. Indeed, this is the way, I think, that would bring in most glory to our Lord, and that would be much like our case, and my soul would most ply with every way; for I am far from the mind that the Lord will make much use of learning for building his house again. It is, and has been so much boasted of amongst us, so trusted to, and improven against our Lord, that I think, for a time, He will put a mark of ignominy upon it, and train up his approved servants at his own school. O my brethren, it is Scotland that must make fit for ministers, else here it will never be.—I think you should send over three of the most eminent amongst you, with the first occasion, in room of those you are to call home, that our cause may be kept up in that college, and that there may be some to witness against James Russel, and the others, who are seated there, or against any that may oppose us. As also, letters of thanks should be written to that college, and to the Classis; and also, an approbation of what they have done. As also, a joint declaration against the church of Rotterdam: *First*, for their setting down to the Lord's table a promiscuous multitude, men of blood that have been at Pentland and Bothwell against the Lord; men banded, cessed, and what not? and also, debarring from it such as were faithful, as worthy Rathillet, &c. *Item*, for receiving in amongst them Mr Fleming, who is rather Charles Stuart's minister than Christ's. As also, their cruel dealing and handling of their countrymen that came there, who are faithful in their day, threatening to starve them out of their consciences, notwithstanding of the large supply they have from the magistrates of that place for the support of the poor. *Item*, Their taking into their sessions,

as members thereof, men void of both principles and tenderness, and their not exercising the discipline of our Church, nor preaching faithfully against the sins of our time. Also, their licensing all to preach amongst them, however notour [notorious] for their open defection, and avowed rebellion against Christ; such as have devoured the flock at home, and such as seek to pursue those in a strange land who have escaped out of their claws; also, their openly and practically discovering themselves this day against our mother-church, &c.

My advice is, that your testimony should relate [consist] of a declaration, and that you would set out, also, the rebellion of ministers all alongst in it, and how they have now forsaken Christ and the poor remnant; so that if you had the occasion, you durst not further own them; and lay it out to the churches, that, providing any of them come by them, that they or none others be owned except they have the testimony and approbation of the suffering church of Scotland. Letters of thanks should also be sent to Mr Brackel, for his kindness and faithfulness in the cause of God, and to the sufferers here.

I can say no more, my dear and honourable brethren; but what I omit, I hope the bearers will supply.—Let me hear more frequently from you all, for your letters are very refreshing to me. Though many times I am but little in case to write unto you, yet I desire that you may find my practical kindness, and not mistake my silence.

Now, the blessing of Him that dwelt in the bush be with you all! Your sympathizing brother, and real servant,

ROBERT HAMILTON.

XX.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

AMSTERDAM, *May 30, 1683.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—You know what a great work the Lord hath laid upon me, and how he hath made so many obligations upon me to be for Him, and Him only. I hope you will be mindful thereof; praying that He will endow me with zeal, courage, resolution, constancy, tenderness, and humility; and that He will give a door of utterance, that with all boldness I may speak all his Word, and that He may follow the same with his rich blessing. I do not think, but that trials and difficulties are abiding me; but if He be with me I shall not care. We must not this day seek for ourselves great

things, when the Lord is bringing evil upon all flesh, and is breaking down what He hath built, and plucking up what He hath planted. O! I must say this, indeed, to the praise of his free grace, that He is continuing and increasing his kindly dealing with my soul. O that I could praise Him, and commend Him to all flesh! Remember me to all our friends in the Lord, particularly to worthy Mr Brackel, if you have occasion, your worthy sister, and the worthy Lady Van. Her., whom I am singularly obliged to be mindful of, and not only I, but the Church of God. The Lord's blessing be with you, and the earnest good wishes of him who is, much honoured Sir, yours to serve you in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXI.—From Mr J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

AMSTERDAM, *May 31*, 1683.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—Having met with E. D., who is coming to be your sister's servant, I thought it my duty to acquaint you, that your worthy brother Earlston is a long while ago come from Scotland, having met with friends there, and, as I hear, there are three papers drawn up—one including some reasons why we have rejected the tyrant; another, some reasons of our separating from those (so called) ministers; and the third, she says, is a call to, and a protestation against them. I wish it may be a bringing us out of the mire (and not a casting us into it over again), as I hope it will be. But the reason of your brother's not coming hither ere this time, is his coming by London. I hope he knows his errand, and call thereunto, though I cannot see it. E. A. is also coming amongst with him; but I hope you will not meddle with J. N. The Lord counsel him and lead him, for that land is a valley of snares, especially at this time. Of the seven who were apprehended, four have taken the test, whereof one is Alexander Millar, a young man. O! all flesh is grass: for I thought once, if there was a zealous man in Scotland, he was one. Yet the Lord hath not left us so; for He hath accepted a bloody sacrifice of our hands, two men being executed, viz., John Wilson in Lanark, a young gentleman; and David M'Millan in Galloway, of whom I hear nothing but what is matter of praise and cause of encouragement. O! let us go on and run our race rejoicing, and with patience. The cup of the Amorites is fast filling, and their day is near at hand, when they shall get their own blood to drink,

for they are worthy. Robert Lawson is saying he will not die at this time, but I like not such prophecies as our case stands. John Gibb and his companions are freed both from death and punishment, and have their liberty to go through all the prison, and large expense allowed daily unto them, by him whom they call the Chancellor. If the enemies had done otherwise, they would not act like themselves. Courage, dear Sir, they will drop ripe very suddenly.

I have sent you, with the said E. D., the exposition of the text which you desired, and shall take care to get a true copy of your letter secured unto you. I shall add no further at the time, but praying that the Lord may be unto you a present help in all times of need ; for I think difficulties and discouragements are many, but you know where your strength lies, and what must comfort you. O ! hitherto He hath not been wanting, neither will He be wanting, for He is a faithful God, who keepeth covenant ; and He knows this, that if He had not now put other work in mine hand, and were He not calling me to another place, it would be my heart's desire to serve you (as, indeed, is my duty many ways), and to take part with you in all your troubles ; but what I cannot do by bodily presence, I hope the Lord will help me to do it by heart, sympathy, and willingness. Leaving you on your Master's hand, I am, much honoured Sir. yours to serve you in the Lord while I have a being in time.

JAMES RENWICK.

XXII.—From Mr J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

ROTTERDAM, *June 18, 1683.*

HONOURABLE SIR,—I have received both your former and later letters. But you may see an emblem of the case I was in when I last wrote unto you, by my not answering some particulars in your former letter, which I ought to have done. However, I have heard that our friend G. has written to you, wherein I hope he has given you a full account of his passage at Utrecht ; and also of some strange disappointments that have happened unto us since, which made me often remember a word of yours to myself, that you thought I should meet with some strange things in my going home. I have met with some strange things, indeed, and have nothing to boast of, but only of the Lord, who is to be admired in all his doings : for they are works of wonder. And O that He would help

me to submit to his holy and wise will, in keeping me so long here ; yet I think the work is the liker his work, that there are so many difficulties in the way of it. But as for Mr A. Cameron, I did not see him, but I hear that he is come unto you. The Lord, I hope, will let you know your duty, and will clear that best unto you, by conversing with Himself. O ! add not drunkenness to thirst ; but if the Lord call, see that you bestir yourself in it all that you can. He that hath had his hand singularly with you in many pieces of great service will not leave you in this. And as for A. H. and A. H., they know, indeed, of my ordination ; and the way they came to know it was by their peremptory questions, to which I could not negatively answer ; and then finding them gather the affirmative, I told them it was so, and enjoined silence upon them. But as for other particulars of our affairs, they know none by me, save that James Russel and we when we, met, could not agree.

You wrote anent Mr Flint and Mr Boyd,—their bestowing three hours each day upon James Russel and his comrade, in teaching of them ; but as matters stand, I cannot approve of it, upon many considerations, for it is both encouraging and hardening to them. I say, encouraging to them to hold on their courses, for I see very little hope of what they pretend unto. I fear that there is rather in it a faction, seeking to make a party. And as for Mr Binny's being employed to teach our expectants, the Lord, I hope, will give me to know my duty in it, abstracting from all persons whatsoever.

As for what you wrote of fairs and mercats [markets] on saints' days, I agree heartily with it ; it was my own thought before, but confusedly. However, I desire to bless the Lord, who hath made you a mean in that (as in some other things) to make me more distinct therein. O ! I cannot express what I owe unto you—I say I cannot express what I owe the Lord, whom I desire to bless while I live, that ever I saw your face. The Lord hath also made you to back what I was resolved on before, by your wholesome advice, in counselling me to take up an inventory of the Lord's way of dealing with friends and enemies in their persons and families, particularly and generally. And be assured, much honoured and dear Sir, that I shall, as I ought, keep nothing back from you. For, under the Lord himself, I have none that I can expect such counsel from as from you, therefore you must still be giving me your advice, and lay it out before the Lord ere you give it to me ; for, indeed, I will lay much weight upon it : however, I desire to weigh it in the

balance of the sanctuary. As for your going further away, I desire, indeed, to believe that the Lord hath some work to do further abroad ; but I think the change of dispensations calls you to stay still awhile with our friends that are with you ; for assuredly they will be much affected with the news of our dear friend Earlston, your dear brother, being taken. And also, I think you cannot move until you hear what comes of him (the Lord, I think, hath a great kindness for him, and will honour him), and till you receive letters from Scotland, both to yourself, to the presbytery of Groningen, and other friends.

I am not a little sorrowful at the very heart, that I am not in Scotland to obey all your commands anent your dear brother. The Lord himself knows that nothing that ever I was trusted with was such an exercise to me, as my being detained now out of it is. My longings and earnest desires to be in that land, and with that pleasant remnant, are very great. I cannot tell what may be in it, but I hope the Lord hath either some work to work, or else is minded presently to call for a testimony at my hand ; and if He give frame and furniture, I desire to welcome either of them. O ! dear Sir, mind me, become of me what will. I have much ado, many obligations lying upon me, and the Lord hath laid on not a few of them by your hands ; and therefore you are the more engaged to be mindful of me : and, I may say it, your God lets me not be unmindful of you ; and I am of the mind, that sometimes He is very kind unto you, putting mixtures of joy and rejoicing in Himself into your cup of sorrow.

When I am writing this line, I received from Scotland a packet of letters, directed for your sister, the Lady Earlston ; but expecting that there were letters for myself therein, I presumed to break up the packet, but did not read her letter, and found three for myself, but none from some that I most expected a line from, viz., M. B., neither hear I any word of news, for they are not dated, but I think it is long since they were written. However, I hear that all the forces of Scotland, the rendezvous of hell, are afoot, because there is one Alexander Smith, a member of one of our societies, and a godly youth, who was apprehended, but rescued from the enemy, who were taking him from Edinburgh to Glasgow¹ to be executed, and one of their guard being slain. The Lord be thanked, that He is stirring up any to vex the Midianites, and to account their

¹ Mr Wodrow, in his *History*, p. 319, thinks it was from Glasgow to Edinburgh, at Inch-belly Bridge.

brother's case to be their own. I must also tell you this, that I hear in one of my letters, that the Lord is making the increase of the persecution a mean to blow up the zeal of some to a greater height. O good news ! dear Sir, it minds me of Paul's words : " And in nothing terrified by your adversaries," &c. (Phil. i. 28.) It is not long till the cup of the Amorite and Edomite shall be brimful. *Courage yet, for all that is come and gone ; the loss of men is not the loss of the cause. What is the matter though we should all fall ? I assure all men that the cause shall not fall.*

I thought fit also to send you the Martyrs' Testimonies (not having gotten one of them read), although my letters speak nothing of them, yet I know none else that they are ordained for, or that should have them, but you. As for the taking away of that every way abused oath, if it be not already taken away, through the Lord's strength, I shall see unto it. But do not think, much honoured and dear Sir, that Mr Boyd will get anything done, as he vents himself ; for no presbytery will ordain him, unless he be called by the remnant of the Church of Scotland ; and if they shall now write to the contrary, he will have no ground to plead upon from their sending of him hither, and giving him a commission. I shall say no more, but my love and service to Mr Brackel, and the ladies V. H., whom I hope the Lord will help to sympathize with you in your present condition. The blessing of the God of Jacob be with you ; and the earnest good wishes of him who is, honoured and dear Sir, yours to serve you in the Lord while he hath a being in time,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXIII.—From Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

ROTTERDAM, *June 23, 1683.*

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,— I thought it fit (supposing that possibly you may not see it nor hear of it) to write to you, that I have seen in the English newspapers, that there was a company of grenadiers appointed to meet Meldrum's troop, that they might receive from them our worthy friend Earlston, in order to the bringing of him to Edinburgh ; but it is also inserted, that some say he is escaped. O ! if it hath pleased the Lord so to order it, both his taking and his escape may have many languages unto us. But what I think I see is in the one, and will be in the

other: if it be true (as I would gladly hope it is, because they never use to insert such things but when they are true) I forbear to mention until meeting, which, if the Lord will, shall be on Monday night or Tuesday morning. O dear and honourable Sir, we have many enemies. Let us lie near our Strength. Wicked men and backsliders will do more and more wickedly. I shall say no more, having many things to tell you when we meet; but we think it fit that notice hereof be sent to your worthy sister Mrs Jean, if so be that you think she will not otherwise hear. Leaving you on our Master, I am, honourable and dear Sir, yours to serve you in the Lord while I am,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXIV.—From Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

DUBLIN, *August 24, 1683.*

HONOURABLE SIR,—I am assured that you will think it strange that ere this time I should not have written unto you; but many hindrances have been cast in my way, by reason of the difficulties and dangers of this time: all these lands being, in a manner, in an uproar by reason of challenging and suspecting all persons, and the transmitting of any letters. However, I can no longer forbear to write, though it should never come to your hand, having many things to say to the commendation of the Lord's wisdom and power in outwitting and restraining men. But O, I think the Lord hath had a special hand in my coming to this place, for He hath not suffered me to be idle; and blessed be his name, He hath kindled a fire which I hope Satan shall not soon quench. For all the people of this place were following men who did not follow the Lord, and they thought these were right enough; yet now some of them are saying "we have been misled. We never knew before this that we were standing between the Lord's camp and the adversary's." O! what shall I say? blessed be the name of the Lord, who lets me see that "He will see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied," and gives me many confirmations of his calling me to this work, wherein my desire is only to be faithful. O rejoice in Him who hath called me forth to fight against those who oppose themselves, notwithstanding of all their malice at me; and against pretended friends who meet to consult upon my apprehending. I shall say no more. He

hath found some who have engaged to do for me in taking me home to Scotland. But I have the more patience here, because of the Lord's doing great things. The Lord be with you, and all his Israel. Honourable Sir, yours to serve you in the Lord while I am,
 JAMES RENWICK.

XXV.—From Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON at Lewarden.

EDINBURGH, *September 26, 1683.*

HON. AND DEAR SIR,—I have been thinking long for an opportunity of writing unto you, but I hope your goodness will not draw any wrong constructions from my necessitated delay ; for, blessed be the only holy and wise Lord, I am made to rejoice in Him thereanent, and have been kept, by his grace, from murmuring and quarrelling against Him, because I saw much of himself and his holy and wise purposes—yea even toward me, in the circumstances I stand in, in every step, since my departure from your honour. For, being kept some days at the Texel, where I was, in some measure, exercised to know what might be the language thereof, which I could not know till afterwards. We launched forth into the sea, where we were tossed for some days with a violent contrary wind, and driven within uptaking of the coast of France, before that we could get the English coast taken up ; and all with very great hazard, for the vessel was but little, and not at all firm, which occasioned our setting into a harbour in England called Rye. There we went ashore, and were much noticed by the tyrant's waiters—it being upon the back of the discovery of their plot—yet the Lord so restrained them that we were not challenged ; however, we thought it not fit (fearing snares) to stay ashore, and therefore we went aboard again. But after some days, the said waiters in their passing by came aboard of us, and asked very rudely of the skipper where we were, who replied that we were aboard ; and then asking what men we were, was answered by the skipper, that he knew not ; which I overhearing thought that his answer would make the said waiters more inquisitive. However, the Lord so restrained them, that when they came unto us, they had no power to challenge us. Now all this time we still concluded that we were already apprehended, seeing no probability of shunning it. But, blessed be the Lord, that was no way terrifying to me ; for besides his other special

assistance, I saw so much of his hand in it (we being driven seven leagues back into that place), that I could not quarrel, but was much refreshed with that Word “It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good.” Then after this, the skipper did what he could to ensnare us on the Sabbath-day, but the Lord so struck him with his own hand, that he was not able to go forth to give any information of us; and on the Monday morning the Lord sent a fair wind, which was embraced, and so brought us safe away, far beyond our expectation. O! all this should learn (teach) us to credit Him with his own cause, and with our case; and may let us see that enemies, further than is permitted, shall not prevail. Then, after this, winning forward unto Dublin, from whence there was no way of departing without a pass; but desiring to wait the Lord’s time, and to commit our case unto Him, He wonderfully provided an occasion for our friend G. Hill; but in no ways they would condescend to take me with them, which was a piece of exercise unto me to know what might be the language of it; and at the time I could not see it fully, but afterwards was made to see that the Lord had some piece of work to do there. O! blessed be his name, for He hath set some upon a search of their ways, and to know that they had not been right; who were so affected with my departure from them (when the Lord had wonderfully provided an occasion, whereby I was cast out in the night-time at a hill-side, some few miles below Greenock), that they entreated me with tears to stay, saying that their necessity was greater than Scotland’s; and would not part with me, until that upon some suppositions I promised to return again. But as the Lord stirred up some people to all this, their (so called) ministers increased their malice, especially one Mr Jack, the ringleader of the rest, who sought to speak with me: which I would not, nor could, without stumbling of the people, refuse; who, when met, we reasoned upon several heads, particularly this—Whether or not a person attacked for duty might choose a punishment? whereof I held the negative. But, in a second conference, he having some of his companions trysted with him, fell to more briskly, and asked, How came I to draw away his congregation? To which I replied, that I denied him to have a congregation, and did only labour and desire to draw the people from sin unto their duty; and for accepting his call to preach, that I ought not, nor would not, because I could not own him as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ: for he had betrayed the cause of the Lord. And for satisfying him anent

my ordination, I told, when I met with faithful ministers of Christ, I should subject myself to them, but him I declined as competent to require that of me ; and also, that I behoved first to be satisfied anent his entry to that congregation, the exercise of his ministry during his continuance therein, and now his yielding it up at the enemies' command ; all which had to be reconciled with the Word of God, our engagements, and the duty of a minister : which, when he heard, he grew mightily passionate, falling out in bitter reflections ; and I, perceiving the dishonour done to God thereby, told him that I would speak no more to such men in such a frame, and so departed. I had also some battles upon your account, but the Lord assisted me in that, as in all other things ; for I saw it was not you, but the cause and party which they reviled. O ! honourable and dear Sir, what shall I say to all these things ? It is good keeping the Lord's way, for He will not leave nor forsake.

Now, since I came to my own land and people, I have seen several things which are encouraging and promising : as the Lord's helping some, of whom little was expected, to show both zeal and steadfastness in his cause. And I have seen other things which speak out wrath to be at the doors, as the neutrality and lukewarmness—yea, declining of many, who had been helped to be hitherto valiant. O ! blessed be the Lord, who will not give his glory to another, and who blasts every thing that our eyes are upon.

As for news, the Lord is wonderfully to be seen in every thing, and assists in what He calls unto. For in coming through the country, we had two field-meetings, which made me to think, that if the Lord could be tied to any place, it is the muirs and mosses in Scotland. O ! He will have a day of his power to be seen in this land. I say, He is to be seen in hiding, preserving and providing for his people in such a day of the enemy's cruelty, and He seems to have some strange thing upon the wheels, especially in your honour's dear brother's case, which we desire to wait upon and behold ; for his enemies' cruelty and threatenings against him are great, and their snares and subtilties no less ; however, they are wonderfully restrained, and he strangely reproached, but very causelessly. And as for Robert Lawson (so sad and sweet in several respects), he is suffered to cast off all his former doings, to the hardening of backsliders and the grieving of the godly. But Edward Aitken is escaped, and intends to come to you and follow his books ; but his carriage in the public matters hath

been very hurtful to the cause, and in private very unchristian, opening mouths to reproach and blaspheme : therefore I hope you will not move in it without the General Meeting's advice. Also, I expect that Thomas Linning will be sent to you, and hope you will be satisfied with him, for he hath been very satisfying, refreshing, and encouraging to me since I came home.

We are in some confusion now through the want of time, and upon other accounts. However, as occasion offers, I will labour to get full information of every thing sent unto you ; for I am sensible of the advantage that it will be unto the Lord's cause.

Now, the Lord be with your honour, making you a brazen wall and iron pillar against all enemies and forsakers of his truth, as hitherto by his grace He hath done ; and point out unto you your duty in every case, helping you to follow it. Write to friends, for your letter was very refreshing, rejoicing, and strengthening unto them ; and to him who looks upon you as his father and brother, and remains your honour's assured friend, sympathizer, and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXVI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable SOCIETY OF STRANGERS at Lewarden, in Friesland.

November 13, 1683.

HONOURABLE AND DEAR FRIENDS IN OUR LORD,—I had not only heard, but also, in the little space I was amongst you, saw many tokens and evidences of your love to our lovely Lord, and tender sympathy with his afflicted sufferers, which was no small refreshing and encouragement to me, also a great engaging and endearing of my heart unto you, so that I know not how to unfold my thoughts, and unbosom my ardent affections. But as my heart is much with you, so, I may say, you are frequently with me, and that in the times which you most require—when I desire to prostrate myself at the footstool of the throne of grace. However, I could not forbear, neither thought I it my duty to omit writing unto you. But, what shall I say, but that which you yourselves know? The Lord, being the only object whereupon all our desires can satisfyingly terminate, is worthy of all honour, fear, love, and service ; yea, and at the mention of this, we may stand astonished, and

wonder that He in himself, supertranscendently and infinitely glorious, incapable of receiving any additional glory from his creatures, should call such unworthy worms, and self-destroyed creatures, to serve Him ; which, though He had not freely and graciously promised any reward after time, would be a reward of itself. But O ! what can be his end in calling and drawing out such self-destroyed and unworthy creatures, as any of the lost posterity of Adam, to love and serve Him ? It is not that He may get good (of which He is incapable), but that He may give good. O ! praised be his free grace, He hath provided and laid open a way whereby we may have both access and right unto Him, by the mediation of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, let us answer his call, and come unto Him, where all our happiness lies, with hearts so enlarged, and conceptions so framed and shapen out, as that nothing less than Himself may satisfy, for more cannot be desired. Let us come unto Him, follow Him fully—take up his cross, and our engagements against the world, the devil, and the flesh : for He is a noble and glorious Captain, whose banner we have to fight under, who not only bears his soldiers' charges sufficiently here—all their stock being only in his own hand—but also makes them sure of the victory, and of the kingdom and crown in the end of the battle : they being to walk with Him in glorious white robes throughout all eternity. Let us espouse his quarrel for our own, and not be discouraged for what opposites can do ; for, in all their intended actings against Him, they are but pulling down themselves, and setting up his kingdom. Neither let us be annoyed with the difficulties in time, but look above and beyond these unto the rich recompense of reward. For the day is near at hand when these tabernacles of clay shall fall down about our ears, and we shall be set at liberty—made incapable of grieving his Spirit, or sorrowing any more, and fitted for the blessed, full, and eternal enjoyment of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. O what a day will that be, when the saints shall get their fill of Him, encircling Him with both their arms ; or, rather, being encircled by Him ! Let us wait and look out for it, longing for the day when that shall be heard in heaven—O how sweetly will it be sung !—“ Arise, arise, arise, my love, my dove, my fair one, and come away ; for behold your winter is past, and your everlasting summer is come.” O let the thoughts of that summer, and tasting of the first fruits thereof, sweeten this our winter unto us, making us cheerfully to travel through the same, with songs of our beloved

in our mouths, and patiently to endure what travail or tribulations, either for our chastisement or instruction, He who doeth all things well may be pleased to let out upon us. And as you have been helped through grace to become companions with us in our tribulation, so I would have you look out for the same upon yourselves; for the Lord will come and shake terribly the earth, and punish the inhabitants thereof for their iniquity, lay waste cities, and desolate lands: for all nations are overspread with a supine and loathsome formality; yea, avowed profanity, and dreadful blasphemy against the heavens. I say not this, my honourable and dear friends, to discourage you, but rather for the continuance and increase of your holy zeal, which you manifest towards the Lord's cause and interest. Oh! go on in it, for therein shall be your peace as to duty, and He himself is your exceeding rich reward.

Now, for your great kindness, love unto, and sympathy with our bleeding and wounded mother-church, which I saw amongst you, and particularly for your heart love and tender respect towards myself, though altogether undeserved, I cannot express how I am engaged to the Lord, and obliged unto you; yea, it passeth my apprehension. But I am singularly obliged indeed, so I must beg further matter (though already enough be had) by the continuance of your mindfulness of our distressed and wounded Church, and of that exceeding great and weighty work, which you know the Lord hath laid upon me. But why should I fear? The work is his own, and He sends none a warfare on their own charges; and, ever blessed be his holy name, I may say this from sweet experience, for I have found Him a present help in all my necessities, and many ways beyond my expectation confirming my call, and countenancing his work both at home and elsewhere, where He was pleased to cast and detain me. Now, the Lord be with you. Again, mind me, as I desire to do you. Remaining, honourable and dear friends, your hearty wellwisher, assured and obliged friend and servant, to my full power in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXVII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

EDINBURGH, *November 14, 1683.*

HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR,—Though I have many things that I would and could say, yet I am so busied, which I think

you may know, that I cannot be so large in writing to you as I would. However, I see many encouragements and discouragements: encouragements from the Lord's omnipotency, condescendency, and faithfulness—yea, the glory that is to be seen in his noble way of managing his own cause; and discouragements from several airths [quarters] which I expected not: for since I came home, I have found some of whom I expected better things, cleaving to crooked and perverse ways; yea, and they are turned very embittered against us. At the present (oh sad! but too true) we are pestered with a company of prejudiced evil persons, who join hand and issue with backsliders, and make known everything unto them: wherein I only desire and labour, that the particular persons may be found out, so that we may proceed against them according to the Word of God and our duty.

My coming home hath had such effects as I expected indeed, for enemies are more cruel and eager in persecution than ever, and backsliders more embittered with malice than heretofore. But some whom I expected to be cordial with, I have not found them so; neither should I in the ways that they are upon. And this hath been chiefly occasioned by my testimony; which as it hath, by the Lord's goodness, been refreshing, encouraging, and strengthening to some, so it hath made others vent more what they were. And herein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice (there being not an article in it, but what I am more and more confirmed of), because it hath a tendency to the siding of us, either for or against the Lord. But among all friends none is so helpful and strengthening unto me as our friend George Hill. However, I must say that I find the Lord countenancing and blessing his work—yea, and giving testimonies for his cause. O! ever blessed be his holy name therefore.

As for information in other things, there is little to give your honour; only at our last meeting, all that we did was the reading of the testimony, some papers for coming to you, and subscribing them; laying aside the abused oath of secrecy; and ordaining T. L. to teach our scholars. At the meeting presently ensuing, I know of nothing to be done, but some other papers to be subscribed; our scholars, some of whom we were jealous of, examined; and sought some out to be sent unto your honour, with our letters and papers; and (that which will be our continual work) a way thought upon for the finding out of those whose tongues and hands are so against the Lord. As for myself in other things, since I came home, I have been

more pained and indisposed of body, than for several years before. However, it was made sweet unto me, for I saw two things in it—first, when before I was casting up, and counting all pieces of cost, I thought I saw my all in the Lord's hand, but only bodily strength, thinking that there was enough of that in mine own; and He takes that way with me, which, O! is glorious, that I may have strength as well as other furniture from his hand, in more than an ordinary manner, that so his name may get the more praise therefore. Secondly, I saw this in it, and though I have been in some places of the country, yet I have but win [got] through little of it. And where I have not been, I fear more an anxiety after the ordinances than a thirsting after the Lord, so that I think the Lord is seeking to get his people both to prize, and yet to be denied, to the means.

O! dear Sir, the thoughts of our long absence is frequently troublesome unto me; but shall we not have a joyful meeting in heaven; and who knows but we may meet in time? In the meantime, only be mindful of me, and the work which you know the Lord hath laid upon me, as I am, and desire to be of you, both in public and private. The Lord be with you. I am, your honour's hearty wellwisher, real sympathizer, greatly endeared friend, and most obliged servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXVIII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Ladies
VAN HEERMAEN, at Lewarden in Friesland, 1683.

WORTHY LADIES BELOVED IN THE LORD,—Though it hath pleased the holy God in his wise providence to carve out my lot unto me, since my departure from you, that I had no time and occasion of writing, yet the Searcher of hearts knows (as I hope your goodness will construct it) that I have not been forgetful of you, nor of your heart-concernedness with Zion's case, and sympathy with her afflicted children, particularly us in Scotland: whereof I have seen great tokens and evidences. O go on in holy tenderness, go on in zeal, for therein lies your peace as to duty. Follow the Captain of Salvation fully, for He makes all his followers to enjoy the prize; his soldiers He makes overcomers, and his servants kings, to reign with Him for evermore, in his inheritance, whereunto He, their elder Brother, hath entered to take possession in their names.

What shall we say of these unspeakable privileges of his people? Shall we not stand still, struck with wonder and admiration, having our mouths filled with the praise of Him who left the glory of heaven and the bosom of the Father to come down and to take upon Him our nature, that therein He might interpose himself betwixt the Father's wrath and us, both by his suffering and fulfilling of the law for us, that we might not only be freed from the sin and consequents thereof, but be made partakers of inconceivable privileges, and be restored to a more happy and sure estate than what we fell from? It is angels' work to desire to look into this, and it will be our work throughout all eternity. Should we not study to be more in it now—viz., in praising of Him for his covenant of free grace, and "for his works of wonder done unto the sons of men;" who delighteth to manifest his mercy, his power, and his holy wisdom, and to let poor things find something of Himself in all his attributes, in their own experience, so that they are made to say, He is good, and does good? For mine own part, I may say, that though when I had the occasion to see your ladyships, He had done great things for poor unworthy me, so that I had great reason to set forth his praise, if I could have done it, yet now He hath done much more, which may furnish new matter of praise: for since my departure from you, the Lord has been pleased to tryst me with several difficulties, that He might have occasion of manifesting himself in bringing me through the same. In fire or water I dare not say He hath left or forsaken me; and though perils by sea, and perils by land, and the snares of enemies to the cause and cross of Christ have been many, yet He hath wonderfully brought me hitherto through the same, and frustrated the expectations of the wicked; and not only hath been at great cost and pains to lay obligations on me to be for Him, but also hath taken many ways to train me up for the work that He has laid upon me, in the circumstances of the times wherein my lot is fallen. But the greatest of all, I think, is the many confirmations He hath given me of his own cause; and also, of his call to such a weighty business, and his letting me see what hath been a great part of his end in detaining me so long from my own land and people; which was, to cast me and keep me a little space in Ireland, where He hath kindled a fire, which I hope He will not suffer to die out, and hath put some people upon a searching of their ways, wherein they had turned from Him. O! blessed be his

name, who will “see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied,” and who is that good Shepherd, out of whose hand none shall pluck the sheep; for “the gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church;” and no wonder, for it is a rock, and built upon a rock. O! come, let us enlist ourselves under his banner, and take his part against a lukewarm generation, and resolve upon trials, for I think He loves none whom He lets want them. But consider for whom it is. It is for his name’s sake, who is “the chief among ten thousand,” and is “altogether lovely.”

Now, the Lord, who is not unrighteous to forget your labour of love, be all things unto you, and reward you for your sympathy and concernedness with the Lord’s people in this land, who are very sensible of your becoming companions with them in their tribulations, and that you have had compassion upon them in their bonds. We desire still the help of your prayers for the desolations of the Lord’s holy mountain. So, no more at the time, being assured of your concernedness with our much honoured friend Robert Hamilton, of whose courage, constancy, and zeal for the Lord’s cause you have proof; for, what is done to him is, as it were, done to us all. Mind poor me, and the great work the Lord hath laid upon me. The Lord be with you, Madams, your ladyships’ affectionate servant and sympathizer in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXIX.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

January 1684.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—Being by the Lord’s providence with the Lady Earlston when sending away her letters, I behoved to salute you with this line, showing you that (blessed be the Lord) I am well every way, though my case is singular, and my trials no less such. Yet I may turn my complaints into triumphant songs, for I have seen the Lord’s wonders in the land of the living, and He is still increasing the number of his followers, for though I should go over and over again to any countryside, at every time there come others aye out who did not come out before. But enemies are intending sad things against us; for they are now leading out their forces to the west, threatening to lay it desolate, saying that we will never be curbed till they make that country a hunting-field.

But let them prate, a higher hand rules all ; and I am persuaded that we shall thereby be more affrighted than scathed, though our fears be not great, whatever be the fears of the apostate party. Know also, that Mr Shields is brought to Scotland. I know that he and Mr Andrew Cameron and Mr Flint were joined together in seeking after ordination, that they might come home to Scotland. But when I heard it, I was not satisfied that you were not owned in it. However, this hath a strange language. The Lord hath crushed it ; for their papers anent the same, and many books, were cast away at sea. O ! the majesty of your God and my God, that shines in his management of affairs. Let you and me stand still and admire this. So, leaving you to his all-sufficiency, with my love to all my friends with you, I am, as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXX.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

March 29, 1684.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I have very much to say, but I have no time to express myself. However, though I had ten thousand times ten thousand years—yea, the faculty of angels—I could in no ways lay out mine obligations to free grace, but behoved, when I had talked my fill, to seal up all with this, CHRIST IS MATCHLESS ! O He is the wonder of the higher house ! And will not He be your wonder and my wonder throughout the ages of eternity ? Come away then, let us labour to keep up that work now, wherein eternity will not weary us. We cannot now think rightly of Him, but we will get eternity to the work. His beauty and excellency is so ravishing, that a poor weak, silly-fond soul will be made to turn its dazzled eyes away from Him, when yet the heart will be melting in love's hand. O ! but we are narrow vessels that can receive nothing, but hereafter we shall see Him as He is. O what is He ? Angels cannot define Him, and we must be silent ; yet this I must say, He is matchless : all perfections meet in Him. He is glorious, and He is the only best of choices. O ! He is glorious in Himself, and manifests that in all his actings. His doings are like Himself, and carry large characters of all his attributes engraven upon them. Why are such confusions upon his Church, but that He may get occasion to make his wisdom

conspicuous in bringing order out thereof? O! He will do it, and his carrying on a strange work of discovery is a pledge of it. His faithfulness is engaged to do it. Let us not fear, though enemies' cruelty and malice be more than formerly, yet his Word shall stand sure. And poor mad fools, what are they doing but crushing themselves and setting up his throne?

Right honourable and dear Sir, there are many particulars which I would write, but I cannot get it done; howbeit, I shall wait to catch some opportunity for it. Our friend George hath given you at the time a brief touch of some things. The Lord helps him to give many evidences of sincerity and steadfastness to the cause, and affection to such in all places who are most sorely shot at upon the cause's account. I thought to have written something unto you anent T. L., but George having spoken my mind, I shall forbear. Yet there is one thing which is your duty, and which is also my duty to mention unto you, and that is, that you would take pains with J. F. to wear out that bad impression which James Russel hath given him of us. O deal tenderly with him, for he is but young, yet I hope of zealous intentions. Be concerned with him in that strange place, for he is a child of many prayers. His relations bear a strong affection to the cause, and to all who own the same, and your name is very savoury unto them. It is weighty to me, that James Russel hath insinuated himself so much upon him, for his being sent abroad was, in some measure, upon expectation that he and I should be together. Now,

Right honourable and dear Sir, let not difficulties damp you. There is nothing that falls out but what is in kindness both to the remnant and to you. Regard not the reproaches of tongues. Are not these the badges of your honour? Our lot must not be thought strange, for the Lord's people heretofore have met with the like. Remember you have need of patience. We have enemies now upon all hands; and I must say, that man James Russel hath been a costly James Russel to the poor Church of Scotland. I shall say no more; but as the malice of adversaries to the cause increaseth, let our love thereunto and to one another increase. Your assured friend and servant in the Lord, and your unworthy brother in afflictions and approaches for his name's sake,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mrs JEAN HAMILTON at Lewarden, in Friesland.

June 20, 1684.

WORTHY MADAM,—I received your letter, which unbosomed to me a troubled case, which in no small measure does affect my spirit. But as I am affected with the trouble of spirit which you express, so I am refreshed with my observing that you are not insensible of your case—your great complaint being of the want of light and life. I am persuaded, however, that a creature altogether wanting the one and the other cannot be troubled anent their apprehending want of either, for none miss that which doth not belong unto them. A horse hath no sense of his want of the wings of an eagle, because these are not proper to him ; but the want of his feet he presently misseth when he is put to go. Those who never knew anything of light and life cannot miss the same. I grant, indeed, that many unregenerate persons have a missing of common influences, which flashes are far from that heart-feeling that the believer is acquainted with. However, I conceive, that as common influences are not permanent, and tend nothing to the changing of the heart, so the poor creature gets leave to rest in them, seeking no further ; and when missing them, is troubled chiefly, if not wholly, because external duty then is neither so easy nor pleasant. There are depths here that I dare not now launch out into, lest time will not allow me to bring myself out again. But O Madam ! what shall I say unto you ? Let no less than Christ himself satisfy you. Study to dwell under the impression of his preciousness, for the contemplation of this fills the heart with love to Him : and love, you know, is a most active and lively thing. Judge not your own state by what you find your case, as to your sense, sometimes to be, for a very fruitful tree will bear neither fruit nor leaves in the winter season, while as much sap will be in the root. Spend not time in debating, but in the sincere and serious use of those means that you have of union and communion with Christ. This is both the surest and the shortest way to win to fixedness. Neither seek sense's satisfaction for the present, but a grounded assurance for the future. Look to the infinite power and infinite love of Christ—there is a two-edged sword to cut asunder all your Gordian knots. Infinite power, what can it not do ? and infinite love, what will it not do ? Never seek anything in yourself to

commend you to Christ, for that will keep you still staggering ; so to his grace, who is able to perfect what concerneth you, I recommend you. As to your troubled case, in not knowing well whether you be called to stay where you are, or to come home, I confess, when I ponder all circumstances, I find it very puzzling, and I may say it has given me some errands to God, and I am in no small measure concerned therewith. But I would desire you, without anxiety, to wait on a little, for the Lord by his providential dispensations, or in a more extraordinary manner, will determine you. Some concerned friends are also spoken to anent it, that they would ponder the case before the Lord, and see whether they will desire the babies to come home or not—and their mind, I think, will be soon reported to your worthy brother, as this comes into your hands—so at the time I can write the less anent it, and therefore leave you upon the Lord, who is all in all. Begging, worthy Madam, that you would not forget the case that you know he is in, who remains your ladyship's soul's wellwisher, sympathizer, and obedient servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXII.—From Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

July 9, 1684.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—Your letter which I received was wonderfully sweet and refreshing to me, and was made a means, in some measure, to prepare me for what I was to meet with ; for immediately thereafter I was involved in such troubles as before I had not been trysted with, but all, indeed, to manifest, in a wonderful manner, the Lord's love and power to and for his people. For upon the Sabbath after your letter came to my hand, we met for public worship near the Whinn-bog in the Monkland ; but that country having generally apostatized into an open hostility against the Lord, some went quickly away unto Glasgow, and gave notice unto the enemies' forces. Howbeit, we heard thereof ere forenoon's sermon was ended, yet continued until that part of the work was gone about. Thereafter, we thought it fit to depart from that place, and also that the armed men should keep together for our better defence and safety ; which, through God's goodness, was a means to keep the enemy from noticing and pursuing strangers, that being stricken into some confusion and terror, and keeping both their horse and foot in one body ; yet they lodged all

night, we not knowing of it, within a mile of some, and two miles of others of us, intending to set forward toward the houses where we were. But the Lord, whose ways are wonderful, made use of a malignant gentleman to detain them, he asserting that none of us went toward that airth [quarter]. Notwithstanding, this wakened up the adversaries more, so that they kept up a pursuit and search, which proved very obstructive to our General Meeting, which was upon the Thursday thereafter. For upon that very day, they came with horse and foot to search the moors where we were, and came here upon us ere we could get anything concluded; which thing moved us (we suspecting that they, some way or other, had gotten notice of some of us being together) to remove from that place some way off into a little glen, where we resolved to keep ourselves obscure. But after we had rested and refreshed ourselves a little, we espied four of their foot marching toward us: whereupon it was thought fit to send out so many to meet them, who, when they came together, fired upon one another; but the Lord's gracious providence so ordered it, that there was not the least scathe upon our side, there being one of the enemy wounded, so that he died since. Howbeit the shots alarmed the rest of our enemies who were upon the hill; and, when we drew out to the open fields, we saw their foot not very far from us, and got present advertisement that the enemy was still upon the pursuit and near unto us. We, in all haste, set forward through the moss, having no outward strength to fly unto, but by crossing the way of the adversary: whereupon we expected an encounter with them. Yet committing ourselves into the Lord's hand, we went on until we came unto another certain moss, where we staid until night, and got much of our business done. But in all this the wonderful power of God was seen, in both inspiriting his people for that exigency, and preserving us from falling into the hands of the adversaries. Yea, though He showed us wonders therein, yet He delighted to show us more; for, upon the Saturday night thereafter, there was a competent number of us met in a barn for worship, and had not well begun until we heard both the drums and trumpets of the enemy; but we thought it most expedient to set watches without, and continue at our work until we saw further. Nevertheless, in all these tumults and dangers the Lord's goodness was so manifested to his people, that He not only hid them under his wings, and preserved them, but He also

kept their spirits from the least fear, confusion, or commotion; yea, the very sight of some of them would have made resolute soldiers amongst us. So after this hazard was over, some of us thought it convenient to stay where we were (it being a woody place) until the Sabbath-day was past. But, ere the middle of the day, we got an alarm that the enemy was within two miles or thereabout, coming toward that airth: whereupon we went over the Clyde; but so soon as that was, we being in number about six or seven, had almost encountered a party of the enemy's horse, who, at the crossing of our way, had inevitably met with us, if the Lord had not so ordered it, that a friend of ours had seen them ere they could see us, who thereupon came running toward us with a white napkin (because conspicuous to us) flourishing in his hand: whereupon we halted, and when he came to us, we lurked among some bushes until the enemy passed by. Thereafter we setting forward by two and two upon our journey, which was intended to be but short, some two of us met with one of the adversary's number upon horseback, who presently fled with all his might toward Lanark—we being within three short miles thereof—which forced us to take a desperate course, in running through that plenished country unto Darnead Moss, still expecting to foregather in that hostile town of Lanark both horse and foot. But the Lord's power and goodness was such toward us, that we escaped all their hands; which thing was great matter of admiration unto us all, and made me to wonder not a little. That Scripture being my companion, "Then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad" (Psalm cxxvi. 2, 3). And also that other—"He hath showed his people the power of his works, that He may give them the heritage of the heathen" (Psalm cxi. 6). O! all those things that He did to us and for us were matter of great rejoicing in Himself. But as I thought I saw them to be pledges of greater things, whereby his attributes might be more manifested, they were made matter of double and greater joy unto me. He hath given us proofs of what He can do for his people in the day of their strait; and He gives us good cause to commit unto his faithfulness the management and raising up of his seemingly buried work, and the carrying through of his people. And ever since it hath been my chief exercise—yea, and a while before that, the deep and abiding impression of his unexpected, sudden, and glorious appearing for his name and people.

I think we are like unto a poor, helpless, despicable, dead-like company, lying depressed in a valley ; and He, as it were, by his word and works discovering Himself upon a hill-top in our view, stretching out his arms, and all fluttering to be at us, calling unto us that we would join our hearts and voices together, and cry Him down unto us, offering that his power and love meeting together, shall tread down and dissipate unto nothing our dreaded obstructions of one sort or another. Yea, I say, if I know anything of the mind of the Lord, this is his special call unto all his sincere followers this day—"Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give Him no rest, till He establish Jerusalem, and till He make it a praise in the whole earth" (Isa. lxii. 6, 7). O ! Let us all join together in this exercise, and let us be sincere, fervent, and constant in it. Let us be at no manner of ease while Zion is in trouble ; for though we should be content with our calamity, yet we should in no ways be content with our sin procuring the same, nor with the preservation of enemies in their insolence and rebellion against the Lord, whereby his name is daily blasphemed : and this has been procured by our backsliding. I say, let us join in this exercise, in crying to the Lord for his appearing. His people's delivery shall be so glorious, that it shall abundantly make up for all the cost, wrestling, and suffering that they can be at ; and though many of them with their bodily eyes may never see it, and though some of those that, in their places and stations, are employed about the building may never see the cope-stone put thereupon, for as short a work as the great Master-builder will make of it, yet what's the matter ? They are about their duty, and their delivery shall be more complete and glorious. For mine own part, though the enemy should not get me reached, seemingly this tabernacle of clay will soon fall ; for I am oftentimes variously and greatly distempered in my body. But while the Lord hath anything to do with me, I shall continue, and I desire to continue no longer, though many live longer than the Lord hath work for them. Howbeit, I many times admire the Lord's kindness toward me, for I never find any distemper of my body but when I am so circumstanced, as, in many respects, I may dispense with it ; and, through his grace, this is all my desire to spend and be spent for Him in his work, until my course be ended. And for seeing better days with my bodily eyes (though I am persuaded they are near at hand) I am not in the least anxious, neither was that desire either soon or late my

exercise, for though they will be a happy people who will be so privileged, yet I count them more happy who are altogether without fear, care, sinning, or sorrowing.

As for other news, right honourable and dearly beloved in our Lord, very many of us, within these three quarters of a year, have fallen amongst the enemies' hands. Some they executed upon scaffolds; but the Lord so owned and countenanced such, especially those five at Glasgow, that the sight of them took great effect upon the generality of the people, and raised such a feeling amongst them, as was dreaded by the enemy. Yea, and a grand persecutor, called Major Windram, had three children, who within a little while of each other died, one of them a very young boy, and two daughters come to the years of discretion, who died very sweetly and satisfyingly, declaring that the Lord's hand was stretched forth against them, because of the hand their father had in shedding the blood of the saints; and obtested him before God, that he would quit the course that he followed: which things had some, though no promising effect upon him. Whereupon, since the enemy thought it most conducive to their purpose to banish them all, so many who carried very steadfastly were sent away, they leaving faithful joint testimonies behind them: whereof one was subscribed by twenty-two hands, twenty of them having carried honestly; and the other two acknowledging their fainting, in either seeking or consenting unto banishment. But I think the Lord had a special end in the exile of such, sending them away to be witnesses against the many complying ministers and professors who are going to that same place. May not we be content to want a company of our friends out of our own land, that they may be a testimony for the Lord in another place? Howbeit, the enemies' hands are wonderfully bound up now from shedding of blood. I do not know what may be done, through the Lord's permission, by these new created powers, the Earl of Perth being called chancellor; but York's faction is discouraged, there being a variance, at least pretended, betwixt his brother and him. But if real, I think it may be a means to shorten some of their days. As for what we did at our last General Meeting, after we had resolved to answer your desires, we laid it upon T. Linning to write his testimony, and show it to the next meeting, which he engaged to do. If the meeting be pleased therewith, I think he will go abroad unto you. For my own part, if his testimony be satisfying, I can say nothing against it, for I think he is the most hopeful lad, by appear-

ance, that we have, and hath kythed much willingness to serve the remnant any way. But at our last meeting we got not Mr William Boyd spoken to, nor heard. Nevertheless I am sadly afraid that he breed us work yet. But I pray the Lord may disappoint my fears.

Now, right honourable and dearly beloved in our sweet and precious Lord, what shall I say unto you? or how shall I express myself? The incomparableness of time's trials and sufferings with the loveliness of Christ, and the glory that shall be revealed thereafter, makes me sometimes that I see neither trouble nor danger, mine eyes being shut thereat, and carried to behold a small glimpse of that which is beyond tribulation's reach; but in such a case silent wondering is most my exercise. O! what a life will it be, when we shall neither sin nor sorrow, when we shall lay down our arms, and take up the palm of victory and triumph in our hands, and follow the Lamb with songs of praise in our mouths! Everlasting love and joy will be all the work that is there. O! what manner of work is that? The ardency of love, without abating or intermissions and allayments, arising from the enjoyment of so lovely and beloved an object. What manner of work is that? They that get a sight of that will be made to cry out, "We will spend no more labour for that which satisfieth not." O! the full and sufficient satisfaction that is in the matchless pearl, Christ. He is all things desirable. Let us bestow all our love, our whole affections upon Him. And when we have done, let us wonder that He should seek it, and take it off our hands. While in these lists of jostling, let us put all our weapons in love's hand. Love is a resolute soldier, love is an undaunted champion; love's eye is so much taken up with contemplating the Beloved, that it cannot see dangers in the way, but runs blindly upon them; and yet not blindly, it knoweth for whom, and for what it so ventureth. Love will never turn the weapons against the Beloved; yea, will never turn the back upon the Beloved's quarrel. O! what a champion is love! I confess good company, and abiding company, is much to be desired, and love is that. Faith at length will vanish into sight, and hope into possession; but love is the Christian's continual companion, and a brave companion it is; for it is no burden to love, when there is the lasting enjoyment of the Beloved, and the full and continual assurance of immeasurable love again, as it is when love is made perfect.

Ah! if time would stay, I would not weary to write unto

your honour; for I do not know when, if ever, I may have the occasion again. But while I am, I desire to be concerned with you. O! go on and fear not. The Lord, I hope, will show you a token for good, that they who hate you may see it and be ashamed. Dread nothing in your intended journey—the Lord will be with you. I pray again and again that so it may be, and that He may bless your labours, and make them contribute to the procuring a uniformity amongst the Churches, that so He may be one, and his name one amongst us. I hope I need not desire you to mind me, a poor thing, who have much to do, and nothing in myself to do with, and who remains, honourable and dear Sir, your real, constant, sympathizing friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXIII.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

August 23, 1684.

HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR,—I thought once that your expectation of our letters should have been more quickly answered than now it could be; but the holy and wise God, who doeth all things well, so ordered it that it is fallen out otherwise. For upon the 30th day of July, when I was going, in company with other three, to the General Meeting, we espied two dragoons meeting us, and not expecting any more to be following, we went forward not dreading them; but when we came within word and shot, we saw a party of about twenty more very near upon us: whereupon, seeing there was no probability of resisting them, we turned up to a hill called Dungavel. But my three neighbours being on foot and I on horseback, they compassed the foot of the hill, but I took up to the height, being hotly pursued by many of that party; some whereof were at my right hand to keep me from the mosses, and others behind, who always as they came within shot, discharged upon me; so being near unto the top of the hill, and finding myself beset round about, and seeing no visible door to escape, I thought fit to quit the horse which I had, and wait till I saw what God would do. But after I had lighted from the horse, I saw before me a piece of good level ground, whereupon I essayed to mount again upon the horse, but the beast would not stand unto me; whereupon I resolved to kill the horse, lest the enemy should be thereby strengthened. Howbeit,

having but one shot, I thought fit to keep it for a greater necessity. Finding the beast such as would not stand still, I reached it with a shabble which I had, conjecturing that possibly (the place being uninhabited) the beast might save my wallet and the papers, together with Mr B.'s wallet. Thus I went up to the top of the hill upon foot, and seeing myself so encompassed that I could not run from them, and that I was in no ways able to fight with them, I judged it my best to clap upon the ground. So I went unto a cairn, which by situation was about six or seven paces of ground out of all their eyes, thinking to lie down upon it, the hill being green and bare in that place, knowing that God could carry their sight over it; so coming to the top of it, I espied in it a pit, which, when I saw, it entered into my mind that it was ordained of God for the hiding of me. Thus I lay down into it, winning by God's goodness to a cheerful submission to death, torture, or whatsoever his will might be. But I was, in no small measure, confident that no evil at that time could happen unto me, the Lord giving me that Scripture—"Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity" (Psalm vi. 8), which was so powerful, that I was made, I think, a hundred times to repeat it over, ere I could get myself stayed; together with that other—"For He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways" (Psalm xci. 11): which was such unto me, that I lifted up my head to see these angels; but, considering my folly in that particular, I was made to laugh at my own witlessness. So I lay still until the sun set, sometimes praying and sometimes praising God, though, alas, I can do neither to purpose. But all the joy that the Lord's works of wonder for me did afford, were swallowed up in sorrow, because of what befell my dear brethren, who (all that were with me) fell into the enemies' hands, one of them receiving eleven wounds. Then, after all, when I thought of drawing off the hill, not knowing the way to one friend's house in the whole country, I besought the Lord, that as He had hid me so He would lead and guide me. Thus I set my face towards the Clyde, and after I had travelled about four miles, I met with Wind-hill, with whom I stayed two days, and kept a meeting upon the second night, even while the militia were searching that side of the country; and twice that night I very narrowly escaped, as it had been even out of their very paws. O! time would fail me to relate the Lord's works of wonder for poor unworthy me; for even since, I have in one day escaped three or four signal

hazards. O ! what shall I say of the Lord's way with me? He will either have me taught, otherwise He will have me appear to be indocible. O for grace to answer his painstaking upon me. As for the present case of our land, it was never such ; enemies have issued forth a proclamation, calling all the militia be-north [beyond] Tay to be in readiness against the fifteenth of this month, with fifteen days' provision, and it is thought to spread over the westland Shires ; but the Lord knows what their purposes are. However, they have proclaimed, that all men in country habit, wherever they are seen, are to be challenged, and kept till it be known who they are. Now, the adversary is most cruel, and apprehends not only all men, but even the women whom they can get their hands upon, and use them most barbarously. O what meaneth this hot furnace ! surely it is not to consume, it is to purge and refine. O for grace to endure unto the end. I think Scotland is now like a woman in hard labour, who must either get a speedy help and delivery, else she will be in peril of dying in travail. But courage yet, her sharpest hour is at the minute of her delivery. Die, die she will not, for the Lord is but hasting through her travail. The more sore the pains be, the more joyful her delivery will be ; yea, the Lord will make brave mirth at it, for He will have a feast of many a man's carcass at it. As for more particular news, N. K. will give you an account. I have not seen his testimony, but I think he is a good honest lad. R. G. hath carried always very steadfastly, and is now sentenced to banishment, a wonderful restraint upon enemies indeed.

I saw your honour's letters which you wrote home anent Mr Flint's business ; and I cannot pass this, that I observed in the strain of them much trouble, if not discouragement to be held forth. O fye upon you, where is all your undaunted boldness and true magnanimity now? What fear you? What can he and his party do? They are incapable of doing harm here ; they are but rendering themselves such, as that their memories shall be written over with contempt and ignominy to all after generations.

Now, the Lord be with you, and teach you to use your weapons rightly for Him in this day of rencounter. O cease not to pray for poor Scotland, now in travail, and for him who is yours, as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

P.S.—If time would permit, ilk [either] day furnishes me

both with sad and refreshful tidings to represent unto your honour ; refreshful, for our prison houses are filled with songs of joy and praise, yea, they were never more refreshful, for they are palaces indeed. But our sad case otherwise still increaseth ; for many are apprehended, yea, women incarcerated, and some of them banished, and men executed upon the very day when they receive the sentence of death.

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXIV.—From Mr JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

1684.

HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR,—I received yours, and was refreshed to see a line from your hand again. Yet I am not a little troubled that our converse by letters should not be more frequent ; but continual hurrying and tossing stop it on my part, together with such a multitude of business, that sometimes I would put a greater price upon an hour of time than upon much riches. O Sir ! they who know my work, if they had not hearts harder than adamants, would be affected with commiseration ; but why should I say thus, for they who knew the Lord's kindness to poor unworthy me, would make me the object of their envy. I may say this, indeed, that the Lord suffers not my work, however insupportable to flesh and blood, to be burdensome unto me ; for though the world think my case most miserable, yet I think it is so happy that I know not a man this day, upon the face of the earth, with whom I would exchange my lot. O ! it is more sweet and pleasant to be swimming in the swellings of Jordan for Christ and with Christ, than to swatter in the pleasures of sin and delights of the flesh. Yea, though Christians had not a heaven hereafter, I cannot but judge their case, even here, happy beyond all others ; as the Psalmist saith, "Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time when their corn and their wine increaseth" (Psalm iv. 7). When the world frowns most, I know it is the time wherein the Lord smiles most upon his own. O therefore let none of them fear a suffering lot. Enemies think themselves satisfied that we are put to wander in dark stormy nights through mosses and mountains ; but if they knew how we are feasted, when others are sleeping, they would gnash their teeth for anger. O ! I cannot express what sweet times I have had when the curtains of heaven have been drawn—when the

quietness of all things, in the silent watches of the night, has brought to my mind the duty of admiring the deep, silent, and inexpressible ocean of joy and wonder, wherein the whole family of the higher house are everlastingly drowned, each star leading me out to wonder what He must be who is the Star of Jacob, the bright and morning Star, who maketh all his own to shine as stars in the firmament. Indeed, if I may term it so, I am much obliged to enemies; for though they purpose my misery, yet they are instrumental in covering many a fat table to me; and while they are pining away in dusky envy and pale fear, I am feeding in peace and joy. O poor fools! what can they do? The greatest wrong they can do is to be instrumental in bringing a chariot to carry us to that highest house; and should we not think this the greatest favour? Let enemies never think that they can make the people of God's case miserable while He lives and reigns; and I wot well, He hath that to give, and will give that which will sweeten all that is sour to his followers. I may say this to his praise, that I have found so much of his kindness and supply in setting about his work in such hard circumstances, that through the prevailing of a body of death sometimes, and desire to be with Himself, makes me long for dissolution; yet I think I could be content to dwell if it were a thousand years in this infirm and weakened body of clay, with continual toil and hazard, to carry his name to his people.

Now, right honourable, as to news here, know that the Lord is still increasing his people in number and spiritual strength, and many a sacrifice He is taking off their hands; for there are not many days wherein his truths are not sealed with blood, and that in all places, so that I think within a little there shall not be a moss or mountain in the West of Scotland which shall not be flowered with martyrs. Enemies have brought down the Highlanders upon us, and they with the forces do run through the country and kill all whom they meet with, if they do not say whatsoever they bid them. We are fearing massacres—here is a massacre indeed. “Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep,” without intermission, “for the slain of the daughter of my people.” Also, they have given out, by Act of Parliament and open proclamation, that all ministers and hearers who are found in the fields are to be killed presently; and if found in houses, the minister is to be killed and the people fined. The devil now is come down in great wrath, because he knoweth

his time to be but short. Mr Alexander Shields is yet alive, and seems aye to be more and more right ; he indeed hath made a foul fall, but I think he is duly sensible. All the rest of the prisoners are very well encouraged. I have of late made a hasty journey into England, the length of Newcastle, and, blessed be the Lord ! with much more than expected encouragement and success. I cannot at this instant grant your desire, but I shall keep your memorandum till I get it done, for I have been these eight days so hurried and chased with continual alarms, that I could not get settled to write any ; and the Lord, to manifest his power, gave me a most remarkable deliverance.

Now, dear Sir, begging it of you and all friends that you will be busy and instant with God, that He may be with us in the day of our extremity ; and commending you all to the grace of God, with my love and service to yourself, and to them of whose concernedness with the Lord's cause we are all sensible, and that are most strengthening to you against all your antagonists, particularly to the En. V. H., to whom I purpose, God willing, to write, I am ever, as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXV.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to —

February 28, 1685.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I received your letter, which was many ways refreshing unto me, as also the way of its coming to my hand ; for when I was upon my travels, about the setting forth of my Master's wares, there arose such a storm of weather, which forced me to turn off my journey a little, to the nearest great inn, and there I got your letter, and also my wares better received off my hand than even before in that place. Hence I am made to see that Divine providence is a mysterious thing, and that I never lose a whit more because of a storm. There is one thing in your letter which made me not a little to admire—to wit, your apprehension that I was sorely sick, that there was a great skaith among traders, and that my sickness was a great mean of my preservation—a leel [true] guess indeed. In reference hereunto, I must tell you a pretty passage. Upon a certain night, after the dismissal of a market, there went about forty of our merchants forward a little before me, upon the way that I was going, with whom I trysted to meet the night following. But after a little sleep, sickness so possessed me that I

was not able to keep my tryst. Whereupon I sent away some merchants that were with me to go forward with the rest about their business ; who, upon the day following, were assaulted with a great multitude of our antagonists, who were six for one, so that our merchants were not able to stand : whereupon they took the retreat, and outstripped their antagonists without any skaith, save the loss of one. Now before this came to pass I dreaded it. But what do you think of my sickness and your guess? For if I had been with the rest, I had been taken from all trading ; for my body is so weakened with much travel, that though I travel more than any, yet I cannot come so good speed as others, when need requireth. Also, within two days my sickness left me. Now, I leave all this to your thoughts, for it would be tedious for me to write mine ; and I think you may guess at them, as you did at that which was more dark. But to come to the substance of your letter, you have opened up the mystery of our trade abroad, which I dreaded, yet I understood it not ; but I agree with your advice as to these men's subscribing of our principal accounts. But my Master is taking the wisest way in it ; for now He hath houghed off our antagonist's chief factor. So that I think all merchants now will shortly side themselves, and when at the push they declare themselves willingly whose trade they are for, it will speak forth the more ingenuity, and we will know the better what to think of them. So we need not be rash in our proposals till we see how these men settle, for now they must settle some way or other. This is my poor advice at the time, but I have not as yet met with any number of our merchants to consult with anent it. However, the same mystery from abroad is also at home with us, but I find all our merchants pretty steadfast, for all sorts are most earnest that we should trade with them, and they with us. But I judge they respect not the advantage of our trade therein, but of their own. Nevertheless, what think you makes them so earnest to trade with us? Our wares go well off our hands at home, this is part of the reason of it : our merchants daily increase, this is another part. But I judge the chief reason to be this, they look upon us as venturous merchants, that dow [will] not abide dealing with naughty commodities, but set out aye for wholesale ; and that we are resolute, so that no storm will keep us back from our intended voyage. Whereupon they think, if we would trade with them, they would get us set upon all desperate traffic, and if

we did won, it would be to their hand ; and if we lost, we would but lose ourselves, which the most part of them would not regard much. Here I think lies the knack.

But, worthy Sir, for your further satisfaction and information anent our trade at home, these few things I think fit to tell you that I observe—(1.) That the greatest part of the country give their approbation to our trade, and the way thereof, though they have not hearts to give their gold and money for our wares. (2.) That very many think our wares so worthy, that they spare not to bestow either gold or money upon them. (3.) That very many, who I thought would not have looked us in the face, resort to our markets in all places. (4.) Very many are seeking to be in our incorporations, who I think are downright for our trade ; but I fear some of them are seeking rather that we should have a great stock, and that they should share with us, than that my Master should get credit ; whereas He respects his credit more than He doth all the gold and money in the world. (5.) None are received in amongst us who either leave us or rue their trading with us. (6.) Our merchants are all fearless, as if they could not lose anything. (7.) They are resolute—they will not slip a market for a foul day, or lie in the harbour because of a storm. (8.) The waiters are so angry at our goods, that ordinarily they do not bring them, when they catch them, to public roupings, or to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, but destroy them where they may find them. This is occasioned partly by the resoluteness of our merchants—who will not let the waiters carry away any of our goods, so they come to be destroyed when the waiters are the strongest party, and partly by the maliciousness of the waiters, who, unless our merchants renounce their trade, presently destroy their goods. I may say, my Master hath gotten us some brave resolute merchants, whom a hasty proposal never surpriseth. (9.) The waiters have gotten many of the best of our goods destroyed ; yea, they have caped [captured] more from us within these two years than I thought then we had ; and the more they take, we have the more behind. But this is only through the wisdom of my Master ; yea, He is so wise, that ere He wants wares He will make stones give silver. (10.) There is some difference amongst our merchants anent the manner of seeking in out debts of the last accounts, which we gave in against our antagonists ; but I do not fear that my Master will suffer a breach among us upon that head, for we all agree in the matter.

Now, to come to what is your desire in your memorandum sent unto me.

1. As to that information anent Mr Lap., I got it from young Mr Fisher, who had it from his brother at London. As also, I know that his brother had left trading with the leading merchants at London, save with Mr Fife, with whom I hear not that he trades much.

2. As to correspondence with Groemvezyh (by whom I understand Mr Br.), there hath been more since his flitting; and as for any letters betwixt him and Mr Fisher, elder, is a thing unknown to me, neither have I any distinct notion of his seeking to trade with us, save by the apprentice you sent over.

3. As to our late accounts, we shall see to get them unto you; as also how that money may be received off your hand.

Now, right honourable Sir, at the time I shall trouble you no further, not knowing well how to get this conveyed to your hand. But I leave you to my Master's direction and counsel, who I know can make known unto you the secrets of our trade, and the engines of our opposers. My love to all friends who wish us a good market—show them I forget them not. I am, yours to serve you to my power in my Master's employment,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXVI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mrs Jean HAMILTON at Lewarden, in Friesland.

March 2, 1685.

WORTHY MADAM,—Your letter was long in coming to my hand, and it hath been long in answering. But I had never the expectation of an occasion before this; as also, your case was troublesome to me, and I knew not well what to say anent it. The most that I can say yet is, that I desire earnestly to sympathize with you, and to mind you before the Lord, for I know your burdens. However, I dare not advise you to it.

1. Because of the many corruptions, which I fear are not so burdensome to them now, as once I apprehended they were to some of them.

2. Because of your own want of clearness anent it. I say this not that I make our clearness a sufficient warrant either to do or not to do, for then the Scriptures would not be the rule—"Yet to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean." As also, I think your want of clearness is not groundless. But here arise the difficulties.

(1.) How shall this be reconciled with your worthy brother's practice? Yet I do not see them jostle together; for though he heareth, yet I know he withdraweth from what is corrupt, which you would not get so handsomely done.

(2.) How shall this be reconciled with the ordination? Yet neither is there any contradiction here; for in the ordination they came to us, and acted according to Scotland's reformation, and if those whom you were to hear would do so in all points of worship, you need not have any scruple.

But as for coming here with the children, I see not how you can resolve upon it as yet; for though your case be sad there as to many things, it would be more sad here. Therefore my poor advice is, that you would contentedly stay a little, till you see what the Lord will do, and wrestle through your difficulties the best way you can, for we are expecting strange things suddenly at home. Yet if you saw a general calamity coming upon that place, better to come home and share in Scotland's calamity, in whose sin we all have a share, than to share in the calamities of another place.

Now, dear Madam, my dear and worthy friend, look to the Lord himself for your direction, upholding, encouragement, comfort, and upmaking. For come what will, it will be well with the righteous, and all shall end in a public testimony of Divine favour to those who wait upon the Lord. Though He should shake heaven and earth, yet He "will be the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel" (Joel iii. 16). Now to the word of his grace I commend you, worthy Madam, your ladyship's undoubted sympathizing friend in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXVII.—From Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

EDINBURGH, *May* 13, 1685.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I have been with your friend Robert, and got some account of affairs, which made me to wonder not a little; but Andrew Cameron's information hath made me to wonder much more. For I could not believe that policy could mask over temporal designs with so fair colours and pretences; whereupon, we have great need of the wisdom of the serpent, as well as the harmlessness of the dove. I find Andrew Cameron's drift is to get in with Argyle; but to me

his arguments are more dissuasive than persuasive. But I dread W. B. greatly, having seen a paper from his own hand, where he yields to all their desire. I fear the hand of Joab hath been in it; and he, forsooth, would have it published in our name. But, through grace, I will oppose it with my whole strength. I am likewise afraid of some others amongst us, but of none save of such as I had former jealousies, but could not bottom sufficient reasons against them. I have seen your animadversions upon the association, which I agree with; for I look upon it as a Cromwellian and Bothwellian compound. As for your animadversions on our declaration, I think the commentaries of politics have made you look upon it after another sort than otherwise you would have done; for we designed it to be taken jointly alongst with our other testimonies and actings, and so the door is not wider than it was: neither can any show anything in that declaration but what I think may be easily reconciled with our other testimonies and actings. So I think it a thing below you or me to trouble ourselves with the various expositions that persons, for their own ends, put upon it. For some represent it as the strictest thing that ever came from our hands, thereby hoping to make us odious. Some again, as the laxest that ever came from our hands, that thereupon they may get a door to enter. But there is none opened, and our wall is so well cemented, that, through our Camp-Master, they will not break through. If some shall jump over it, and go out from us, yet our wall shall stand inviolable. Wherefore trouble not yourself, O right honourable, about Logomachies, for our practice will comment upon it.

Hoping to meet with friends shortly, I will be in a capacity to inform you fully. Praying that the Lord may give light and life, I am, right honoured, yours as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXVIII.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

July 9, 1685.

HONOURABLE SIR,—If I durst have ventured this with the post, or could have had another occasion, I would have written to you ere this time, for I know you will be anxious to hear how it is with us. It would, however, take a great volume, and require an accurate observing capacity, to write our

case. Howbeit this is no small comfort and encouragement, that the Lord so visibly takes our matters into his own guiding. For before Argyle brake, many of our friends were greatly puzzled whether the Lord was calling them to follow their former methods, or to draw altogether by themselves, and to emit a declaration of their own; whereupon there was a meeting appointed to consider the matter, and also a day of prayer appointed. But the Lord disappointed our meetings, one after another, until Argyle was apprehended and his party scattered: so this was put out of their heads. Yet our snares since have been greater than heretofore; for Mr Barclay and Mr Langlands pass up and down the country, and have got themselves too much insinuated into several of our wanderers, pretending no difference from us, but a willingness to join with us. Howbeit I met with Mr Langlands, and found him no otherwise than when I was in Holland. He owned his writing that letter to Mr Brackel, but would grant with no wrong therein. So the main thing that they drive at is to have us lay aside our challenges, and then they would be silent. But it is clear to me that the Lord doth not send them; for if He did, they would not cover their iniquity. Also their need, and not our need, hath moved them; but if they shall in such a strain step to the fields with public preaching, I think they will not keep them long, for the Lord hath taken possession of our high places until He return to our temple again. Howbeit if it were the Lord's will you were amongst us, I think (through the Lord's grace and assistance) that might be instrumental of very much good. But for my soul, I dare not advise you to come, considering what hazards you may run in your coming. Yet you may lay it out before the Lord, and if He do not open a door for your journey, do not venture upon it, for I hope He is reserving you for some greater work. O be not anxious, for the Lord will make a stroke clear our controversies.

As for news, Argyle's party is wholly dissipated; for they disagreed amongst themselves, not upon the stating of their quarrel, but upon the way of prosecuting it. No conditions to them were kept, and this rendered them very dissatisfied. Argyle is beheaded; Rumbold executed, after the manner of worthy Rathillet; Sir J. C. apprehended, and his son, with several others. But Monmouth is still busied in England, whereby the Scottish forces are marched right towards the border, which animates William Cleland, &c. to make a

new stir, and so our difficulties are as formerly. As for your brother Sir William, he was lieutenant to Rumbold. He is yet alive, with some of his friends. I resolve to speer [find] him out, and inform him I have seen J. N., who saith he is with us in all things, and that he came with Argyle only for passage, being under no engagements, and taking no place from them. Andrew Cameron is a great agent for them, and not simple in their business; he refuseth joining with any ministers who were not actually indulged, or defenders of such. G. H. R. Smith and David Steel are well, but R. Smith cannot find an open door to come unto you. M. B. is like to die in prison. Mr Alexander Shields seems not to be of a right stamp.^r Now, I hope your honour will pardon my confusion, occasioned by my hasty pen. I cannot express my thoughts to you; but I say again, the Lord will take our matters in his own hand. O! let us be busy with Himself, and commit all unto Him who hath the government upon his shoulders. Scotland's day is coming. Happy those who are in their chambers. My love and service to all friends with you, foreigners and others. The blessing of Him who is in the burning bush be with you.—I am, honourable Sir, your servant as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XXXIX.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT SPEIR, at Edinburgh.

October 23, 1685.

DEAR FRIEND,—What passed at our last meeting time will not allow me to inform you of, neither need I be careful about the same, for I know that the bearer can do it as distinctly as I. However, I thought fit to write unto you, showing that the meeting is no ways discontent with your purpose of going abroad at this time. And as to what I have written to my honourable and dear friend, which I did let you see, though I judged it not fit to communicate the same to other friends; as I was telling you by words, so I desire that you would signify to him, that he must take it only as my thoughts at that time, which in a great measure were undigested, and, through the multitude of business and contendings, and various weights upon my spirit, not a little confused. Also, as I was telling you my mind more fully anent these things than I have written it, so

He took the Abjuration Oath the 6th of August after this, as Wodrow testifies, vol. ii.

I desire that you would speak with him concerning the same, showing my thoughts more conspicuously than my letter doth. Moreover, if I have written anything which is unseasonable, or not right and equal, I am content to be informed and instructed by him ; but it is my desire, if he will agree therewith, that after his reading and considering the same, the paper may be destroyed ; for I think it not any advantage to the cause to keep any letter from friends, but what is written as their fixed and deliberate thoughts about matters.

Now, for your coming home, I think you have seen many depths of mercy and judgment manifested to the poor Church of Scotland. You have seen the afflicted remnant brought unto, and through many difficulties ; you have seen much matter of joy and sorrow, so I hope your travels hither have not been without fruit. So praying that the Lord may make his own hand appear in his own work, and establish a remnant in his own way, in the midst of snares and damping difficulties ; and commending you to his direction, assistance, protection, and provision, I am, dear Sir, your assured friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XL.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mrs J. HAMILTON
at Lewarden, in Friesland.

November 18, 1685.

WORTHY MADAM,—You doubtless think my long silence strange, and it is far contrary to my own resolution ; but the abounding of inward care, and the continuing of outward tossing, block me up from doing many things which I would. It is no great wonder that a man under such variety of providences as I am, cannot be master of his own purposes. Howbeit, I may say your case, and the case of the family, lie in such a measure upon my heart that I cannot get the same forgotten ; and though this be an insignificant thing, and of little purpose to your ladyship, yet I own it is my duty. I never look upon your case, but I think it is in some things singular. Your lot is cast in a strange land, separated from your friends and acquaintances. But communion and fellowship with God will make your lot sweet and pleasant unto you, and furnish you with abundance of joy in every outward condition ; and this, I hope, you are sometimes sensibly tasting ; also, I doubt not but the company of your worthy brother and

of some dear foreigners, is not a little refreshful to you. Moreover, when I consider your circumstances, Ruth's cleaving to Naomi is still brought before me. Without the least of flattery, I say it, I think what you have done for your dear sister's family (coming from sincerity, of which charity which is not blind will not let me doubt) is as acceptable before God, and as such to be praised amongst men. But knowing that this is a subject which, though I could not pass, yet you, madam, desire not to be treated upon; therefore I shall forbear it, and shall show you some of my thoughts (indistinct and insignificant as they are) anent our poor Scotland.

1. I think we are not yet entered our Jordan; for though we have come through a miry and thorny wilderness, yet our Jordan is before us, and it will be very deep, but it will not be very broad. When the ark of God enters it, it shall be like to drown, but it shall suddenly and admirably win to the other side.

2. I think safety shall only be to those who have their hands nearest the ark. Oh then! many a woe to the ministers and professors whose hands have been drawn back from the work, and to those whose malice is against the burden-bearers. It shall be as is said, "Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see: but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at the people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them" (Isa. xxvi. 11).

3. I think that Scotland shall be made a waste land, ere God's controversy against it be ended. He will sell the heritages of earls, lords, and others—yea, and their carcasses good cheap.

4. I think the Lord (until He raise his work again) will guide and manage it more by providences than by instruments. This is that his hand may be alone seen in it, and that He may get the glory. What is most glorifying to Him, should it not be most pleasant and rejoicing to us?

5. I think that when the Lord returns to us again, it will be with such a measure and outpouring of his Spirit, that the remnant that shall be left shall have a very heaven upon earth, and our land shall be made the joy of all lands.

But as to those, or such like, I shall say no more, knowing that you are both really and distinctly exercised anent our case. What is for us this day, but that we make Christ sure for ourselves, and spend our days here below in admiring the loveliness and condescension of our Beloved, and our own happiness

in enjoying such a portion. But this is a great work—time is not equal for it—therefore we shall get eternity for it. O let us study the increase of the beauty of holiness, for happiness is inferior unto it. It is by holiness we are made like unto God, and is not this true nobility? O! what is like unto it! If we knew more of this study and attainment, desertion would be less of our exercise, and we should enjoy more of the smilings of his sweet countenance, and of the breathings of his Spirit. Also, while in this our pilgrimage, let his will be ours in all things; whatever He may carve out for us, or any that we are concerned in, let us say amen to it; for if He will it, it is enough for us. Yea, let us lay our account with the worst of it, that whatever come we may not be surprised.

Now, not to trouble your ladyship further, praying that the all-sufficiency which is in Christ may be forthcoming for you, that so you may finish your course with his honour and your own true joy, with the testimony of a conscience kept void of offence towards God and towards all men; and that you may suck of the breasts of his consolations here, until you come to drink abundantly of the rivers of pleasure at his right hand, I am, worthy madam, your obliged and assured friend, and sympathizing servant in our sweet Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the honourable SOCIETIES OF STRANGERS at Lewarden, in Friesland.

February 18, 1686.

HONOURABLE AND DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR SWEET LORD,—I have had often blushes with myself, when I thought upon my omitting to write unto you; but I may say my delay was neither voluntary nor wilful, but a matter of necessity: for a man under such various exigencies of Providence as I am, cannot be master of his own purposes. Besides that I am daily looking out either to be presently killed where I may be found, or else dragged into a prison or scaffold, various weighty and perplexing occurrences, day by day, come inevitably in my way, which take up my thoughts, filling my spirit with care, and my hands with business. But if I had proven as forgetful of you as I have been blocked up from saluting you with a line from my hand, I had been far out of my duty before the Lord, and grossly ungrateful toward you. Howbeit, right

honourable and dearly beloved, I need not insist in apologising for myself with you, for I know you have such a feeling of our burdens, that you commiserate our case, and pity our perplexities: therefore I'll break off this, and go on in what the Lord gives me to say.

There is no rational creature which doth not set some one thing or other before its eyes as its main end and chief good; and according to the various predominants in sensual and mad men, are their various main ends. Hence it is that there did result so many different opinions among heathen philosophers about man's chief good. But here is the great mistake with foolish vain men, that whatever they seek after, it is but few who bend toward the true chief good, which is God himself. There are indeed gods many and lords many; for whatever any fixeth his desires upon, and aimeth in all his actions at the obtaining and enjoying thereof, is his lord and his god, whether it be honour or riches, or some object or other of vile concupiscence; yet there is but one God who is truly and only desire-worthy, love-worthy, and honour-worthy. This one hath not a match nor a parallel; for what can equal Him? Yea, what in any worth can come the length of the latchet of his shoes? He is that inestimable jewel, invaluable treasure, and incomparable pearl of price, that only worthy Desire of all nations. O! take a look of Him as He is the Being of beings, having being of Himself independent of all other beings; and upon whom all other things depend in their being and operations. "In Him we live, in Him we move, and of Him we have our being." Doth not all the pieces of the creation—heaven, earth, and sea, sun, moon, and stars, the commonest and unworthiest creature that moveth upon the earth, bear large characters of his wisdom, power, and goodness? Doth not his mysterious common providence—making the sharpest sighted of his creatures hide their faces, and become silent before Him—declare Him to be God, and that He is "of one mind, and who can turn Him?" Do not the various instruments that execute his will, signified by four chariots (Zech. vi. 1), bringing about various dispensations, which are pointed out by the different colours of the horses—whether calamities of war, signified by the red; or other doleful miseries, signified by the black; mixed dispensations, black and white, so to speak, of mercy and judgment, signified by the grizzled and bay; or dispensations of mercy, signified by the white? I say, do not all these come forth from between the two mountains of brass?

The one mountain signifieth his unalterable decree, and the other his effectual providence, which watcheth and waiteth that instruments bring nothing to the birth but what has been conceived in the womb of his eternal purpose. O take a look of Him in his perfection. He is without measure and limits—without beginning and ending. He is one and the same in his nature, in his counsels, and in his love. He perfectly knoweth Himself, and all things that are possible. He can do all things that do not imply a contradiction, and argue imperfection. He is good and doeth good; He is righteous in Himself, and equal in all his ways of dealing with his creatures. He is true without any dissimulation; He is holy, and delighteth in his own holiness, and in every resemblance of it, in his angels and in his saints. O! who can think of Him and who can speak of Him aright? He is infinite in all his attributes; and every perfection hath a perfect meeting in Him. Albeit some of his attributes are in some degree communicable to his creatures, yet they are in Him in an altogether incommunicable manner and measure. There is nothing in God but what is God; for this is his name—"I am that I am." Again I say, Who can think of Him, and who can speak of Him aright? Who can comprehend Him, or compass Him about? Who by understanding can search out God? Humble and believing ignorance is better than curious and prying knowledge: for all that we can know of Him, is to know that we cannot know Him.

Let us yet come a little nearer, and take a look of Him as He is our Saviour, in his condescendency, love, power, faithfulness, and other properties. O! how condescending He is! Though He is that high and lofty One, the Father's equal, yet He stooped so low as to take upon Him the nature of man, and all the sinless infirmities that attend it. He became "flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone," and that in the lowly condition of a servant. He seeks the creature's affection as if it were of some worth, and seeks men and women to match with Him. O how loving is He! It is a strong love that He beareth to the seed of Abraham! Doth not all this shine in all that He hath done? He emptied himself that they might become full; He made himself poor, though Maker and Possessor of heaven and earth, that they might become rich. He fulfilled the law for them, that He might purchase for them life and happiness. He made himself a sacrifice unto the death, that He might satisfy offended justice, and make reconciliation for them. O such a death! so cursed! so shame-

ful ! so painful ! and so lingering ! But above all, He had the full weight of the wrath of God to bear, which all the strength of angels and men could not have endured ; but He, being God, could not fall under it. O what manner of love is this ! In effect He did not care what He suffered. Let justice charge home upon Him with all its rigour and severity, seeing He was to gain his point, and purchase a part of mankind from Satan to himself, from sin to holiness, from misery to happiness : so that man, however unworthy, base, sinful, and miserable, yet is the centre of his love. O ! how powerful is He ! He is mighty to save, able to save to the uttermost ; all the strongholds of the soul cannot hold out against Him. His power is irresistible ; by this He can do what He will, and by his love He will do what we need. Again, He is so faithful, that what He saith He doeth. He will not retract one promise that is gone out of his mouth, neither will He fail in fulfilling all his threatenings.

Much might be said of these things, but not the thousandth part of the truth can be told. When we win to his house above, and see Him as He is, we will be ashamed of all our babblings about Him. They that have been most ravished with his love, and most eloquent to speak forth the praise of his comeliness and properties, will see that they have been, but at best, babes learning to speak. O what shall I say ? He is the wonderful, matchless, and glorious inestimable jewel, and incomparable pearl of price. O who would not choose Him ! Who would not give away themselves to Him ! Let man look through heaven and earth, and seek a portion where he will, he shall not find the like of Christ. O then ! let us be altogether his, and nothing our own. Our time let it be his, our understanding let it be his, our will let it be his, our affections let them be his, the travail of our souls let it be his, our strength let it be his, our names, lives, and enjoyments let them all be his—let us be fully surrendered and entirely consecrated unto Him. This is a comprehensive matter indeed. But what else should we be taken up with, but with the improvement of this resignation, always travelling through his properties, viewing them as our riches, delighting to improve our interest in Him, by receiving from his hand what we need ; and desiring that He improve his interest in us, by doing with us, and taking from us, what He pleaseth. Let us see Him, and observe and say, “What have we to do any more with our idols ?” Oh ! that vanity should get so much as one look

from me. I think He never took pains upon any but that they might be emptied of all things beside Himself, and not have a will of their own, nor affection to any other thing; and yet, ah! the bad entertainment He gets from my hand. I can neither esteem Him myself, nor commend Him to others; though my work be to trumpet aloud his praise, and be an under-suiter to gain the bride's consent to the lovely bridegroom, I can do nothing in it, and little can angels do in it to any purpose. Yet I can tell this unto all, that my Master infinitely passeth my commendations. He is so excellent, that it would but be an obscuring his excellency for me to babble about it.

O right honourable and dear friends, are you not longing for the full enjoyment of Him, looking out for the breaking of the day and the fleeing away of the shadows, that you may no more see Him darkly as through a glass, but may behold Him as He is, and enjoy Him perfectly and constantly? This, O this! what a happiness is it! What shall I say more? For you know more of Him than I can tell you; and all that I can say is but as it were to bring you to remembrance. I thank God on your behalf, that your zeal is heard of in many places. You have become companions with us in our afflictions. Your sympathy with the persecuted party is evident to us all, and we hear that we have a great room in your prayers. Man cannot repay your kindness to us, but I know you look not to man in it, but that you do it out of love to the Lord, for you have no outward encouragement to it. O that the Lord, who hath joined together a few in Lewarden, and a party in Scotland, in such oneness of mind and affection, may, when He returns to us again, join Scotland and Friesland in covenant together, to serve the Lord their God.

And you, O beloved, grow in grace, and endure to the end. I doubt not but you have laid your all at Christ's feet. O take nothing back again. Be resolute in his cause, and valiant in his matters. When his kingdom is so low, let Him want none of your help that is competent for you, and He shall help you. *Own Him, and He will own you. Stand with Him, and He will stand with you, and make you victorious.* Whoever shall fight against you, you shall overcome. It is good fighting in Christ's camp, for all his soldiers shall certainly prevail. O look to your Captain and his encouragements, that you faint not. I apprehend that you meet with sore blows and bickerings; yea, I think you scarcely want any conflict that we have, save only

that you are not as yet in such hazard of your lives. But as nothing more than this doth endear you unto us, so no external condition will more draw out God's heart towards you. But this I will say, be well resolved against whatever man can do unto you. I think no Christian ought now to be secure. The Man of Sin is plotting and strengthening his force what he can, and he will not be content with part of Christ's kingdom—his aim is at all. He stirs himself now so fast in his saddle, that I think it is not long to his fall. However, many lands may look for strange plagues; though Britain and Ireland shall be made the centre of his judgments, yet his indignation shall not be contained within their limits. O judgments! sudden and sore wasting judgments are coming on Britain and Ireland. Christ mounted on the red horse of severity will ride through the breadth and length of these lands. The appearance of some parties did so fill me with temporal expectations, but they did not make some change their thoughts. As they knew little of God's way, who looked for such good from such hands, so I thought them fools who conjectured that a deliverance should come before a desolation. I say again, be resolved against what man can do unto you; *for there are no more Christians than there are martyrs in resolution and affection.* "The kingdom of heaven must be taken by violence, and the violent take it by force." The more and greater difficulties be in the way, a right sight of the kingdom makes the way the more pleasant. O fear not difficulties; for many trials that, when looked upon at a distance, seem big and mounting, yet when they and you meet you shall find them nothing. *If I could commend anything besides Christ, it would be the cross of Christ.* Those things which make carnal on-lookers think my condition hard and miserable, make me think it sweet and pleasant. I have found hazards, reproaches, contempt, weariness, cold, night-wanderings, stormy tempests, and deserts so desirable, that it is a greater difficulty to me not to be ambitious of these things, than to submit unto them. O rejoice in the cross, for it is all paved with love. The fewer that will bear it, it is your greater honour to be friends to it. Follow Christ with the cross upon your backs, and set none else before you as your leader, for man is a poor, fallible, changeable creature. Let it be your care not to fall upon the stumbling-blocks cast in your way. Woe to the world because of offences. Though you have your own share of the revilings of this time, yet be not reproached with

reproachers ; though the sourness of others grieve you, yet let it not infect you. *Let zeal be accompanied with meekness, that you may be free from passion and prejudice ; and let meekness be backed with zeal, that you may be free of lukewarmness and indifference.* Let meekness be extended toward all persons, and zeal against all sins ; and if you would not lose your ground, be positive against sin in the first proposal and motion thereof ; you will not get it shifted by, and yourselves kept free of it by hurting yourselves, and not appearing freely against it, though there may be an unwillingness unto it. I conceive that Aaron had no will to make the golden calf, and he thought to have put it out of the Israelites' minds, by bidding them break off their golden ear-rings, and bring them unto him. But this simple shift would not do it—the saint of God is pitifully ensnared—and if he was simple in opposing that abomination, he got as silly an excuse for himself ; it would not have been thought that a child would have said “there came out this calf.”

Now, commit your cause unto the Lord, for judgment and righteousness shall yet meet together again upon the earth. The Lord is interested in his own work, therefore He can neither forget it nor forsake it ; and such as wait for Him shall never be put to shame. But, O long and cry for his appearance, that He may right wrongs, and rule for Himself, and claim his own right of possession ; that the promised day may come that this shall be voiced along the heavens, “The kingdoms of the earth are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.” He is busy in order to this : He is carrying on a discovery of all sorts of folk, enemies and others. I thought his discovery had been near through Scotland before this, but He lets me see myself a fool for so judging. He sees many things to be discovered that man sees not. But happy are they who are sincere and entire ; they need not fear, for “when they are tried, they shall come forth as gold.”

Now as to our present case, I wot not well what to say anent it, there are so many mercies and judgments in it to be spoken of. God hath taken this last year many from us, by banishment and by death on scaffolds, especially on the fields, where none (for the most part) were to see them die but the executioners ; and yet God fills up their rooms again. Neither are these things permitted to damp such as are left. Some have, which is more sad, fallen off from us, and yet God is filling up their places also, and making others more steadfast ; and notwith-

standing both of persecutions and reproaches, the Lord hath opened doors for me in several places of Scotland, where there used to be no such access before, and hath multiplied my work so upon my hands (I speak it to his praise) that I have observed my work, I say, to be now in some shires threefold, and in some fourfold more than it was. O that God would send forth labourers: there seems to be much ado in Scotland with them. Also, it is almost incredible to tell what zeal, what tenderness, what painfulness in duty, what circumspectness of walk, in many young ones of ten, eleven, twelve, and fourteen years of age, in many places of Scotland; which I look upon as one of the visible and greatest tokens for good that we have.

But, right honourable and dearly beloved, not to detain you further, I acknowledge myself your debtor while I live, for your many prayers put up for this poor distressed Church, whereof I know I have had a share; for your sympathy and kindness otherwise manifested to us; for your care of that family with you, wherein we are all concerned; and particularly for your encouraging, strengthening of, and kindness to my dear and worthy friend, our right honourable delegate. I bless the Lord who hath given you zeal for Himself, and hath helped you to stand with a poor despised party in making stours [great efforts] for his interest. I commend you to Him, that He may make his rich grace abound in you; that He may perfect what concerns you, and make you persevere unto the end, and Himself be your exceeding rich reward. I hope I need not desire you to pray for me. I am, honourable and dearly beloved, your obliged friend and obedient servant in the Lord,
 JAMES RENWICK.

XLII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable
 Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

May 3, 1686.

HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR,—I have seen your letter to your dear and worthy sisters. As it speaks forth your sore bickerings and hot encounters, it maketh me sad; but again I rejoice that your lot is squared out so like the case of the Lord's work this day. Oh! though your travels be through many deeps, and the floods seem to be waxing upon you, yet when your feet shall be established upon Canaan's banks, you shall forget the same. Though now you be standing in the

swellings of Jordan, yet these shall pass away from you, and you shall be lifted up, and be set before the throne of the Lamb of God, clothed with the robes of righteousness, crowned with the crown of glory, with the palm of victory and triumph in your hand, with the song of Moses and of the Lamb in your mouth, singing hallelujahs for ever and ever. O what will you think of yourself then? O what will you think of that posture? Let your eyes be still upon these, and glory in your present tribulation. Rejoice in your light affliction, which is but for a moment. Count your antagonists your greatest friends, for what are they doing by all the storms they raise against you, but contributing to the mass of your glory? O fear them not, but keep your Captain-general upon your right hand, and then cry to them to shoot their fill.

I had written to your honour far sooner, but as my work keepeth me busy, so much of it lies in the remote corners of the land, as Galloway, Nithsdale, Annandale, &c. I have not been near Edinburgh since the 16th of October 1685, and I have travelled since through Clydesdale, Eskdale, some of the Forest, Annandale, some of Galloway, Kyle, and Cunningham; and in all these places I examined the Societies as I passed through, several other persons coming to hear, and I found my work greater this last journey than ever before. Also in lower Cunningham, where there had never been any field-preachers, I got kindly acceptance, and great multitudes came to hear; and I have had several calls since from that countryside. Such like have I found through Renfrew. Moreover, the Lord hath wrought a great change upon the barony of Sanquhar, the parish of Kirkconnel, and these dark corners. Generally they come to hear the Gospel, and are quitting many of the defections of the time; yea, I may say (to the Lord's praise) that our meetings were never so numerous, and the work did never thrive more than since man opposed it so much. As for Mr Langlands and my agreeing with him, there is little appearance of it; for I am where I was, and he is rather further off than nearer hand. As for disowning the Lanark Declaration, I think you look upon it as so false, that I need say nothing; and as for the ministers, they wot not what to do anent us, for, so far as I can know, they cannot two of them agree (for the most part) intent upon one thing. I heard of none of them coming forth to the country yet, but Mr Langlands and Mr Alcorn, and they travelled through some of Kyle, through Carrick, and some of the shire of

Galloway, and some of Clydesdale, and their preachings were kept, in a great measure, obscure. And as for such as are gone off from us, they are the most bitter against us. Alexander Gordon went into the Bass and Blackness with an information against us, containing many charges, wherewith I hear the ministers of Edinburgh are displeased, he having done it without their advice. Howbeit, we have written about six sheets of paper in answer to it, and we are to meet within two days about the concluding of it. However, we will do nothing in it rashly, for every word in such a matter ought to be well weighed and considered. But there are none gone off from us, but those who, at that party's appearance in summer, went off; also, we have had some conference with some of them, an account whereof I shall send you with some other papers. I have written a letter to the sweet societies at Lewarden, and will send it with the rest of the papers, and some other letters that I am to write. Moreover, I thought fit to acquaint you that M. S. hath a purpose to go over again to Groningen. I desire you may be concerned with it, and lay it out before the Lord. O dear Sir, cry, cry for labourers to God's vineyard in Scotland, for I cannot express how much need there is of them—great is the work that is here for them. If an honest way of sending forth T. could be had, I would gladly have it embraced, for I do not dread the young man; he is not of a dangerous spirit. O lay it out before the Lord.

Now, go on resolutely in the strength of our God, and regard not your opposers. Hold fast what is right, but be not reviling unto a reviler, nor scoffing unto a scoffer; let zeal and meekness be your companions, the one in your one hand, and the other in your other hand, and wait on the Lord, and He shall give testimony for you.

Now, my love to the honourable sweet society, your dear sister, and all the sweet family.—I am, honourable and dear Sir,
yours, as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLIII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable Ladies VAN. HEERM., at Lewarden.

May 8, 1686.

RIGHT HONOURABLE LADIES, DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,
—Multiplied confusions, and not forgetfulness of you, have so long hindered my writing unto you; but being confident of

your constructing favourably of me as to this, I shall add no more for my apology ; and what else can I say which you know not? You have learned both from the Bible and experience, that the Christian's way to the kingdom is through much tribulation ; and I hope you have laid your account for all that can come in your way. Our natures would have the way so squared that we might travel without a rub, but it lieth through many an encounter ; we would have it through a valley of roses, but it lieth through a valley of tears ; we would have it so as to be travelled sleeping, but it must be travelled waking, and watching, and fighting ; we would have it to be travelled laughing, but it must be travelled with weeping. But whatever folks do think, when great necessity for, and advantage by every difficulty is seen, the more that they meet with, the way is more pleasant to believers ; and a sight of the recompense of reward maketh bold and resolute to pass through every opposition. If they were possible, ten thousand deaths, ten thousand hells, would seem nothing to a soul who gets a sight of Christ at the other side of all these. O Christ is precious, Christ is your upmaking. O what think you of that noble exchange—to embrace Christ entirely, and quit self entirely? Is not that receiving new wares for old? Is not that a receiving of gold, yea, of gold more precious than the gold of Sheba, and a quitting of dust more vile than the dust of the earth? O lovely soul that hath embraced lovely Christ—rich and happy that hath embraced precious Christ ! But woe unto them that would divide Him, and not take Him in all his offices, for they have not yet learned Him. Woe unto them that think they have no need of Christ, for they know not themselves. Woe to them that think they can close with Him when they please, for they are ignorant of grace. Woe to them that would have Christ and their own something beside, for they have neither loved nor conceived rightly of Him. Woe to them that make excuse for their not following of Him, for they know not their folly. Woe to them that will not close with all the crosses and the inconveniences that they meet with for Christ, for they are rebellious fools, that look only to the cost, and not to the advantages of religion. They scar at it, and give this answer to Christ's call, His sayings are hard, and who can bear them? None do account so of his yoke, but they who have not taken it on ; for it is "easy, and his burden is light." Those who will not believe his word for it, nor the experience of many saints and martyrs, let them take a trial of it themselves ; and if they get leave to weary. let them

cast it off again. But I am sure there was never one that fully engaged with Him that ever could find a heart to quit Him again. O! that folks would not stand at such a distance, but come near and take a view of Him, and they would see that which would inevitably win their hearts. There are two things at which I cannot wonder enough; and these are, the invaluableness of Christ, and the low value which the children of men put upon Him. Judas sold Him for thirty pieces of silver, but many now-a-days sell Him for less; and though they could get ten thousand worlds for Him, they but make a mad and foolish bargain who would quit Him for these. Yea, suppose that it were possible one person could possess ten thousand worlds, and that everlastingly, he could not have, in the use thereof, so much contentment by far as the smallest part of Christ can give. Yea, one half-hour's enjoyment of Him would far surpass all the satisfaction in the supposed case. O then! what must the eternal and full enjoyment of Him be!

Now, dearly beloved, you have made choice of Christ, what think you of your choice? O! admire his excellency, and wonder at your own happiness, and bend all your love towards Him who hath made you so happy. Seek to shed abroad the savour of his sweet ointments by a holy and spiritual walk, and improve dispensations to his glory and your own good, and lean upon Him in your travel through the wilderness; and though there be fiery serpents and drought in it, yet solace yourselves with his company, who hath said, that "He will never leave you nor forsake you." Regard not losses, regard not reproaches, for He is your exceeding rich reward. I doubt not but you meet with your own measure of reproaches and contempt at the hands of this generation, for the great kindness you have shown to a wounded and wronged wrestling party in the furnace of affliction. But as this doth endear our affections unto you so much the more, so I hope you are better fixed than that that should prove a stumbling-block unto you. The parties that we have to contend with discover so much of a spirit of lying and prejudice, for the most part of them, that none of tenderness who know them will be in great hazard to be taken away with them. I am confident God will stain their pride, and silence their boasting, and that suddenly. I may say, I am sorry for what I see coming upon them. But, O worthy ladies, keep you near God, and go on in your zeal, and persist in your steadfastness, and in the close of the day you shall be made to rejoice.

Now, I cannot express how much we are obliged unto you for your tender care of our family that is with you, and the great encouragement that you are to our dear and honourable delegate. The Lord be your reward, and keep not back his hand from helping you in the time of your need.

No more at this time, but, taking my leave of you in the words of the apostle—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus" (1 Cor xvi. 23, 24).—I am, right honourable ladies, your assured and obliged friend and servant in our sweet Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLIV.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the
Right Honourable Lady E. B.

May 13, 1686.

RIGHT HONOURABLE LADY,—Dearly beloved in the Lord, my insufficiency being in part known to me, doth make me stand in awe to write to you ; but if I had the tongue of the learned, and the pen of a ready writer, I would employ them both in speaking well of the name of Christ, and commending his way. O ! his name is as ointment poured forth ; and whoso gets a smell thereof, cannot but love Him. And his way is so lovely, that a poor soul that once gets his foot upon it, and the eye looking forward, cannot but choose to tread in those paths, though rubs and crosses from enemies, both from within and without, should be ever so multiplied. And no wonder, for when the children of God begin by grace to turn their backs upon their old lovers, and to shake off their weights, they get in hand the hundred-fold, ten thousand times told, and are made to say, as Psalm iv. 7—"Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased." Many a time I think *they can have no pleasant life who have not the Christian's life*. Whatever the world think, yet the believer gets that in time, which may sufficiently engage him to go through, if it were possible, a thousand deaths in obedience to the Lord. O then ! since the imperfect and inconstant enjoyment of Christ is such a thing, what must the full and eternal enjoyment of Him be ! Of this it may be said, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." The believer cannot but have

a happy life, when he has four things which the Scripture calls precious—viz. : The precious redemption of the soul, a precious faith, a precious Christ, and precious promises. And the redemption of the soul which is precious, is by a precious faith laying hold on a precious Christ, held forth in precious promises. But when their happiness shall be completed, then shall faith vanish into sight, by the entire fulfilling of the promises, and the soul be drowned in the bottomless ocean of the love of precious Christ, and bursting up with love, continually flaming toward Him again. O what a life must a life of love be! And what inconceivable joy will it yield! Christ will rejoice over his own spouse when He hath taken her home to his own house, made with his own hand, and hath clothed her with robes of his own making, and entertained her with a banquet of his own dressing. The invitation-word of the Giver of that banquet will be this—“Eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved” (Song v. 1). That table will never be drawn, and the dainties will never wear tasteless; for, as our Lord saith, “The wine there is new” (Matt. xxvi. 29), and it never groweth old; and his spouse’s stomach will never suffocate, nor her appetite be satisfied. So in heaven there is a continual eating and drinking, and a continual hungering and thirsting—a continual resting, and yet a never resting. Then shall the spouse rejoice in her husband. All her love shall be bent towards Him, and her joy shall arise from her enjoying Him. Her love shall be full and constant, not admitting of intermissions or variableness; her joy full and perpetual, not admitting of defect or changeableness. That which is a great part of the Christian’s exercise here—to wit, his doubting of Christ’s love, and his complaining of coldness of love to Him again—shall then be wholly removed; and instead of grief—at least mixtures of sorrows with his joy—he shall then have inconceivable joy. Is not Christ fully enjoyed, a match to love and a prize to rejoice in? Now long for this, and seek after the abiding assurance of Christ’s love, and more and more love communications thereof in your heart, until you arrive at this. Separate yourself more and more from every unclean thing that cannot enter the gates of the city, where all this is to be enjoyed. And seeing such rich upmaking is to be had in Christ, especially seeing He is so worthy, regard not what you may be called to undergo in your owning of Him. I hope you have studied to let yourself, your name, your enjoyments, and your all, lie at Christ’s feet; so as you can say of these, they are not your own. The more

you do prove that they are his, by his calling for them and making use of them, the more of his love He evidenceth towards you, and the more honour He putteth upon you. I think men and women are for no use, but so far as they are for Christ. Whatever errands He calls you to run, fear not skaith nor hazard, for it is He that rideth these ways upon you, and so you shall not stumble. He hath promised—“He will not suffer thy foot to be moved” (Psalm cxxi. 3). Let the low state of the Church of Scotland, and the dangerous case of the Church in other lands, lie near your heart; for ah! we may say at this day, “The house of David is waxing weaker and weaker, and the house of Saul waxing stronger and stronger.” I fear a sad and general stroke before it will be better with the Churches, for few are valiant for the truth upon the earth. Nothing brings a Church more low and a readier destruction upon a land, than regardlessness of Christ’s matters, and silly and shameful slipping from them; this is that which hath occasioned our breaches, and bred all our divisions in this Church. Because some of our worthies in our day, who have gone before us, have been honoured and helped to hold what our worthy fathers did conquer with their blood, and bind over upon us by holy covenants, and we are endeavouring to do the same, they and we have been reproached as followers of new ways; but “wisdom shall be justified of her own children.” Seeing our way-marks in the Scriptures, and our never-to-be-forgotten reformation, and the cloud of witnesses walking in the same paths, we are not to regard much what men say; but it were good for our reproachers to be sober, for a little time will silence their boasting, and make them change their thoughts, when they shall not get space to amend them.

Now, dear and worthy lady, I cannot express the sense that I even have of the many obligations which we are all under unto you; for your bowels have not been shut up, nor your hands shortened towards us; for your benefits towards us in this land, and those of us who are amongst you, have been large indeed. But we are not so refreshed with what we enjoy thereby, as that these things are demonstrations of your love to God, and respect to his work. What further shall I say, but go on in the way and strength of the Lord? Be watchful, diligent, and spiritual; grow in grace, and persevere therein to the end. The God of all peace be with you.—I am, right honourable lady, your assured friend and obliged servant in the
Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLV.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

May 22, 1686.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I have written to you a brief account of our affairs in another letter, but I know not if it be away yet; howbeit, I hope it shall come to your hand: therefore I shall now be the more short in what I have to say. As for news, there are not many. Only York [the Duke of] hath written to his Parliament for a liberty to the Papists, commending them in his own way very highly, as those who have been faithful to the Crown upon all hazards; so the Parliamentarians are consulting about rescinding the penal statutes against Papists, but are not like entirely to agree about the same. However, they have written back, that they will yield so far to his desire in that, as their consciences will allow; and have offered a bond themselves to oppose all who may rise against him upon any pretext whatsoever. But a great many folk are gaping for a dissension between the Popish and Prelatic parties; which if it be, there will be an uncouth hotchpotch, for the most part of old traders (to wit, Argyle's party) will strike in with the latter. Kersland and Mr Boyd were both of some purpose to go to Holland when I last parted with them, but as to the time I am uncertain.

In my other letter, I spoke of sending you some papers, but now the shortness of time will not allow me to get them transcribed; but I purpose to do it afterwards. Also there is a rude draught of a vindication, six sheets long or thereabouts, drawn up chiefly by Mr B. in answer to what charges are cast upon us: in which are many things very useful. However, as it is not likely to have passage for Linning, I durst not propose it to friends that they should send for it without being stamped (*i.e.*, Mr Linning's ordination); but this is my humble advice unto you, that if you can get it stamped, and think that it will do good service, to essay it. If you have any exceptions against the stamping of it, our merchants will not press for it; but if you have no exceptions, but only fears, which may say something to yourself, but would not bear weight before men, then I would have these no more spoken of than necessity calls for, and not made mention of in Linning's not being stamped. It will be fitter that you propose to our merchants the sending for the Linning than I, because I am

rather for wrestling under a heavy burden, than to have an ill neighbour. Some apprehend that I am for no help at all, but it would be most fit that Linning should speak, and signify to our merchants the case, and so you and I both would come under the less suspicion, for we have a strange generation to deal with. As for K.'s carriage here, so far as we can learn, he seems not to design the introducing of other parties, for he neither speaks nor acts in their favour. As for your honour, I can hear of nothing that he speaks against you, relative to the public cause; but to some he hath said, that you have not carried right towards their family. And as for Mr Flint, he is married by Thomas Russel to one Mrs Moor, who had been one with J. Gibb.

Now, to be free with you about your letter, it hath, indeed, gained the end of it, in clearing you of what you were charged with, and satisfied friends as to that. But many take it very ill, some saying that it hath too much bitterness towards antagonists, and that it adduceth personal failings; and some, that it insinuates too much of a commendation of yourself, holding forth that you are almost alone in all your actions; and some, that it seems to flatter this party by too much commending them. But, for mine own part, I could take it all in good part, and not misconstrue your intentions; but what you write to the whole, I would have you so to write as to men, some of whom may be your greatest reproachers the next day, and so may be seeking all imaginable advantages against you. But let the world say what they will, I must say this—and I say it without vanity or flattering—that a little of Robert Hamilton's spirit in such a day as this is very much worth. Also, I think fit to intimate unto you my purpose of rescribing my testimony—not that I am resiling from any article thereof, but that I would have the same more wisely, and yet as plainly and as freely expressed, and more confirmed and corroborated; and also I would have my mind anent some other exigencies and controversies inserted. Moreover, I know not a man under whose name and patronage I would commend it to the following generations, but to despised and yet much honoured Robert Hamilton.

Now I shall say no more; only take such a wise way with foreigners as that truth may get no loss, and as they may be kept as much upon your side as can be; for they come under another consideration than those that are under the same bond of a covenant with ourselves, and have the same word of testi-

mony, and whose profession, imports not an opposite party, such as Independents, Anabaptists, &c.

So, worthy and dear Sir, go on in the name and strength of your God, and quit not your confidence, though probability be against you, for it is a changeable rule. As for those who win not to judge by another rule, I never look for steadfastness at their hand. Wait upon the Lord, who will guide all matters aright, and bring forth advantage to his work out of every opposition, and that as universal as the opposition hath been made. Pray for him who is, your honour's most endeared friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLVI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

August 13, 1686.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,—I have not many news to write to you at this time, yet I thought it my duty to acquaint you with some things. Our condition is in some measure changed in this respect—the enemies for this year now have not been so hotly pursuing after us as they were. Whatever it may flow from upon the enemies' part, whether from the Popish party being so busied in their contrivances, and other grand persecutors discouraged, or from some other thing, yet we can see the Lord's restraining hand in it, and that He “stays his rough wind in the day of his east wind.” We are so taken up with other things, that I think it shall be a plague to the generation in making them carnal and secure.

I have been for a season in England, where, by the good hand of the Lord, we kept our Sabbath meetings, all except one day, in the fields, without any disturbance; but upon other days of the week they were kept in the night time. In that land, I got some discoveries of the Sectaries; for at one preaching, where there were many Anabaptists hearing, because I asserted the Divine right of infant-baptism from Scripture, clearing the same from the testimony of some ancient authors, they, who before had seemed to have much love and affection, would not afterwards carry themselves civil, and told us what they had been always willing to do, and had done for Scottish sufferers, and that other Scottish ministers had not fallen upon such heads. Such an upcast was a little troublesome unto me; but by it I perceived, as also I expressed, that their hospi-

tality to Scottish ministers and sufferers had both done the ministers and themselves ill, for it stopped the ministers' mouths from declaring the counsel of God, and made themselves lay weight upon such deeds, and look upon Scottish ministers as so much obliged to them, that they behoved to tolerate them. But this I say, that they that deal freely with them will not get long their countenance. Howbeit, at my coming away one of them told me, that they were resolved to collect for me, but were informed that I would not accept thereof. Whereupon I told him that they were my friends that informed so rightly, for I went not thither for necessity, neither to seek theirs, but them. Also, at the desire of friends in Scotland, some of us went to converse with a Presbyterian minister, whom we heard to be well affected toward this party, and found him, as we thought, to be a very humble tender man, much exercised with that Church's case. After information, he did agree with us in the word of our testimony, only he was not so straight as to some matters of England as we would desire; but this is not to be thought strange, considering that he hath none either to go before him nor with him in these things.

Since we came to Scotland, I hear that some of these ministers, particularly Mr Barclay, Mr Langlands, and one Mr Bay, are travelling in different places through the country. I hear not tell of much breaking among friends; but some of the other party are going through with as gross slanders as can be invented. One thing they are saying, that they can prove that I was with the Chancellor at Edinburgh; and they most partly profess, that in their travels they are in a continual fear of us, that we will deliver them up to the enemy.

Now, what shall I say? Our case is singular. It is matter of great concernedness. The Lord hath seen that our furnace by that inquisition and torture of the common enemies hath not been searching enough, therefore He must prepare another kind of furnace to try us better. Blessed are they who shall come forth as gold. God will arise, and dispel these present mists and confusions, and let it be seen what great need there hath been of all that comes to pass. Oh, faith is a brave interpreter of dispensations, and never carries bad tidings.

O, dear Sir, you are called forth to sail through a raging and rough sea; but trust to your pilot, and He will bring you to your harbour. O fear not—He will not let the waves overwhelm you; and the rougher the sea, the sweeter will your

harbour be. Think it not strange of that stumbling dispensation that has fallen to you, for God hath a mind to let a generation stumble, whom He thinks worthy of no other thing. It speaks out anger towards us, but more anger to them that stumble at it. God is taking pains to purify, refine, and purge us; and He says He will have a pure people in Scotland, else He shall have none at all. That dispensation seems to be so immediately from God's hand, that we should say, "It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good." Our study should be to make a right use of it.

As for the papers you received from N. N., I sent you them, and left them unclosed, that in his passage he might let some friends see them, especially that those at Newcastle might see them. I desire to know your thoughts of the reply to Mr Robert Langland's letter, which I wrote mostly for the behoof of some that seem to be godly and exercised, whose affections are towards us, but through various informations they are perplexed about some of our matters. So I laboured to take that away in it which I thought might be most convincing, and for their advantage, without truth's prejudice. As to the vindication we are about, it is not yet perfected; neither in it will we do anything rashly. Our friends have concluded that you and I shall see it before it go forth.

Concerning Mr Boyd's business, friends (except a very few) were against giving him a certificate for ordination, but yet did give it. The occasion of a fast-day upon his account was to prevent disagreement that was like to be amongst friends anent his business. As for that affair concerning you and J. H., I bless the Lord that He hath helped you to lay it aside. I think it is according to his will, and I hope you will have much peace in it. She was with us few days, and was pretty free with us anent several things, particularly the trials of their family, and their being puzzled whether or not to come home to Scotland, if so be their brother would not stay abroad; but I would not advise them to one thing or another in that. As to your own coming home or staying abroad, I apprehend that friends would easily consent to your staying, or yet call you home, but I cannot well advise them to either of these, till I know upon what grounds to do it from yourself. It is likely that you and the family both will be necessitated through straitenedness in living in that land to come home. But if it come to that, I would have you to acquaint me, that you might be called, which may be a means to stop the insulting of many; or if it were better

to stay there, and if a little supply from our hand could keep you there, we would be content to give it. But man's malice is so much against you, that I am afraid of you in staying, and I am afraid of you in your voyage hither, and I am afraid of you in your being here. But if the Lord bring you home, I think you and I must not part, till the Lord by death or some signal way do it.

Now, dear Sir, what shall I say? The Lord hath carved out your lot after a strange sort. O study to get good by all his dispensations toward you, that you may bring forth the more fruit, for "every branch that beareth fruit, He purgeth it that it may bring forth more fruit." Let your burdens all lie upon the Lord—his back is strong enough. Is not his all-sufficiency your portion? Are you not then rich enough? and what can you want? O rejoice in reproaches, rejoice in ignominy, rejoice in wants, in perils, and in sufferings, for his name; the more of these you are called to endure, the more true honour is put upon you: and seek you the more to honour and glorify Him. Fight not against the world with the world's weapons of the flesh—viz., pride, passion, prejudice, lies, and contempt; but let yours be the weapons of the Spirit—viz., zeal, meekness, patience, and prayer to God, that He would either pity them and heal them, or else draw them out of the way. Whatever you write unto friends, write as unto men who are for you to-day, and may be against you to-morrow.

Now, I pray that the Lord may be with you, and that poor and sweet family; that He may give you enlargement in your distresses; and when your sorrows abound, He may make your consolations to superabound. My love to your dear and worthy sister, the sweet children F. and R., the worthy ladies V. Heer., and any other of your strengtheners in the Lord.—I am, honourable and dear Sir, even as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLVII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable
Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

October 23, 1686.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,—I received your letters, and they were very refreshing unto me. Your encounters are fierce, and you stand in the stour [brunt], but I hope you look upon your condition rather to be envied than pitied. O can you not say,

that the fat feast of a peaceable conscience, and the enjoyment of the light of the Lord's countenance, is the hundredth fold, a thousand times told? "Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart" (Psalm xcvi. 11). O read that psalm, and meditate upon it; and when you mind it, remember me, for it is a golden Scripture unto me. What would you and I have more than that—"The Lord reigneth, let us rejoice. Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne?" But O who can take Him up? who can behold his glory? Therefore He casteth "clouds round about Him. Let us be glad because of his judgments. A fire goeth before Him to burn up his enemies."

As to what you write about my testimony, I am refreshed; yet when I look back upon the frame that I was then in, I have much peace in my ingenuity; and though weakly, yet I think it hath the right state of the cause in it, and I hope never to resile from it. Also, it having your name doth the more commend it unto me. When I shall write (which I have been hitherto diverted from) it will be but an enlargement upon, and confirmation of the foresaid testimony, with reasons, together with some additions as to what hath fallen out since. As for my changing my method in dealing with the parents of children to be baptized, I declare them to be misinformers who have so said unto you. Those persons that have complied with one thing or other I do not admit to present their children, unless they have evidenced a right sense and practical reformation, by standing out against the temptation unto these things that they have been chargeable with, and their engagement to give due satisfaction, when lawfully called for; or else we have the attestation of some acquainted with their case, that in the judgment of charity they appear to be convinced of, and humbled for their sin, and they engage to forbear their sin, and give satisfaction in manner foresaid. But when compliers and persons guilty of defection come, who have not as yet desisted from their offensive courses, I do not let them present their children. Neither will or do I let other persons present their children, lest the parents should be hardened in their sin thereby, unless they engage to forbear, and give satisfaction as said is: and some prove true and some prove false. Further, when the parents are guilty of very gross compliance, even though they have given evidences of a right sense thereof, I do not admit them, but suffer another to present their children, for fear of reproach, albeit I might do it lawfully.

But, dear Sir, my difficulty upon this head is oftentimes very great. The different cases of persons put me sometimes to a nonplus. This I think strange, that now when the ministers are passing through the country, many persons who are involved in the courses of defection scruple to take their children unto them.

In answer to what you write concerning Kersland, I know him to be nothing the better of the company of some, and I resolve that he shall be dealt with, both freely and tenderly, at the next General Meeting. As for Mr Boyd, I used freedom with him in a line before he went away; but the reports that I have heard of him since I saw him, have been both troublesome and displeasing unto me. I know not upon what grounds he can express his hope of union, for I see no way as yet how it shall be obtained in the Lord. Yea, as matters now stand, I hold myself obliged to resent that information of his, for it puts such as are coming forward to stand still. For mine own part, though I should be left alone, and branded with singularity, while they continue as they are, I resolve not to unite, *dum spiritus hos regit artus* [while life lasts], and there is little hope of their growing better. Neither will Mr Boyd find that party amongst us, who are inclined to hear those, &c., so strong as he expects; but after pains for information and admonition, we shall then show how we will carry towards them. Let me be mistaken, as men please to say, this is my study not to partake in other men's sins, neither to cover them. But considering the confusions of this time, and the weakness of poor people, I hold it my duty to be a help and a prop, as I can to those that are staggering, and to carry so forward such as will go off, as that their stumbling, neither in law nor in my own conscience, may be charged upon me. This is like unto my Master, who hath promised to "save them that halt, and gather them that are driven out." As for the vindication which Mr B. did let you see, I need not speak anything, for we have altered it, and sent unto you a transcript of the present draught, which is not yet condescended upon, until you and our societies see it. So let it not trouble you, neither the certificate that was granted unto him; for though the most part was dissatisfied with some things in him, and their jealousies anent him, yet considering what he left behind him written with his own hand, and that he was not fully discovered, they thought that they could not deny such a certificate unto him. If he should make a bad use of it against us, he will be a man most ungrateful, and will

contradict what he hath left under his own hand amongst us ; and if so, I wish it had never been granted unto him. Your cousin Mrs J. K. was with us some days, and we were pretty free with her ; but you know she is ordinarily reserved. As for what you wrote about the laying aside of that business, I bless the Lord that He hath helped you unto it, for many considerations called for it.

Now, right honourable and very dear Sir, I remit you to the bearer for news amongst us. He can give you an account of my progress in England ; and also of Colin's going to Ireland. But I think fit to show you, that at the last correspondence friends judged it convenient to send one to Mr Thomas Douglas to converse with him, and know where he stands (which this bearer is resolved, according to their conclusion, to set about). When they asked my concurrence and consent, I answered that I could not actively concur therewith, because I knew not what to expect by it ; yet I should not oppose their sending any of their number to confer with him, for I thought the thing in itself could not well be denied to them. I am (with many) under the suspicion that I desire no help, though the persons were never so right ; whereas the Lord is my witness it would be my greatest rejoicing this day, to have some ministers to concur with me, for it would be a great advantage to the work, and a great ease to me. For, notwithstanding of all breakings, my business multiplies still upon my hand, and people are more earnest now than ever I knew them after the Gospel. O that the Lord would send forth labourers ! As for this bearer, I am glad that he hath come unto you, for he hath his own dissatisfaction with you, whereupon he and I have had some bickerings ; but I do not know him to have vented himself to your prejudice. Also, he is very honest toward the cause, and singularly useful ; therefore you may be free with, and tender of him, for I expect he will be free with-you.

Now, dear and honourable Sir, being in haste, and also disturbed yesternight from writing by an alarm of the enemy, I shall add no further, but desire to know your mind anent a particular, which is like to break us more than anything that the ministers can do. It is the joining of children, servants, and others, in the family exercise of their parents, masters, and others, who are compliers. Thus, committing you, your sister, and the sweet family unto the Lord, I am, honourable and dear Sir, ever as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

XLVIII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to —

January 10, 1687.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I received yours, and am greatly refreshed with it, both in respect of its coming from you, and in respect of the strain of it; for I perceive in it a zeal for the right carrying of the ark of God through this howling wilderness. It would be to me matter of joy to observe this spirit in any who bear the ark, and in all who profess to follow it; for I am persuaded, that the wrong way of bearing and handling the ark will keep it longer in the wilderness, but will never carry it through Jordan and settle it in the land of Canaan. For mine own part, I see it so difficult a thing to move one step rightly forward with it, that I am in a continual fear anent what I do. I wish I were more in the exercise of that fear, for it would put me to look more unto the Lord, whom I desire and aim to set before mine eyes at all times. If I shall give the ark a wrong touch, I may say (so far as I can see into mine own heart) it will be through blindness and not through biassedness. O to be framed for the work of the day; for there is none fit for it but such as have honest hearts, ingenuous spirits, and the faces of lions. They will be a strange sort of folk whom the Lord will make any singular use of. As for the case of our Societies, I am in some consternation of spirit when I reflect upon it. There is a choice handful amongst them, whom I hope the Lord will not forsake; but some are not so fixed and resolute as they ought to be, and others, I fear, have little principle, but follow example. Several others are little exercised with their souls' cases; and the Lord is hiding his face in some measure from the whole, which some are sensible of, and groaning under. Wherefore I look for a more narrow sieve which we must yet go through, and that the Lord will lay aside many. O that fanning and winnowing that is coming! But the least good grain shall not fall to the ground. Yea, I do not look that the Lord's work shall be delivered till this generation of his wrath be hurled out of the way; and I think they are blind who see not a desolation coming upon the land. "In mine ears, said the Lord of hosts, of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair, without inhabitants" (Isa. v. 9). But "he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem" (Isa. iv. 3). For mine own part, I apprehend

that that dark hour is now very near at hand, which shall come upon the Church before the fall of Antichrist, and the Lord's glorious appearing for his Church, which shall be in the last days. O blessed shall they be who wait for the Lord "in the way of his judgments," and who are of "the righteous nation which keeps the truth," for the gates shall be opened unto them (Isa. xxvi. 2, 8).—I am, your honour's sympathizing friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

XI.IX.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

January 11, 1687.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I conceive it is both to your loss and our loss—yea, to the disadvantage of the cause—that you hear so seldom from us, and how matters are amongst us. For my part, I cannot help it, having always such throng of weighty business, continual travel through many a vast wilderness, and sometimes bad accommodation; so that it is a rare thing for me to get a spare hour.

However, considering the importance of what was done at the last General Meeting, I judge it necessary to give you a true account thereof. There came two ministers to the last meeting, December 22, 1686, viz., Mr David Houston and Mr Alexander Shields. But I shall first give you an account of our carrying toward the said Mr David, and toward the foresaid Mr Alexander. When I was in England the last summer, the General Meeting of our societies being informed that Mr David Houston refused concurrence with, and subjection to the ministers in Ireland because of their defections, and that he preached faithfully against all the sins of the times, did send unto him Colin Alison and William Nairn to know the verity thereof. These, after full and free communing with the said Mr David anent all the heads of our present testimony, received great satisfaction; he also signified unto them his resolution of coming unto us. Before we sent any unto him again, we did convocate all our friends who had been living any time in Ireland, and had now come over to us, that we might inform ourselves anent what they knew of the said Mr David. They could not relate any difference in his principles from us, but they gave in some accusation against him which they had by report, and which were all *personalia*: all which accusations were drawn up and delivered to James Boyle, who was sent

to Ireland to get the verity or falsehood of every one of these things instructed ; and on finding them to be but calumnies, he was to conduct the foresaid Mr David to us, according to his own resolution. So the said James laying out search for information anent these reports, conferring with some of Mr David's accusers, bringing him and some of them face to face, likewise conferring with some of his neighbours and ordinary hearers, and finding no ground for the foresaid accusations, did conduct Mr David unto us, that we might satisfy ourselves anent him in a free communing with himself.

Wherefore Mr David came to our last General Meeting, which was upon December 22, 1686, being accompanied with one James Kinloch, who was particularly sent by some societies in Ireland to our correspondence, and who also testified before us all for Mr David's honesty and innocency of the aforesaid allegations. After which we did read over, in Mr David's hearing, the introduction to our vindication, wherein are summarily comprehended some signal steps of our Church's defection, and a brief declaration of our present testimony, both as to what we own and disown, together with the fifth head of the same vindication, containing (among other things) ten grounds, every one of which we judge sufficient for withdrawing from ministers of this covenanted and reformed Church to whom they are applicable, in this broken and declining state. Then we asked Mr David's judgment of what he had heard, and whether or not he was of one mind with us as to every part of our present testimony : to which he replied, that as to some matters of fact he was ignorant ; but he agreed with our judgment and principles in all that he had heard, adding that it was foretold by Luther, that before Christ's glorious appearance for his Church in the last days, the controversy should be stated and rid about ministry and magistracy. So Mr David being desired to remove, we gave in our minds about his answer, and it was sustained as satisfying in that point. After this, we consulted among ourselves what was necessary to desire for our further satisfaction anent him ; and having heard from himself that he had some papers with him which would tend to our information and clearing concerning his carriage for many years, we called him to us again, and desired to hear these papers. So there was read in our hearing first his licence, then his ordination, which was to the parish of *Strastrie*,^a a little before the Restoration. Next (as I remember)

^a As this name is not to be found in the ancient list of parishes in the northern counties, it must be a mistake for some other word, but what this

a paper which he had drawn up himself, and given to the ministers in Ireland, containing his reasons wherefore he would not be subordinate unto, nor concur with them, whereof their opposition to the suffering party in Scotland was one. Afterward were read some certificates, from the people in the respective places in Ireland where he had exercised his ministry, some whereof being of a very late date, and one of them bearing that they had been greatly refreshed and edified with his preaching the Gospel amongst them, but that he had denied them other privileges, for reasons satisfying to himself; by which he declared, they understood his refusing to baptize their children because of their paying exactions to the enemy, and this we looked upon as the greater testimony. Further, we inquired how long he had kept a meeting-house in Ireland, and upon what terms. We then declared that the terms of his holding were not sinful, for he was settled by the ministers upon the call of the people. Whensoever he knew of any transaction of the said ministers with the so-called magistrate, he forsook his meeting-house, and refused subordination to these ministers, which was a little after Bothwell. Moreover, he declared, and James Killoch witnessed the same, that at the incoming of the associators, anno 1685, he gave a plain and public testimony against that hotch-potch confederacy. Now, Mr David being desired to remove again, we communed together anent what we had heard from his papers and from his own mouth, and found a great measure of satisfaction therefrom. Howbeit, to remove scruples yet further, we called him again to us, and dealt freely with him in telling him what was reported by some of him, desiring to hear what he had to say to these things himself: all which allegations he heard very patiently, and answered to them one by one, as they were given in, very pleasantly; and thus he gave very demonstrative evidences of his innocence.

Now from all the foresaids, we being in such a measure satisfied in our consciences concerning the said Mr David, our Societies did both call him and hear him preach for further trial, whereunto I gave my consent, seeing no reason wherefore I could deny it. But he is not as yet settled amongst us as our minister by a formal and a solemn call to that effect. Howbeit, for the time I know not of any ground that will be for excepting against it, for I hear that he preaches very zealously

is, cannot easily be now determined. David Houston mostly exercised his ministry in the northern part of County Antrim, and was buried in Connor.
—ED.

and faithfully wherever he goes, and carries strictly in administering the sacrament of baptism. For mine own part, from his expressing himself at our correspondence, I thought he seemed to have a right state of the cause, and a right impression of the case of the Church, and to be tender-hearted and zealous in the frame of his spirit, particularly for the royalties of Christ, and against the idol of the Lord's jealousy, the ecclesiastic supremacy and civil tyranny.

As for our carriage towards the foresaid Mr Alexander Shields, he having by the providence of God made his escape out of prison after a little space of time (without seeking after any party of ministers against whom we have exceptions), came to the country, unto this contending and suffering party. At length, upon the 5th of December 1686, he came to a meeting which we had in Galloway, in the wood of Earlston, for preaching. Going alongst with me from thence upon the day following, I told him, albeit I had some satisfaction concerning him from what I had seen under his own hand, and albeit I expected more by further converse with him, yet I thought it most rational in itself, most conducive to the preservation of union amongst us, and also according to the conclusion of our General Meeting, viz., that nothing which concerns the whole should be done without acquainting them therewith. I said, moreover, that he should not be employed in the public work until he came to the General Correspondence, that all might be satisfied anent him : which he did take very well, and desired us to take that method with him which we would do with any backsliden minister, if God should touch his heart and bring him out from his defections unto the public work. Howbeit, we thought fit to employ him sometimes to go about family exercise, not seeing any reason why this should be forborne, for thereby we might attain to more clearness anent him. And, indeed, in a certain family, where some neighbours (as in ordinary) were gathered unto the worship, I was greatly refreshed with what he spake from Rom. xii. 1, 2, especially with what he had in prayer, with a heavy lamentation to this purpose—"I cannot longer contain, but I must confess unto the Lord before this people, I am ashamed to offer my body a living sacrifice to thee, yet I must do it ; for I, a prisoner and a preacher, might have been a martyr, and in glory with thee and thy glorified martyrs above ; but I sinfully and shamefully saved my life with disowning thy friends and owning thy enemies, and it will be a wonder if ever thou put such an honourable opportunity in my hand again."

Very seldom did he go about exercise, but either in prayer or in speaking from the Scripture, he brake forth into heavy lamentations, confessing particularly his defections. So at the time of our General Meeting coming, which was December 22, as said is, the foresaid Mr Alexander came to the same; and we did read over in his hearing (he being present with Mr David), the introduction to our vindication, wherein are comprehended some special steps of our Church's defection, and a brief declaration of our present testimony, both as to what we own and disown; together with the fifth head of the same vindication, containing, among other things, ten grounds, every one of which we judge sufficient for withdrawing from ministers of this covenanted and reformed Church to whom they are applicable, in this broken and declining state. Then we asked Mr Alexander's judgment concerning what he had heard, and whether or not he was of one mind with us as to every part of our present testimony. To which he replied, that he agreed cordially with us in all that he had heard, and particularly in the foresaid ten grounds, judging every one of them to bear a solidity and sufficiency in point of withdrawing. But (said he) there are some things there testified against, whereof I am guilty; and I will take a little time to unbosom myself unto you anent the same. So he began his confession with some pre-occupying cautions, desiring that none might think he was moved to what he now was about to do, from the affection of applause from any man, or that he might be in with a party (for he knew he would not want alluring employments if he had freedom to embrace it), but only that he might give God the glory, vindicate the cause, exonerate [exonerate] his own conscience, and satisfy offended brethren. Intimating also that he looked not upon the Societies as competent for handling ecclesiastic matters, and that he knew they did not assume the same unto themselves, though they were falsely branded therewith, yet he held himself bound in duty to declare with sorrow before them, wherein he had denied any part of the testimony which they did own. Then he proceeded to the particulars of his confession, and acknowledged

1. That he had involved himself in the guilt of owning the (so called) authority of James VII., showing the exceeding sinfulness of it, and taking shame unto himself.

2. He acknowledged himself guilty of taking the oath of abjuration, and of relapsing into the same iniquity; the sinfulness whereof he held out at great length, making it appear

that by that oath many orthodox principles which concern us greatly to contend for are abjured. He declared the occasion of his being inveigled in these transgressions was the entering into an accommodation with the enemy; for he could propose nothing unto them but they still added and yielded to it, until they got him a silly fish caught in their angle. Howbeit, hereby (as he said) he did not extenuate or excuse his sin, for albeit he had as much to say for himself as any man could have, who had declared in such a measure, yet he would neither stifle his own conscience, nor blind the eyes of others, wherefore he showed both the sin and danger of entering upon any accommodation whatsoever with the enemy.

Now, he spoke largely to all these particulars, discovering such heinous and manifold sin therein, that I think none could have done it unless they had known the terrors of the Lord. He showed also the aggravation thereof, desiring every one to look upon his sin with the aggravating circumstances that he can see in it. And he expressed so much sense and ingenuousness, that none I think could require more of him; and I know not who would not have been satisfied as to the foresaids, who had heard him express himself so fully, so plainly, so freely, and with so much sense, grief, and self-condemning. I thought it both singular and promising to see a clergyman come forth with such a confession of his own defections, when so few of that set are seen in our age to be honoured with the like.

So Mr Alexander being desired to remove, we communed together about what we heard, and all declared they found themselves satisfied as to the foresaids. After this, it was consulted amongst us what was necessary to desire for our further satisfaction anent him; and we judged it expedient to inquire how and by whom he was licensed to preach. Whereupon, I having conferred with him before thereanent, gave a brief account thereof, and signified that a considerable while ago I saw it under his own hand—that if the business of his licence were to be done yet, he would neither take it from such persons, neither would they give it him; and that of late he said unto myself, that he knew not one of those who had granted it, that now he could concur with. However, we thought it convenient to call himself, that he might give an account thereof before us all; which he did, showing that he went to London with an intention to be an amanuensis to Dr Owen, or some of their great doctors, who were writing books for the press; and that

he had a letter of recommendation to one Mr Blackie, a Scottish minister, who trusted him to speak with him a certain season, and had several ministers convened, unknown to Mr Alexander, who did press and enjoin him to take licence. So being carried unto it in that sudden and surprising way, he accepted it from the hands of Scottish ministers then in London, but without any impositions or sinful restrictions. However, a little after the oath of allegiance becoming the trial of that place, the foresaid Mr Alexander studied, as he had occasion in preaching, plainly and satisfyingly to discover the sin of it; which was so ill taken by the ministers by whom he was licensed, that they threatened and sought to stop his mouth, but he refused to submit unto them.

Now, to this very purpose was the relation that Mr Alexander himself gave. So, considering what is before related, the Societies for themselves, and I, with the concurrence of some elders then present, did call him to officiate in preaching the Word to the suffering remnant of this Church. Wherefore, upon the Sabbath following, he and I did preach together, he having his text in these words, in the former part of the verse, viz:—"Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men" (2^o Cor. v. 11), in which preaching, I may say, he particularly asserted every part of our present testimony, both as to non-compliance with enemies, non-concurrence with defective parties, and disowning the pretended authority of James VII.; and also doctrinally confessed his own particular defections; and cried out, that "knowing the terror of the Lord" in these things, he "persuaded men." Having appointed a fast upon the Thursday following, I briefly drew up about the number of forty-four causes of humiliation, omitting no piece of defection of old or of late that I knew or could remember; which causes he cordially agreed with, and expressed the same publicly in his preaching before the congregation, declaring every one of them to be a great cause of humiliation. He confessed again his own defections, holding forth the sin thereof to be very heinous, with much sorrow and regret. So I find Mr Alexander to be one with us in our present testimony. I look upon him as having the zeal of God in his spirit, and the poor remnant have much of his heart; and I think the Lord is with him, and that he cannot be challenged as deficient in the application of his doctrine. For mine own part, I have been refreshed with hearing him, and have been animated to zeal by his preaching and discourse.

But there was a certain offence given by some, wherein Mr Alexander was a partaker, and wherewith I was dissatisfied; and that was their deserting of the testimony which some eminent worthies at Utrecht keep up against Mr Fleming, minister to the Scottish congregation at Rotterdam, in withdrawing from him for his manifest scandal; which testimony I cordially (as heretofore) agree with, and look upon it (according as I know) as the first clear stating of our testimony in our later times against the daubers and plasterers of defection. Wherefore I did speak with Mr Alexander anent the same—he knows my mind well enough in that affair. I expressed my dissatisfaction, and apprehended him to be sensible of the evils of that breach. As we were occasionally speaking of it at another time, he called their withdrawing their testimony against Mr Fleming. Howbeit, considering that Mr Alexander's partaking in the foresaid offence was very little known in Scotland, and so they not being the persons offended; considering his giving a practical testimony in that affair, by discountenancing the foresaid congregation, whatever time since that he hath been in Holland; considering his present strictness, and cordial agreement with us in all our present controversies, and not knowing how to manage that affair to the edification of the Societies—I say, upon these and such considerations, it was not brought before the General Correspondence.

Now, right honourable and dear Sir, I have given you a true and full account of our carriage toward Mr Alexander Shields. If you were with him now, I think you would say as much for him as I have said; for he doth not carry as a mids-man betwixt us and other parties, or one who endeavours to obscure and cast dirt upon our contendings—to jostle us off our feet and pervert us from the right ways of the Lord—but he hath taken the defence of every part of our present testimony. When I was telling him in discourse that the famous Mr Cameron had said in a sermon that the Sanquhar declaration would shake the throne of Britain, Mr Alexander replied, Yea, and the thrones of the kingdoms throughout the world. He hath a high esteem of the Queensferry Papers, and expressed his dissatisfaction that they were not valued. All which spoke forth his zeal and cordial agreement with the honest state of the cause, in hearing whereof I was not a little refreshed. I think the Lord hath suffered him to fall into the hands of the enemies and fall before them, for laying him low in humility,

and raising him up in zeal. So whatever may come to pass afterward, in the meantime I am made to look upon both Mr David and his coming forth in such a manner as a mercy to the poor Church of Scotland. It hath been a means to wipe away some of our reproach from among men, and to put some dash upon the confidence of our oppressors, who, for ought I can hear, do look upon them both as upon those whom they judge most obstinate among us. Howbeit, I shall be glad to have your thoughts anent what I have written, for I do reverence you and your judgment as much as ever.

Right honourable and dear Sir, I know your bickerings are hot, and your encounters are fierce, and these multiplied upon you. You are hated and despised of men for your faithfulness and jealousy for your God; yea, I am in great fear of your being in continual hazard of your life from Scottish men, or through their indignation: the consideration of all which fills my heart with sorrow, when it comes before me, and sometimes draws water from mine eyes. But again, when I remember what a feast you have of peace of conscience and joy in the Lord, together what you have in hope, I am made to rejoice in the midst of my sorrow, and to account you a blessed man. O go on in the strength of the Lord—fear not the antichristian enemies. Grace is sufficient for you, victory is certain, and the prize waits for you.

Now, I leave the work upon Him upon whose shoulders the government is laid. I am apprehensive that the dark hour is now near at hand which will come upon the Church before Christ's glorious appearance in the last days. But He will rise and make a discussion [dispersion] of his enemies, and he who endureth to the end shall be saved.—I am, right honourable,
yours as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

P.S.—I am sometimes very much exercised in my thoughts about your coming to Scotland, but considering what strange things may come out of it, and what hazard you will run, I dare not be peremptory in desiring you, until I see a weighty and urgent call unto it; but if matters be so with you as to determine positively, let me know, and a handful will call you, who will be your brethren and servants in tribulation for Christ,

JAMES RENWICK.

L.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable the
LAIRD OF EARLSTON.

January 27, 1687.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I have not been forgetful of you, though I have long delayed to write. The real occasion of my so long delay was the throng of business (for having so much to do, I being in continual travel), together with a designed forbearance, until I had this course finished in Galloway, that I might give you an account of the present case of this country. I had great access in it to preach the Gospel, the Lord wonderfully restraining enemies, and drawing out very many to hear, and moving them to give great outward encouragement. We kept thirteen field meetings, whereof four were in the daylight; and I studied quickly to declare and assert, in its own place, every part of our present testimony. We had also nine meetings for examination of the Societies, calling the most adjacent together into one meeting for that effect. And I hope, through the Lord's blessing, that that small piece of labour shall not want its fruit. But, upon the other hand, I met with no small opposition in Galloway. I went to that shire, and preached there; a great many were vexed, and did their utmost to oppose it. When I came to Kirkmabreck, there came two men and gave me a paper, subscribed by one in Carrick, in name of all therein between Cree and Dee, and also in the name of the whole: which paper overturns many noble pieces of our reformation, calling hearing of curates, paying of cess, and swearing the abjuration oath, debatable principles, and above their capacity to determine. It bears also a viperous protestation against my preaching, besides many other absurdities in it; which when I read, I gave my animadversions upon it before the two men. On the Thursday following, we kept a public day meeting in the fields, between Cree and Dee. I thought fit, after lecture, which was one upon the xv. Psalm, and sermon, which was upon Song ii. 2, to read over the paper before the multitude, that I might let them know what was done in their names, giving my own animadversions upon the same, and exhorting them, if any such were there who had given their countenance and concurrence to it, that they would speedily with sorrow draw back their hand from such an iniquity. Those who were free to take their protestation before the Lord that they were innocent, and did resent the doing of such a

deed in their name, ought to do so. Withal I warned them of the dangerousness of that course, and of the spirit of that party. Likewise, when I came to Irongray, Cornlee came unto me, and before some few who were meeting for examination, and some others who accompanied me in my travels, he took instruments against me, and against my entering into Irongray. Whereupon I gave some weighty reasons wherefore I could not look upon his deed as the deed of a faithful elder in that parish, and I also cleared some controverted points of our testimony. But he was so drunk either with wine or with the fury of the Lord, or with both, that he could hear nothing; and he answered with nothing, but with clamour and crying (O the depths of Satan!), that I had destroyed the Church, and that the ministers had a libel drawn up against me. Whereupon I declared that none of these things did terrify me, and that this was the work of the Lord, and that I was resolved, in his strength, to go on in it while my breath governed my joints, and I enjoined silence upon him. I think by such an attempt that he hath done no skaith either to the work or to the owners of it.

Now, right honourable Sir, you see some of my conflicts. I bless the Lord none of these things terrify me. I think they are very pusillanimous, who do not find such hot bickerings a mean to ding [put] a spirit in them. O that we might be such as could say—"Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us" (Isa. viii. 9, 10). But further, as to the societies in Galloway, there are some of them simple, whom we have much ado to keep right, do what we can. But there are some others, both in Glenkers and other places, whom I look upon as bows of steel in the Lord's hand, and who, I hope, through his grace, shall abide in strength.

Now, right noble and dear Sir, I hope not to forget you, but to mind your case in my weak addresses to the Lord. I may say, you are very often brought before me; and next to my own case, and the Church's case, the case of you and your family, those abroad and those at home, do lie upon my heart. Lie near the Lord and wait upon Him. Who knoweth what the Lord may do with you, and for you? He may be humbling and polishing you for some great piece of work. As to our way at last meeting with Mr David Houston and Mr Alexander

Shields, you will see it in the letter directed to your worthy brother, to whom I desire you may send this, and the other directed for yourself, for his information ; at least so much may be extracted out of this as you think fit, because I cannot have time to write anent the same things unto him. I commend you to your God, and am, your honour's obliged friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

LI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Rev. JACOB ROOLMAN, Minister of the Gospel in Holland.

April 4, 1687.

RIGHT REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,—I received your letter in Latin, but knowing that you are well versed in the English, I need not write back to you in that same language. I beg your excuse for so long delaying an answer ; for as it was a considerable space of time after the date of your letter before it came to my hand, so, since I received it, I have been in such a measure busied with weighty work and excessive travel, that scarcely could I borrow one hour from the one or from the other.

I thankfully accept of your ministerial, friendly, and brotherly advice unto union. So far as I can see into my heart (but a man cannot see far into a millstone), I am as much for a right qualified union as any, and look upon that as good and pleasant, as Psalm cxxxiii. 1. But the union which is had without truth and holiness, I can call no other thing but a conspiracy—such as was found among the men of Judah, Jer. xi. 9, and the prophets of Jerusalem, Ezek. xxii. 25. I cannot unite where I must thereby harden the hearts and strengthen the hands of such as are engaged in, and carrying on a course of defection and backsliding from the Lord, and so partake of their sins, and render myself obnoxious to their plagues. I cannot unite where I cannot expect the propagating of the words of Christ's patience, deposited to us at this time to contend and suffer for. In reference to both cases, in regulating my carriage toward ministers of this organical Church, in this her broken and declining state, I desire to mind what is given in command to Jeremiah—"Let them return unto thee ; but return not thou unto them" (chap. xv. 19). I must not divide from the Head to unite with any professed members. But ministers, even of this Church, who are clothed with Christ's

commission, who are free of censurable personal scandal, who do own and maintain this Church's testimony, and who either have kept free of the palpable and gross defections of the time, or else do relinquish and resent the same ; I say, with all such I account it my joy, honour, and duty to unite : and my practice proveth as much as I say. As for my principles, I am able to manifest them, to have their warrant both from the supreme Divine authority in the Word of God in the Scriptures, and the subordinate ecclesiastical authority of our Church constitutions. So this is no new way that I am following, but the good old way, wherein I see the footsteps of our Lord, *cujus vita nos omnia docere potest,*¹ and the print of the feet of our worthy and resolute reformers, and those who in our day have valiantly and faithfully maintained and sealed with their blood the received and sworn principles of our reformation.

I acknowledge, as you write, reverend and beloved, that I may learn many things from my brethren into which I have not enough penetrated, for I am but of yesterday, and what know I? Though they were in a worse course than they are, I would learn what is good from them ; for, *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*² I acknowledge many of them to be pious and learned, and I will imitate them in what I find to be right. But ah, I cannot see, as they now stand, how I can learn faithfulness and zeal from them ; and as for their worldly prudentials, I hope not to learn these. They have lost a good special for the general ; they have quit the Presbyterian plea for the Protestant, as is clear in their declaration, wherein malignants and sectaries may compear for their interest. But for my part, I much rather agree with our venerable Assembly, who, in a paper bearing the date of July 25, 1648, in answer to the offer of the Committee of Estates, do show that they had represented to the high court of Parliament, that for securing of religion it was necessary that the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant party be declared enemies to the cause on the one hand, as well as sectaries upon the other ; and that all associations, either in forces or counsels with the former, as well as the latter, be avoided. I cannot see that those means that have destroyed the work of the Lord shall ever be made use of by Him for raising up the same again. You say well, that *irruita longe fortior est quam dispersa ;*³ yet that must be taken with a grain of salt, for I must

¹ Whose life can teach us all things.

² It is right to learn even from an enemy.

³ A force acting together is much more powerful than one divided and scattered.

take heed *in quo et cum quibus vim irruitum*¹—I must unite my poor force both in a good cause, and with such persons as I may lawfully do it. Now I hope you will not take it in ill part that I desire you to beware of precipitancy, in receiving and spreading informations against us. I know you are informed in many falsities, and you do credulously believe and sedulously spread the same. This from the hand of famous, learned, and godly Roolman is most wounding to me; but you will find in the end that they have not been your friends who have prompted you to such a work.

I cannot but wonder at the difference of your discourse with Mr Hamilton at Lewarden, from the strain of your discreet letter unto me. We little need any to cast oil into our flames. For my part, it is my study not to be bitter against the bitterness of others, not to be reviled into a reviler, nor scoffed into a scoffer, so as to return the same to others as they are to me; neither to throw back my brother's fire-balls into his own face, lest in censuring him I also be my own judge. Though the sourness of others offend me, yet it should not. But I will quiet my spirit in waiting upon the Lord, until He bring forth the righteousness of his cause, and the innocence of his servants. I know some can accuse or excuse as they see it makes for their purpose. I can prove it by many witnesses, that Mr George Barclay and Mr Robert Langlands, before a multitude, accused the Church of Holland of Poperie in using three sprinklings in baptism; and of the grossest Erastianism, saying that the magistrate would send the minister a pair of shoes, and dismiss him when he pleased. This was exhibited as a charge against your whole Church; but now I am informed that Mr Barclay flatly denieth such a thing. I desire to know whether or not you judge the Church of Holland wronged by this means. And certain I am that a cause maintained after such a manner shall not succeed. Likewise I must say, that I think it strange that any of our ministers should seek to have a union procured betwixt them and us, while they do represent us to be as bad as heretics, and look upon us as unworthy of a charitable construction. I like not to beg charity, but I would not desire (if I may say, demand) what is not right. However, until we be melted, we can never be moulded up into one. If we had nothing ado but to please one another, and if we were once set right in our ends, an accommodation about all the differences as to the means would be the more facile and feasible (Prov. xi. 3, 5).

¹ In what and with whom the power is acting together.

Now, right reverend, I shall not detain you further. I do thankfully accept your necessary and Christian advices toward the close of your letter. It is my prayer to the Lord that I may be helped to follow them. I heartily wish you may soon come to a better understanding of this poor afflicted, reproached remnant.—I am, right reverend and beloved brother, your affectionate friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

L.II.—From Rev. JAMES RENWICK to ———

April, 1687.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—As my time will not allow me to write largely unto you, so you must accept this short and insignificant line as a token of my consideration of your lot, and concernedness with it. Your case is somewhat singular; for banishment will readily be looked upon as a great trial for you, through the prospect of many snares, fears, and distresses, whereunto you may be subjected. Howbeit, you may have no small peace and consolation from the consideration that you could not evade it, unless you had denied truth. Whatever sufferings you may meet with from your countrymen, from the seas, and from foreigners, you may reckon it all upon the honourable account of your duty. But, my friends, O do not fear the difficulties and perplexities that sense and reason may apprehend to be abiding you; for the Lord's children have often found it by experience, that their present fears have been greater than their future troubles, and that they have oftentimes been more frightened than hurt. He that made a passage for his chosen through the Red Sea and the swellings of Jordan, can give you a dry foot passage through all the waters and floods of your afflictions. Take your eyes off the vain things of this world. Look not back on old lovers; but delight yourselves in Christ alone, who is your exceeding rich reward, your satisfying and everlasting portion. Take Him with you. O He is sweet company! and He "will never leave you, nor forsake you." Yea, in the time of your greatest trouble, He will be most near you, and in your greatest distresses He will be most kind. Be careful of nothing but how to please Him, and to honour Him in all places whither you may be scattered.

Now, commending you to his grace, which I pray may be sufficient for you, I am, your sympathizing friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

LIII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

July 15, 1687.

HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR,—You may readily be offended with my long delay in writing to you, but your knowing the cause thereof, I am hopeful will remove it. My business was never so weighty, so multiplied, and so ill to be guided, to my apprehension, as it hath been this year; and my body was never so frail. Excessive travel, night wanderings, unseasonable sleep and diet, and frequent preaching in all seasons of weather, especially in the night, have so debilitated me, that I am often incapable for any work. I find myself greatly weakened inwardly, so that I sometimes fall into fits of swooning and fainting. I take seldom any meat or drink, but it fights with my stomach; and for strong drink, I can take almost none of it. When I use means for my recovery, I find it someways effectual; but my desire to the work, and the necessity and importunity of people, prompt me to do more than my natural strength will well allow, and to undertake such toilsome business, as casts my body presently down again. I mention not this through any anxiety, quarrelling, or discontent, but to show you my condition in this respect. I may say, that under all my frailties and distempers I find great peace and sweetness in reflecting upon the occasion thereof. It is a part of my glory and joy to bear such infirmities, contracted through my poor and small labour, in my Master's vineyard. But to leave this, I tell you truly, that I have no more jealousy of you than ever, for I know no ground for it; and I hope you will not take up any suspicion of me. Therefore, though multitude of business or bodily sickness may divert me from so frequent writing unto you, as need were, you would have me excused, and construct rightly and favourably of me. I say not this that I purpose to neglect it, or that I will allow myself in that neglect, but to prevent my need of using any further apology of this kind.

Right honourable and dear Sir, if I had the tongue of the eloquent, and the pen of a ready writer, my desire would be to employ both in praise of the Great King. O! "who is like the Lord amongst the gods? Who is like Him, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?" We are rebels and outlaws, we are lost and undone for ever; but He hath

made a covenant with us, and given Himself a ransom. This covenant is everlasting, "well ordered in all things and sure." It hath all fulness in it for the matter, all wisdom for the manner, all condescendence in the terms. It is most engaging in its end, being made to bring about the peace and salvation of sinners; and it is most necessary, for there is no journeying to heaven without it. This then is the chariot that will carry us into the joy and rest of our Lord; this is the chariot wherein his glory and our good ride triumphantly together, for it is made for Himself and the daughters of Jerusalem. This is the chariot that hath "the pillars of silver, the bottom of gold, the covering of purple, and the midst of it paved with love." O what a pavement is there! what lining and stuffing is there! O happy are they who are taken up into this chariot! They stand upon love, they sit upon love, they lie upon love; and if they fall, they fall soft, for they fall upon love. Those who are without may see somewhat of its glittering and beauty, yet none can know the heart and the bowels of it, and the love that is there, but those that are within. O! Sir, can you not say you are taken in with the King into this glorious piece of his workmanship? Then why should you fear? Though Satan and his instruments compass you about, and shoot at you upon all hands, yet you are all well guarded. You are not only riding with the King in his chariot, but lying with Him in his bed, which has round about threescore valiant men, of the valiant of Israel, standing well appointed, and in a ready posture, for your defence. The angels and the attributes of God are a good and sure defence. However you may be surrounded with the world's malice and hatred, his love is still about you, and always next unto you. O advance with that princely disposition and carriage that becometh one of so royal a descent, being a son of the great King, the Almighty Lord God, by your adoption and regeneration. Fear not what the worms of the earth can do unto you—they are his poor, chained, weak creatures. Let them be counted as ashes under the soles of your feet. Your cause is glorious, your leader gracious, your victory certain, your reward sure, and your triumph everlasting. O let all your care be to choose and do in everything what may please Him; and encourage yourself in Him, for He will not leave you nor forsake you. You know not what great things He may do for you, and by you, ere you pass your sojourning and pilgrimage in this earth. The more dark and stormy that our night may be, the nearer

is our morning. The hour of our great tribulation and temptation is coming : it is fast approaching, and it will haste to its end ; and blessed shall every one be who keepeth the Word of Christ's patience.

I can inform you of little as to the case of this land, but what you know. The enemies are restrained from the execution of their rage in the former measure, but they are consulting and plotting the utter ruin and razing of the interests and followers of Christ, for they neither follow their nature nor designs, whatever method they follow. If this were believed, people would not so readily be hoodwinked with their pretences of favour ; but after so much sad experience, none who will not wilfully blindfold themselves, need to be beguiled. There is a liberty now issued forth from the arrogant, absolute, and uncontrollable power of the intruder and usurper, upon the prerogative of the great God, bounded with the restriction that his government may not be spoken against, and nothing said that may alienate the hearts of the people from him ; prescribing the place of preaching to be only in houses ; inhibiting the worship of God in the fields ; commanding the severe execution of all the iniquitous laws against all such meetings, and requiring ministers to give up their names to some one or other of the civil powers—which restricted and strangely qualified liberties to Presbyterians, is conveyed through the cassing and disabling of all our penal laws and statutes enacted against Papists, and the toleration of all heresies and sects.

The generality of this generation esteem peace as their great good, and they covet and desiderate it upon any terms. But the Lord saith, "They shall not have peace." They have left the way of peace, and He will trouble them. The cloud is fast, fast gathering which will fall down as the irruption and inundation of a flood, and overflow the land : happy are they who have fled into their city of refuge.

Before the publication of this Indulgence, sundry Presbyterian ministers, who had been more lurking formerly, began to travel through the country, and officiate in houses, and that in somewhat of a public manner. Mr Samuel Arnot, preaching upon a Sabbath in the daylight, about a mile from Glasgow, a considerable company of people being within and without doors, a party of soldiers went out of the town and scattered the meeting, apprehending near to a hundred men and women, stripping them of their clothes, and taking their money from them, and laying them in prison. These were afterwards sent to Edin-

burgh, and, as I am informed, are all liberated save one man, who would not call Bothwell Bridge rebellion. But now the ministers are all generally preaching, and some who had been hearing the curates are falling to again; but I hear of little freedom amongst them anent the sins of the time. Some of them who had professed clearness against paying the cess, begin now to tolerate it, saying that the narrative of the act falls, seeing the term is expired, though the cess be continued, and so it is not sinful. Others say there is no scandal in paying it, because they allege it to be an epidemical fault, if they make it a fault (O such horrid juggling with God!). I know none of them who do not preach in houses; and I see not but that they must be interpreted to officiate under the cover and colour of this churlish liberty. Beside what compliance is with it, I hear not of a conscientious and practical testimony given against it. They do generally show themselves more than formerly to be of the contrary part, and set against this poor witnessing and suffering handful. They fail not to cry out against us, they charge us with false and gross transgressions; they press people every way to discourage and discountenance us; they carry as if their great design were to crush and ruin us. They spare no pains in preaching, converse, and writing to effectuate this. Hereby they make many violent upon their way, but some are questioning, and likely to come freely off from them. The course they take is ready to let none halt between them and us. None are more brisk and headstrong than Mr Gabriel Semple, Mr W. Erskine, Mr Robert Langlands, particularly Mr Samuel Arnot, who by sundry means discovers no small biassedness, credulity, and impertinence, to say no worse. I fear ere all be done, that it will come to the putting forth of the hand with some of the parties; but if it were once at this, I hope our trial would not be much prolonged, whatever might be our extremity and perplexity for a time. Since I knew anything of the corruptness of their way, I thought they were men of a strange spirit; but now I think them more strange than ever. O to live near God, that we may endure the storm!

Mr Flint and Mr Russel are parted; the number of their followers is not increasing. I have been often informed of Mr Ross's preaching one time with a curate; but my great discouragement is from ourselves. Though there be one part of the people that is straight and steadfast in the matters of God, yet there is another part that is inclined to laxness and instability. They will not leave us, and we have not as yet sufficient

enough ground to refuse their concurrence ; but they are as weights upon our hands, and are always to be drawn, because they will not follow. I think some will yet scour off, for, alas ! we are not all right in heart with God.

As for Mr David Houston, he carries very straight. I think him both learned and zealous. He seems to have much of the spirit of our worthy professors ; for he much opposes the passing from any part of our testimony, yea, and sticks close to every form and order whereunto we have attained, asserting pertinently, that if we follow not even the method wherein God hath countenanced us, and keep not by every orderly form, we cannot but be jostled out of the matter. He hath authority with him, which some way dashes those who oppose themselves. He discovers the mystery of the working of the spirit of Antichrist more fully and clearly than ever I have heard it.

As for Mr Kersland, I know nothing of his carriage here, but that it is most humble and straight. I am informed by some very zealous, that in conference both with ministers and professors of the contrary part, he hath spoken pertinently ; yea, I have been witness to somewhat of it. I have heard him condemn the business of the association wherein we condemn it, but he much denies his being embodied with them. He takes upon him very much toil and travel to serve the Societies in the corner where he wanders, and to further and attend the work of the Gospel amongst them. And to speak freely, according to my conceptions, I am afraid of him in nothing so much as in the business of Mr Boyd.

There are sundry Societies in Ireland, that have come out from the defections of the time, who are keeping correspondence with us. I am desired to visit them, and I purpose, God willing, to do it. When Mr David Houston was there in the end of the spring, he was very free, and considerable numbers attended his preaching. I suppose ere this time he hath admitted some elders in Galloway or Nithsdale, and I am to set about it the week following. But a part of my business this while hath been to travel through some places of the country where I had not been heretofore, and I hope not without some fruit. When I was last at Edinburgh, a considerable number of choice friends were banished to Barbadoes. Mrs Binning is gone to Ireland.

I am glad of your travels through other Churches. Your difficulties have been many, yet the Lord hath been with you. I am affrighted and astonished with the abounding of iniquity

amongst them. The Lord hath a controversy with all flesh, and He will plead it. Let us look through the whole world—they are but very few whom we can see or say, that they are for Him.

As to the letters of information that are to be sent abroad, I shall endeavour that it be done, and I shall send you some sermons; but I have so much upon my hand, that I cannot get it all done. For some weeks together, I scarcely get one night's rest, or am two days in one place; and where I am, there I am so taken up either with preaching, examination, or conference, that I almost can get no other thing done. I would gladly hear if you have seen the vindication, and what are your thoughts of it; and if you and Mr Alexander Shields have met, and how you have accorded. I am hopeful, if you did not mistake one another, there would be little or no dissension between you. As to your coming to Scotland, I can say no other thing now than I said in my former letter.

Now the Lord be with you. I forget you not—I seldom go to God but you go with me; and I have some confidence that I need not desire you to remember him who is, honourable and dear Sir, yours as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

LIV.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Since my last, I have travelled through many damps and deeps, and seen many discoveries of many things, the Lord by all dispensations saying, that He will have malice and mistakes, right and wrong, righteousness and unrighteousness, brought to light. O noble contrivance! O noble way! What shall the upshot of all the losses, sufferings, and contendings, and difficulties of the remnant be, but the clearing of the cause to all beholders, so that he who runs may read the righteousness of it? Shall not truth be made thereby more precious and known? The Lord will have a people to reap the sweet fruit of that we are put to at this day. Let us then be content to lay name, credit, enjoyments, life, and all under his feet, that He may stand thereupon, to advance the glory of his own name, and to bring about the advancement of his kingdom.

As to what friends have written to you, I hope you will not be troubled thereat, but take it in good part, for it hath flowed

in real respect to the cause and love and tenderness towards you in the most part. Whatever you were prevailed to cede unto, through your own confusion, simplicity, and inadvertency, by the overpowering of a furious biassed party at Bothwell, I would advise your honour to this anent it--to write to the remnant the way, and any reality thereof, expressing your own sense thereof; together with your willingness to make acknowledgment thereof, according to the degree of the offence, in the true Church of Scotland. This I think would be most for the glory of God, the vindication of his cause, your own honour, and the endearing of the remnant unto you. Also you must write your innocency of what other things are laid to your charge, with what probation there can be had, with this bearer; and if we had these we could stop the mouths of slanderers. Likewise, you must not be offended that Robert is not sent unto you, for the meeting did it not out of any dissatisfaction with him, or with your desiring him, but as a means to wipe away that malice-like aspersion, that we are all led by you; and that by the mouth of more witnesses words may be more confirmed. I hope you will find the young man both distinct and honest anent matters, and I doubt nothing, but you will be well pleased with him. Moreover, friends are most desirous to know how it is with Thomas; and if he be found, in some measure, qualified as to zeal, piety, and parts, they would gladly have all means used for his ordination. I must join my desire with theirs; for there is as much work to be had in Scotland, notwithstanding of all the persecution, as would keep ten ministers busy. O blessed be the name of the Lord! If I had some with me to help to plenish the country, and to act more judicially and authoritatively, through the Lord's assistance, the cruelty of the enemy and the malice and underminings of other parties would not be able to mar the work in our hands.

As to foreign Churches, I would offer your honour my humble advice, that considering the bad information that they have got from those that have passed as sufferers, you would with patience wait on them, for a little time will give them a clearer insight of our matters. I think no wonder that the various confusions of Scotland jumble them anent the uptaking of Scotland's cause. Give not over to deal with such as are not possessed with prejudice and malice. As to ordination for Thomas, if no other thing stood in the way of it, I could be clear, that you would seek it from the purest amongst the

reformed, though they cannot win the length of approving all the circumstances of our cause, provided they are faithful against the sins of their own place, and have not, with prejudice at us, sided with the backsliders in the Church of Scotland. For there is a great difference between joining with ministers of foreign Churches, and ministers of our own Church. The former (as I have often told those that objected against my ordination) come under a general consideration as Protestants; but the latter under a far more special consideration, as may be clear from the supposed example. The reformed ministers abroad, who keep up a testimony against the sins of their own place, and side not themselves against us, I could lawfully join with them, though they cry not out against the steps of our defection, because that is not the matter of their present testimony; yet if any of them were coming to Scotland, and offering themselves ministers to us of one organical Church, we could not accept of them, unless they could keep up our present testimony against all the sins of our place.

As for what passed betwixt these ministers and us, I can inform your honour no more fully than our friend's letter doth. As to the present state of the country, Clydesdale continueth firm as it was; Nithsdale is as one man upon their former ground, together with Annandale; some in Kyle are gone off, but many continue; many in Carrick are jumbled, some for the time are quite off, and some few continue; the few that are in Livingston and Calder are put all in a reel—the Lord knoweth how they will settle. Since our last meeting with these ministers, I made a progress through Galloway, and found never such an open door for preaching the Gospel, the people coming far better out than they did before. We got eight field-meetings kept there without any disturbance, and six in Nithsdale, many coming out who were not wont to come, and none in any of these places staying away that came out formerly. Mr W. Boyd hath made his escape out of Dunnottar, and is clear in our controversies against these ministers. Robert Goodwin hath made his escape likewise, and continues also clear in our matters. George Hill's family hath all been sick, and Mrs B. hath been long sick in prison; but this is the ordinary calamity of the country, for I never heard of such a general sickness in Scotland.

As for choosing of elders, according to your desire, we have some honest old men, members of our societies, who were elders in our settled state; and we are resolving to set about

the choosing of more, *with some deacons*. But our various confusions and debates have much retarded this and other things hitherto.

In what I have here written, I entreat your honour that I may not be mistaken, for the Lord knoweth I am the same both anent the cause and toward you that ever I was. All that biassed folk can say doth neither lessen my confidence in, nor estimation of you. And what I have said of Thomas, understand me so, that I would most gladly have him for a help, but I would rather want him than that he should be a hindrance. But because I judge him not to be of a dangerous spirit, I suspect him less than many others. Also I think it is more simplicity of nature than want of honesty that is with him. You should speak with this bearer anent setting forward to the work, for he hath past his course at the college, and I think hath the cause honestly stated in his heart, though he hath but small means for enduing him with gifts; yet he wants not a spirit for contending for the honest side. As for ordination abroad, I would have all means essayed before we took another course; for we cannot defend our doing anything of that nature, before all other lawful ways essayed do fail us, while we are in such a case. I thought fit also to inform you, that there is a general desire among friends that you should come home on a visit, and return again, through the apprehension that they have of your doing a great good at this time; but since our debates were brought to some close, I cannot be so anxious for it as I was.

Now, dear Sir, take heed to yourself. There are many looking out for your halting—many nets are spread against you, both at home and abroad. But exercise yourself in this, to keep a conscience void of offence both toward God and man; and the Lord shall bring forth your righteousness as the noon-tide of the day. Remember me kindly to your worthy dear sister, to Thomas, and all the family. Pray for him who is, ever as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

LV.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Honourable Ladies —

August 13, 1687.

MUCH HONOURED LADIES,—The zeal which I desire to have in the advancement of Christ's kingdom, the love which I bear

to your souls, and my sense of the obligations which I stand under unto you in particular, have moved me to salute you with this line. There is not a rational creature that doth not propone unto itself some chief good, the obtaining and enjoying whereof is the great intent and end of all its actions. "Who will show us any good?" But the woful evil among men is their setting up to themselves some naughty, vain, and petty nothing, and despising that wherein their real and chief happiness doth only lie—"rejecting the counsel of God against themselves." This mistake is deplorable, for man is an infinite loser by it; it is desperate, for he refuseth to be instructed. Hence so many different prevailing natural inclinations and predominating lusts as there are among the children of Adam, so many different chief goods—"There be gods many, and lords many." I am sad to think upon the folly and madness of the poor creature that thus doth forsake its own mercy; but let the world choose and follow what they please, "to us there is but one Lord."

I am hopeful, much honoured ladies, that you are turning your backs upon created and carnal delights, and setting your faces toward Christ, seeking after union and communion with Him. It is my soul's earnest desire that it should be so. If the comfortless and distracting vanities of a present perishing world shall wheedle and bewitch you, that you study not the wisdom of God, it shall bring great grief and sorrow of heart unto me. I say, I am carried betwixt hope and fear. I hope the Lord will work a good work in you. I hope it will be, for I would have it to be, and there are some appearances of it. I fear that the pleasant and easy yoke of Christ be looked upon as irksome and wearisome by you, when I consider your temptations, and the seemingly promising beginnings and fair blossoms that I have seen in many, which have fallen away, without bringing forth mature fruit. Do not take my freedom in ill part, neither be offended with it, for it cometh from affection: my ardent desire is that you do not neglect the great salvation. Religion is a great mystery, and a far other thing than even the professing world taketh it to be. There are many hindrances in the way of fleeing to Christ, and closing with Him. The natural blindness that is in man, whereby he neither sees his sin and danger, nor his Saviour, is a great hindrance (Rev. iii. 17, 18). His natural unwillingness and flat aversion to the way of salvation laid down in the covenant, and held forth in the Gospel (John v. 40). His hard-hearted unbelief,

whereby he giveth no assent to the righteousness of Scripture precept and doctrine, and the justice of Scripture threatening ; nor consent to Scripture promises, making fiducial application of them (John v. 38 ; Heb. xi. 6). His whorish addictedness to his lusts, idols, and carnal entanglements, whereby he doth not quit his profanity, nor leave the honour, applause, profit, and pleasure of this world (Psalm xiv. 10, 11 ; Song iii. 11 ; chap. iv. 8). His mistaking the government of Christ, counting it hard, melancholy, and unpleasant (Matt. xi. 28-30). His judging religion but a fancy, and a politic invention to amaze and amuse the minds of men (Matt. xxii. 5). His conceiving a facility in religion, thinking there needeth not be so much ado about it, and that he can do all that is needful when he pleaseth (Matt. viii. 19 ; John vi. 44). His postponing the business of life eternal from time to time, leaving that last in doing which ought to be first done, resolving to amend ere he end, whereby his vain heart deceives him, and Satan jostles him out of all time (Luke ix. 61). His peevish and foolish impatience, whereby he doth not forsake present imaginary good for a future real happiness. A man may think it a good thing to enjoy everlasting life ; but because that is a happiness hereafter, and lieth now only in promise, he cannot wait for it and take it as his portion, but grasps at what is present, though it be neither contenting nor constant (Psalm iv. 6 ; 2 Tim. iv. 10). I say, all these are great hindrances : see that you get over these, and all other obstructions, and lay hold upon Christ. O that I could bewail the lamentable condition of man, who is held in so many chains, from this work of great concern and eternal moment !

O much honoured ladies, consider the indispensable and absolute need you have of a Saviour. Consider the awful commands, full promises, free offers, hearty invitations, and serious requests given forth in the Word, all crying aloud with one voice unto you, to match with the Lord of glory. Consider the assurance that his own testimony hath given you, of dwelling with Him throughout eternity, in his heavenly mansions, where you shall see Him as He is, have a full sense of his love, and a perfect love to Him again, and ever drink of the rivers of pleasure that flow at his right hand, if you shall embrace Him upon his own terms. Consider the peremptory certification of everlasting destruction, of dwelling with continual burnings, and lying under the burden of his wrath ; a curse running always out upon you in the overflowing flood, if you shall neglect to make your peace with Him, and reject his salva-

tion. I say, consider these things, "and give all diligence to make your calling and election sure;" and see well that you be not deceived, for there are many mistakes, and a great mystery in that business. Many think themselves to be something when they are nothing, and so deceive themselves, and come short of the grace of God. Instead of founding upon the immovable Rock of Ages, they build upon the sand of their own attainments. For folk may go a great length, and yet be void of true saving grace. They may have a great speculative knowledge of the matters of God and mystery of salvation, and strong gifts (1 Cor. xiii. 2). They may abstain from many pollutions, and the gross evils that others are given unto (Luke xviii. 11-14). They may externally perform many duties, as reading, prayer, and be very much in these (Luke xviii. 11-14). They may have a very great sorrow for sin, not because of the dishonour done to God, but of the hurt to themselves; not because they are polluted, but because they are destroyed by it (Matt. xxvii. 3; Heb. xii. 17). They may have a desire after grace, though not for grace's sake, but for heaven's sake (Matt. xxv. 8). They may have a historical faith, and give an assent of the mind to all that is revealed in the Word, yea, to the spiritual meaning of the law (Mark xii. 32-34). They may have big hopes, and that in the mercy of God, which nevertheless is but presumption; for they forget that He is just, and they neglect to lay hold upon Christ for satisfaction of his justice; whereas He is merciful to none out of Christ (Job viii. 13, 14). They may have the common operations of the Spirit, and a taste of "the heavenly gift, and of the powers of the world to come" (Heb. vi. 4-6). They may be convinced that it is good to close with Christ, and comfort themselves as if they had done it; whereas they are still in their natural state (Hos. viii. 2, 3). They may suffer many things materially for the cause of God, and toil much in following ordinances, undergoing the same out of respect to their own credit (1 Cor. xiii. 3). I say, people may, and many do arrive at all these and such like attainments, and notwithstanding remain in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. It may make us all tremble to think what a length folk may go, and yet never have gone out of themselves, and passed through the steps of effectual calling. Many will say to Him in that day, "We have eaten and drunken in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. Have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name cast out devils? and in thy name

done many wonderful works?" whom He will chase away from his presence with that awful sentence, DEPART YE, professing unto them that He never knew them.

Let this alarm you to make sure work in this great concern, and not deceive yourselves with a counterfeit instead of a reality, with a flash instead of conversion, and a delusion instead of Christ. But get you a sight of your sinful and miserable state—a sense and feeling thereof, putting you in a perplexity, and discouraging you from resting in it; a conviction of your inability to help yourselves, and of your unworthiness that God should help you out of it. Look unto Christ as your alone Saviour, receiving Him wholly in his threefold offices of King, Priest, and Prophet, welcoming Him, and taking up his cross against the world, the devil, and the flesh, and resting upon Him alone for salvation; and then the business will be done, and all will be sure, and then you may defy devils and men to pluck you out of his hand.

If you have thus closed the bargain with Him, then you will find in you a war declared and maintained against all sin (Rom. vii. 15; Ezek. xviii. 21; 1 John iii. 9); a respect to all the commandments of the Lord (Ezek. xviii. 21); a liking of the way of happiness, as well as happiness itself (John iii. 14, 15); a high esteem of justification and sanctification (Psalm xxxii. 2); a prizing of Christ, and a longing to be with Him (Philip. i. 23); and an admirable change wrought in you; a new judgment, new will, new conscience, new memory, new affections—in a word, all the faculties of the soul will be new, in regard of their qualifications; and all the members of the body, in regard of their use (2 Cor. v. 17). Now, if you have attained to a saving interest in Christ, you may find these, and the like marks and evidences of it.

O halt not in this great matter, rest not in uncertainty, and satisfy not yourselves with a maybe. But "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves; know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" In setting your faces toward Zion, you may expect that Satan will raise all his storms against you; but fear him not, for the grace of God is sufficient for you. Give yourselves wholly to the Lord, to serve Him, and to love his name, to choose and follow the things that please Him. Your greatest honour lieth in this, your greatest duty, your greatest profit, and your greatest pleasure. Count the cost of religion. God is a liberal dealer. Deal not niggardly with Him, prig

[higgle] not with Him about your estates. Who is in heaven like unto Him? and who in earth is to be desired like Him? Lay down to Him your names, your enjoyments, your lives, and your all at his feet; for He is only worthy to have the disposal of them. The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us. Think not much to quit the vain and carnal delights of the world; they cannot satisfy your senses, and much less your souls. The earth is round, and the heart of man three-cornered, therefore this cannot be filled by that. Though you could find content in them, yet how vain were it, because inconstant, and how unsolid, because uncertain?

Regard not men's reproach, for so reproached they our Lord and the prophets. Yea, there can be no contempt or calumny cast upon you for the Gospel's sake, but what hath been cast upon the faithful in all ages. Remember "Moses, who esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt;" and "go ye forth without the camp bearing his reproach." Christ's new name will more than enough recompense the world's nick-name. Advance resolutely in the way of godliness. Your Guide is faithful, your victory is certain, your reward sure, and your triumph everlasting. Stumble not because religion is mocked at, for it is not the worse that man thinketh so little of it. Count it not a fancy because men desert it, but "taste and see that God is good." Follow no man further than he follows Christ. Divide not from the Head to unite with any professed members. Walk not with them who renounce their dependence upon Christ, or who are carrying on a course of defection, pressing a relinquishing of the present testimony, and casting reproaches upon the way of God. Keep yourselves from the polutions of this time, and partake not with other men in their sins; but study to have a good conscience. A good conscience will be a peaceable conscience, and a peaceable conscience will be a fat feast. Shun as much as you can the company of carnal and vain persons. You will not get this wholly evaded, but you may avoid unnecessary converse, frequency, and familiarity with them. We are obliged to carry ourselves with courtesy, humanity, and pity towards all, but not with friendliness and familiarity. You know, evil company and communications corrupt good manners. O! what shall I say? Watch always, be much in secret prayer, self-examination, spiritual meditation. Read the Word of God; seek to have your minds understanding it, your hearts

affected by it, and your consciences and actions guided by it. Get his Spirit to dwell in you, directing you into all truth, reproving you for sin, bringing every thought into obedience to Christ, and leading you into supplication. Lay aside every weight, and run the race that is set before you with cheerfulness and alacrity. Despise every opposition and obstruction in the way, and keep your eyes still upon the prize, having a respect to the recompense of reward.

Now "the very God of peace sanctify you wholly," and "I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."—I am, much honoured ladies, your assured and obliged friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

LVI.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

November 5, 1687.

HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR,—Our troubles are growing, and enemies are stretching forth their hands violently to persecute; and they want not instigations from false brethren, so we are made the contempt of the proud, and the scorn of them that are at ease. Our sufferings were always rightly stated, but never so clearly as now; and why should we not endure these trials? for they shall work for truth's victory, and Christ's glory. O let all the suffering remnant keep clean hands, for therein shall be their strength; and wait with patience, for He will not tarry, who cometh to plead his own cause, and to lay claim to his own interest, that is basely and deceitfully abandoned and betrayed into the hands of man, to give a fair decision. They whose souls are vexed with the now abounding abomination shall have a Zoar to fly unto when the fire of God shall fall down upon our Sodom. I am certain the Lord will have a sanctuary for his people. We must be brought to that extremity, wherein there can be no longer subsistence without present help; but God will not leave his people there. O this liberty hath let Satan loose, and brought the truths of God and the faithful into great bondage. But God will loose his judgments, and pour them out upon this woful generation, that will not see till they be made to feel. There is now a strange thirsting after my blood, but that moves me not; though they had it, they would not be satisfied, for nothing will quench them till they get their own blood to drink.

As to Mr Boyd, he came to our last General Correspondence, and desired, that seeing he knew there was something wherefore we were dissatisfied with him, as he was also with us, we might commune freely with him upon the same. So first, we showed our dissatisfaction with his taking licence without our knowledge, which was contrary to his own engagement, at least his declared purpose and resolution. Next, we took his paper, which he left in our hands when he went abroad, wherein, amongst other things, he asserted that his withdrawing out of the land was no way to separate or disjoin from us, and signified his dislike of countenancing those ministers against whom we had valid exceptions. When we asked, How could his declaring that he neither was joined, nor would join with us, nor any other party, consist with the former; and from the latter, we desired to know if he judged the accepting of that liberty, as they call it, a sufficient ground of discountenancing ministers? His answer to the first of these did no way help him or satisfy us. His answer to the last was, If the question was concerning such ministers as might sit in assemblies with the addressers, and go out to places of the country at their direction and preach, he would not forbid people to hear them, whatever he would do himself. After some debating against his mind in this, I showed the meeting that I neither could nor would determine matters of such extent and importance without my brethren, who by providence were not present; yet in the meantime I would keep at a distance, and not concur with him in the public work. They concluded that they would not call him nor hear him elicitedly; yet they would not discourage and discountenance him so far as not to hear him, in case of necessity, as, if they should be providentially cast with him into one family, and he going about exercise, or the like. Moreover, he himself was not desirous to incorporate with us; what he may do afterward, I know not. There were also other particulars wherewith we were dissatisfied; but the foresaid were the most material, and also included sundry of the other. Much time was spent in reasoning about them.

I have seen the account which you gave to your sister of the affair of Mrs J. of E. B. H.; you would not be too much pressed with it. The Lord is taking pains to wean you more and more from the world, and win you more and more to Himself. Remember Joseph in the dungeon. God hath vindicated and will yet more vindicate you. Friends are very well, and desirous to have you at home. I shall endeavour to manage that

business sufficiently, and as may be most for the advantage of the cause.

Now the Lord be your guide, and heap the blessings of the everlasting covenant upon your head. Pray that the Lord may spare his people, that He may purge his house, and pray for him who is, honourable and dear Sir, yours as formerly,

JAMES RENWICK.

LVII.—From the Rev. J. RENWICK to Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

December 29, 1687.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,—Though I know not how this shall be transmitted to your hands, yet I judge it my duty to write a brief account of some things occurring at present amongst us. Mr Boyd came to our last General Correspondence, professing his agreement with our testimony, and his willingness to join with us. When we came to speak about the duty of teaching the people the necessity of abstracting themselves from the acceptors of the present toleration, he granted that it is lawful to teach it, but the expediency of it he did not see. However, he had endeavoured to discover the sin of the toleration being accepted: thus he stood at this time. When we were reasoning with him, he said, ere he were the instrument of a breach amongst us, he would leave Scotland. But it was no small perplexity for us to know how to carry anent him. It was thought that the refusing either to call or hear him would cause a very great animosity and breach, and the ground of it was not valid enough. They came at length to conclude (with some averseness in the most part) that until the time of our next meeting, those who had not clearness to call and hear him should not be offended with those that might do it; and those again that might do it, should not be offended with those who had not clearness for it. Howbeit, they were not for entirely incorporating with him, and giving him a joint solemn call. As I declined to preach with him, so I denied my consent to the foresaid conclusion, and was put in a perplexity, not knowing what to do, seeing many sad inconveniences to follow, if I had opposed their determination. So with a full heart I forebore; but afterwards I opened my heart to Mr Boyd himself. I heard that K. was of my judgment in this matter.

As for Mr David Houston, he went long ago into Ireland,

and is not yet returned, whereby we have suffered no small loss. I am certain some strange thing hath happened him. The report is, that he hath been sore sick. I hear that many in Ireland are turning dissenters. Kersland hath taken from his factors about sixteen hundred merks of his own rents. For what was communed anent yourself and Mr Thomas Douglas, your letter from the meeting will inform you. We have written a testimony of about five or six sheets of paper, witnessing against this toleration, the accepting of it, addressing for it, and hearing the acceptors—testifying also for the obligation of our covenants; and showing the necessary duty of field-preaching, in the present circumstances of this Church.

I have been at Peebles this week, and through the Lord's providence wonderfully escaped. Our intended meeting near to the town, about nine of the clock at night, in the time of our gathering, was by a strange providence discovered. It is a place I had not been in before, and we had no armed men: there are four taken and imprisoned. Sir, I hear Stansfield is murdered by his own family—his eldest son had a chief hand in it.

Now, honourable and dear Sir, I have no more at the time to inform you of, but I have much to write if time would allow me. My fears were never greater anent the interest of Christ in these lands, there is such an inclinableness in people to defection. But I believe the Lord will not want some to own his controverted truths. The next time I write to you, I purpose to write also to Lewarden friends. The Lord be with you. I am, right honourable and dear Sir, your sympathizing friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

LVIII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to some Persons
under Sentence of Banishment.

1687.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—It is both my duty and desire to sympathize with all who are suffering for the precious name of Christ, especially with you who are called to partake so deeply of the afflictions of the children of Zion. You are now to be banished out of your native land; but your enemies could not have appointed that for you, unless the Lord had from all eternity ordained it. His infinite love and wisdom have consulted and measured out your lot; and as this should make

you despise the instruments of your afflictions, so it may help you to stoop, and cheerfully submit unto the providence of God, who "is of one mind, and who can turn Him?" Yea, considering the preciousness of the cause for which you are persecuted, you may rejoice that you are counted worthy to suffer such things. It is no less than the Gospel of Christ, and his great prerogatives, as He is King of his own Church, which He hath purchased with his own blood, and as He is supreme Governor and Sovereign of the whole world. Oh, is not this a precious cause? Are not these great heads of suffering? If every one of you had a thousand worlds of enjoyments, and a thousand lives, they would be all too little to signify your love to Christ, and your respect to so honourable a cause. You cannot glorify your Lord so much on earth, as by being faithful to the Word of your testimony, and suffering for Him now, when men are declaredly topping with Him about his supremacy both in his kingdom of grace and power. O my friends, regard not what you meet with in this present world, but be careful to have matters standing right between God and you. See that you attain to a saving interest in Christ, for if that be not secured, your duties will not be acceptable, your sufferings will not be acceptable; and whatever you have here for a possession, you may lay your account with lying under his curse and wrath, and the immediate strokes of his severe vengeance, to all eternity. O make Christ your own, and then you may defy devils and men to come between you and your happy state. Give yourselves wholly to his disposal, for He is gracious and faithful, and will order everything for his own glory and your good. Study to maintain his cause whole, and wherever your lot may be, keep up the testimony of the Church of Scotland. Quit none of your sworn and received principles, whatever way those may insinuate upon you who are engaged and persisting in a course of defection. Make no tampering or bargaining with any, when it will infer a condemning of the cause of your sufferings, and a justifying of the iniquitous sentence that men have passed upon you. Keep all steadfast and united together in the truths of God; and beware of defection, which breedeth division. Fall not away from any of the words of Christ's patience, but shun all unnecessary questions, needless strifes, and vain janglings. Live at peace amongst yourselves, so far as holiness may sustain no prejudice by it, and this will be both pleasant and profitable for you.

Now, O beloved, what shall I say unto you? I have no time to enlarge. Do not say because of your banishment, Is there

any sorrow like unto your sorrow? for I am persuaded that those whom you leave behind you have a greater sorrow. I do not say that any should flee out of Scotland, or leave it without a necessary or sufficient call. Yet that is coming upon the inhabitants which will make the ears of them that hear thereof to tingle. The consumption determined shall pass through, and the Lord will quiet his Spirit in our destruction; for his "soul shall be avenged on such a nation as this." And who knoweth, but your banishment may be for the preservation and hiding of at least some of you, until the indignation overpass. But when the time of gathering cometh, the Lord will bring again his banished. He "will bring them from all places whither they have been driven; He will say to the east, give up, and to the west, keep not back." Fear not a long sea-voyage, for "they that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in the great waters, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." Yea, though the deep should be your grave, or though you should die in a strange land, yet your death of that kind shall be a testimony, and shall cry for vengeance upon persecutors; it will be also an outlet of all your misery, and an inlet of your everlasting glory. But if the Lord shall meet you with providential mercies, whither you are carried, and give you any tolerable ease, safety, or sustenance, then I say, as you would not have your blessings cursed, and would not lose the badge of Christians and sufferers, sit not down upon these things; content not yourselves with these things, and forget not the case of the remnant whom you leave behind you.

Now, I commend you all to the grace of God, hoping not to forget you in my weak addresses to the throne of Him who is the hearer of prayer; and hoping to be remembered by you in like sort.—I am, beloved friends, your sympathizing friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

LIX.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to Mr ALEXANDER SHIELDS, Preacher of the Gospel.

January 12, 1688.

DEAR BROTHER,—I long to hear much how you are. The third night after I parted with you, I had a sore fit of sickness, but it lasted not, and through the goodness of God I have been in ordinary health since; however, it occasioned a dis-

appointment of a meeting for examination. I came forward to Peebles, where our meeting in the time of gathering was discovered by a wonderful providence—namely, as I am informed, the pursuing of some for theft, when people were observed to crowd out of the town; which made the clerk to inquire what they were, and whither they were going. The report whereof coming unto me, being lodged in a most suspected house, I went forth, and passed on towards the place of meeting, until I came within speaking and hearing of the clerk, and of some with him, who were without all the town challenging people; and being in no capacity to resist, I turned again into the town, where there were some little uproar, and went forth of it another way, where I waited a considerable space for my horse, which was at length got unto me, with some difficulty; and finding that the meeting could not be kept, I came away: but there were four persons taken. Since I came to this place, I have lodged with Thomas and John, and lest I should trouble mine own spirit, I have not desired any to keep silent anent my being here, nor reproved any for coming into my quarters, whatever the hazard might be. I left that to the providence of God, and people to their own discretion, and I find it not the worst way.

As for the books, they have come safely in boxes to Wooler. I have inserted in the papers which you left, what you desired to be transcribed out of Durham upon the Revelation; but I thought I could not fitly add what concerneth Kersland, because I know not distinctly the manner of it, and how to express it suitably to the matter of fact. But I have written to the lady, desiring that she may give to Mr Had. and Mr Lin. a plain and full account of it; and I have written also to them, that they may insert it, and shown distinctly the place where it is to be added. I thought this the fittest way, because people might possibly carp, if they were not acquainted with what concerneth them so nearly. Again, it will prevent any cavil about misrepresentation of a matter of fact. As for the testimony, the publishing of it is longer retarded than I expected, because Michael Shields was not in health for writing; but I shall be careful about it. I have added what was to be transcribed out of Durham upon Scandal, and did oversee the writing of the most difficult places, and taken out some of the [repeated occurrences of the term] “bigots,” because the recurring of such epithets makes them unsavoury. I have not got any of the letters sent abroad, but I am using diligence.

There are little news here. They are to proceed against Sir James Stanfield's family for the murder. Mr Hardie is still in prison, but it is thought he will be liberated. He refused to tell the council what he had preached, but put them to prove what they could against him; whereupon they called some of his hearers, but they said they were either sleeping, or at a greater distance, and could not hear: so they were not the nearer their purpose. There are orders given forth for a day of thanksgiving for the conception of the queen, and, as is reported, to pray that she might have a man-child. I am detained in this place some few days beyond my purpose through the want of a guide, but I am now about to remove.

Now, being in great haste, I must desist. Your direction, encouragement, strengthening, comfort, health, and protection are prayed for by him who is your brother and servant,

JAMES RENWICK.

LX.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to the Prisoners
in the Canongate Tolbooth.

DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR LORD, AND MUCH HONOURED SUFFERERS FOR HIS NAME,—I hear that men have passed sentence of banishment against you, but I hope what man can do is no surprisal to you; you have counted all cost that you may be put to. Howbeit, as no created power can banish you from your God, or your God from you, so I hope what men have now done against you shall, by God's blessing, be a means to chase you nearer unto your rest. Yea, moreover, you do not know but that it is to hide you from the approaching calamity which the Lord is immediately to bring on this land; I say immediately, for He is hastening his work; ay, He is working fast. One step of his now cannot stay upon another, for He is coming post-haste unto us; and now He must come, for our mother is in her pangs, and now she must either get help and be delivered, or else she will die in travail. But die she will not, though she be in hard labour, for the greatness of her pain will only tend to make her delivery the more joyful. O joyful! a joyful delivery, and to make it so, our Lord must have a singular feast at it. Yea, He will have such a feast in Scotland, that proclamation shall go forth from the one end of heaven to the other, inviting all the fowls of the heavens and the beasts of the earth to come unto the Lord's

feast—a feast of the carcasses of the inhabitants of Scotland, great and small. Neither their wit nor their might will deliver them in that day. O happy is the man or the woman that is removed from hearing the very report of what is coming on this land. Yea, the earth shall be made to tremble, ears to tingle, hearts to melt, bowels to sound, and knees to smite one upon another, at the report of Scotland's judgments. They shall in that day be thought to have sped well who have got away out of the way of these things. Yet I cannot look upon this, but I must cast a view upon what is beyond it. Mercies, mercies, mercies, are swimming toward the Lord's people. O they are strange mercies, and He will make them singular people, who will be privileged with them.

Now, as for your parts, remember “the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.” Wherever you may be cast, study always to be in your duty, and let the Lord be “your Portion in the land of the living.” That He may make up all your wants in Himself, shall be the prayer of him who is your real and constant sympathizer in all your sufferings for Christ,

JAMES RENWICK.

LXI.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to all and sundry the Prisoners for the name of Christ in the Tolbooths of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere in Scotland.

MUCH RESPECTED AND BELOVED IN THE LORD,—The most holy and wise God hath seen it fit to place his people, in this our day, in very strange circumstances, they having both the subtilty and cruelty of stated enemies, and also of pretended declining friends, to grapple with. Yea, I think there never was a generation who had such snares strewed in their way, yea, so many stumbling-blocks laid before them as we have. Is not this to be seen, that enemies to God and his truths have much more prevailed by their hidden snares, their subtile plots against the work and people of God, veiled and masked over with a pretence of favour, than by their cruel outrages, virulent and violent persecutions, screwed up to the highest pitch of their bounded power? This consideration, together with a desire to respect the advantage of the public work of God, and the welfare of the souls of people, and that we may be wise at the last; considering that we have been made to know by sad experience the sin and danger of accept-

ing their pretended favours, and are called to be mindful of the many bonds and obligations that lie upon us from the Lord, and to discharge my duty and exonerate [exonerate] my conscience as in his sight, these things have moved me to presume to write to you, my dear friends in bonds for Christ, my poor advice anent your duty under your present trials and sufferings, especially in reference to that late indemnity of the date of Feb. 26, 1685, given out by the Duke of York, under the name of King James VII. I think all pretended favours that come from the hands of such enemies may justly be suspected by us, considering how great skaith and damage heretofore the work and people of God have endured thereby; as witness by that indulgence before and after Bothwell. I hope, in the Lord's goodness, that this present snare shall not have such prevalency; and particularly that you, whose soul's welfare I tender very much, and in whose trials and sufferings I desire to be a burden-bearer and co-partner, may be guarded the more against it.

In all friendliness and humility, I call you to consider these few, among many other, that are evils in the foresaid indemnity. As (1.) That those who accept of that indemnity do most directly homologate the pretended authority of James Duke of York, which is far contrary to our covenants, whereby we are sworn, in our stations, and to the utmost of our power, to extirpate such; and do say, that it was lawful, just, and legal to proclaim him the king of Scotland, &c., whereupon that indemnity is granted. (2.) Those who accept of that indemnity do take with the name of wicked and seditious subjects and rebels, which the enemies in their proclamation put upon them; yea, they call themselves transgressors, for an indemnity or pardon is only extended toward such; and those who accept of it do palpably acknowledge a crime. (3.) Those who accept of that indemnity do most grossly comply with the granters of it, who require that fugitives, in sign (token) of their acceptance of the same, do either take the oath of allegiance, or else find caution to transport themselves out of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and never to return again without licence under pain of death. Now, seeing these enemies require such gross compliance, in sign and token of the acceptance of that indemnity, what must they hold the acceptance of itself to be? There are only two things which they propose to the acceptors thereof to make choice of, and these are—1st. The oath of allegiance; but of this I shall not speak, judging that none, who have not surrendered altogether their consciences, and renounced their

covenants, will swear allegiance to such enemies, especially to Papists, who are decerned by Acts of Parliament to be punished as idolaters, as enemies to the true religion, and all Christian government; and whom we have, with uplifted hands to the most high God, many times sworn to extirpate; which is inconsistent with any allegiance. The 2d is, They must find caution to transport themselves (as is said) out of these three kingdoms, and not to return without licence under the pain of death. This may prove ensnaring to some; but it should not, neither will it, if they consider what it implies. For they cannot make that choice without acknowledging, and taking with such gross transgressions and malversations as make them justly to forfeit all right of subjects in these three kingdoms. O! I hope no true sons of the Church of Scotland will so renounce their interest in Scotland's cause, covenants, and contendings. Yea, moreover, they cannot make such a choice, unless they engage to these enemies for their peaceable behaviour; which is to be understood as, in their sense, a renouncing of duty, and a complying with their impositions, in that time whatsoever betwixt the publication of the foresaid indemnity and the 20th of May, which is the time appointed for their transportation. (4.) Those who accept of that indemnity do greatly transgress and sin against those who are excepted out of it, such as ministers, heritors, &c; for thereby they expose the foresaids to be the butt of the adversary's malice and fury, and to deny to be any more sufferers with them for the interest of Christ. (5.) Those who accept of that indemnity do comply with the purposes of the enemies in general and particular, which are to ruin the work and people of God, by breaking and dividing them, and cheating some of them out of their consciences. As we are to consider them as following the same purposes in their granting of pretended favours, and in persecutions and bloodshed, so we are to suspect and dread their favours as the height of cruelty, and this the more because they are veiled and masked over with fair pretences, like unto those who should make a bed to repose themselves in, and lay therein a naked knife or dagger with the point upward. As it is said in Obad. ver. 7, "They that eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee;" whereupon he is declared to "be of no understanding," because he yielded himself to them, and was brought over by the subtilty of his confederates, and those that "were at peace" with him. (6.) Those who accept of that indemnity do help forward that purpose of enemies, in particular in granting of it; which is,

that they may get the better course taken with the more faithful, who trouble their kingdom most, and such as they are most mad against. For as they say in their proclamation, they grant the said indemnity before they determine their pleasure concerning such, which, say they, they hope to attain in a very short time. But as the hope of hypocrites, so the hope of enemies perisheth; for Zion is a burdensome stone (Zech. xii. 3), and their backs shall be broken with lifting it up. (7.) Those who accept of that indemnity do palpably break their covenant with the most high God; for therein we are sworn not to be divided and broken off from our blessed union, either directly or indirectly, by terror or persuasion. Now that indemnity doth manifestly break off those who are excepted out of it; and those included, who do take it, from either acting in, or suffering for their duty together. (8.) Those who accept of that indemnity do bind up their hands from acting any more for God, or against his enemies; for as in accepting of it they take with a transgression, so upon the matter they engage not to transgress again; yea, do not the conditions of that pardon hold out very formally so much? And is not here a most direct breach of covenant, yea, a receding from the sum thereof? (9.) It should be considered that that indemnity is no indemnity, but under that name a subtile and masked traducing of people to a compliance; for it is granted upon such and such conditions, and that in sign and token of acceptance thereof. O then! is not the granter a liberal churl?

Now, dear friends, as to this purpose I hope I need say no more unto you, having spoken these things for your confirmation, judging that you are clear of them already. Let enemies paint over their seeming favours as they will, yet considering the hand that reacheth them, we may justly dread them and suspect them. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Can any drink clean water out of a corrupt fountain? Shall Zion ever expect anything but a poisonable herb out of Babylon's garden? Or will ever an enemy do a favour? What hold shall we lay on Papists whose principles lead them neither to give faith to, nor keep faith with heretics, as they term us? If you would keep near God, keep far from enemies both within and without, and make it your work to be acquainted with the exercise of real religion. You have a noble opportunity for this study, for the Lord hath blocked you up from many worldly cares and outward disturbances; and why hath He done this, but that He may get you taken up

only with Himself? I have heard it of prisoners, that God made himself much more known to them in bonds, than ever He did when they were at liberty ; and I hope that it is so with not a few of you. O the wisdom of God, who can make enemies instruments of so much good to his people! O take Him for your all, who is a non-such portion. In the enjoyment of all created things there are still wants, but in the enjoyment of Him there is nothing wanting ; yea, more than a soul can desire, and than all created capacities are able to comprehend, is to be found in Him, for He is all in all. He is that treasure of which enemies cannot rob you, though they be permitted to come and bereave you of life, and all created comforts. Is not this a part of his excellency? O then make Him your choice, and, according to his promise, "He will go through fire and water with you ;" He will be with you in prison, in torture, in bonds, in banishment, and in death. Is not his presence enough? Yea, all your trials "shall work together for your good," as He hath said ; therefore rejoice not only in them, but because of them, and in all your seekings seek to have his image more and more renewed in you. O employ the power and efficacy of his grace for carrying on in you a progress in holiness ; for the more of this you attain to, the more of his special manifestations you shall enjoy. It is his own image that the Lord delighteth to smile and breathe upon, and to converse with. O holiness ! is it not many ways preferable to happiness? Albeit man's nature doth more affect happiness than holiness, because he desires more that which is more pleasant, than that which is more excellent ; yet without holiness there can be no happiness, for what is it that maketh heaven to be heaven, but because there is there the full enjoyment of God, and perfect immunity and freedom from all sin ?

As for the work and people of God, though I leave you to the Lord's free Spirit, for his exercising you always suitably anent their present case, yet there are these things, which I think you should be much in wrestling for with God on their behalf—that He may give grace to his people to guide rightly their present case, for it is very hard to be guided, in respect of the many mercies and judgments that are in their cup. Also they are now, as it were, at some push and extremity, the work being, if I may express it so, between the losing and the winning. But it is in his hand, with whom nothing can miscarry. Let us leave it there, and be about our duty. Let us plead that

He may give direction to his people, for extreme difficulties put people to the greatest puzzle to know what to do ; also a wrong step now will do very much skaith - but his name is Counsellor. Let us ask that He may give them grace to persevere and endure to the end ; for I think we may expect the sharpest of our trials to be yet to come - but his grace is sufficient. O ! as they will be sharp, pray that they may be short, for the elect's sake, as the Lord hath said.

As to your own imprisonment, O my dear friends, wait upon the Lord for your outgate. You know not what He may do : He can make prison-houses hiding-places. As I believe there is mercy in your lot, so there may be more than either you or others can see. Believe that the best may be, and yet prepare for the worst. Put a blank in the Lord's hand, and resolve upon the worst that men can do unto you ; for that is the safest, and it shall not fare the worse with you, even as to outward matters. Withal, I say do not misbelieve ; for God who hath hitherto restrained enemies, can bind them yet up from executing their purposes against you.

Now the multitude of business, and the shortness of time, force me to be but brief, which I hope your charity will cover with the mantle of a favourable construction. I shall detain you no further ; but unto the Lord's grace I leave you, praying that you may be kept faithful in this hour of temptation, that you may be helped always to make a right choice in every condition, that you may be so enabled to war against the world, the devil, and the flesh, as that you may not put a stain upon the honour of that holy name by which you are called, and that you may be still fed with the fatness of that land afar off, until you come to the complete and full enjoyment of Him. Begging the help of your prayers, I am, dear friends, your assured sympathizing friend in your tribulation, and your servant in our Lord Christ,

JAMES RENWICK.

Mr RENWICK'S Reply to a Protestation of Persons in the
Stewartry between the Dee and the Cree.¹

As it doth not a little grieve me that such a paper should have come from your hands, who profess adherence to presbyterial government, who have suffered so much at the hands of the

¹ As an instance of the eminently judicious, faithful, and yet forbearing and loving spirit of James Renwick, we insert in this edition of his Letters

common enemy, and with whom, at least with some of you, I have gone some time to the house of God in company, and have been in some perils because of the sword of the adversary.

So albeit I am conscious to myself of no desire nor delight in keeping up needless strifes and vain janglings, of no design to render any persons or party odious; also of no inclination to resent private and personal injuries; yet when I perceive the truths of God and the work of Reformation which have been transmitted to us through the wrestlings and blood of our worthy martyrs, in a great measure like to be buried, and many valiant and honourable contendings and sufferings of Christ's witnesses in our age condemned and forgotten—I say, when I perceive this, I cannot, I dare not keep silence.

Therefore your paper being given unto me, November 2d, 1686, and finding it so prejudicial to the interest of Christ, I have thought fit, with sorrow, sobriety, and candour, to make some animadversions upon it.

1. The scope and design of it is to stop the preaching of the Gospel.

2. When you speak of division, you do not deduce the same from its own original. For you say that the cause thereof partly proceeds from some paying cess, hearing curates, and taking the late abjuration oath; and partly from others condemning these things, adhering to the late declaration on Church doors, and receiving of, and adhering to Mr James Renwick, without the consent and approbation of the remnant of godly and faithful ministers, &c. Whereas it is well known to all who are not strangers to the case of our Church, that divisions abounded as much before there were any thoughts of that declaration, and before I, though most unworthy of such an honour, did put my hand to the public work. I judge our

the following "Reply" to a "Protestation" against him, emitted by a number of persons in the south of Scotland, who refused to countenance him, or wait on his ministrations, because of his testimony against paying cess, hearing the curates, and taking the oath of abjuration. These objected, too, against Mr Renwick's ordination, and professed to be willing to have the matters referred to judged of by "an assembly of faithful ministers and elders," plainly implying that there were such in the land, though they had complied with the defections of the times.

The "Reply," with the "Protestation," is given in the "FAITHFUL CONTENDINGS," and is valuable as stating clearly the grounds on which Renwick and the Society people acted in some practical points, on account of which at the time they were blamed, and which have been matter of reproach to their successors in the same testimony, on till our own day.—
ED.

divisions have their more native rise and real progress from a party who still cleave to the malignant interest, and who fell upon public resolutions to bring known malignants into places of power and trust; from the many Presbyterian ministers who changed their commission, and exercised their ministry under this abjured antichristian Prelacy; from others, who took a new holding of their ministry from an arrogated headship over the Church, by accepting indulgences, warrants, and restrictions from the usurper of their Master's crown; from others, who did meet in presbyteries to censure the more faithful, for discovering the sin of the indulgence; from others, who at Bothwell opposed the keeping of a day of humiliation for the sins of the time, and foisted in the late tyrant's interest into the declaration of the army; from others, who after Bothwell induced the prisoners taken at that fatal defeat to subscribe the conscience-defiling bond of peace; from others, who tolerated or advised people to compliance with other abominations of the time; from others, who have been unfaithful in not applying their doctrine against the prevailing sins of our day; from others, who have satisfied themselves to lie by from the exercise of their ministry, and desisted from the work of the Lord, and that when his vineyard stood most in need; and from others, who have gone into, carried on, or countenanced a hotch-potch confederacy with malignants and sectaries, and temporizing compliers; and finally, from all, whether ministers or people, who have carried on, plaistered, or strengthened any course of defection, through the course of this Church's sinful and lamentable revolt.

3. You very considerably say, "That the cause of this division proceeds partly from some paying cess, hearing curates, and taking the late abjuration oath; and partly from others condemning these things, adhering to the late declaration, and receiving of, and adhering to Mr James Renwick, without the consent of the remnant of godly and faithful ministers of the Church of Scotland." Herein no small contradiction and absurdity are implied. For in your accounts, the paying of cess, the hearing of curates, and taking the abjuration oath, have caused division; and the condemning the foresaids hath done the like. Now a practical condemning of these things is a not doing of them; and the same charge laid against the doing of a thing, and the not doing of the same thing, is flatly contradictory. You judge that the condemning of sin, as well as the practising of it, must, either in part or in whole, bear the blame of division.

Is not this most absurd? Is not this sad misreckoning? Though you should say that the practising of the foresaid evils hath caused a sad division, and the condemning of the same a just and warrantable division, yet that cannot be here meant, because you speak only of the division which hath scandalous and woful effects. As to the forementioned declaration, I know some of the ministers, and many of yourselves opened not a mouth against it, when they thought it subservient to their designs. And as for the receiving of, and adhering to Mr James Renwick, as you say, without the consent of the godly and faithful ministers of the Church of Scotland, it is not pertinent for me to answer much unto it, as you give it forth. Only seeing there are so many ministers, and fractions of parties, I desire to know to whom, or if to all, you give that signature FAITHFUL; and whether or not you judge that I ought to have sought the consent and approbation of any that are UNFAITHFUL. Whereas you speak of this receiving and adhering, as you term it, as contrary to the laudable practice of this Church, and acts of the General Assemblies; you would be pleased to consider the broken and declining state of this Church, and then instance either practice, or act, whereof you speak.

4. You overturn some material pieces of our attained reformation. For the paying of cess, hearing the curates, and taking the abjuration oath are brought in debate, and exhibited as above your capacity to decide and determine. You do tacitly insinuate a forbearance to meddle in these things, as if they were not worthy to be contended against; but you say you will submit yourselves in all the foresaids to an assembly, as you say, of faithful ministers and elders.

Where can you get a more faithful assembly to decide these matters, than our venerable assemblies, that have decided the same already? Where can you have a more faithful decision than they have given by their acts, according to the Word of God? As for the paying of cess, does not the act of the General Assembly, June 17th, 1646, Sess. 14, for censuring compliers with the enemies of this kirk and kingdom, sufficiently determine the same? As for hearing the curates—do not our Covenants, National and Solemn League, convincingly condemn the same? As for the abjuration oath—does not the act of the Assembly, June 28th, 1648, Sess. 14, against all oaths and bonds in the common cause without the consent of the Church, clearly decide the same? If these things be now debatable principles, all the actings and sufferings that have been these twenty-six years

and more, may be brought in debate, and the justness thereof questioned.

Had our assemblies no authority? or did they not give right decisions in these matters that are now resiled from, and their sentences referred to the decision of others? Yea, where shall so many ministers now be had as to make up an assembly, except those who are practising or tolerating the foresaid evils? Moreover, if an assembly, less or greater, should give out an act or sentence, for the lawfulness of paying the cess, hearing the curates, and taking the abjuration oath, would you stand to it? If you would stand to it, would not that be an implicit submission and an obeying of man, rather than God? If you would not stand to it, where is your submission in these points? For my part, what is clearly decided already, both divinely and ecclesiastically, I will never refer to the decision of any man. Shall I submit it to man to determine whether or not the soul of man is immortal? or whether there be more sacraments than two? Let assemblies confirm, ratify, and approve undoubted, uncontroverted truths, and those things that have been already justly and clearly decided; but let none give unto them the determination and decision of these things.

5. "You give forth the paying of cess, the hearing of curates, and the taking the abjuration oath, upon the one hand; and upon the other hand, the condemning of these things, the adhering to the foresaid declaration, and receiving of, and adhering to Mr James Renwick," &c., as debatable principles and practices, and matters above our capacity to decide. Then you assume to yourselves the determining that none shall call or join with the said Mr James Renwick. Doth not this imply, first, a contradiction? You cannot determine, and yet you do determine; you will not decide, and yet you do decide. Does it not import, secondly, that it is a matter in debate with you, whether or not people may hear the curates? It is out of our debate with you, whether or not people may hear the curates. But it is out of all debate with you, that you ought not to join with me in my ministry; and yet in what precedes in your paper, you give forth the receiving of me only as a debatable thing. How sufficient a ground is a matter debatable with the Protesters, to enter such a resolved protestation upon, let any man of reason judge.

6. The ground you walk upon, in your paper, in forbearing to call or join with Mr James Renwick, and for marching in such violent opposition against him, is because his ordination

is not seen and approved, as you say, by the faithful ministers of the Church of Scotland. This in your account, albeit in the broken and declined state of the Church, is more sinful, scandalous, and offensive than all that can be tabled against the curates. For this gives you ground to determine not only a forbearance to join with, but also a direct opposition unto my ministry. Whereas all that you have against the curates is in debate, as is said, whether or not they may be heard.

Howbeit, as to my ordination, it is valid and lawful, and I refuse not to give all possible satisfaction to any who may be conscientiously desirous to hear. Neither refuse I to satisfy any faithful ministers thereanent, who may seek the same. Yea, hearing that a certain minister of the Church of Scotland was desirous of information anent my ordination, I did write unto him a true transcript of the certificate of the same, with my judgment as to the chief things controverted in our day; but I never received an answer. Likewise, some other ministers, whom you know, Messrs Barclay and Langlands, showed their willingness to have a concurrence between them and me, and to lay all debates aside; which I could not do, except these offensive courses were resented and relinquished. They made no exception against me on account of my ordination not having been seen and approved by the ministers, &c.

I refuse not to satisfy any faithful ministers upon that head, and I am willing to yield all due subjection unto them in the Lord. Nevertheless, I humbly conceive that those bear not the signature of faithful ministers, and of such as I am subject unto, who have directly and actually complied with the enemies of this covenanted Church and kingdom; or who defend, excuse, plaister, or cover and tolerate compliances with the foresaid enemies, and their palpable defection from the reformation of this Church; or who pervert their ministry by contradicting our present testimony, founded upon and agreeable to the Scriptures, our Confession and Covenants; or who have deserted ministerial duties, and desisted from the public work of preaching the Gospel, for fear of hazard; or who have divided the Church, and calumniated and condemned the more faithful.

Now, passing by others whom I might mention, I say I humbly conceive that ministers, guilty of all or any, more or less of the foresaids, are not such as in conscience I can be subject to, considering these charges with application to ministers of this organical Church, under the same bond of

covenant with us, and obliged to maintain the same word of testimony, and with respect to the broken and declined state of this Church. These things will be found sufficient to warrant my non-subjection to those, while such, to whom they are duly applicable.

7. You call the foresaid Mr James Renwick's preaching upon a call, without previous submission to ministers, against whom he has just exceptions, "a horrid and abominable usurpation and intrusion;" whereas it cannot be called usurpation, because I have a protestative mission to exercise all the parts of my ministry. Neither can it be called intrusion upon the labours of any faithful minister of Christ; for I declare, with grief and lamentation, that I travelled for a considerable space of time through the country of Scotland, where professors and sufferers did most abound, and in all my journeys I never heard of any labouring, save the Indulged for a season, and the curates. I think I may say before God, that it was pity toward the scattered sheep of Christ in this land, who were fainting and swooning through the famine of public ordinances, that moved me to subject myself, in such a weak condition, to so great a work, and to undergo so many perils and wanderings. It is most likely, if labourers had been faithful and laborious, I had laboured none to this very day.

8. You signify your resolution to protest against the foresaid Mr Renwick's preaching, as "horrid and abominable usurpation and intrusion upon you and your labours, till such time (mark it) as you have the mind of your faithful ministers anent the foresaid things."

What are these things? They are nothing if they be not the cess-paying, hearing curates, and taking the abjuration oath upon the one hand; and upon the other hand, the condemning these things, and adhering to the foresaid declaration, and receiving of, and adhering to the above-named person, without the consent and approbation, as you say, of the remnant of godly and faithful ministers, &c.

I am content, indeed, that you cast upon the receivers of my ministry the brand of condemning these iniquities; but does nott his that you say confirm what I have instructed in animadversion fourth—namely, that you have overturned some great and material pieces of our reformation, and brought in debate which was out of debate, and that you will have a new decision of what has been by the authority of the Church of Scotland, long ago very well decided? What if these faithful

ministers shall counsel you to pay the cess, hear the curates, and allow taking the abjuration oath? If you follow their counsel, where will you be? and if you follow it not, how can you hang your resolved protestation upon it? But herein you have inveigled yourselves in a great intricacy; for some of the ministers whom you account faithful will tolerate, if not defend, the paying of cess, and others will condemn it. Some of them will allow of taking the abjuration oath, and others will, at least did, disapprove of it. Some of them will wink at hearing of curates, and others will testify against it. Now, whom will you follow, and whose determination will you follow in your appeal? Have you not brought yourselves by this into a great difficulty?

9. You express yourselves with such confusion, as I know not whether to look upon you as men in office or out of office, or both. You speak with one breath as if you were ministers, and yet also only as people; for you say, "If the foresaid Mr James Renwick, at the desire of strangers, or any of your brethren dividing from you, shall intrude himself on your labours, without your call or consent, till such time as you have the mind of your faithful ministers anent the foresaid things, you will protest against it as a horrid intrusion on your labours." If you be people, your labours cannot be intruded upon by the exercise of the ministerial function. If you be ministers, how come you to say, "That you must have the mind of your faithful ministers?" I never knew ministers speak so. Though you should say that you are both ministers and people, yet none can free such a speech of worse than an error in language. I do verily wonder how you can build such absurdities upon some expressions in some of our former papers, which many of you once owned, and which can bear a far other and better sense than you put upon them; and in the meantime, you yourselves fall into a greater fault. If I thought that any clergyman had penned your paper, I would take a little liberty to discover its contradictions and confusions, to say no worse, and that he hath not adverted to his work when he wrote it. To what I have observed in it, giving me occasion to take it as the draft of illiterate men, who sometimes cannot aptly express their meaning, I shall be the more favourable, and shall forbear.

10. You say, "That you will look upon Mr James Renwick's preaching the Gospel, without subjection to such ministers as he hath sufficient exceptions against, to be devisive and destruc-

tive to the poor suffering remnant of this Church." Whereunto I shall reply nothing, but that the faithful remnant of this Church, who suffer most, both by the hands and tongues of men, do not look with your eyes.

. 11. You give in your paper subscribed by a faithful and creditable man indeed, William M'Hutchison, in the name of that place of the Stewartry of Galloway, betwixt Cree and Dee, whereby you have done an injury to some conscientious sufferers and owners of truth in that place, who do abominate your deed. You also do injury to yourselves by using a designation so comprehensive as to exclude none, either Papists or malignants, who reside there. And again you say, "in the name of the whole." Is that of the whole of your party? Does not this give just ground of exception against the whole of your party?

Now, having in weakness, though with studied candour and sobriety, briefly animadverted upon some things in your paper, wherein I conceived to lie the greatest prejudices to the work of the Lord, I shall not touch some other things in it, which may be looked upon as importing only weakness, choosing rather to cover these, and pass them in silence.

Notwithstanding of all that you have done against me, I have love to you, and desire to behave myself as a friend. Yea, I may say I am filled with a great measure of sorrow and amazement when I consider your present course and carriage, and compare it with your former. Many of you and I have wandered in the silent watches of the night together, been in perils together, fled from the sword of the common adversary together; and I appeal to yourselves, if you have not found sometimes something of the power of God in our solemnities together. You have suffered much at the hand of the enemy, even to the shedding of the blood of many of you, which I hope was acceptable to God, and is a part of the seed of the Church. You professed with us the same thing that we own and profess this day; you were the most forward for action, and we gloried in you, and boasted of you, and I think this hath been our sin, and a part of the cause of your judgment.

Howbeit, there are some things wherein you have greatly wronged the cause of Christ, which, out of respect to that cause and love to your souls, I shall bring to your remembrance, and set before you, for your serious consideration.

Therefore, I say consider, when you were professing a concurrence with us in the stated testimony of our day, what under-

hand dealing you had with other parties, without once acquainting us therewith, from which both you and we were obliged to stand at a due distance.

Consider how you divided from us, and joined with ministers chargeable with sundry offences, still defended; and who have now gone that length that I know not any ministers, however sadly turned aside, from whom you stand at a distance. Yea, do not some of them, whom you call and embrace, calumniate and condemn the more faithful remnant, uttering as untender and uncharitable expressions concerning them, as they can do of the persecuting enemy?

By what warrant should they be heard preach who speak lies in the name of the Lord? Consider, whether are the ministers who lurk and reside at Edinburgh, and who are chargeable with other things than at present I shall name—I say, are they now become such unto you, that you will receive no ministers but such as have an approbation and warrant from them? Consider also how many temporizing compliers you have received into your select societies.

Consider how you came to our General Meeting, January 28, 1686, with what purpose of uniting with us the Lord knows; and when we were using all means to conciliate a union in the Lord, you dealt very disingenuously with us. When we, because of your sundry offences, no way resented by you, did conscientiously, in our own names, refuse your concurrence with us in selected Christian fellowship, you went away and did spread sad lies and calumnies of us.

Consider how you have dispersed your papers and pamphlets—with what truth and tenderness as to the charges therein contained, we leave to every conscientious Christian who knows us to judge.

Consider how you have by letters, informations, counsels, and protestations, with more zeal, opposed and contended against an afflicted witnessing remnant, than ever you did against the antichristian hierarchy. And though the Lord knows, as far as I can see into my heart—I mention it not to resent any injury done unto myself—yet I must desire you to consider how when I came to your border, offering to converse with you, and willing to preach the Gospel, as formerly I had done in that place, you would let none speak with me but such as you pleased. You separated from me when I was going about family exercise; and you also protested against both my preaching and converse.

Consider what errors, absurdities, contradictions, &c., are stuffed into your paper prefixed. O, I say, consider and take a look of these things; how thereby you have sadly wronged the interest of Christ—have made the enemy to blaspheme, made conscientious sufferers to stumble and fall—to grope in the dark, not knowing what to choose or refuse—have hardened the hearts and strengthened the hands of those who are engaged in a course of defection, so that they do not turn from the evil of their ways, have done so much to deprive posterity of the truths which ought to be transmitted to them; and finally, how you have thereby sinned against your own souls.

Now, I beseech you, consider your ways. And that the Lord may pour out on you the spirit of mourning and turning, is the prayer of him who is your soul's wellwisher. *Sic subscribitur,*

JAMES RENWICK.

LXII.—From the Rev. JAMES RENWICK to —

February 6, 1688.

DEAR FRIEND IN THE LORD,—I have no cause to complain of my lot: there is a great necessity for it, and the Lord hath seen it for his glory, and He maketh me joyful in it. But there is one thing that doth a little trouble me, and yet when I look upon it again, I think there is not much cause of trouble. The matter is this. When I was apprehended and searched, there was found upon me a little memorandum, containing the names of some persons to whom I had lent, and from whom I had borrowed some books; as also, a direction of letters to some doctors of divinity, or ministers abroad. Upon this I was interrogated in the tolbooth by a committee, who said they had orders to torture me if I was not ingenuous. So as to the direction to the doctors, or ministers abroad, which were full in the memorandum, I told them that there was a purpose of writing letters to them, but that none were written. Being asked about the scope and design of the letters, I told them that it was to represent our sufferings, and to procure their sympathy. It was asked me, with whom I kept correspondence abroad? I told them with Mr Robert Hamilton, which I thought could do no injury. As to the names of other persons, which were written short, I judged there was no hazard in explaining their names, who were in the same hazard already. So I told them that A. S. was Alexander

Shields. And being asked if he was in Scotland? I, thinking that his public preaching would not let him be hid, said, I supposed he was; but told no definite place. That M. S. was Michael Shields; but told no place of his abode. That Ja. Wil. and Ar. Wil. was James and Archibald Wilson; and being asked about the place of their abode, I answered only, in Clydesdale. That C. A. was Colin Alison; but I spoke of no place of abode. That Peter R. was Peter Raining; for I thought he was without their reach. And being asked about his occupation and abode, I told them he trafficked within the border of England. Peter Aird's name was written full; and being asked particularly about him, I told them he was a man of the country of New-mills, Galston, or Evandale, I knew not whether. James Costoun's name was thus full; and being asked of his abode, I told them he lived in the Newtown of Galloway, or thereabout. You know the man, and this was true of him, wherever he is now. That M. was my mother, but spoke of no place of her abode. I was most pressed to tell who M. M. at Gl. was, with whom a hat was left; and I answered, that I was not free to bring any other person into trouble, whatever they might do with me. They said that the business could not bring any into trouble, for they did not now proceed against folk for such matters; and that their design was only to save me from torture, which they could not do, unless I would be ingenuous about that name. I answered, that I would in no ways explain the name, unless they would not trouble the person. They said they would endeavour to prevent all trouble of that kind. Therefore, I thinking that the person's name was already among enemies in the place, and supposing there were some others of that name; and also conceiving that trouble upon that account could hardly be expected, they guessing that Gl. was Glasgow, I told the advocate alone that M. M. was Mrs Millar. Her name was not set down in writing by their clerk as the rest were, and he hath no witnesses upon it; so I think it not probable that they can incur any injury, for I was not more particular.

Now I shall say no more as to this, but only advise persons in my circumstances, either not to write such memorandums, or not to keep them upon them, which I did inadvertently and inconsiderately. You may communicate this to whom you think fit, especially to the persons concerned, but see that you take along with you all the circumstances. I studied to save myself from lying, to preserve them from trouble, and to cite

the threatened torture. I was pressed much to tell my haunts and abodes these several years by past; and I told them I sometimes resorted to John Lookup's house, where the officers came upon me, but further I would give them no notice; so I passed.

Now, if there be anything in this that may be offensive to friends, I seek their forgiveness for it; for if I had apprehended any sin in all this, or that any person would thereby incur injury, I would then, and now also, rather undergo all the threatened torture.

The keepers of the tolbooth have frequently told me of my having married the herd in the Leeps, and some persons in Pentland. Alexander Weir, who is with the provost, told me of baptizing a child to one — Scott's husband, but I endeavoured to boast them out of it. As for my pocket-book, which contained only the sum of my two last sermons at Braid's Craigs, with the time and place, I owned such doctrine.

I have no further matters to write at the time, for I resolve to write some after this, which I would have more public than this. I desire that none may be troubled upon my behalf, but that they rather rejoice with him who, with hope and joy, is waiting for his marriage and coronation hour.—I am, your friend and servant in the Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

LXIII.—The Rev. JAMES RENWICK's last Letter to the Honourable Mr ROBERT HAMILTON.

February 17, 1688.

RIGHT HON. AND DEAR SIR,—This being my last day upon earth, I thought it my duty to send you this my last salutation. The Lord hath been wonderfully gracious to me since I came to prison. He hath assured me of his salvation, helped me to give a testimony for Him, and own before his enemies all that I have taught, and strengthened me to resist and repel many temptations and assaults. O! praise to his name!

Now, as to my testimony which I left in your hands, when I entered into the work of the ministry, I do still adhere unto *the matter* of it; but I think *the manner of expression* is in some things too tart, and it containeth sundry men's names, some whereof are now in eternity. It is not so pertinent to our present affairs; for the state of our controversies is altered. Therefore I judge it may be destroyed, for I have testimony

sufficient left behind me in my written Sermons, and in my Letters. But if this trouble you, and if you desire to keep it for yourself, and your own use, you should keep this letter with it, and not publish it further abroad. Yet you may make use of any part of the matter of it, that may conduce to the clearing of any controversy. As for the direction of it unto you, if I had lived, and been qualified for writing a book, and if it had been dedicated to any man, you would have been the man. For I have loved you, and I have peace before God in that; and I bless his name that I have been acquainted with you.

Remember me to all that are friends to you, particularly to the ladies at Lewarden, to whom I would have written, if I had not been kept close in prison, and pen, ink, and paper kept from me. But I must break off. *I go to your God and my God.* DEATH TO ME IS AS A BED TO THE WEARY. Now, be not anxious; the Lord will maintain his cause, and own his people. He will show his glory yet in Scotland. Farewell, beloved and comfortable Sir. *Sic subscribitur,*

JAMES RENWICK.

A P P E N D I X.

IT has been common in some quarters of late to speak of Renwick and his associates in testimony-bearing and suffering, as only contending against the unconstitutional and persecuting measures of the government of the Royal brothers; and to declare that, had they lived to witness the change of government which took place at the Revolution, they would have joyfully hailed it as the realization of their eager aspirations, and would have incorporated readily with the national society. Thus Dodds, in his *Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters*, while acknowledging the important services rendered to the cause of the Prince of Orange, by the bold and resolute position taken by the Cameronians, represents Renwick as not only "the last martyr of the covenanting struggle," but also as "the *Proto-martyr of the Revolution*." He adds, "Like the shepherd overwhelmed in the snow-storm, he perished within sight of the door. The door of deliverance was speedily opened, on the arrival of William, in November 1688." And again, speaking of Cameron, Renwick, and the stricter Covenanters, he says—"So far the REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT, in the main adopting what was universal, and rejecting what was exclusive, or over-grasping in their views, was the consummation and triumph, civilly and politically, and to a large extent ecclesiastically, of the FIFTY YEARS' STRUGGLE OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS." These statements, though plausible, and such as seem likely to be readily embraced by those who have no relish for a full covenanted testimony, or who desire to maintain fellowship with corrupt civil and ecclesiastical systems, are liable to one fundamental and unanswerable objection—they are wholly unsupported by historical evidence. All pains were taken by Cameron and Renwick, in preaching and in their dying testimonies, and by the United Societies in their published declarations, to show that they testified not merely against the usurpation and blasphemous supremacy of the last of the Stuarts, but likewise, principally, against all invasion of the Redeemer's royal prerogatives, and all departure from the scriptural attainments of the former happy Reformation. In nothing were they more decided than in testifying to the death—that the National Covenants were the oath of God, perpetually binding on all classes in the realm; "the marriage tie," which no power on earth could dissolve; that all departure from the principles of these federal deeds was sinful, and involved the land in the guilt of national apostasy and perjury; and that the authority of the Scripture was supreme in constituting the national society, in enacting and administering the laws, and in regulating the lives and official acts of the rulers.

The Revolution Settlement, in both its civil and ecclesiastical departments, instead of being the exemplification and carrying forward of the work

of the Second Reformation—for the maintenance of which the Scottish martyrs shed their blood—was a deliberate abandonment of it, and was established in open opposition to its grand and distinguishing principles. The faithful companions and followers of Renwick refused to incorporate with this settlement, on the ground of adhering firmly to the scriptural vows of the nation, and the testimonies of illustrious martyrs. While giving the best proof of their genuine patriotism, they withheld allegiance from the government of William, and they took the name and position of “Old Dissenters,” for reasons which they clearly stated, which those who opposed and misrepresented them were unable to answer, and the greater part of which are as applicable to the present British government, and existing ecclesiastical systems, as they were to the settlement of the Revolution. Several of the political changes which have taken place in recent times, have supplied strong additional grounds for faithful covenanters maintaining the position of public protest against, and active dissent from the establishments, civil and ecclesiastical, of the nation. The reasons of separation from the Revolution Church and State, as given by the “Society people,” are presented in a lucid and convincing manner, in the work entitled, “*Plain Reasons for Presbyterians dissenting from the Revolution Church in Scotland, as also their Principles concerning Civil Government, and the difference betwixt the Reformation and Revolution Principles.*” They are likewise exhibited in a condensed form in the “*Short Account of Old Dissenters,*” emitted with the sanction of the Reformed Presbytery, and in very luminous terms in the historical part of the “*Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.*”

No person who peruses these works, and ponders their carefully prepared statements, can with candour and honesty affirm that Renwick and his fellow-sufferers would have willingly incorporated with the Revolution Settlement; or that fellowship with the present British political system, by taking oaths of allegiance and office, and setting up rulers, is consistent with their declared and dearly prized principles. Let the “Plain Reasons” to which we have referred be duly weighed, and it must be perfectly apparent that Mr Dodds’s oracular statement, that the “**REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT**” was the consummation and triumph, civilly and politically, and to a large extent ecclesiastically, of the “**Fifty Years’ Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters,**” is completely destitute of any solid foundation. These *reasons* are such as the following:—The Scottish Reformation in its purest form was deliberately abandoned in the Revolution Settlement; both the Church and State concurred in leaving unrepealed on the Statute-book the infamous Act Rescissory, by which the National Covenants were declared to be unlawful oaths, and all laws and constitutions, ecclesiastical or civil, were annulled, which approved and gave effect to them. The Revolution Church was, in every respect, an entirely different establishment from that of the Second Reformation. Its creed was dictated by Erastian authority; its government established on the ground of popular consent and not of Divine right; its order and discipline were placed in subjection to Erastian civil rulers; and the scriptural liberties of the ministry and membership interfered with; and corruption in doctrine, and ordinances of worship, without the power of removing it, extensively spread throughout the ecclesiastical body. How sadly different a structure did this appear to the eyes of faithful men, who lamented that the carved work of a covenanted sanctuary had been broken down, and the “beautiful house where their fathers worshipped was laid waste!” Nor could the civil and political part of the

Revolution Settlement have any pretensions to be a proper carrying out of the civil system of the Reformation era. In this the federal deeds of the nation were the compact between rulers and ruled, and were an essential part of the oath of the sovereign on admission to supreme power. Civil rulers were required to be possessed of scriptural and covenant qualifications, and were taken bound to make a chief end of their government the promotion of the Divine glory in the advancement of the true reformed religion, and the protection and prosperity of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. They were likewise solemnly engaged to employ their official influence and authority to put away systems that had been abjured in the national vows—Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism—and to discourage all profaneness and ungodliness. At the Revolution all these engagements were deliberately set aside. The sovereign's coronation oath, and the oath of allegiance of subjects, bind both equally to the support of Prelacy, which is declared to be established unchangeably in England and Ireland. The whole civil system is based on expediency and the popular will, and not on scriptural principles. The authority claimed and exercised by the monarch over the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, and the National Church in England and Ireland, is grossly Erastian. The introduction of Popery into the bosom of the State, the admission of Papists to offices of power and trust in the nation, and the endowment of Popish seminaries and chaplains, which the Revolution Settlement barred, but which the anti-christian and infidel policy of recent times has enacted, show still more clearly that the civil and political system established in these countries is diametrically opposed to that which was set up at the era of the Reformation, and was contended for by the Scottish martyrs, and impose on all who would honestly promote the ends of the National Covenants, the obligation to maintain distinct separation from it.

II.

L I F E

OF

REV. JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

LIFE OF REV. JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE records of the introduction of true religion into any country are full of interest; and the individuals that were employed in this good work richly deserve the respect and veneration of posterity. The moral and political pre-eminence of one nation over another, or of one portion of the same country above others, can be traced, in many instances, to nothing else than the Divine blessing accompanying Scriptural means of moral and religious culture. Of the truth of this remark, the intelligence, morality, and social order of Scotland, when compared with other European countries that greatly surpass it in external advantages of soil and climate, form an impressive illustration. An equally striking exemplification is furnished in the condition of the northern province of Ireland, as compared with the other parts of the kingdom. To what are we to ascribe the mental illumination, moral and religious principle, industry, peace, and commercial prosperity of Ulster—the complete contrast to the darkness, superstition, insubordination, and misery of large portions of the southern and western provinces? Even a plausible answer cannot be returned to this inquiry, without admitting that the difference is owing, in a great measure, to the former having been blessed with pure Christianity; while the latter has for ages been enthralled by the debasing superstition of the Man of Sin. Candid Roman Catholic writers themselves are constrained to admit the superiority of Protestant above Popish countries, in all that pertains to their power, moral influence, comfort, and outward prosperity. The author of the “*Historical Essay on the Effects of the Reformation*,” and recent numbers of a leading French newspaper—the *Journal des Debats*—supply instances of the

homage which the force of truth constrains men to render to right principle.

The Scottish and English settlers who planted Ulster under the encouragement of James I., found it, in almost the fullest sense of the term, a wilderness; in physical condition and capacities greatly inferior to the rest of the island, and morally and spiritually in a state of the lowest degradation. They themselves were, in general, rude and uncultivated, many of them being fugitives from their native country for debt and lawless practices. The benefits of good government were not enjoyed, the land being so poor and uncultivated as to be, in the estimation of the civil rulers, of little political consequence, and so to justify such neglect. Yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Ulster became what it is at the present day, a populous and flourishing part of the empire; while much of the rest of the kingdom is characterized by all that constitutes a nation degraded and miserable. Whatever other elements may have contributed to mould the character and permanently improve the condition of this part of Ireland, we hesitate not to assign a powerful and principal influence to the self-denying labours of those devoted Presbyterian ministers who, when driven from their native country by the hand of Prelatical oppression and arbitrary power, sought an asylum here, and brought with them the lamp of Divine truth to enlighten a people sitting in midnight darkness.

Missionaries they were in the highest sense, whose spirit and labours will advantageously compare with the most distinguished men that have ever borne this honoured designation; and the precious fruits of their labours are yet reaped in the country of their adoption, and will be through future generations. If, as has been happily remarked, that person is to be esteemed a benefactor of his species who makes a blade of grass to grow where none grew before, may we not regard as the noblest benefactors of a nation those who brought to its shores the precious treasure of a pure faith, and who, by their ardent zeal and disinterested labours, changed a moral wilderness into a fertile land, rich in the fruits of holiness, and produced salutary effects which will be felt and acknowledged long after the airy speculations of mere worldly philosophers, and the schemes of earthly politicians, shall have sunk to oblivion?

To the first Presbyterian ministers who lifted up a standard for truth in the north of Ireland, we owe a debt of gratitude, which an ungrateful posterity has been slow in discharging.

The men of a future day will gladly confess the obligation, when the Lord shall bring again Zion, and righteousness and praise shall spring forth before all nations. Viewed as sowers of the imperishable seed of truth and holiness, and as pioneers of the future victories of the Captain of salvation, the memorials of these eminent servants of Christ become doubly interesting. They exhibit, on the one hand, the self-denying labours of devoted missionaries of the cross; and they discover, on the other, the means whereby genuine Christian philanthropists have effectually advanced the best interests of the nation.

Among the "first three" may be justly reckoned the Rev. John Livingstone, whose autobiography, characteristics, and other remains we present to the public in a new and improved edition. In his own day, this eminent man was not unfrequently styled "The godly Livingstone;" and the salutary influence of his piety on the cause of genuine reformation and scriptural revival, justified the epithet. The period embraced in his Memoirs is one of the most important and eventful in British history. It was emphatically the era of the development of *great principles* and the *age of great men*. It was the time when the true principles of constitutional liberty maintained a successful struggle with the maxims of absolutism and arbitrary power—when ecclesiastical systems were re-cast, corruptions purged out of the sanctuary, and the Divine "measuring-reed" applied to the temple, and the altar, and its worshippers—and when evangelical truth and the evangelical spirit nobly prevailed over Arminian error and antichristian superstition. It was the epoch of solemn religious covenanting; and British patriots presented to the world the sublime spectacle of a great people, first of all plighting their allegiance to the moral Governor of the nations, and then pledging to one another mutual support and assistance in the maintenance of their dearest rights. The era of the Westminster Assembly and of the Solemn League and Covenant, was also the age of Cromwell, and Hampden, and Prynne, and Milton; it was fertile in great men as well as in stirring events; and the massive theology of that and the subsequent period, and the constitutional liberty that was secured to the nation at the Revolution, were the precious fruits of the deep thinking and true devotedness of the men of the Commonwealth.

In a number of the most important movements of that period, Livingstone acted a prominent part; and both in his native country and in Ireland, his influence was extensive and most

salutary in advancing the cause of pure and undefiled religion. Many hostile elements, it is true, combined to impede the progress of scriptural reform, especially in Ireland. In no European country was the Protestant cause more wretchedly mismanaged by those who had influence in public affairs; and it could not be expected that a few individuals, however devoted, when opposed by men in authority, could rectify evils that had accumulated for many years. The praise of these honoured servants of God must ever be, "THEY DID WHAT THEY COULD." Though they were not permitted to complete the edifice which was so auspiciously begun, they sketched an admirable ground-plan, and, at immense labour, cleared away much rubbish. Thus they prepared the way for future builders, prosecuting the undertaking, and erecting, of costly materials and extended dimensions, the temple of truth.

The fundamental maxim of the historian of the great Reformation,¹ that "GOD IS IN HISTORY," finds some of its most apt and striking applications in the accounts of the lives and labours of Livingstone and his fellows. A brief notice of some of the stirring events in which they acted a part, and of some of the scenes in which they mingled, will serve to exhibit the hand of God working powerfully with his servants; to illustrate the providence of the Mediator making the wrath of man to praise Him, and restraining the remnant of his wrath; and to display the eyes of the Lord running "to and fro throughout the earth, to show Himself strong in the behalf of them that fear Him."

1. Persecution, in itself a sore evil, has not only served to test and exhibit the fidelity of God's servants, but has frequently been over-ruled to promote the dissemination of truth. Like the storms of nature, which blow away to other lands valuable seeds, where they take root and are productive, so the fierce winds of persecution sometimes diffuse principles which germinate, and are destined one day to "fill the face of the world with fruit." The first Christians, when dispersed by persecution, went everywhere preaching the Word. A similar storm, excited by the "prince of the power of the air," was rendered, in the gracious providence of the Mediator, the occasion of sowing the seed of the blessed Reformation in the north of Ireland. The Perth Assembly, held in 1618, under the terror of royal threats, and swayed by royal influence, openly exhibited the working of the darling scheme of King James, to

¹ D'Aubigné.

force Prelacy upon a reluctant people, and to reduce the Presbyterian Church of Scotland to conformity to English Episcopacy. The Archbishop of St Andrews claimed, in virtue of his office as "lord of the clergy," the moderator's chair; and notwithstanding the reclamations of a faithful minority, the *Five Articles* were adopted, and became the occasion of much trouble to many faithful servants of Christ. These articles were:—1. Kneeling at the Lord's Supper; 2. The observance of certain holidays—viz., Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost; 3. Episcopal Confirmation; 4. Private Baptism; and 5. Private Communion. No sooner were these articles adopted, than the bishops, basking in the sunshine of royal favour, set themselves to enforce uniformity; and when in 1621 the Perth Articles received the sanction of Parliament, they exacted compliance with still more rigid severity. Many faithful and honoured servants of Christ, who regarded these innovations as a violent assault upon the spiritual independence of the Church, and as the first part of a scheme for subverting entirely her scriptural order and liberty, were in consequence exposed to great hardships. For refusing to own the lawfulness of the Perth Assembly, and to submit to the articles, several were driven from their flocks and forced into exile, while others were subjected to restrictions and insults in their ministrations, which to a conscientious and generous mind were grievous and intolerable.

It is pleasing to remark how even the sufferings of the Lord's faithful servants, and the pride and violence of their enemies, were rendered subservient to the advancement of Divine truth. The exile of such men as Robert Bruce and David Dickson in the Highlands, and of Samuel Rutherford at a later period, served to raise up a light in the dark parts of Scotland, which has shone to the present day, and which is destined, with increasing splendour, to shine upon future generations. So in like manner did the ministrations of Blair, and Livingstone, and Welsh, confer unspeakable blessings on the north of Ireland. Feeling their scriptural liberties abridged, and their prospects of usefulness in their native country blighted, these three youthful servants of Christ gladly embraced the invitation to come among a spiritually destitute people, that they might be instrumental in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom. They were missionaries of the right sort, men of capacious minds and large attainments in learning, schooled in adversity and trial—men of prayer and of deep experience in the divine life,

and impelled by the constraining love of Christ to live and labour to collect 'jewels for Immanuel's crown.

Singularly did an over-ruling Providence open for Livingstone and his fellow-labourers a door of access among the people to whom they came as heralds of mercy. The first convocation of the Irish Protestant Church, which was held in 1615, and was presided over by Dr Usher, then professor of theology in Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards primate of all Ireland, adopted articles, which were decidedly Calvinistic in doctrine, which evidently asserted the validity of ordination by presbyters, and which claimed no authority for the Church or its clergy to decree rites and ceremonies. This confession was sanctioned by the king and council, and closed by a decree of the Synod, forbidding the teaching of any doctrine contrary to these articles. The leading men in the Irish Episcopal Church at that time were more concerned about evangelical sentiment and spirituality than about rigid uniformity in an outward ritual, and a door was thus opened for the introduction into offices in the Irish Church of several devoted servants of Christ from England, who had been hardly dealt with, on account of their nonconformity, and for faithful men from Scotland, who had suffered oppression and injury through the persecution that followed the Perth Assembly. Thus we see strikingly verified our Lord's implied promise—a way was opened in one country when they were forced to flee from another. It is not, besides, a little remarkable, that while Arminian sentiments and High Church views were aiming at ascendancy in England and Scotland, evangelical truth and scriptural liberty were encouraged for a brief period in Ireland; and that even the despotic and capricious James and his council connived at, if they did not positively countenance, their diffusion and establishment in that country.

2. Livingstone is distinguished as an honoured *instrument of revival* in his day. Before he entered upon his important field of labour in the north of Ireland, Livingstone was prepared for his work by distinguished privileges, and by gracious manifestations. From an early period of his life, he was led to *fasting and personal covenanting*, and his call to the ministry was in these exercises cleared and confirmed. When he became a preacher, he enjoyed familiar and frequent intercourse with some choice servants of God in Scotland, both ministers and laity; among the latter were some ladies of rank, who, by their influence and example, greatly furthered the cause of pure and

undefiled religion ; and by the powerful effusion of the Spirit, in connection with his labours, the Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace, elevated his spirit, and fitted him for self-denying efforts in a new and untried sphere.

Of the instances of special Divine assistance and blessing accompanying his preaching at this period, the most memorable is that which followed a discourse which he delivered at the Kirk of Shotts, on a Monday after the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The account given by himself of this eminent effusion of the Spirit is brief, and characterized by his accustomed reserve in speaking of himself. When an exile in Holland, he referred to it, and to a similar awakening after a sermon which he preached at Hollywood, on a communion Monday, as seasons when he enjoyed more of the sensible, gracious presence of God in the sanctuary, than at any other time during his ministry. It may not be without interest to our readers to give a fuller account of the awakening at Shotts, taken from various sources, as it is contained in Gillies' *Historical Collections* :—

“ As the Kirk of Shotts lies on the road from the west to Edinburgh, and is distant from any convenient place of entertainment, some ladies of rank who had occasion to pass that way, met at different times with civilities from the ministers at his house, which was situated where the public inn is now. Particularly once, when some misfortune had befallen their chariot, they were obliged to pass a night in the minister's house.” (This minister was Mr John Hance.) “ They observed that the house was much out of repair, and very incommodiously situated, and used their influence to get a more convenient house built for him in another place. After receiving such a substantial favour, the minister waited on them to inquire if there was anything in his power by which he might testify his gratitude. They replied, that he would oblige them much by inviting certain ministers, eminent in promoting practical religion, to assist at his communion. It is said that Mr Robert Bruce was one of the number engaged by Mr Hance in consequence of this request. The report of this spreading far and near, multitudes of persons of different ranks attended there, so that for several days before the sacrament there was much time spent in social prayer.

“ It was not usual, it seems, in those times to have any sermon on the Monday after dispensing the Lord's Supper. But God had given so much of his gracious presence, and

afforded his people so much communion with Himself on the foregoing days of that solemnity, that they knew not how to part, without thanksgiving and praise. There had been a vast confluence of choice Christians, with several eminent ministers, from almost all corners of the land, who had been many of them together several days, hearing and joining together in companies in prayer, praise, and spiritual conferences. While their hearts were warm with the love of God, the desire of a public service on the Monday became general. John Livingstone, chaplain to the Countess of Wigtown, aged twenty-seven, not ordained, was with much ado prevailed upon to think of giving the sermon. He had spent the night before in prayer and conference; but when he was alone in the fields, about eight or nine in the morning, there came such a misgiving of heart upon him, under a sense of unworthiness and unfitness to speak before so many aged and worthy ministers, and so many eminent and experienced Christians, that he was thinking to have stolen quite away, and was actually gone away to some distance. But when just about to leave sight of the Kirk of Shotts, these words, 'Was I ever a barren wilderness, or a land of darkness?' were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power, as constrained him to return and comply with the call to preach.

"This he did with good assistance for an hour and a half, on the points he had meditated, from Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh.' As he was about to close, a heavy shower made the audience hastily put on their cloaks and mantles. But instead of hurrying to seek shelter, they remained where they were, and the preacher began to address them to the following purpose: 'If a few drops of rain from the clouds so discompose you, how discomposed will you be, how full of horror and despair, if God should deal with you as you deserve! and thus He will deal with all the finally impenitent. God might justly rain fire and brimstone upon us, as upon the cities of the plain. The Son of God, by tabernacling in our nature, and obeying and suffering in it, is the only refuge and covert from the storm of Divine wrath due to us for sin. His merits and mediation alone are the screen from that storm, and none but penitent believers shall have the

benefit of that shelter.' In these, and expressions to this purpose, he was led on for about an hour after he had done with what he had premeditated, in a strain of exhortation and warning, with great enlargement and melting of heart."¹

Fleming, in his *Fulfilment of the Scriptures*, testifies to the gracious and remarkable effects of this awakening: "I must also mention that solemn communion at the Kirk of Shotts, at which time there was so convincing an appearance of God, and downpouring of the Spirit, even in an extraordinary way, which did follow the ordinances, especially on Monday, 21st of June, when there was a strange unusual motion on the hearers, who in a great multitude were there convened of divers ranks. It was known, as I can speak on sure ground, that near *five hundred* had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so that many of the most eminent Christians of that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case from that day. It was the more remarkable, that one, after much reluctance, by a special and unexpected providence, was called to preach the sermon on the Monday, which was not then usually practised; and that the night before, by most of the Christians there, was spent in prayer: so that the work of that Monday might be discerned as a convincing return to prayer."²

The following well-attested instances of the power of the Word on this memorable occasion, quoted by Dr Gillies, from Fleming's Narrative, illustrate better than any general statement the work of the Spirit in arresting the careless, and filling their minds with a sense of the awful realities of the invisible world:—

"On that remarkable Monday, three gay young gentlemen of Glasgow were travelling to Edinburgh, for the purpose of enjoying the public diversions there. They stopped to breakfast at Shotts. One of them proposed to his associates to stay and hear the young man who was to preach, while their horses rested. And that they might not lose time, they agreed to quit the worship at the end of the sermon, and not to wait for the concluding devotional exercises. But the power of God so arrested them, that they could not quit the spot till all was over. When they returned to the public-house to take their horses,

¹ Gillies' *Historical Collection*, vol. i. pp. 310, 311.

² Fleming's *Fulfilment of the Scriptures*.

they called for some refreshment ; but when it was placed on the table, they all looked to each other. No one durst touch it till a blessing was asked ; and as it was not their manner formerly to be careful about such things, one of them at last proposed, ‘ I think we should ask a blessing to our drink ! ’ The others readily agreed, and put it upon one of the company to do it, which he at once agreed to. When they had done, they could not rise until another should return thanks. They went on their way more sober and sedate than usual, but none of them mentioned their inward concern to another ; only now and then they remarked : ‘ Was it not a great sermon we heard ? ’ or, ‘ I never heard the like of it. ’ They went to Edinburgh ; but instead of plunging into light amusements, as they had designed, they kept their rooms great part of the two days which they remained ; and then, being quite weary of Edinburgh, they returned home. They still did not open their minds to each other on their way ; and when they reached home, they kept their apartments, and came little abroad. At last one of them visited another and discovered to him what God had done for him at Shotts. The other frankly owned the concern he was brought under at the same time. Both of them went to the third, whom they found in the same case ; and they then agreed directly to begin a fellowship-meeting. They continued to have a practice suitable to their profession as long as they lived, and some of them lived to an advanced age, and were eminent, useful men in Glasgow.

“ Another instance, still preserved, is that of a poor man, a horse-hirer in Glasgow, who had been employed by a gentlewoman to carry her to Shotts. He was engaged in pasturing his horse at a small distance from the tent, not concerning himself about the occasion of meeting at all. In the latter part of the sermon, when the power of God was so much felt, he apprehended that there was a more than ordinary concern among the people—his own mind was affected in a way that he could not account for ; he hastily rose up and ran into the congregation, where he was made a sharer of what the Holy Spirit was distributing among them that day.”

The testimony of Mr Andrew Gray of Chrystoun, an aged and eminently pious gentleman, as also given by Gillies, may be added, as serving to show the salutary and permanent effects of this revival :—“ Two springs of the revival of religion in this corner were the famous sermon at the Kirk of Shotts, and the labours of Mr Robert Bruce. As at the sermon at Shotts, a

good number of people were by grace made acquainted with the life and power of religion, and several of them were eminently good men, and remarkable not only for a pious, inoffensive behaviour, but also for their abounding in all those good fruits which pure and undefiled religion enables its sincere followers to produce. This made them not only esteemed and revered by many of their neighbours, but also produced some respect for religion itself, from which they procured many advantages, its followers being readier to do them all kind of good offices than other people. Among other good fruits, you cannot doubt a strong inclination to promote the spiritual good of others was a principal one. As the labourers were then few in this part of God's vineyard, He seemed to have inspired these private Christians with an uncommon degree of love to the souls of men, inciting them to labour by all proper methods, to bring others acquainted with that grace which had produced such blessed effects on themselves; and their labours were not without a considerable effect. They were called the Puritans of Bothwell, perhaps by way of reproach, by those who were ill-affected towards them."

Thus baptized by a fresh baptism of the Spirit, and solemnized and animated by witnessing the Spirit's powerful agency in reviving the Church, Livingstone was eminently prepared for going forth as an instrument to awaken "the dry bones" in the valley of vision in another country.

Encouraged by the countenance held out to the colonists of Ulster, and by the evangelical profession of the Irish convocation, a band of devoted ministers—partly from England and partly from Scotland—had settled in the north of Ireland before Livingstone's arrival; and their faithful labours had been blessed for breaking up of the fallow ground, and preparing a hitherto waste and uncultivated field, for bringing forth plentifully the fruits of righteousness. Of the first seven labourers, the first place is due to Robert Blair, a regent of the University of Glasgow, who settled at Bangor, in the county of Down; and the next to Robert Cunningham, who was placed at Hollywood, a neighbouring parish in the same county; though the most honourable testimony is borne to the character and labours of the others, in the autobiographies both of Blair and Livingstone. God, not unfrequently by a singular and unexpected instrumentality, awakens the spirit of religious inquiry, and prepares the way for approved servants to sow the seed of Divine truth, and to gather the sheaves of a plentiful harvest. Thus it was

in the counties of Antrim and Down, shortly before the footsteps of Livingstone and his fellows were directed thither. A revival had commenced, which attracted the attention of Christians in England and Scotland—the fame of which reached even to America, and was frequently referred to by writers in that country as a singular manifestation of the power of Divine grace. The circumstances of this awakening are related in the unpublished manuscript of the Rev. Andrew Stewart of Donaghadee, deposited among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and will be read with interest by all who delight to mark the progress of the cause of vital godliness. James Glendinning, A.M., who is mentioned in the account, was a Scotsman, who had been admitted as incumbent of the parish of Carnmoney, and resided as lecturer in Carrickfergus.¹

“ Mr Blair coming over from Bangor to Carrickfergus on some business, and occasionally hearing Mr Glendinning to preach, perceived some sparkles of good inclination in him, yet found him not solid but weak, and not fitted for a public place, and among the English. On which Mr Blair did call on him, and using freedom with him, advised him to go to some place in the country among his countrymen : whereupon he went to Oldstone, near the town of Antrim, and was there placed. He was a man who would never have been chosen by a wise assembly of ministers, nor sent to begin a reformation in this land. For he was little better than distracted ; yea, afterwards did actually become so. Yet this was the Lord's choice to begin with him the admirable work of God, which I mention on purpose that all men may see how the glory is only the Lord's, in making a holy nation in this profane land, and that it was not by might, nor by power, nor by man's wisdom, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord. At Oldstone, God made use of him to awaken the consciences of a lewd and secure people thereabouts. For seeing the great lewdness and ungodly sinfulness of the people, he preached to them nothing but law-wrath, and the terrors of God for sin. And in very deed, for this only was he fitted, for hardly could he preach any other thing. But, behold the success ! For the hearers finding themselves condemned by the mouth of God speaking in his

¹ This extract is from Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 107. The author informs us that Mr Stewart was son to the Rev. Andrew Stewart of Donegore, a contemporary of Livingstone, and was settled at Donaghadee from 1645 to 1671. The MS. account extends no farther than to the establishment of the monthly meeting at Antrim in 1626.

Word, fell into such anxiety and terror of conscience, that they looked upon themselves as altogether lost and damned ; and this work appeared not in one single person or two, but multitudes were brought to understand their way, and to cry out : ‘ Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved ? ’ I have seen them myself stricken into a swoon with the Word ; yea, a dozen in one day carried out of doors as dead : so marvellous was the power of God smiting their hearts for sin, condemning and killing. And of these were none of the weaker sex or spirit, but indeed some of the boldest spirits, who formerly feared not with their swords to put a whole market-town in a fray ; yea, in defence of their stubbornness, cared not to lie in prison and in the stocks ; and being incorrigible, were as ready to do the like the next day. I have heard one of them, then a mighty strong man, now a mighty Christian, say that his end in coming to Church was to consult with his companions how to work some mischief. And yet at one of these sermons was he so caught, that he was fully subdued. But why do I speak of him ? We knew, and yet know, multitudes of such men who sinned and still gloried in it, because they feared no man, yet are now patterns of sobriety, fearing to sin because they fear God. And this spread through the country to admiration, especially about that river commonly called the *Six-mile-water* ; for there this work began at first. At this time of people’s gathering to Christ, it pleased the Lord to visit mercifully the honourable family in Antrim,¹ so as Sir John Clotworthy, and my lady his mother, and his own precious lady, did shine in an eminent manner in receiving the Gospel, and offering themselves to the Lord ; whose example instantly other gentlemen followed, such as Captain Norton and others, of whom the Gospel made a clear and cleanly conquest.”

An important result of this awakening was the establishment of the *monthly meetings* of ministers and others at Antrim, referred to both by Blair and Livingstone, which proved a happy means of cultivating Christian fellowship, and of advancing the good work which had been auspiciously begun. It deserves to be remarked, that whenever men have been suitably impressed with the great things of salvation, they have

¹ This was Sir Hugh Clotworthy, whose son, Sir John Clotworthy, was a member of the Long Parliament, and was a steadfast friend of Presbyterians. The present Lord Massarene is the representative of this ancient family.

manifested the disposition to "speak often one to another." True religion strengthens and elevates the *social principle*; and of this seasons of revival bear striking testimony. The origin of the *monthly meetings* at Antrim is thus related by the author from whom we have already quoted:—

"When, therefore, the multitude of wounded consciences were healed, they began to draw into holy communion and meeting together privately for edification, a thing which, in a lifeless generation, is both neglected and reprov'd. But the new life forced it among the people, who desired to know what God was doing with the souls of their neighbours, who, they perceived, were wrought on in spirit as they had been. There was a man in the parish of Oldstone, called Hugh Campbell, who had fled from Scotland; him God caught in Ireland, and made him an eminent and exemplary Christian until this day. He was a gentleman of the house of Dukethall. After this man was healed of the wound given to his soul by the Almighty, he became very refreshful to others who had less learning and judgment than himself. He therefore invited some of his honest neighbours, who fought the same fight of faith, to meet him at his house on the last Friday of the month; where and when, beginning with a few, they spent their time in prayer, mutual edification, and conference on what they found within them. Nothing like the superficial, superfluous meetings of some cold-hearted professors, who afterwards made this work a snare to many. But these new beginners were more filled with heart-exercise than head-notions, and with fervent prayer rather than conceit gifts to fill the head. As these truly increased, so did this meeting for private edification increase too; and still at Hugh Campbell's house, on the last Friday of the month. At last they grew so numerous, that the ministers who had begotten them again to Christ thought fit that some of them should be still with them, to prevent what hurt might follow."

Blair in his *Life* refers to the same matter:—"Accordingly, Mr John Ridge, the judicious and gracious minister of Antrim, perceiving many people on both sides of the Six-mile-water awakened out of their security, made an overture that a monthly meeting might be set up at Antrim, which was within a mile of Oldstone, and lay central for the awakened persons to resort to; and he invited Mr Cunningham, Mr Hamilton, and myself, to take part in that work, who were all glad of the motion, and heartily embraced it. Mr Glendinning was also at

first glad of the confluence of the people. But we not having invited him to bear a part in the monthly meeting, he became so emulous, that, to preserve popular applause, he watched and fasted wonderfully. Afterwards he was smitten with a number of erroneous and enthusiastic opinions, and embracing one error after another, he set out at last on a visit to the seven churches of Asia.”¹

At this opportune period arrived a band of fresh labourers from Scotland, as if selected by the Lord of the harvest to give a right tone and direction to the revival, and to render it the means of future extensive benefit. With Livingstone came Josias Welsh, a resolute witness against Prelatic innovations, who settled at Templepatrick; Andrew Stewart, who was placed in the adjoining parish of Donegore; and George Dunbar, who had been twice ejected and imprisoned by the High Commission Court, and afterwards banished by the Privy Council, who proved a great blessing, by his ministry at Larne, and in the adjacent districts. Thus was it ordered, in the providence of the Mediator, that from a scene of gracious manifestations, in the midst of trial in Scotland, there should be brought to the north of Ireland, as to a valley of dry bones agitated, those who were peculiarly fitted by experience to guide the important movement.

Those showers of Divine influence were not limited to one scene of Livingstone's ministry. At Oldstone and Antrim he had a principal share in the great work of that day; in his own parish in Killinchy, he was privileged to witness the copious descent of the Spirit upon his ministrations; and on communion occasions, in conjunction with brethren in the ministry, he witnessed “the stately steppings of the King” in his sanctuary. One of these at Hollywood, in particular, is mentioned, when Livingstone preached, as at Shotts, on the Monday after the dispensation of the sacrament, and from which not fewer than *two hundred* individuals afterwards dated their first spiritual impressions, and a saving change. It is to be regretted that no specific record has been preserved of this occasion, as of that in Scotland; but we cannot doubt that the fruits were permanent and salutary, not only among those who were the subjects of religious awakenings, but with many others, who experienced the indirect effects of “a day of power.” Livingstone was thus honoured, at different periods of his

¹ Stewart's MS., as quoted by Dr Reid. Blair's *Life*, p. 63; Belfast edition.

ministry, and in various places, to be the apostle of revival; and the results of his labours and influence upon the Church in the north of Ireland, through future generations, it would be difficult fully to estimate.

3. We present him in another position—as *a witness for truth* and a sufferer *under Prelacy*. In Scotland his settlement in the ministry was once and again prevented, through the influence and interference of the bishops, and he was constrained to become an exile from his native country, by the oppressive enforcement of human proscription in religious worship. The same malign spirit pursued him in the land of his adoption, and rested not till it had deposed him from the ministry, and driven him away from a sphere of great usefulness, and from a devotedly attached flock.

The Prelacy of Livingstone's day, discovering its true spirit in the arbitrary enforcement of unscriptural canons, and in *twenty-eight* years' persecution of God's faithful servants, was essentially Popery. It was the deadly opposition of Antichrist to evangelical truth—the spirit of Rome “breathing out threatening and slaughter”—and but ill disguising its design never to rest satisfied till it had effected the utter extermination of “the Northern heresy.” It is the same spirit that, in recent days, has crushed the liberties of Tahiti, and effected the massacre and banishment of unoffending converts in Madeira; which still oppresses the Waldenses, and prohibits the free circulation of the Scriptures in their native valleys; and which, under the guise of Puseyism in the English Church, discovers all its predilections in favour of Rome, and its embittered hostility against the reformers, and the Protestant reformation. The Scottish bishops, the mere creatures of the State, were generally Arminian in principle, and ignorant; and, in many cases, immoral in practice. They were, of course, utterly unable to appreciate the excellence of the men who conscientiously refused compliance with the mandates of wicked authority, and were actuated by the keenest hatred against evangelical doctrine. The English prelates, who advised the arbitrary and oppressive measures of the later Stuarts, were thoroughly imbued with anti-evangelical sentiments, and an antichristian spirit—the genuine prototypes of the Puseyites of our own day, who can discern no grace separate from Episcopal orders and apostolical succession, and who hesitate not to cast out of the pale of salvation, and to leave to “the uncovenanted mercies of God,” more than two-thirds of the Protestant world, and the purest

Protestant Churches, that conform not to their unwarranted and unscriptural dogmas.

Authentic history informs us that the prelates in Scotland, so far from taking pleasure in so remarkable a work of God as the awakening at Shotts, actually made it a ground of accusing Livingstone, and those who took part with him, to men in authority, and that they sought occasion from it to excite against them the enmity of the Irish episcopate. At a subsequent period, the reception by David Dickson to free ministerial communion of the Irish Presbyterian ministers, when Prelacy had forcibly driven them out of the land, was made matter of grave complaint, and was one of the grounds of his banishment from a sphere of eminent usefulness. This is the spirit of Puseyite Prelacy still, that fraternizes with Rome, can see no excellence in the missions of evangelical dissenters, that scorns to acknowledge the hand of God working with those who are without the pale of an Episcopal church, and, as often as circumstances permit, manifests satisfaction in measures that would oppress those who advocate evangelical truth.

It is gratifying to notice the fervent love to the Gospel and to good men displayed by Archbishop Usher, and Knox, bishop of Raphoe, as contrasted with the anti-evangelical and persecuting spirit of Laud, and Bramhill, and Leslie, and others, who preferred human rites to the Word of God, and conformity to points of ecclesiastical order to the evangelization of an ignorant and degraded population. Who does not admire the fine spirit of Ecklin, bishop of Down,¹ who willingly consented to ordain Blair, notwithstanding his known opposition to Episcopacy, as a simple presbyter? Blair thus relates the case himself:—

“The Viscount Claneboy, my noble patron, did, on my request, inform the bishop how opposite I was to Episcopacy and the liturgy, and had the influence to procure my admission on easy and honourable terms; yet, lest his lordship had not been plain enough, I declared my opinion fully to the bishop at our first meeting, and found him yielding beyond my expectation. He told me that he was well informed of my piety, and therefore would impose no conditions inconsistent with my principles, only that he behoved to ordain me, else neither of us durst be answerable to the law. I answered him, that his sole ordination did utterly contradict my principles; but he

¹ Stevenson, the editor of Blair's *Life*, gives Knox, bishop of Raphoe, as the person who ordained Blair at Bangor; but this is a mistake for Ecklin, as appears from the diocesan roll of 1633.

replied, both wittily and submissively : ‘Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbytery to have Divine warrant; will you not receive ordination from Mr Cunningham, and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter?’ This I could not refuse, and so the matter was performed.”¹

The spirit displayed by old Knox, the venerable bishop of Raphoe, on the occasion of Livingstone’s ordination, still more strikingly discovers genuine Christian humility under a mitre, and an earnest desire to promote the Lord’s work, while overlooking points of ecclesiastical order :—“He told me he knew my errand; that I came to him because I had scruples against Episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought *his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices*. That if I scrupled to call him my Lord, he cared not much for it; all that he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, that I would preach at *Ramullen* the first Sabbath, and that I would send for Mr Cunningham, and two or three other neighbouring ministers, to be present, who, after sermon, would give me imposition of hands; but although they performed the work, he behoved to be present; and although he durst not answer it to the State, he gave me the book of ordination, and desired that anything I scrupled at I should draw a line over it on the margin, and that Mr Cunningham should not read it. But I found that it had been so marked by some others before, that I needed not mark anything.” What a lovely picture this of Christian humility and delight in the Gospel—regarding his life prolonged for the purpose of admitting servants of God to office who yet differed widely from him on subjects of ecclesiastical discipline—earnestly seeking edification for himself and the people, in Livingstone’s preaching—coming in only as a witness, and as a simple presbyter, at the ordination—and allowing the ordination-service to be altered, again and again, to meet the conscientious scruples of devoted servants of Christ! Had the Episcopal bench in England been filled by men of such a spirit, how little had history recorded of the persecutions of the Puritans! and how strong, in evangelical truth, and the cordial attachment of a godly people, had been the National Church! And had the Established Church in Ireland been directed, in subsequent periods, by such men, evangelical doctrine had pre-

¹ Blair’s *Life*. Belfast Edition, pp. 63, 64.

vailed, Protestantism had presented an unbroken phalanx to the enemy, and long since the cause of the reformation had triumphed over Popish superstition and idolatry.

It is deeply to be deplored that a spirit the reverse of all this has generally actuated the heads of the Irish Establishment, from the days of Livingstone till the present time ; and though there have been a few honourable exceptions, who, like Usher and Knox, loved Gospel truth and the men who held it more than human rites or their own dignity, yet a large number of the Irish prelates have been sticklers for a surplice and the canons, and have weakened the Protestant interest by frowning upon dissent, even when characterized by the most strenuous and self-denying exertions to promote scriptural doctrine and godly practice.

The present Bishop of Down and Connor, in his *History of the Church in Ireland*, is a full exemplification of this uncandid and intolerant spirit. He represents Livingstone and Blair as entering the Church in Ireland in a deceptive way, and as afterwards eating the bread of the Church, while they employed their influence to undermine its principles ; he sneers at the frequent reference made in the narratives of Blair and Livingstone to an over-ruling Providence ; and he almost in direct terms charges them with falsehood. We notice not the bishop's entire want of sympathy with the devoted labours of those early Presbyterian ministers, and with their happy results, spreading true religion throughout the land, and producing the most striking moral transformation in the habits and condition of a degraded people ; simply remarking, that a writer of evangelical sentiment, and properly alive to the interests of vital godliness, could not have failed to notice and commend them. The censure passed upon Blair and Livingstone betrays want of fidelity as a historian, and is uncandid as it is ungenerous. The bishop could not but know that the design of Usher and the members of the Irish convocation was to introduce into the ministry in Ireland only those who were, in the strictest sense, evangelical ; and that even the King and Council were not unwilling to allow some measure of liberty in Ireland to conscientious nonconformists, who had received bad treatment from Episcopal dignitaries in their native country. It was uncandid to conceal the statements both of Livingstone and Blair themselves, which have never been called in question save by Bishop Mant, that the bishops who admitted them were perfectly aware of their scruples, and readily conceded to

them all the liberty that they desired. They were, in fact, ordained on thorough Presbyterian principles, and in a manner which is utterly repugnant to the exclusive claims of diocesan Episcopacy. The men who relinquished high prospects of worldly honour and emolument in their native country, rather than sacrifice their conscientious convictions, were not likely to temporize to gain a worse living in Ireland. On their part, there was nothing like concealment,—no disingenuity ; and, in every respect, there was the most candid, open dealing. The prelates who took part in their Presbyterian ordination, knew their worth, and were rejoiced to secure the service of such men in the Irish Church. They had learned to value scriptural truth far above outward forms ; and it may be added, that they held much more firmly the articles of the Irish Confession than many of their successors in the Episcopal chair, and they were thus one in principle with the Presbyterian ministers who first planted the vine from Egypt in our land. It is sufficient to show the spirit of Bishop Mant, in his account of the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, that he sees nothing to censure in the arbitrary and persecuting measures of Laud and Wentworth, and that he eulogizes, in the highest terms, an Episcopal charge of Leslie, in which he maligns and turns into contempt such illustrious reformers as Calvin and Beza, which breathes the rankest intolerance, and is full of low punning.¹ It deserves to be remembered, that Leslie was the prelate who conveyed information to the deputy Strafford against the Presbyterian ministers in the north ; that he was empowered by the chief governor to imprison, at his pleasure, the nonconformists of his diocese ; and that he imposed the “black oath” without authority of Parliament. How far dislike to the professed creed of the Irish Established Church, which is unquestionably Calvinistic, has led the author of the *History of the Church in Ireland* to misrepresent the position and conduct of such eminent servants of God as Blair and Livingstone, we pretend not to determine ; but certain it is, that, but for their honest and self-denied labours, the cause of Protestantism had been at this day as low in Ulster as it has continued for many generations in other parts of the kingdom.

¹ Mant's *History of the Church*, vol. i. pp. 452, 464. Leslie's charge is given in Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 189-191, and deserves to be read as a choice specimen of Prelatical eloquence at that period.

It is unnecessary to notice particularly the harsh and oppressive measures of the Irish prelates, which first abridged the liberty of Livingstone and his fellows, and afterwards compelled them to meditate, and partly to execute, the design of a voluntary exile to New England ; or the singular manner in which their intentions were frustrated, and they were brought back again to the scene of their labours, and led to take part in the stirring events connected with the commencement of the Second Reformation. Who can fail to perceive in these things “the finger of God ;” and an illustration of the scriptural declaration—“A man’s heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps?”¹ On their re-landing in Ireland, the hearts of some of their persecutors relented, and others were struck with fear ; and hence they enjoyed for a season peace, and, what they valued as much as life, liberty to communicate spiritual instruction to their flocks in the wilderness. Blair, in his last lecture at sea, on Ps. lxxv. 7, had told them of this, to them, singular interposition. With “great confidence,” he assured his companions in the kingdom and patience of Christ, that, as the Lord had given them wonderful proof of his omnipotence and kindness, in stilling the winds and the sea, so would he still the unruly spirits and tongues of wicked people.”² As Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden, when they were on the point of expatriating themselves, and emigrating to America, were stayed from their purpose, and their steps turned round ; so these Presbyterian worthies, by an unseen hand, were sent back, that they might have a part in inflicting the death-blow on Prelacy and arbitrary power in their native country. Both Blair and Livingstone had seats in the celebrated Glasgow Assembly of 1638 ; and the story of their hard treatment in Ireland had no inconsiderable influence in procuring what Henderson so significantly termed “The Bishops’ doom.”

The license which they obtained on their return was but of brief continuance ; and yet, when new dangers arose, new providential interpositions were made for their safety and deliverance. It was, in all likelihood, owing to the following incident related by Blair, that these honoured servants of God were saved from incarceration, and probably from banishment or death. “After about four months’ continuance in that way, one Frankhill, of Castlereagh, who used to come sometimes to meetings wherein Mr Blair and Mr Livingstone preached, went

¹ Proverbs xvi. 9.

² Blair’s *Life*, p. 103.

to Dublin and informed the State ; whereupon a warrant was issued out against them. But the effect of it was mercifully disappointed, thus :—One Andrew Young, servant to Mr Barr, who lived nigh Mr Livingstone's house, being occasionally in Dublin, overheard a pursuivant give orders to provide horses for him and another who were to set out next day for the north, to bring up two deposed ministers. Upon this he immediately called for his own horse, and continuing his journey homeward with all speed, night and day, gave information of what he had heard ; whereby the designs against those ministers were frustrated, for immediately they went out of the way, and came over to Scotland, whither several other deposed ministers came about the same time.”¹

4. *Livingstone's settlement and work in Scotland, after his removal from Ireland.* His location at Stranraer, advised and promoted by distinguished ministers who took the lead in the great measures of reform of that period, discovered a lovely spirit, both on their part and on his, and was of incalculable benefit in promoting the reformation in Ireland, and in encouraging the sufferers for truth in that country. In deference to his brethren, Livingstone waived his preference for another parish, to which he was called ; they consulted for the spiritual interests of Ireland, as well as for the wants of Scotland, by placing him in the position where oppressed Irish Presbyterians could enjoy the readiest access to his affectionate counsels and faithful instructions. Nor were they disappointed in this design. For thirteen years he laboured at Stranraer ; and, during that period, he ministered strong consolation to many an oppressed witness for truth from Ireland. He was at one time as a father to multitudes who were driven away by the oppressions of Prelacy ; and at another, as a refuge and friend to thousands who fled in terror from the butcheries of Popery. How lovely and impressive is the brief testimony which he bears to the thirst for the Word of life, and to the affectionate attachment to himself, of great numbers who had benefited by his ministry in Ireland ! At a time when many hardships were connected with travelling, compared with the facilities of our day, how interesting to have it related, that great numbers used to come over from Ireland to his half-yearly communions, on one occasion so many as five hundred persons, and that “at one time he baptized twenty-eight children brought out of Ireland.” Truly “the Word of the Lord was

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 103.

precious in those days ;” and bodily toil and outward inconvenience were esteemed as nothing, when compared with the enjoyment of ordinances scripturally administered. The display of genuine devotedness that characterized the sufferers for truth of that period is most refreshing. How strikingly does it contrast with the worldliness and stinted liberality of our age ! How admirable the spirit of the wife of the “ malt-man ” from Ireland, who contributed so liberally to the covenanting army ! How much like the conduct of her on whom the Saviour pronounced that noblest of all encomiums : “ She hath done what she could ! ” “ I was gathering,” said she, “ and have laid up this to be a part of a portion for my daughter ; and as the Lord hath lately been pleased to take my daughter to Himself, I thought I would give Him her portion also.” Would that in this day of Bible societies and missionary efforts, many mothers in Israel were imbued with the spirit of this humble covenanting matron ! How would the Lord’s treasury be increased tenfold ! and such enlarged liberality, furnished in such a spirit, would be the surest presage of a glorious triumph for the best of causes.

Livingstone, with the army that, under the veteran Leslie, resisted the king’s invasion of Scotland, in what was significantly termed the “ Episcopal war,” appears as the true patriot, as he had before approved himself as a faithful pastor and an able divine. It manifested deep sagacity and far-seeing wisdom, to call such tried men as Livingstone and Blair, Henderson and Baillie, Cant and Gillespie, to accompany the army of the covenant as chaplains ; and their influence upon the officers and soldiery could not but be most powerful and salutary. Baillie’s account of the order and discipline of the Scottish army corroborates that of Livingstone, and beautifully illustrates the spirit that actuated the patriots of that day in their contest for civil and religious liberty.

“ It would have done you good to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy ; for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with Lord Eglington. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle ; but I promise for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way ; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen ; which I did to my

power most cheerfully. Every company had, flying at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour, stamped with the Scottish arms, and this motto—'For Christ's Crown and Covenant,' in golden letters. Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour daily. Every one encouraged another. The sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their cause: of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearly Divine; also Leslie's skill, and prudence, and fortune, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished."¹

Like Cromwell's troops, which their great leader aimed to raise from among men of principle and piety, who, as he said, "made conscience of the quarrel," and who "always beat, but were never beaten;" so the Covenanters' army was invincible. It was, moreover, through the Divine favour accompanying the efforts made to maintain faithful discipline, and to fan the flame of fervid piety, that the enemy was turned back, no man pursuing; and that the righteous cause of the covenanting patriots triumphed over the greatest apparent difficulties. From a reluctant and perfidious monarch, backed by the influence of the English hierarchy, were obtained concessions and guarantees which the most sanguine at one period could not have ventured to anticipate.

The IRISH MASSACRE of 1641, in whatever aspect it is viewed, forms a chapter of the most solemn and affecting interest in the history of Ireland, and of Presbyterianism in that country. It illustrates the genius and spirit of Popery—treacherous, cruel, and insatiable; it deserves special notice in relation to the provoking causes of the fearful scourge, the expulsion of faithful ministers, the indifference or opposition of many professed Protestants to personal religion, and the declension and apostasy of many who had made a strict profession; and it merits attentive consideration from the effects that, in the overruling providence of God, flowed from the devouring scourge. It is a singular and observable fact, that Presbyterians as a body suffered less than others. Before the storm burst upon the land, their leading ministers and many of the people had been driven away by the violence of the ruling powers—they were thus removed from the scene of carnage; others were hidden in the day of visitation; and it is worthy of special remark,

¹ Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 174-176. Edinburgh edition, 1775.

that the stroke fell with tenfold severity upon their enemies and persecutors.

With reference to the *effects* of the Irish rebellion, we bestow upon this fearful tragedy a momentary notice. The sudden slaughter of probably not fewer than two hundred thousand defenceless Protestants, and that chiefly in the northern province, must have produced singular changes in the state of society—the destruction must have left legible and enduring traces behind. The first effect worthy of notice, is the spirit of enlarged sympathy and liberality that was manifested in Scotland, in providing for the Irish refugees. Another effect of a different kind, noticed by Livingstone, was the callous indifference and hardness of heart produced among many by the visitation. This is a melancholy consequence of outward calamities, frequently observable in periods of judgment, showing that God's strong rods are sent for vengeance, not for reformation; and exhibiting, too, in its darkest colours, the strength of human depravity. Men become callous and obdurate under Divine judgments; they go on frowardly in the way of their hearts; they are smitten, but receive no correction.

The last and most pleasing effect which we notice, is the singular spread of Presbyterianism which followed the Irish rebellion, proving the indestructible nature of scriptural principle, and showing, moreover, that God not unfrequently, by stern visitations, prepares the way for a wider diffusion of his truth. Everything that perverted policy and Prelatical intolerance could do was tried, for a number of years, to root out the vine which devoted men had planted in our land. Faithful pastors were driven away from their flocks, and hirelings introduced in their places. Popish assassins, like the wild boar of the forest, entered through the broken down hedge, and wasted the vineyard at their pleasure. Yet the goodly vine sprung up, vigorous and flourishing, after the tempest had passed over, spreading its branches throughout all the land, and refreshing and nourishing many by its shadow and its fruit. In a few years after the Irish massacre, Livingstone bears testimony that the ministers had increased to a goodly host, that congregations had been planted in all parts of the north, and that the people rapidly advanced in scriptural knowledge and godly practice under the faithful ministrations of the Word. To what are we to ascribe this remarkable change, but the singular grace of the King of Zion, whose eyes and heart are perpetually upon his Church, and who makes the wrath of man to praise Him?

As approved instruments in repairing the breaches of the sanctuary, and in the building up its desolations, Livingstone and Blair were honoured to render important service. The former came over as a chaplain with the Scottish army under General Munro in 1642; and afterwards visited Ireland repeatedly, in the annual deputations which were sent by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to supply the spiritual destitution of the scattered Presbyterians, and to establish the discipline and order of the Presbyterian Church. The account of his labours on these visits, and of his former flock in Killinchy, is interesting, exhibiting him as still the devoted missionary, and as diffusing around him the attractive influence of a godly example:—

“For the most part of all these three months, I preached every day once, and twice on the Sabbath. The destitute parishes were many; the hunger of the people was become great; and the Lord was pleased to furnish otherwise than usually I was wont to get at home. I came ordinarily the night before to the place where I was to preach, and commonly lodged in some religious person’s house, where we were often well refreshed at family exercise. Usually I desired no more before I went to bed, but to make sure the place of Scripture I was to preach on the next day. And rising in the morning, I had four or five hours myself alone, either in a chamber or in the fields; after that we went to church, and then dined, and then rode five or six miles, more or less, to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places in the three months’ time. I esteemed these visits in Ireland the far best time of all the while I was in Galloway.”

Similar is the testimony concerning the labours of Blair on these annual deputations, and the salutary effects that flowed from them in reviving godly practice:—“During all the three months he was in Ireland, he generally preached once every day, and twice on Sabbath, and frequently in the fields; the auditories being so large that no house could contain them, and in some of those he administered the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.”

“The following incident shows the happy fruits of the exercise of scriptural discipline at that period:—‘Because the people had formerly, through constraint, taken an oath imposed by the Lord Deputy abjuring the National Covenant of Scotland, Mr Blair, after a pathetic discourse, laying out the guilt of that black oath, charged all whose conscience accused and condemned them.

to separate themselves from amongst those who were not involved in that grievous provocation. And they having willingly done so, and stood in a body on his left hand, he, as a son, first of thunder, and then of consolation, did, with great vehemency, energy, and warmth set before them the awful threatenings held forth by the holy law against such transgressors ; and then endeavoured to display the exceeding greatness of God's mercy and grace, exhorting them to fly to God for reconciliation and pardon through Christ. And after the guilty had willingly, and with great expressions of grief and sorrow confessed their sin, they were received as sincere penitents, and admitted to the holy communion.' Of that solemnity several old experienced Christians declared that they never saw the like, nor ever heard the Gospel so powerfully preached, and pertinently applied, with such variety of threatenings, promises, and exhortations, motives, comforts, and cordials ; and that they never saw such commotion and heart-melting among hearers, both guilty and innocent : so that it might be truly said that 'they gathered together to that place, and drew water, and poured it out before the Lord, and said, We have sinned against the Lord' (1 Sam. vii. 6)."¹ The measure, however, which more than all others served to extend and consolidate the Presbyterian cause in the north of Ireland, was the taking of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which had proved so happy a bond of union between Scotland and England, and so eminent a means for promoting the great cause of civil and religious liberty in these nations. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the request of the English Parliament, in March 1646, sent a commission of ministers to superintend the administration of the oath of the covenant in Ulster. The Protestant inhabitants of the province had very generally desired that this bond of sacred brotherhood and confederation should be adopted among them ; and though Ormond, who commanded in Ireland for the king, and the Irish Lord-Justices and Council, employed their influence and authority to prevent it, it was received with the utmost alacrity.

With glaring inconsistency, Bishop Mant represents the people as being most eager to take the oath, and yet the ministers from Scotland, backed by the Scottish force, as "pressing it with the greatest violence." It is enough to place one or two of his statements in juxtaposition, to show their palpable injustice. When he can see nothing better in the

¹ *Life of Blair*, p. 111.

Solemn League and Covenant, and in the measures taken to secure its adoption, than in the oath of Popish rebels, and in their conduct, we are at no loss to determine the spirit which actuates his lordship towards the scriptural principles of the Presbyterian Church.

“But these orders and arguments” (those of the Irish Council), says the bishop, “were too weak to oppose the passion with which the covenant was received in the north, where most of the old officers of the Scottish troops were inclined to it; and the inhabitants were so eager for its adoption, that they had despatched a messenger to Scotland, expressly to desire that it might be sent over to them.”

— “The country people, as well as the soldiery, taking it with as much zeal as if it were the only means of preserving both their souls and bodies.” “The inhabitants were indeed so violent for it that they refused maintenance to the soldiers who would not take it; and there was so strong an inclination for it with the officers of the old Scottish regiments, that they took it privately, without the knowledge of their colonels, who had declared against it; and when they came to know and inquire into the matter, found the number of them thus engaged so very great, that they wanted power to suppress or stop their progress.” Yet, with the grossest historical inconsistency, in the very next paragraph the bishop represents the extensive taking of the covenant in Ireland, as caused by “the violence of the Scottish ministers!”

“Notwithstanding the decision and activity of the Government, and the general fidelity and courage of the commanding officers of the British forces in Ulster, the covenant still continued to make its way, being urged forward with the utmost violence by the Scottish ministers. These men preached up the covenant in all places, and pressed it upon acceptance, as no less necessary to salvation than the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and allowed no man to receive the one who refused the other. They carried all before them wherever they came, every one complying with it, except at Coleraine, a town which had been almost ruined by a Scottish garrison, and of which the chief inhabitants refused to take the test.”¹

An unimpeachable historian of the great covenanting movement, the Rev. Patrick Adair,² in his MSS. bears testimony

¹ Mant’s *History of the Church in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 579-581.

² He was probably son of the Rev. William Adair, one of the ministers who were sent over from Scotland to administer the covenant. See Reid’s *History of Pres. Ch.*, vol. ii. p. 27, note.

to the readiness with which the covenant was taken in Ulster, and the happy effects which flowed from this measure.

“The covenant was taken in all places with great affection; partly sorrow for former judgments, and sins and miseries; partly joy under present consolation, in the hopes of laying a foundation for the work of God in the land, and overthrowing Popery and Prelacy, which had been the bane and ruin of that poor Church. Sighs and tears were joined together; and it is much to be observed, both the way ministers used towards the people for clearing their consciences in order to the covenant, in explaining it before they proposed it to the people, and from Scripture, and solid consequences from it, clearing every article of it; and thereafter offered it only to those whose consciences stirred them up to it. Indeed, they were apostles with more than the ordinary presence of God in that work in every place they went to, so that all the hearers did bear them witness that God was with them. And the sensible presence and appearance of God with them in these exercises did overcome many of those who otherwise were not inclined that way, so that very few were found to resist the call of God. The solemnity and spirituality of carrying on this work were like the cloud filling the temple, there being a new tabernacle erecting in the land. And those who had not seen these things before, nor were well acquainted with them, said (as the people in Christ’s time), We have seen strange things to-day! Yea, even the malignants, who were against the covenant, durst not appear on the contrary; for the people generally held these ministers as servants of God, and coming with a blessed message and errand to them.”¹

The salutary influence of the introduction of the Solemn League and Covenant into Ireland is mentioned in appropriate terms by the historian of the *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*. “The covenant produced the same effects in Ulster which it had already done in other parts of the empire. It ascertained and united the friends of civil and religious liberty, and inspired them with fresh confidence in the arduous struggle in which they were engaged. It diffused extensively through the province a strong feeling of attachment to the Presbyterian cause. It opened the way for the introduction of the Presbyterian Church into districts where it had been previously opposed, and facilitated its re-establishment in places where it had been violently overthrown. But, what was of still higher moment,

¹ Adair MS., quoted in Dr Reid’s *History of Pres. Ch.*, vol. ii. p. 29.

the covenant revived the cause of true religion and piety, which had lamentably declined under the iron sway of the prelates, and amidst the destructions and discouragements of intestine war. From this period may be dated the commencement of the SECOND REFORMATION with which this province has been favoured—a reformation discernible not only in the rapid increase of Churches, and of faithful and zealous ministers, but still more unequivocally manifested in the improving manners and habits of society, and in the growing attention of the people to religious duties and ordinances.”¹

Only two other incidents in the life of Livingstone seem to require a passing notice—these are, his share in the negotiation for the king’s return, and his conduct as a persecuted witness for truth. The circumstantial account of the former, contained in his autobiography, displays, on the one hand, the easy credulity of the covenanting leaders, and the duplicity and treachery of the king on the other. However much our illustrious ancestors have been blamed for anarchical and republican principles, it is evident that their grand error, in their dealings with the house of Stuart, which involved them in many others, consisted in an excess of loyalty. But for this they might have detected the schemes of the perfidious profligate, and would never have intrusted to him the sovereign power, without exacting such conditions and securities as he was not prepared to give.

Though Livingstone acted conscientiously in the negotiations with the king, and warned his fellow-commissioners that they were bringing God’s curse with them into Scotland when they brought Charles home, save on the footing of the covenant, it is evident that he was out of his element in the whole business. The devoted minister was not prepared to unfold the schemes of interested and unprincipled politicians. He hesitated when the greatest decision and promptitude were required; he was silent when great public interests demanded

¹ Reid’s *History Pres. Ch.*, vol. ii. pp. 43, 44. The only copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, of the many that were subscribed at this period in Ulster, which has been preserved, is that which was used at Hollywoód. It is deposited in the Museum of the Natural History Society, Belfast. It appears from it that the covenant was administered at Hollywoód on the 8th April 1644, after a sermon by Mr Adair, and was subscribed by the people on that and the following day. There are about seventy signatures appended to it; but as several leaves are wanting at the end, there were probably many more who signed it. The first name is that of Mr Adair himself, and the second is that of Mr Charles Hall, who was probably the parochial minister,

that he should speak out; and he reluctantly followed where others led, while his conscience told him that the cause was evil and fraught with danger. All the excuse that can be offered for him is, that he was employed in a business for which his tone of mind and retiring habits disqualified him; and that, led in part by the known Scottish loyalty to the descendants of a long race of kings, he yielded to the delusion which then infected all classes of Presbyterians. The fond affection of the Scottish Presbyterians to hereditary loyalty betrayed them, and their ready credulity led them to surrender themselves and their dearest rights to the keeping of one who was alike devoid of all right principles of religion, and of gratitude, and of humanity. Their signal fault lay in trusting in princes, and in thinking that any instrument, such as the covenant, however excellent, could bind one who had given unequivocal evidence, notwithstanding his studied dissimulation, of duplicity and profligacy. Shame and infamy be to the heartless monarch, who could climb to a crown by the most false and hypocritical professions, and the desecration of everything sacred; and who could afterwards give up to the slaughter the friends of constitutional liberty, and those too who, through many hardships, had stood forth the devoted supporters of himself and his father's house!

Finally, Livingstone stands enrolled among the noble army of confessors for the royal rights of Messiah the Prince. A martyr's crown, it is true, he did not, like his friend and acquaintance Guthrie, obtain; but this was more through restraints laid upon the enemy, than any yielding or concealment on his part. When he was forced from his attached flock at Ancrum, and called before the persecuting council, he answered boldly, and nobly pleaded for the royal prerogatives of Zion's King. He preserved his allegiance to Christ the Lord intact, at the peril of surrendering liberty, and choosing exile and suffering for the truth's sake. His testimony before his persecutors exhibits a correct view of the duties of the civil ruler, and a judicious discrimination of the limits of civil and ecclesiastical authority. It is distinguished by calm scriptural conviction and manly intrepidity. To Livingstone, as to others of Scotland's covenanted worthies, it was not only given to believe on Him who "has on his vesture and his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS," but to suffer for his sake. If "the cause makes the martyr," then the cause for which he and many other noble-minded Christian patriots

suffered, under the infamous royal brothers, was the most excellent on earth, and they must be assigned a front rank in the glorious army of martyrs. It was the cause of "CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT"—the cause of a nation's dearest and most sacred rights, which has already partially triumphed, and which shall hereafter universally prevail, when the Redeemer's name shall be great among the Gentiles, and the joyful acclamations of millions throughout the world's wide population shall proclaim—"HALLELUJAH, FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH."

During Livingstone's exile in Holland, which was then the home of many distinguished persecuted servants of God from Scotland, and in the concluding years of his life, he was actively employed in his Master's service, until the time of his dismissal, and his entrance into his glorious rest. His labours in preaching the Gospel to the Scottish congregation in Rotterdam are mentioned with special acceptance; to the learned Nethenus he and his fellow-exile Macward afforded valuable assistance in editing Rutherford's masterly refutation of Arminianism, written in Latin; and his last years were spent in Biblical studies, and in preparing a Latin version of the Scriptures, which it is to be regretted was never published. He was thus employed in searching the Scriptures, and he was aiming to unfold the great mysteries of the revelation of mercy, when he was called to enter into the joy of his Lord. Although many troubles were in his native country, and he died as an exile in a foreign land, yet his sun set in calm and mellow lustre. When he had served his generation by the will of God, he fell asleep. The period of his exile was nearly *ten years*. He was condemned on December 11, 1662, and ordered to quit his native land within two months; and he died at Rotterdam, August 9, 1872.¹

As one is naturally led with fond interest to visit and to inquire after the places where distinguished men have lived, or where important events have transpired, a brief notice of the state of Killinchy, the scene of Livingstone's ministry in Ireland, may not, in conclusion, be uninteresting to the reader. It is chiefly taken from a lengthened "epistle dedicatory" to a sermon, now rare, on "*Formal Churches, and Separation from them Considered*," preached before the Synod of Ulster, in Belfast, in 1714, by the Rev. James Reid, A.M., who was

¹ See *History of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam, by the Rev. William Steven, pp. 31, 33, 51, 53-75.

minister of Killinchy for a number of years, till his death about the year 1734. From Adair's MS., it should seem that various parishes in the north of Ireland testified their esteem for Livingstone, and their sense of the value of his ministerial services, by seeking his settlement among them after his return to Scotland.

“The parishes of Newtonards and Killileagh supplicated the presbytery to concur for a call to Mr John Livingstone (being then present at the presbytery, and formerly a minister in Ireland) to their parishes, each of them endeavouring to have him. Mr Livingstone entered a protestation that these calls be not prejudicial to the interest of Stranraer, his parish and people in Scotland. This motion, however, had no success; for though the parish of Killinchy did many years after that, in the year 1655 or thereabout, call Mr Livingstone, and he came to Ireland then for a visit upon their call, and Mr Hamilton was also invited to Ballywalter, yet these motions for bringing back these worthy men to Ireland did not succeed. They had been driven out of this country, and were necessitated and clearly called to settle in Scotland thereafter, and became singularly useful there, and subject to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland and other Church jurisdictions, who would not part with them.”

Though he did not accede to the repeated applications of his former flock in Killinchy to settle again among them, he continued to manifest the deepest interest in their spiritual welfare. He several times visited them after his return to Scotland; and it was owing to his affectionate concern about them that they obtained a suitable successor in Michael Bruce, then a candidate for the ministry in Scotland, who came to Killinchy in July 1657, with a recommendatory letter from Mr Livingstone to Captain James Moore of Ballybrega, an influential person in the parish. Mr Bruce was, by both his parents, descended from persons who had been eminent for piety. His father, Mr Robert Bruce of Newtown, in Stirlingshire, was of the ancient and honourable family of Clackmannan, and his mother was grand-daughter to Robert Bruce, minister of Edinburgh, so illustrious for his piety and his sufferings in the first reformation period. Michael Bruce, after due trial, was ordained by the presbytery in the Church of Killinchy, in the autumn of 1657. Here he laboured with singular acceptance, and manifold tokens of success, till the Restoration, when he was turned out of the Church and legal maintenance, for

nonconformity. He was distinguished by extraordinary zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls, and was noted for his habits of meditation and secret prayer; and yet he was most diligent and copious in his public ministrations. He was, in the best sense, a highly popular preacher; and his manner being very familiar, and yet very searching, his discourses were attended with the most salutary effects to his people.

For some time after his ejection, he lurked in private among his flock, who considered that their relation to him in no wise depended on legal establishment, and who cherished towards him the strongest attachment. Though there were orders for apprehending him, he took all opportunities of preaching and administering the sacraments to his people, who were accustomed to assemble by concert "in different places of the parish, in kilns, barns, or woods, and often in the night." Being forced, through the rigours of the times, to retire to Scotland, he was apprehended at Airth, and imprisoned, first in Stirling, afterwards in Edinburgh; and he was again removed to London, where he remained in prison for a long time, till he was released, on a petition of his wife, presented to the king and council. The persecution of Presbyterians in Ireland being somewhat relaxed, Mr Bruce returned to Killinchy in April 1670; and in the same year, they built the first Presbyterian meeting-house that was erected in the parish.

It is recorded of him, that although not pretending to any prophetic spirit, "as a gracious return of his fervent and effectual prayers, he had frequently such strong impressions of matters which concerned the public interests of Christ's Church, as well as some particular members and enemies of it, that, sometimes from the pulpit, and sometimes in private, he could not forbear to intimate his thoughts of what should fall out." His character was such as to confirm powerfully the truths which he taught. He was "much noted for self-denial, humility, contempt of the world, and a conversation in *simplicity and godly sincerity*. He was of great charity, doing good unto all men, but especially the distressed members of the Church. His liberality and great hospitality were especially extended to such brethren as were forced to flee out of Scotland for conscience' sake." In the latter part of his ministry, he adopted the views of the stricter party of the persecuted; and was blamed, by the larger number of the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland, for his protestation against the indulgence and other encroachments of the civil powers, and for the coun-

tenance which he gave to *fellowship-meetings* for prayer and spiritual conference. After enduring many trials, and seeing no prospect of liberty of worship for him and his people—his parish of Killinchy being almost depopulated by the Irish Papists that ranged themselves under the standard of James II.—he was compelled to retire to Scotland, where he became the minister of Anwoth in Galloway, where he died in 1693.

Adair, in his MS. History, although blaming Michael Bruce for adopting the views of the more rigid Covenanters, bears this honourable testimony to his character and conduct—"He was a person singularly gifted, truly zealous and faithful; but also peaceable and orderly in his temper and conversation with his brethren, and in his way a very Nathanael—of all which he hath given proof in the Church of Christ for many years since that time."¹

He was succeeded in Killinchy by the Rev. Archibald Hamilton, son of the Rev. James Hamilton, nephew of Viscount Claneboy, who was minister of *Ballywalter*, and held a distinguished place among the first Presbyterian ministers that settled in Ulster. Mr Hamilton was ordained by the Presbytery of Down in March 1693. From his family connections, as well as from his own candid and dignified spirit, he exercised considerable influence among persons of rank in the country; and yet he was a solid and useful preacher and pastor. Reid, his immediate successor in the ministry, says of him—"He was a man of a very noble and generous spirit—of great natural parts and prudence—of a clear head, quick apprehension, and solid judgment—of eminent gravity and piety. He was a serious and solid, plain and practical preacher. He excelled in polemic and casuistical divinity, and was much consulted in all difficulties relating to discipline and the public affairs of dissenters, and was of great meekness and affability." He died suddenly, in the house of the Earl of Donegal, near Belfast (January 4, 1699), and his removal was universally regretted. Judging from the printed discourse of his successor, Mr Reid, he appears to have been a minister well acquainted with evangelical doctrine, alive to the interests of experimental religion, and earnestly desirous of maintaining scriptural discipline.

The rapid and extensive declension of Gospel truth and practical religion which took place in the early part of the eighteenth century, both in the Established Churches of these kingdoms, and among dissenters, affected Killinchy and the sur-

¹ Adair MS., quoted in Reid's *History*, vol. ii. p. 362.

rounding districts. The discussion of the subject of *subscription* to a doctrinal confession, which was first mooted among the dissenters in London about the year 1718, and which, after agitating the Synod of Ulster for some years, led to the formal secession of the Presbytery of Antrim in 1726, was speedily followed by extensive defection in principle, and a gradual and utter relaxation of discipline. For more than half a century, the Presbyterian pulpit in Killinchy gave no certain sound. The principles and practice alike, which the first godly ministers inculcated, were unknown and unheeded; and for many years, Unitarian and other errors overspread the district, while the almost entire absence of family religion marked the widespread departure from the godly ways of illustrious ancestors.

The spirit of religious inquiry, excited by the measures that led to the retirement of the Arian party from the Synod of Ulster in 1829, produced a favourable change in the moral and religious condition of Killinchy. The traditional remembrance of Livingstone and his compeers has still been perpetuated, from one generation to another, in that part of the land; and the good seed which was sown there long since has at length germinated and brought forth fruit. Scriptural education of the best kind has been extensively communicated throughout the district, in the schools, by a number of efficient teachers. The clergyman of the Established Church, who has for a quarter of a century occupied the parish, is of a truly evangelical and catholic spirit, and has been unwearied in his labours of love. Two orthodox congregations, in connection with the Presbyterian General Assembly, have been established in Killinchy; and of late, a *Reformed Presbyterian Church* has been erected, through the exertions of a few adherents of the covenanted testimony, who have lived, dispersed throughout this district, for a number of years.

As the interchange of spring for the cold and sterility of winter is cheering and animating, so the revival of true religion, after a period of long decay, is cause of devout gratitude, and full of joyful promise. The writer will have sincere pleasure if this humble contribution to the history of a section of Christ's Church, and the corraiture of the piety of one of Ireland's best benefactors, which Livingstone's life presents, shall, in any degree, serve to advance the good work that has been auspiciously begun. He would unfeignedly rejoice in the spirituality and efficiency of every portion of the Protestant family, and in the increasing evidences of brotherly

love prevailing among them. Earnestly desiring that "times of refreshing and reviving" may speedily come to the Church in all its sections from the presence of the Lord, he cannot but express his fervent desire that the picture here exhibited of fidelity and true devotedness, may be copied by the ministry and membership of the Church in our day, that "they who sow and they that reap may rejoice together."

KNOCKBRACKEN, *April* 1848.

L I F E.

THE Autobiography of Livingstone, entitled by him "*Some Observations of the Lord's Dealings towards me during my Life, written for the use of my Children,*" was written during his exile in Holland, and is dated January 1666. An edition of this Memoir, by Stevenson, was issued in 1754. The Manuscript is found in the Wodrow Collection (vol. xviii.), with notes in the margin in the handwriting of the historian. This is printed in the first volume of "Select Biographies," contained in the edition of the Wodrow Society's publications. The life of Livingstone in the Wodrow MSS. is collated with two other MSS.—the one in the possession of the late Dr M'Crie, and the other the paper of Dr William Brown of Edinburgh. The account given in the Wodrow biographies may be therefore regarded as the fullest and most accurate portrait of the character and labours of a man truly eminent in his own day, and whose memorial will always be fragrant with those who value scriptural principle, and have experience of the power of godliness. Instead of presenting Livingstone's "Autobiography and Characteristics" in full, as was done when the "Historical Introduction" was written, we consider it better to give a condensed statement of the leading events of his life, expressing the more memorable incidents in nearly his own words.

Like several of the distinguished Scottish worthies in the times of the Reformation, John Livingstone was descended from ancestors of noble rank in Scotland. His grandfather was a near relation of the House of Callender, and his great grandfather, who was a son of Lord Livingstone, was killed at the battle of Pinkiefield in 1547. The house was afterward dignified with the title of Earls of Linlithgow. Livingstone's father was the Rev. William Livingstone, minister first at Marybrock, Kilsyth, and afterwards at Lanark, where he died in 1641, in the 65th year of his age. His son records respecting him—"My father was all his days strict and zealous in the work of reformation against Episcopacy and ceremonies, and was once deposed; he wanted not seals of his ministry, both at Marybrock and Lanark." His mother, Agnes Livingstone, was

daughter of Alexander Livingstone, portioner of Falkirk, of the house of Dunipace. "She was a rare pattern of godliness and virtue." She died at the early age of thirty-two, and left three sons and four daughters. John Livingstone was born at Kilsyth on the 21st of June, or according to one manuscript, of January, 1603.

The narrative of his life, as written by himself, he divides into FIVE PERIODS — 1. From his birth till the first day he preached at Lanark, on Sabbath, 2d January 1625. 2. Till his settlement at Killinchy, Ireland, in 1630. 3. Till he was settled as minister in Stranraer in 1638. 4. Till his translation to the parish of Ancrum in 1648. 5. Till the year 1666, when, being in Holland, he wrote the sketch of his life. We may best present the outline of his character and labours, and of "the Lord's dealings with him," by following the order which he marked out for himself in the narrative.

PERIOD I.

He attended a classical school at Stirling from 1613 to the summer of 1617, when he was called to Lanark to be present at his mother's death. In October 1617, he entered as a student in the University of Glasgow, where he continued four years, and graduated as Master of Arts in July 1621. He remained afterwards with his father at Lanark till he was licensed to preach the Gospel. The steps in providence by which he was led in early life to know the power of Divine grace are noted by him as instances of the Lord's great and special goodness. His excellent parents taught him, when very young, the ways of God, and took much pains in directing his early education. In boyhood he was impressed with the example and carriage of sundry gracious Christians, who used to resort to his father's house, especially at communion seasons, among whom were the Rev. Robert Bruce, and several godly ladies of high rank. When at school in Stirling, he was favoured with the ministrations of several learned, godly, and faithful ministers of Christ. In Glasgow, when attending college, he was under the care of the Rev. Robert Blair, who was one of the regents, and was afterwards a fellow-sufferer in Ireland, for his opposition to diocesan Episcopacy. Speaking of the way in which he was brought to know the work of grace in his heart, and to decision in religion, he says he "did not remember the time and means

particularly which the Lord at first wrought on his heart." When very young, he would sometimes pray with some feeling, and read the Word with delight; but afterwards he would often intromit such excuses, and have some challenges; and again begin and intromit. At the first communion which he observed as a communicant, occurring while he was at school in Stirling, when seated at the table, and as Mr Patrick Simson was addressing the people before he distributed the elements, he relates—"There came such a fear and trembling on him, that all his body shook;" but afterwards he "got some comfortable assurance." It was sometime after he had completed his course at college, before he had any inclination toward the ministry. He expressed a wish to prosecute the study of medicine, and to go to France for this purpose; but this design he relinquished, owing to his father refusing his consent. When it was afterwards proposed that he should settle upon some extensive lands which his father had purchased, and that he should marry, he objected, on the ground that this course would divert him from the pursuit of learning, and agreed to the selling of the land. About this time, being unresolved respecting his future course of life, he set apart a day alone for seeking direction from God in prayer. For this purpose he retired to a cave in the neighbourhood. "After many toos and fros, and much confusion and fear anent the state of my soul, I thought it was made out to me that I behoved to preach Jesus Christ, which if I did not, I should have no assurance of salvation. After which I laid aside all thoughts of France, and medicine, and the land, and betook me to the study of divinity." Were the youth of Christian families thus to seek Divine guidance for the work of their life, we cannot doubt that many of the fond purposes which they cherish would be willingly relinquished, and that numbers would be brought to dedicate themselves to the ministry, and to works of usefulness in the Church.

From infancy Livingstone was led, through scriptural instruction and parental training, to entertain a strong aversion to Episcopacy, and human inventions in worship. While at college in the year 1619 or 1620, when kneeling at the sacrament had been introduced, as he and two or three other students were seated at the communion table, Law, the bishop of Glasgow, in dispensing the ordinance, urged all the people to kneel. Some did so, but Livingstone and his companions kept their seats. The bishop having ordered them to kneel or depart, he replied

that there was no scriptural warrant for kneeling, and that they should not, for refusing it, be excommunicated from the Lord's Table. Having uttered this testimony, the students removed from the place, without communicating. Mr Robert Boyd of Tröcling, who was then Principal of the University and minister of Govan, having heard of the conduct of Livingstone on this occasion, informed him that he and any other well-affected students might in a few weeks after enjoy the privilege of communicating in his Church, without having to comply with the English Popish ceremonies. At this period, he records that he received spiritual benefit from his intercourse with some experienced Christians, and relates that a number of persons, who were "packmen," met in his chamber in Lanark, and spent time together with him in conference and prayer.

PERIOD II.

In 1625—the year of the death of James VI. and of the accession of Charles I. to the throne—Livingstone was licensed to preach the Gospel. He continued for some time to reside with his father in Lanark, and to preach in the neighbouring Churches. Proposals were made to him by persons of influence respecting a settlement in several parishes; but he relates that in these cases he was hindered, either by obstructions from the bishops, or the refusal of the General Assembly to transport him. He rejoiced that these parishes were better provided with abler ministers. When a joint call was offered him by the parish of Torphichen and the Presbytery, with the full concurrence of the patron, Lord Torphichen, his settlement was prevented by Spottiswood, archbishop of St Andrews, on the ground of his nonconformity. For upwards of two years and a half after this, he acted as domestic chaplain to the Earl of Wigton. As he preached there on Sabbaths, numbers of those who were attached to him at Torphichen came frequently a considerable way to hear from him the word of salvation. When preaching occasionally at Glasgow about this time for Mr Robert Scott, he was with him frequently on his death-bed. He died on January 29, 1629. Livingstone relates, that shortly before his departure, in the presence of many, Mr Scott uttered a very strong and pointed testimony against the bishops and the ceremonies, and other corruptions in the Church. "A little before his death, having lain some time as in a kind of trance,

he waked, and taking off his night-cap, and throwing it to the foot of the bed, he cried out, 'I have now seen the Lord, and have heard Him say, Set a stool, and make way for my faithful servant Robert Scott;' and soon after he died." The awakening at the Kirk of Shotts, which is fully related in the "Historical Introduction," occurred on Monday the 21st of June 1650. Livingstone himself mentions concerning this remarkable scene:—"In the end, offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on for about an hour, in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my life." He states, moreover, that when on the following Monday he was preaching in Irvine, he "was so deserted that he was not able to give attention to the matters which he had meditated and written, and had committed fully to memory. So it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and hide pride from me." He was so downcast and discouraged with this failure, that he had almost formed a resolution not to preach again for some time, at least at Irvine. Mr David Dickson, however, would not let him depart till he would preach next Sabbath, "to get (as he called it) amends of the devil." He preached on this occasion, he says, "with some tolerable freedom." In his journeys from place to place in preaching, he became acquainted with a large number of godly and able ministers, and with professors of religion, male and female, who were persons of influence and known piety; and this he regarded as of singular spiritual benefit to him. From several parishes he had motions of calls, but his settlement was always obstructed by the bishops.

PERIOD III.

When, throughout Prelatical oppression in Scotland, the door seemed to be closed against the settlement of Mr Livingstone in the ministry, the way was opened, in the providence of God, for him and other faithful ministers to enter into a field of extended usefulness, prepared for the Gospel harvest. Being in Irvine in the summer of 1630, Mr Robert Cunningham, minister at Hollywood, County Down,—as sometime before had Mr George Dunbar, minister at Larne, County of Antrim—proposed to him, that seeing there was no appearance of his being settled in the ministry in Scotland, he should go and labour in Ireland. To both he replied, that in case he

got a clear call, and a free entry, he would not refuse. In the August following, Viscount Claneboy invited him by letter to come to the north of Ireland, in reference to a call from the parish of Killinchy, County Down. Soon after his arrival, he had a unanimous and cordial call from the people there. A difficulty in relation to his induction was apprehended, from the known hostility of Echlin, bishop of Down, to nonconformists; and Lord Claneboy wrote to Knox, bishop of Raphoe, to whom Livingstone repaired, requesting him to further the matter. The spirit of the aged bishop, who is said to have been a descendant of a branch of the same family of which sprang John Knox, the Scottish reformer, strongly contrasted with that of the other Irish prelates. "He told me," says Livingstone, "that he knew my errand, because I had scruples against Episcopacy and the ceremonies, as Mr Josias Welsh and some others had declared before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose than to do such offices. If I scrupled to call him My Lord, he cared not for it; all he would desire was that, as they got there but few sermons, I would preach at Ramullen next Sabbath, and he would send for Mr Cunningham, and some two or three other neighbouring ministers to be present, when, after sermon, they would give me imposition of hands. Though they performed the work, he said he behoved to be present, for otherwise he could not answer to the State. He gave me the book of ordination, and desired that I would draw a line in the margin over anything that I scrupled at, and Mr Cunningham would not read it. I found that it had been so marked before by some others, so that I needed not to mark anything. So the Lord was pleased to carry that business beyond anything that I had thought, or almost ever desired." For some time after his settlement in Killinchy, Mr Livingstone was not a little depressed in spirit from the ignorance of the people, and from a fear that his ministry among them would prove unfruitful. But in a short time those fears were dissipated, and there were some apparent evidences of spiritual awakening. His labours, both in preaching and visitation, and in the exercise of scriptural discipline, were abundant, and were followed by encouraging results. The following account of his work as a minister at this period, and of the blessing of the Spirit that descended upon the seed sown by him and other fellow-labourers, is interesting as showing the connection between evangelical preaching and scriptural discipline, and a true work of grace.

“Not only had we the public worship free of any inventions of men, but we had also a tolerable discipline; for after I had been some while amongst them, by the advice of all the heads of families, some ablest for that charge were chosen elders to oversee the manners of the rest, and some deacons, to gather and distribute the collection. We met every week, and such as fell into notorious public scandals were desired to come before us. Such as came we dealt with both in public and private, and prevailed with to confess their scandals before the congregation, at the Saturday’s sermon before the communion, which was held twice in the year, and then they were admitted to the communion. Such as after dealing either would not come before us, or coming would not be convinced to confess their fault before the congregation, their names and scandals and impenitency were read out before the congregation, and they were debarred from the communion; which proved such a terror, that we found very few of that sort.

“We needed not have the communion oftener, for there were some nine or ten parishes within the bounds of some twenty miles or little more, wherein there were godly ministers, who kept society together; and every one of those had the communion twice in the year, and that at different times, and had two or three of the neighbouring ministers to help thereat; and most part of the religious people of each parish used to resort to the communions of the rest of the parishes. The ministers were Mr Robert Blair at Bangor, Mr Robert Cunningham at Hollywood, Mr James Hamilton at Ballywalter, Mr John Ridge at Antrim, Mr Henry Colwart at Oldstone, Mr George Dunbar at Larne, Mr Josias Welsh at Temple-Patrick, Mr Andrew Stewart at Donegan. Most of all these used ordinarily to meet the first Friday of every month at Antrim, where was a great and good congregation, and that day was spent in fasting and prayer and public preaching. Commonly two preached before noon and two afternoon. We used to come together on the Thursday night before, and stayed the Friday night after, and consulted about such things as concerned the carrying on of the work of God; and these meetings among ourselves were sometimes as profitable as either presbyteries or synods. Out of these parishes formerly mentioned, and out of some others also, such as laid religion to heart, used to convene to those meetings, especially out of the Six-Mile-Water, which was nearest at hand, and where there was the greatest number of religious people; and frequently the Sabbath after the Friday’s meeting, the communion was celebrated in one or other of these parishes.

“Among all these ministers, there never was any jar or jealousy—yea, nor among the professors, the greater part of them being Scots, and some good number of gracious English, all whose contention was to prefer others to themselves; and although the gifts of the ministers were much different, yet it was not observed that the hearers followed any to the undervaluing of others. Many of these religious professors had been both ignorant and profane, and for debt, and want, and worse causes, had left Scotland; yet the Lord was pleased by his Word to work such change. I do not think there were more lively and experienced Christians anywhere, than were these at that time in Ireland, and that in good numbers, and many of them persons of a good outward condition in the world. Being but lately brought in, the lively edge was not yet gone off them, and the perpetual fear that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them with great hunger wait on the ordinances. I have known them that came several miles from their own homes to communions to the Saturday sermon, spend the whole Saturday night in several companies—sometimes a minister being with

them, sometimes themselves alone, in conference and prayer—and wait on the public ordinances the whole Sabbath, and spend the Sabbath night likewise; and yet at the Monday sermon not troubled with sleepiness, and so have not slept till they went home. Because of their holy and righteous carriage, they were generally revered by the graceless multitude that they lived among. Some of them had attained such a dexterity of expressing religious purposes by the resemblance of worldly things, that being at feasts or meals in common inns, where were ignorant profane persons, they would, among themselves, entertain spiritual discourse for a long time; and the others professed that although they spoke good English, they could not understand what they said. In these days it was no great difficulty for a minister to preach or pray in public or private, such was the hunger of the hearers; and it was hard to judge whether there was more of the Lord's presence in the public or private meetings."

The season of peace and prosperity in Livingstone's ministry in Killinchy was but short. In the harvest of 1631, Echlin, bishop of Down, suspended him and Mr Blair of Bangor for nonconformity, putting in the charge against them, their preaching in several parts of Scotland, especially at the communion at Shotts. On application being made on their behalf by Sir Andrew Stewart and others, to Archbishop Usher, he very readily interposed, and they were soon after restored. The Scottish bishops, particularly Maxwell of Ross, sent informations to King Charles the First against Livingstone and Blair, charging them not only with nonconformity, but also with "stirring up the people to ecstasies and enthusiasms." The king, in consequence, wrote to the Lord Justices of Ireland and to the Bishop of Down, requiring that Livingstone, Blair, Dunbar, and Welsh should be tried and censured. On the 4th of May 1632, Echlin again deposed Blair and Livingstone, and eight days after, the like sentence was pronounced against Dunbar and Welsh. In carrying out the act of deposition, the bishop proceeded simply on the ground of nonconformity, and made no allusion to the other charge contained in the king's letter. The ministers therefore resolved, for their own vindication, to petition the king that they might be tried for what was laid against them; offering, if they were found guilty, to suffer whatever punishment would be awarded them. They pleaded that for simple nonconformity, inasmuch as they were Scotchmen, they might be forborne in such a barren place as the north of Ireland. Mr Blair, in personal application in London, obtained a letter from the king to Strafford, then Lord Deputy, in which he wrote with his own hand, that favour should be shown to the ministers if they were found free, and that the informers should be punished. Strafford, however, being influenced by Laud, who

then guided all Church matters at Court, refused to order any new trial, or show the ministers any favour, except they would conform. They continued, in consequence, deposed till May 1634. At that time, some disputes having arisen between Strafford and some of the English nobility in Ireland, Lord Castle-Stewart, who was friendly to Presbyterians, took occasion to show the deputy that he might win the hearts of all the Scots in Ireland, if he would restore the deposed ministers, for which he could plead the king's warrant. Thereupon he gave orders to the bishops for their restoration.

For some time after Mr Livingstone's deposition in 1632, he remained in Killinchy, ministering to his people in private, and for a few Sabbaths he met with them in the Church, and read the Word and prayed. When he found that even this liberty could not be used without danger to himself and others, he removed to Scotland, and preached in different places, and had intimate and profitable fellowship in private with lively Christians. His stipend in Killinchy never exceeded *Four Pounds* a-year, and even this scanty support he enjoyed but for a short time. "Yet," he says, "I bless the Lord, I never wanted money to supply me in all necessaries, and to bear my charges in travelling."¹ During the two years that his deposition lasted, he visited the north of Ireland once or twice. The Presbyterian ministers and people with whom he had intercourse, seeing no appearance of being delivered from Prelatical oppression, came to the resolution of emigrating in a company to New England. In order to further this object, they agreed to send first a minister and a layman to the Governor and Council of the Colony, to ascertain the state of the country, and to agree with them about a suitable site for a settlement. Mr Livingstone and Mr William Wallace were selected for this mission. They proposed to go direct to London, and to sail by the first spring ship to America, and to return with the first

¹ In some copies of Livingstone's *Life*, his stipend in Killinchy is stated at *Forty Pounds* a-year; but this probably arose from some copyists being surprised at a minister only receiving £4 per annum. But the fact is as stated in the text of the present edition. The value of money, it must be borne in mind, was much greater at that period than at present; and the people who waited upon the ministrations of faithful ministers were characterized by a spirit of enlarged Christian liberality. The yearly stipend of Rutherford at Anwoth is stated by Murray, in his *Life* of that distinguished man, to have been 200 merks Scots, or £11; and to have been derived from the teinds of the parish, and from a voluntary contribution on the part of the hearers.—*Life of Rutherford*, by Murray. p. 41.—ED.

conveniency. Several apparently fortuitous incidents prevented them from leaving Ireland so soon as they designed; and when they put to sea, they were detained, and afterwards driven back by contrary winds. In consequence, both returned to Ireland. Livingstone, who made the whole case matter of constant, fervent prayer, declared on the way back that he apprehended that he and his brethren in Ireland would obtain their liberty. So soon as he landed, he was greeted with the intelligence that himself and the other three ministers who had been deposed were, because of the deputy's letter of May 1634, restored.

The death of Rev. Josias Welsh of Temple Patrick occurred about this time. Livingstone relates the particulars of the decease of this excellent minister, in the following brief and affecting terms:—"On Monday, 23d June 1634, the Lord was pleased to call home worthy Mr Josias Welsh. I heard of his dangerous sickness the Sabbath afternoon before, and came to him to Temple-Patrick about eleven o'clock at night; two hours after, Mr Blair arrived. He had several gracious and edifying expressions, as also some wrestlings. One time, when he had cried, 'Oh! for hypocrisy!' Mr Blair said to the great company of Christians who were present, 'See how Satan nibbles at his heels, when he is going over the threshold to heaven.' A little after, I being at prayer at the bed-side before him, and the word victory coming out of my mouth, he took hold of my hand, and desired me to cease a little, and clapping both his hands, he cried out—'Victory, Victory, Victory, for evermore!' and then desired me to go on in prayer; and within a short while hereafter he expired."

In the brief space of half a year, Blair and Dunbar were again deposed by the bishop. Livingstone was permitted to exercise his ministry at Killinchy unmolested for a year and a half; but in November 1635, he was likewise deposed by Leslie, who was the bishop of Down; and sometime after, by his order, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by John Melville, Episcopal minister of Down. Livingstone records that, when after the Irish massacre he was sent from Scotland to Ireland in 1642, Melville was among the first who welcomed him on shore, professing his grief that he had had a hand in the wicked act of his excommunication. In the summer of 1635, Mr Livingstone married an excellent woman, the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh. One of her aunts was wife of the Rev. Robert Blair of Bangor. She lived with her mother, who after the

death of her husband married Mr John Stevenson, and resided in the north of Ireland, not far from Belfast. In early life, Mrs Livingstone gave marked evidence of genuine piety, and of strong attachment to scriptural principle. Her husband speaks of her as a precious gift from the Lord, conferred on him in answer to special prayer. She proved to be to him afterwards a devoted help-mate in his important labours, and in manifold trials and sufferings.

In the winter of 1635, when there appeared to be no liberty in Ireland, "either to preachers or professors, from the bondage of the prelates," the proposal to emigrate to New England was again resumed. Besides a considerable number of Presbyterians in the north of Ireland, a few from Scotland embarked in the undertaking, and others spoke of following afterwards. Letters were received from the Governor and Council of the Colony, offering a kind invitation, and holding out all encouragement. A ship was built at Groomsport, near Belfast, called the "Eagle Wing," burden 150 tons, in which it was designed to embark in the following spring; but the party was not prepared to sail before September 1636. The number of emigrants was increased during the delay, by the violent measures of the prelates. At his first visitation, held at Lisburn in July, Leslie deposed five Presbyterian ministers for refusing to subscribe the canons. These were Brice of Broadisland, Ridge of Antrim, Cunningham of Hollywood, Colvert of Oldstone, and Hamilton of Ballywalter. Brice died soon after the act of deposition. The whole number that set out on the voyage to America, for the sake of enjoying liberty of conscience, was 140, among whom were several ministers, and eminently godly laymen from Scotland. Livingstone mentions the singular case of Andrew Brown of Larne, one of these emigrants. He was born a deaf mute, and had been a "very vicious loose man." But when "it pleased the Lord to work a change upon several in that parish, a very sensible change was observed in him, not only in forsaking his former loose courses and company, but in joining himself to religious people, and all the exercises of God's worship, both in public and private. Ordinarily, morn and even he used to go alone to prayer, and would weep at sermons; and by such signs as those who were acquainted with him understood, he would express many things of the work of God on his heart; so that upon his earnest desire, by the consent of all the ministers who used to meet at Antrim, he was at last admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper."

A brief but graphic narrative of the voyage and its issue is given by Livingstone. The spirit manifested by the exiles—their disappointed hopes, with the perils which they encountered, show them as a part of the company of faithful witnesses, that in all ages have “counted their lives not dear to themselves, and have overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony.”

“We had much toil in our preparation, and many hindrances in our setting out, and both sad and glad hearts in taking leave of our friends. At last, about September 9, 1636, we loosed from Lochfergus, but with contrary winds were detained sometime in Loch Ryan in Scotland, and grounded the ship to search some leaks, in the Kyles of Bute; yet thereafter we set to sea, and for some space had a fair wind, till we were between three and four hundred leagues from Ireland, and so nearer the bank of Newfoundland than any point of Europe. But if ever the Lord spake by his winds, and other dispensations, it was made evident to us that it was not his will that we should go to New England. For we foregathered with a mighty hurricane out of the north-east, that broke our rudder, which we got mended by the skill and courage of Captain Andrew Agnew, a godly passenger, who upon a time was to his neck in water in mending it. It broke much of our galleon-head, our fore-cross trees, and tore our fore-sail, five or six of our chain-plates; a great beam under the gunner-room broke; seas came in over the round house, and broke a plank or two on the deck, and wet all that were between decks. We sprung a leak, which gave us 700 strokes of water in two pumps in the half-hour glass. Yet we lay at hull a long time, hoping to beat out that storm, till the master and company came one morning and told us that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and although we might beat out that storm, we might be sure that, in that season of the year, we would foregather with one or two more of that sort before we could reach New England. After prayer, when we were consulting what to do, I proposed an overture, wherewith I was somewhat perplexed thereafter—to wit, that seeing we thought we had the Lord’s warrant for our intended voyage—howbeit it be presumption to propose a sign to Him—yet we being in such a strait, and having stood out some days already, we might yet for twenty-four hours stand to it; and if in that time He were pleased to calm the storm, and send a fair wind, we might take it for his approbation of our advancing; otherwise, that He called us to return. To this they all agreed. But that day, and especially the night thereafter, we had the sorest storm that we had seen; so that the next morning, so soon as we saw the day, we turned, and made good way with a main-cross and a little of a fore-top sail; and after some tossing, we came at last, on the 3d of November, to an anchor in Lochfergus.

“During all this time, amidst such fears and dangers, the most part of the passengers were very cheerful and confident—yea, some in prayer had expressed such hopes that rather than the Lord would suffer such a company in such sort to perish, if the ship should break, He would put wings to all our shoulders, and carry us safe to shore. I never in my life found the day so short as all that while, although I slept some nights not above two hours, and some none at all, but stood for the most part in the gallery astern of the great cabin, where Mr Blair and I and our families lay. For in the

morning, by that time that every one had been some time alone, and then at prayer in their several societies, and then at public prayer in the ship, it was time to go to dinner; and after that, visit our friends in the gunner-room, or those betwixt the decks, or any that were sick; and then public prayer would come, and after that supper, and family exercises. Mr Blair was much of the time weakly, and lay in bed during the storm. I was sometimes sick, and then my brother M'Clelland only performed public duty in the ship. Several of those who were between decks being crowded were sickly. One aged person and one child died, and were buried in the sea. One woman, the wife of Michael Coltheard of Killinchy parish, brought forth a child in the ship. I baptized him on the Sabbath following, and called him *Scaborn*.

“My wife went aboard with our infant son sucking, being about fourteen weeks old, yet she had milk abundance for him, and to help some others. Mr Blair was much afflicted with our returning, and fell into a swoon the day that we turned back. Though we could not imagine what to make of such a dispensation, yet we were confident that the Lord would let us see something that would abundantly satisfy us, which began to appear the year following, in the opposition made to the Service Book, and more fully in 1638, in renewing the covenant. Our outward means were much impaired by this dispensation, for we had put most of our stocks in provisions, and some in merchandise, which we behoved to sell at low rates on our return, and we had provided ourselves with some servants for fishing and building of houses, whom we behoved to turn off:—that which grieved us most was, that we were like to be a mockery to the wicked; but we found, on the contrary, that the prelates and their adherents were much dismayed and afraid at our return. But neither they nor we knew that, within a year, the Lord would root the prelates from Scotland, and after that out of England and Ireland. Mr Blair went and dwelt at the Strand of Belfast; others elsewhere. I came back and dwelt at my mother's house, and preached each Sabbath that winter as at other times before.”

It was but a short time that the ministers were permitted to enjoy their privacy and to remain in Ireland. In February 1637, about four months after their return, one *Frankhill* of Castlereagh, who used to come sometimes on Sabbath to hear Livingstone preach at the house of his wife's mother, went to Dublin, and informed the Government against him and Blair, whereupon a warrant was issued for their apprehension. The execution of this order was mercifully prevented. Andrew Young, a servant to Mr Blair, who lived near Livingstone's house, one night overheard a pursuivant give orders to the keeper of a stable, to prepare two horses by to-morrow morning for him and another who were to set out next day to bring up two Scottish deposed ministers. Upon this Young immediately took horse, and riding all night and day, brought the ministers word, and hereby the design of the enemy was frustrated. Blair and Livingstone immediately retired to Scotland; whither likewise several of the deposed ministers from Ireland repaired about the same time. They were thus prepared

by a singular providence to take part in the important movements that led to the subversion of Prelacy, on the opening of the memorable period of the Second Reformation.

Two incidents related by Livingstone, which occurred at this time, are worthy of record. The one is the death of the *Rev. Robert Cunningham* of Hollywood. When he was forced to flee out of Ireland, he took up his abode at Irvine. He died on the 29th of March 1637. He "had many gracious experiences of the Lord's goodness to him, and of great peace in regard to the cause of his sufferings; and he spoke much and comfortably to the members of the Presbytery of Irvine, when they came to see him before he died."¹ He exhorted them to be faithful to God and his cause, and to oppose the Service Book, which was then urged by the Prelates. "The bishops," said he, "have taken away my ministry from me, and I may say

¹ At this eventful crisis, a simple incident served to arrest the progress of innovation, and to give an impulse to the public feeling in Scotland, which was already manifested in opposition to the Prelatical usages. This was the riot in St Giles' Church in Edinburgh. The day for commencing the use of the Service Book, appointed by the king and council, was Sabbath, the 23d of July 1637. The events of this memorable day are thus related by M'Crie, in his *Sketches of Scottish Church History*:—¹

"On the morning of this Sabbath, one Henderson, a reader in the High Church of St Giles, and a great favourite with the people, read the usual prayers about eight o'clock; and when he had ended, he said with tears in his eyes: 'Adieu! good people, for I think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place.' The Dean of Edinburgh was appointed to perform the service, after the form of the obnoxious liturgy. An immense crowd had assembled. At the stated hour, the dean was seen issuing from the vestry, clad in his surplice, and he passed through the crowd to the reading desk, the people gazing as at a show. No sooner, however, had he begun to read, than his voice was drowned in a tumultuous clamour, raised chiefly by persons of the lower classes, denouncing the innovation. An old woman, named Janet Geddes, who kept a green-stall in the High Street, no longer able to conceal her indignation, cried out, 'Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug!' and with these words launched at the dean's head the stool on which she had been sitting. Others followed her example, and the confusion became universal. The service was interrupted, and the women, whose zeal on this occasion was most conspicuous, rushed to the desk in wild disorder. The dean threw off his surplice and fled, to escape being torn in pieces. The Bishop of Edinburgh then ascended the pulpit, and endeavoured to allay the ferment; but his address only inflamed them the more. He was answered by a volley of sticks, stones, and other missiles, with cries of 'A pope! a pope! Antichrist! pull him down! stone him!' and on returning in his coach, had he not been protected by the magistrates, he might have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob—a martyr to Laud's liturgy."—ED.

¹ Vol. i. pp. 203, 204, edition of 1846.

my life, for my ministry is dearer to me than my life." A little before his death, his wife, sitting by his bedside, and having her hand in his, he in prayer commending his flock in Hollywood to God, with his children and friends, at last said, "O Lord, I commend to thy care this gentlewoman, who is now no more my wife!" With that he gently moved his hand from hers, and soon after he fell asleep in the Lord.

Livingstone took part in the steps which led to the renewal of the National Covenant, on the 28th of February 1638.¹

¹ The National Covenant, as it was taken in 1638, consisted of three parts:—the first, the National Covenant as it was framed in 1581; the second, a summary of the Acts of Parliament condemning Popery and confirming and ratifying the Reformation—this was prepared by Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston; and the third, which was written by Alexander Henderson, contained the abjuration of the recent innovations, and the special application of the covenant to the present circumstances.

The 28th of February was the day fixed upon for the renewal of the National Covenant, and the place chosen for the solemnity was the Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. The vast meeting that convened for this purpose was constituted by Alexander Henderson, in a prayer of remarkable earnestness and spirituality of feeling. The Earl of Loudon then addressed the meeting, explaining and vindicating the object of the meeting, and appealing to the Searcher of hearts that nothing disloyal or treasonable was meant by the proceedings of the Covenanters. Johnston afterwards read the covenant aloud in a clear steady voice. The work that followed is thus described by Dr Hetherington:—

"He finished, and stood silent. A solemn stillness followed—deep, unbroken, sacred. Men felt the near presence of that dread Majesty to whom they were about to vow allegiance, and bowed their souls before Him, in the breathless awe of silent spiritual adoration. 'Rothes at length, with subdued tone, broke the silence, stating, that if any had still objections to offer, they would repair, if from the south or west parts of the kingdom, to the west door of the Church, where their doubts would be heard, and resolved by Loudon and Dickson; if from the north and east, to the east door, where the same would be done by Henderson and himself. Few came, proposed but few doubts, and these were soon resolved. Again, a deep and solemn pause ensued—not the pause of irresolution, but of modest diffidence, each thinking every other more worthy than himself to place the first name upon this sacred bond. An aged nobleman, the venerable Earl of Sutherland, at last stepped slowly and reverentially forward, and with throbbing heart and trembling hand subscribed Scotland's covenant with God. All hesitation in a moment disappeared. Name followed name in quick succession, till all within the Church had given their signatures. It was then removed into the churchyard, and spread out on a level gravestone, to obtain the subscription of the assembled multitude. Here the scene became, if possible, still more impressive. The intense emotions of many became irrepressible. Some wept aloud, some burst into a shout of exultation; some after their names added the words *till death*; and some, opening a vein, subscribed with their own warm blood. As the space became filled, they wrote their names in a contracted form, limiting them at last to the initial letters, till not a spot

Immediately after he was despatched to travel post to London, with several copies of the covenant, and letters to friends at Court, both Scottish and English. One night, while riding late, his horse stumbled and fell, and he lay for some time apparently as dead. On recovering he went forward, and had the letters delivered. After some of the English nobility had visited him in his chamber, he was informed, through the Marquis of Hamilton, that the king, who had heard of his coming to London, purposed to put him in prison. He thereupon, without delay, returned to Scotland. He was present in several parishes, and took part in various acts of public covenant-renovation, which were engaged in at this remarkable period of gracious and powerful revival. One of these, which occurred at Lanark, he specially notices—"On Sabbath after the forenoon sermon, the covenant was read and sworn. I may truly say that in all my life, except one day at the Kirk of Shotts, I never saw such motions of the Spirit of God—all the people generally and most willingly concurring. I have seen upward of 1000 persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears dropping from their eyes, so that though the whole land, except the professed Papists, and some few, who for base ends adhered to the Prelates, the people universally entered into the covenant of God, for reformation of religion against Prelacy and the ceremonies."

PERIOD IV.

The fourth period of Livingstone's life embraces *ten years*, from his settlement in Stranraer, in the summer of 1638, till he was transported, by order of the General Assembly, to Ancrum in 1648. When he was forced to leave Ireland, calls were presented to him at the same time from Straiton in Carrick,

remained on which another letter could be inscribed. There was another pause. The nation had framed a covenant in former days, and had violated its engagements—hence the calamities in which it had been and was involved. If they too should break this sacred bond, how deep would be their guilt! Such seem to have been their thoughts during this period of silent communing with their own hearts; for as if moved by one spirit—and, doubtless, they were moved by the one Eternal Spirit—with low heart-wrung groans, and faces bathed in tears, they lifted up their right hands to heaven, avowing by this sublime appeal that they had now joined themselves to the Lord in an everlasting COVENANT, that shall not be forgotten."¹

¹ Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 299-301.

and from Stranraer in Galloway. Though he was inclined to prefer Straiton, because of its inland, retired situation, he sought advice in the matter from such eminent ministers as Blair, Dickson, Cant, Henderson, and Rutherford. They unanimously urged him the rather to settle at Stranraer,—a principal reason of their choice being that here he would be nearer to the north of Ireland, and that thus a people who were strongly attached to him, and who were deprived of Christian liberty, might enjoy advantages from waiting occasionally on his ministry. He testifies that this was effected to some extent during his residence in Stranraer. “Some of our friends out of Ireland came and dwelt at Stranraer; and at our communions twice in the year, great numbers used to come—at one time five hundred persons; and at another, I baptized upwards of twenty-eight children, brought out of Ireland.” Livingstone, with some others of the ministers who were driven out of Ireland, sat in the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638; and there is little doubt that their presence, and the knowledge of the wrongs which they suffered from arbitrary power and Prelatical intolerance, contributed to the “Bishops’ Doom,” and to the subversion of the Episcopal system in Scotland. Livingstone was a member of each succeeding General Assembly, till that in 1650, except the Assembly held in Aberdeen in 1640. On his first coming to Stranraer, he mentions that a number of the people in the town expressed their desire to be present daily with him at family worship. Instead of acceding to this request, he proposed to meet in the Church every morning with such as would attend. After the ringing of the bell, the assembly convened in considerable numbers, as the whole parish lay in the bounds of the town. A few verses of a Psalm were sung, prayer offered, and a portion of the Scripture was read and commented upon; and the service, which did not exceed half an hour in length, was concluded with prayer. He testifies that the people were “very tractable and respectful,” and “no doubt, had I taken pains, and laboured as I ought to have done, more fruit would have followed among them. I was sometimes well satisfied and refreshed, being with some of them on their death-beds.”

When King Charles raised an army to oppose the Reformation begun, and to force Prelacy upon the people of Scotland, the Covenanters speedily took up arms, and prepared for a resolute defence of their civil and religious liberties. A number of the ablest ministers went with the Scottish forces to act as

chaplains in their proposed march to England. When the army advanced to Dunse Law, they presented a spectacle befitting Christian patriots, and such as has been seldom displayed in warfare of whatever kind. Livingstone thus describes the scene at the encampment:—"It was very refreshful to remark, that after we came to quarter at night, there was almost nothing to be heard throughout the whole army but singing psalms, prayer, and reading the Scriptures, by the soldiers in their several huts. Indeed, in all our meetings and consultings, both within doors and in the fields, always the nearer the beginning, there was more dependence on God, and more tenderness in worship and in walking; but, through process of time, we declined more and more." *Baillie* describes, in his usual graphic manner, the appearance of the Covenanters' army on their march, and as they lay encamped—"A banner-staff was fixed at every captain's tent door, from which floated the Scottish colours with the national arms, and having an inscription in golden letters—'FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT'—thus declaring the sacred cause for which the people had appealed to arms. A minister of high character and abilities was attached to each regiment; and as regularly as the morning dawned, and the evening fell, the troops were assembled, by beat of drum or sound of trumpet, to devotional exercises, which were conducted generally by the ministers, to whose discourses and prayers they had listened in the quiet of the Sabbath among their rural and peaceful homes!"

On his return to Stranraer in November 1640, Livingstone proposed to his congregation to raise a collection for the purpose of supplying clothing and other necessaries for the army. The fourth fencible man in the parish had been sent before to take part in the national struggle. The town at that time was small and poor, and yet the collection amounted to £45 sterling. The reason, he says, that he raised so much was, that "there were certain families from Ireland residing in the town." "One Margaret James, wife of William Scott, a maltman in humble circumstances, who had fled out of Ireland, gave seven twenty-two shilling pieces sterling, and an eleven-shilling piece of gold. The day after, when I inquired at her how she came to give so much, she answered—'I had gathered and laid up this to be a part of a portion to my young daughter; whereas the Lord was pleased to take by death my daughter to Himself, I thought I would e'en give Him her portion also.'"

In 1641 the meeting of the General Assembly was held in

Edinburgh, and soon after a Parliament, at which King Charles was present, and ratified all the acts of reformation that had passed during the recent years. On his return from the Assembly, Livingstone turned aside to Lanark, and was present with his father at his death, which occurred in the autumn of this year.

It was in the month of October 1641, that the Irish Rebellion, which involved in fearful slaughter so many Protestants, suddenly and unexpectedly broke out.¹ Livingstone notes that the hand of a gracious Providence was observable in that the Prelatical persecutions of the preceding years had forced the Presbyterian ministers, and large numbers of the Presbyterian people, out of the country. Their lives were thus saved from the massacre. Many left with the deposed ministers in 1637; and still large numbers fled to Scotland, when the Lord Deputy compelled all the Scots residing in Ireland to take the

¹ Irish Massacre of 1641. Historians differ widely in their opinions in relation to the number of Protestants that were slaughtered in the Irish Massacre of 1641. The Rev. Dr Maxwell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore, says:—The rebels boasted to him, while in their custody, that by the month of March they had slain 154,000 Protestants; and O'Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, in his *Disputatio Apologetica*, published in 1645, confesses that his party had cut off 150,000 heretics in four years. The estimate, by different historians, of the number slain is thus summed up by Dr Reid (*Hist. Pres. Ch.*, vol. i. note, pp. 336, 337):—"May estimates the number slain at 200,000 in the first month. Temple makes it 150,000 in the first two months, or 300,000 in two years. Rapin gives 150,000 in about four months. Lord Clarendon says, that above 40,000 were murdered at the first outbreak, before any danger was apprehended; and he is followed by Hume. Sir William Petty, a very expert and accurate calculator, computes that 37,000 perished within the first year; and this estimate is adopted by Carte."

The Bible was an object of particular and marked detestation of the Romanists in this bloody tragedy. In a "Remonstrance" presented to the House of Commons, by the agent for the Irish clergy, about four months after the breaking out of the rebellion, it is said:—"They have torn it [the Bible] in pieces, they have kicked it up and down, treading it under foot, with leaping thereon, they causing a bag-pipe to play the while; laying also the leaves in the kennel, leaping and trampling thereupon, saying, 'A plague on it, this book hath bred all the quarrel,' hoping, within three weeks, all the Bibles in Ireland would be so used or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom; and, while two Bibles were in burning, saying that it was hell-fire that was burning, and wishing that they had all the Bibles in Christendom, that they might use them so." There can be now no doubt of the guilty part which King Charles I. had in fomenting the Irish Rebellion. It seems to be proved, beyond all question, that he actually granted a commission, under the royal seal, to appear in arms. Such was the hatred of the infatuated monarch to Presbyterian and constitutional liberty, that he hesitated not to call forth Popish assassins to his aid in attempting to crush it.—ED

Black Oath,¹ abjuring the National Covenant. Most of those who took the oath were murdered by the rebels. Those who lived nearest the coast over against Scotland mostly escaped. The fearful stroke that fell upon the Protestant people of the north of Ireland increased by degrees. "At first, it was thought hard to be deprived of their ministers, and to have hirelings thrust in upon them. When they thought that hardly a worse condition could come, the abjuring oath was imposed upon them; and after all, came the bloody sword of the rebels." During the winter, large numbers of Presbyterians fleeing from Ireland came over to the south and west of Scotland. Of these, the greatest number came by Port-Patrick and Stranraer, and were in a very destitute condition. With large-hearted Christian liberality, Scottish Presbyterians ministered to the necessities of their persecuted brethren; and Livingstone performed no insignificant part in collecting and dispensing this charity. As characteristic of the hardening effect of public judgments, he notes—"Of all these numbers that came our way, I hardly observed one person sufficiently sensible of the Lord's hand in it, or of deserving on their part—except one Englishman—so far had the stroke seized on their spirits, as well as on their bodies."

In April 1642, Livingstone was sent, by the Council of State in Scotland, to the north of Ireland with the Scots army under Major-General Munroe, which was despatched to suppress the Irish Rebellion. He remained for six weeks at the headquarters in Carrickfergus, preaching and dispensing public ordinances; and for a like period he ministered at Antrim with Sir John Clotworthy's regiment. At this time he visited other parishes along the coast, and his former flock at Killinchy. Before he left Antrim, the communion of the Supper was celebrated, when some who had in the evil times of Prelacy taken the black oath, willingly, and with great expressions of grief, made public confession of their sin. The sad alteration in the moral and spiritual condition of the people, caused by their being deprived of a Gospel ministry, was observable and

¹ This was usually called the *Black Oath*, because of severe hardships that, in consequence of rigidly exacting it, the Presbyterians had to endure. It originated with King Charles I., and was enforced with high-handed and despotic authority by Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, the Irish deputy. It was ordered to be taken by all the Scottish settlers in the north of Ireland; and by it they were "compelled to swear never to oppose any of the king's commands, and to abjure all covenants and oaths contrary to the tenor of this unconditional engagement."—ED.

very marked—"many of those who had been civil and orderly before had become very loose—yea, sundry who were thought to have true grace, had declined much in their tenderness. So, as it would seem, the sword opens one gap, and makes almost everybody worse than they were before, an inward plague coming with the outward; yet some few were in a lively condition." On being petitioned by the people of the north of Ireland, in the year 1642, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent over some eight ministers annually, on visits of two or three months at a time, to preach and supply the lack of ordinances. They dealt also with some godly and able young preachers, to induce them to go to Ireland, and settle there, instructing them to erect elderships in parishes, and, in conjunction with the presbytery of the army, to try and ordain ministers. Livingstone went on this mission for three months, in the summers of 1643, 1645, 1646, and 1648. His mode of procedure, as a true and devoted missionary, and that of his fellow-labourers in the same commission, are noticed in the "Historical Introduction." The seed that was thus laboriously sown, and watered by the Spirit, in answer to many fervent prayers, afterwards sprung up and bore a plentiful harvest. After the year 1647 or 1648, the General Assembly did not renew the annual appointment of ministers to visit Ireland, inasmuch as by that time "several able and godly ministers were settled in various parts of the north."

PERIOD V.

The two principal events in the Fifth Period which Livingstone records in his Autobiography, are—1. The part which he acted as one of the commissioners sent by the Parliament and Church of Scotland to treat with Charles II. at Breda; and 2. His trial before the persecuting council, and his exile in Holland. Both of these he relates with some minuteness, and at considerable length. A condensed summary of the facts of these cases may, however, suffice. After the execution of Charles I. in January 1649, the Scottish nation, in devoted loyalty to the line of their ancient monarchs, immediately proclaimed his son Charles, who was residing in Holland, king. Commissioners were soon after sent to treat with him concerning the conditions on which he would be received to the exercise of supreme power; but these had returned without

coming to any satisfactory conclusion. In 1650, the Scottish Parliament again sent other commissioners on the same errand; the Church of Scotland agreed, likewise, to send along with them a number of ministers to negotiate in relation to the Church's rights in the matter. Livingstone was appointed one of the latter; and though he did not anticipate any good result in the case, and was reluctant to go, at the earnest solicitation of several eminent brethren in the ministry, such as David Dickson, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gillespie, he consented. There were various things in the procedure of the commissioners which appeared to him far from satisfactory; and the conduct of the young king was, to upright conscientious men, ominous only of future evil. They found him surrounded with dissolute unprincipled men, in whose company he appeared to find delight, as being in his element, and inclined to surrender himself entirely to their direction. At that time he was besides in the closest intimacy with Montrose, trusting that by his warlike movements in the north of Scotland, he would reach the throne without being bound by any treaty. It was only the news of Montrose's defeat and capture that induced him to listen to the proposals of the Parliament. The most honest and faithful of the commissioners, while detained at Breda on this business, had abundant evidence of the king's duplicity, and of his immoral conduct. All the time that they were there, he continued the use of the Service Book, and of his Episcopal chaplains, and he frequently spent the nights at balls and frivolous amusements, till near the break of day.¹ When the ministers urged him, that if he had any scruples against the covenant, or against any parts of the covenanted uniformity, or the articles of the treaty, he would fully state them, he uniformly kept silence, and made no objections. He was known, moreover, to keep up constant correspondence with his mother, who was then in Paris, and with others who were bitter enemies of the Reformation. Livingstone and some of

¹ If the licentious and unprincipled Charles II. had any fixed sentiments on religion, it seems indisputable that he was more inclined to Popery than to any other. He required a Romish priest to attend upon him on his death-bed. Charles James Fox, in his elegantly written "*History of James the Second*," has shown that this infamous monarch was actually for some years in the receipt of an annual pension from the court of France, for the purpose of employing all suitable measures for reducing England under the thralldom of Rome. There are strong grounds to believe, moreover, that he died in consequence of poison, administered under the direction of his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., his successor.—ED.

the other ministers were, from all this, led to confess to one another, that they were glad when the treaty appeared likely to be broken off. When Montrose was taken prisoner in Scotland, a commission from the king was found with him, authorizing him to levy troops and subdue Scotland by force of arms. Upon this discovery, the Parliament despatched a messenger with an order to recall the commissioners, but the matter was concealed from the other commissioners by the person to whom it was intrusted, and only shown privily to the king. This induced him to close in hastily with any terms, in the fear that if he did not, he would lose the opportunity of ascending the throne. On the Saturday before he left Breda, the commissioners were made aware that he intended the next day to communicate, according to the Prelatical ritual, kneeling. The ministers expostulated with him, and urged several considerations why he should forbear, even what he might consider lawful. But he continued unmoved, and received the sacrament according to the Episcopal ceremonies, dispensed by Bramhall, one of the Irish bishops, who had been a bitter persecutor of the Presbyterian ministers. Immediately after, Charles hurried on board, in company with the commissioners, and also with a number of malignants and others, who had been expressly prohibited from access to the Court by the laws of the kingdom. Livingstone was so offended by all this conduct, that he and another minister, Mr Hutchison, purposed to remain behind in Holland, but he was taken on board by the urgency of the other commissioners, and by a species of deception practised upon him.

Before Charles landed in Scotland, he offered, of his own accord, to swear and subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant. Livingstone, who distrusted his sincerity, was desirous that this step should be delayed till they had landed; but on Sabbath, as the vessels lay at anchor in the mouth of the Spey, Livingstone, after having had private conference with the king, preached. Charles then swore and subscribed the covenant. "For the outward part of swearing and subscribing, the king performed anything that could have been required;" but it was the guilt not of the commissioners only, but likewise of the whole kingdom and of the Church, "to admit him to his government without any evidence of a real change of heart, and without forsaking former principles, counsels, and company." On the 16th of June, Charles landed in Scotland, and immediately advanced to Stirling, where he was met and welcomed by the chief nobility of the kingdom.

Livingstone left the king on his landing, and only saw him again, during his brief stay in Scotland, for a short time at Dundas, when he gave him some seasonable advice in relation to the public affairs, which he did not appear to relish. When Cromwell and the English army entered Scotland, instead of accompanying the Scottish army, to which the Committee of Estates appointed him, Livingstone returned to his parish in Ancrum, and gave himself diligently to his pastoral work. In the unhappy dispute about the *Public Resolutions*, he took the side of the *Protesters*, but he laboured to have the division healed; and he relates that he did not attend many meetings, as these tended, in his view, to widen the breach.¹ As a singular instance of the blessing of the Church's Head upon his servants in times of trial and confusion, the history of the Church of Scotland bears testimony that during the ten years that this schism lasted, and much heart-burning and disorder

¹ The unhappy schism of the Resolutioners and Protesters gave the first melancholy indication that the glory of the second reformation was waning, and that the enemy had prevailed to effect a breach in the walls of Scotland's covenanted Zion. The occasion of it was the following:—King Charles II., who was impatient of the wholesome restraints which the faithful covenanters imposed upon him, took advantage of the disastrous battle of Dunbar to gather about his person, and into his councils, a number of the Scottish nobility, who in general, like himself, were lovers of pleasure, rather than lovers of God, and who, as being disaffected to the cause of the reformation, were styled *Malignants*. To a few members of the commission of the General Assembly, favourable to the royal interest, who met at Perth in December 1650, the Parliament, at the king's instance, proposed the following plausibly worded question:—

“What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity—for defence thereof against the armies of the sectaries, who, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant and treaties, have most unjustly invaded and are destroying the kingdom?” In reply, the commission passed two resolutions, sanctioning the admission of all sensible persons in the land, under certain conditions; such as giving satisfaction to the church, &c. The Parliament forthwith, without paying any regard to the conditions, rescinded the Act of Classes; and the immediate consequence was, that the most notorious malignants, some of whom had served under Montrose, and all of whom were known enemies to the second reformation, were advanced to the highest posts in the army, and to places of power and trust in the State. At the Assembly which met at St Andrews and Dundee, July 1651, an open division took place; those who adhered to the resolutions of the commission were called *Resolutioners*, and those who protested against them were denominated *Protesters*. This deplorable schism continued for nearly ten years, till the Restoration, and tended to weaken the Church of Scotland, and mar its efficiency, and thus to be a sad preparation for the wasting persecution of twenty-eight years' continuance, which followed.—E.D.

prevailed, gracious outpourings of the Spirit were experienced in different parts of the kingdom, especially at communion seasons. Livingstone notices this with joy in his narrative :—
“Some two or three years after the English had in a manner subdued the land, there began some reviving of the work of God in the land in several parts. Sundry were brought in by the ministry of the Word, among whom there were some in the parish of Ancrum, and other parts of the south, in Teviotdale and Muse. Communions were very lively, and great numbers resorted to them. The ministers, likewise, had several monthly meetings in these two shires for prayer and spiritual converse.”

In the summer of 1654, Livingstone and several other distinguished Scottish ministers were invited by letters from the Lord Protector to come to London, to confer with him about Scottish affairs. This interview, however, yielded no satisfaction, and Livingstone soon left the brethren, and returned to his flock. The people of his former parish of Killinchy, Ireland, made several applications at this time for his return to them. Although, because of the present distractions in Scotland, he felt inclined to comply with this request, yet he was prevented in providence. The Synod of which he was a member refused to loose him from his flock in Ancrum, and several ministers elsewhere, with whom he had intimate fellowship, dissuaded him. He yielded, however, so far to the advice of friends, that he visited Ireland in the summer of 1656, preaching for some nine or ten weeks in various places, and attending meetings of Church courts. During this visit, he notes that he had not the like freedom in preaching in Killinchy as he formerly enjoyed, which he took to be an intimation of the mind of the Lord that he should not again settle there. He did not find above two or three families, nor more than ten or twelve persons who had been in the parish when he was there before. The rebellion had wrought such devastation, that almost all were new inhabitants. He attended several communions while on this mission, and was at numerous meetings of presbytery in the north, “which was more like a Synod, there being in attendance thirty or thirty-six ministers and ruling elders from sixty or eighty parishes. The presbytery was divided into three committees, that met in several places in the country.” During this visit he was occasionally in Dublin, and was urged by the Council of State to accept a pastoral charge in the city with a liberal salary. This he declined, as he was not loosed from Ancrum ; and he declared, that if he had been free to settle again in Ireland, he would have preferred Killinchy to any other charge.

Soon after the Restoration of Charles II., Livingstone and other Presbyterian ministers who did not observe as a holiday the 29th of May, and who refused to own the authority of the Prelates, were deprived of their liberty, and exposed to suffering for the truth's sake. At his last communion in Ancrum, held on the 12th October 1662, which was largely attended, he spoke with freedom and at much length, on "the grounds and encouragement to suffering for the present controversies of the kingdom of Christ;" and, in a manner, took leave of his flock, though he did not know what was contriving against him. On being informed by letters from friends in Edinburgh, that he and some other twelve or sixteen ministers had been ordered to appear before the council, he forthwith went thither, but remained for some days concealed, till he learned that his sentence would be banishment. He then presented himself before the council without waiting for citation. On being required to take and subscribe an oath of allegiance, in which the king was acknowledged to be supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, he refused. He was offered time to consider the matter, but thinking that this would seem to import that he was not fully clear or resolved—that it would expose him to many temptations—and that it might weaken and offend others, he did not accept the proposed delay. He was, in consequence, sentenced to depart from Edinburgh in forty-eight hours, and go north of the Tay; and within two months after, to exile himself from all the king's dominions. In consideration of his age and infirmity, he was allowed to remain in Leith, till the time that his banishment from the kingdom would take effect, though his petition for a copy of his sentence, and for leave to visit his wife and children, was refused. While he remained at Leith, he was visited daily by many sympathizing friends from Edinburgh, and from many parts of the country. On the 9th of April 1663, he went on board a vessel, and in eight days after he arrived at Rotterdam. There he found a number of eminent ministers, who had been before exiled from Scotland, because of their resistance to Prelatical innovations and arbitrary power, among whom were Trail, Mr Ward, and Brown of Wamphray. With them he had frequent profitable intercourse, and he preached often in the Scots congregation. In December of the same year, his wife and two of their children rejoined him—the other five were left in Scotland. He lived in exile in Holland above nine years, and died at Rotterdam,

in peace and the full assurance of hope, on the 9th of August 1672, in the 69th year of his age.

In the close of his Autobiography, Mr Livingstone gives some personal reminiscences of his life, disposition of mind, and habits at different periods, from which we append a brief extract or two :—

“As for my spiritual condition, I cannot deny but sometimes, both in public and private, I have found the Lord work upon my heart, and give confirmations of kindness and engagements to his service ; but I do not remember any particular time of conversion, or that I was much cast down or lifted up. I do remember one night in the Dean of Kilmarnock, having been most of the day before in company with some of the people of Stewartown, who were under rare and sad experiences of mind, I lay down in some heaviness, that I never had experience of any such thing. That night, in the midst of my sleep, there came upon me such a terror of the wrath of God, that if it had increased a small degree higher, or continued a minute longer, I had been in as dreadful a condition as ever living man was in. But it was instantly removed ; and I thought it was said to me within my heart—‘See what a fool thou art, to desire the thing thou couldst not endure.’ And that which I thought strange was that neither the horror nor the ease out of it wakened me, but I slept till the morning ; only the impression of it remained fresh with me for a reasonable time thereafter.”

Speaking of his labours as a minister, he says, “As concerning my gift of preaching, I never attained to any accuracy therein ; and through laziness, I did not much endeavour it. I used ordinarily to write some few notes, and left the enlargement to the time of delivery. I found that much study did not so much help me in preaching, as the getting of my heart brought to a spiritual disposition ; yea, sometimes I thought that the hunger of the hearers helped me more than my own preparation. Many a time, I found that what was suggested to me in the delivery was more refreshful to myself, and edifying to the hearers, than what I had premeditated. I was often much deserted and cast down in preaching, and sometimes tolerably assisted. I never preached a sermon that I would be earnest to see again in writing, but two—the one was at a communion, on a Monday, at the Kirk of Shotts ; and the other on a Monday after a communion in Hollywood. Both these times, I spent the whole night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without any more than ordinary

preparation. Otherwise, my gift was rather suited to simple common people than to learned and judicious auditors. I could hardly ever get the same sermon preached twice, although to other hearers—I thought it became tasteless both to myself and to others. I have sometimes, after some years, preached on the same text; but then I behoved to make use of new notes. Had I in a right manner believed, and taken pains, it had been better for myself; but by a lazy trusting to assistance in the meantime, I kept myself bare-handed all my days. I had a kind of coveting when I got leisure and opportunity to read much, and on different subjects, and I was oft challenged, that my way of reading was like some men's lust after such a kind of play and recreation. I used to read much too fast, and was somewhat pleased at the time, but retained little. My memory was somewhat waterish and weak, yet, had I improved it, I might have better use of it; for after that I came from college, I did, with no great difficulty, attain to some tolerable insight in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and somewhat also of the Syrian. I got also so much of the French, the Italian, and after that of the Low Dutch, that I could make use of sundry of their books; and of the Spanish and High Dutch, that I could make use of the Bibles in those languages." The General Assembly once or twice appointed him to write the History of the Church of Scotland in the period of the Second Reformation, but he ascribes his not fulfilling the appointment to his inability for such an undertaking, laziness of disposition, and his want of suitable materials for such a work.

When he had leisure in Holland, considering how he might employ his time to advantage, he projected the publication of a critical Hebrew Bible, printed in one column, and the several vulgar translations in another. With this object, he carefully examined and revised a number of ancient versions, with later translations. He was encouraged in this undertaking by several theologians and learned men, who were then professors in the Dutch colleges, or held distinguished places in the Church in Holland. He revised also with care the authorized English Bible, and wrote out diverse readings and explanatory notes, and reconciling apparent contradictions. He designed to insert these in the margin, or to print them at the end of the Bible. His biblical labours in biblical criticism and interpretation were not, however, given to the public, owing partly to the death of a liberal Christian man, Mr John Graham, Provost of Glasgow, who had undertaken to bear the expense; and

partly from Leusden,—one of the professors, to whom the amended copy of the Latin Bible was entrusted,—having failed to get a printer in Utrecht to carry out the proposal. It is interesting to find this devoted servant of Christ, when he was in exile, laid aside from the active work of the ministry, and the infirmities of advanced age, thus giving his leisure to the earnest minute study of the sacred Word. Though the fruits of his critical investigations were not permitted to appear for the instruction of the Church, we cannot doubt that he derived himself much spiritual profit from these labours, which formed a befitting close of the life-work of an eminent minister, and faithful witness for the royal prerogatives of Messiah the Prince.

Livingstone's literary remains, as given in the Wodrow biography, consist of the "Substance of a Farewell Discourse to his Flock;" his "Examination before the Council;" two "Letters to his Parishioners;" a "Letter to a Friend, his Sayings and Observations;" "Remarks on Preaching and Praying in Public;" "Observations previous to his Death;" and "Memorable Characteristics, and Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence, exemplified in the Lives of some Devout Ministers and Professors in the Church of Scotland." We select a few of these pieces, as exhibiting his character, sound judgment, faithfulness, and singular piety:—

AN ACCOUNT

OF WHAT PASSED WHEN MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE APPEARED BEFORE THE COUNCIL IN THE LOWER COUNCIL-HOUSE AT EDINBURGH, DECEMBER II, 1662, AT WHICH TIME THEY BANISHED HIM.

Lord Chancellor.—You are called here before his Majesty's secret council for turbulency and sedition. You have been in all the rebellions and disobedience to authority that have been these many years; and although his Majesty and Parliament have given an act of indemnity for what is past, yet you continue in the same courses.

Mr Livingstone.—My Lords, if I shall not be so ready in my answers as were requisite, or if anything, through inadvertency, shall offend, I crave to be excused in regard of my unacquaintedness with such ways, as being now towards sixty years of age, and was never before called in such sort before such a judicatory. I am a poor servant of Jesus Christ, and have been labouring to serve Him and his people in the ministry of his Word, and it

is a grief to me to be so charged by your Lordship ; for I am not conscious to myself of any turbulency or sedition. There are some things anent the officers and government of the Church wherein I confess my judgment and principles differ from what is presently maintained ; but I have laboured to carry myself with all moderation and peaceableness with due respect to authority, and have lived so obscurely, that I wonder how I am taken notice of.

L. Ch.—You have transgressed two Acts of Parliament—one appointing the 29th day of May a day of commemoration of his Majesty's happy restoring, and another appointing the Synods to be kept. Did you preach on the 29th day of May?

Mr Liv.—There are witnesses in town who testify that I preached the last 29th of May.

L. Ch.—[But] did you keep the day as is appointed in obedience to the Act of Parliament?

Mr Liv.—I dare not say that I did so : it was my ordinary lecture-day ; yet the place of Scripture that was my ordinary gave occasion to speak somewhat of the benefit of magistracy.

L. Ch.—But will [not] you publicly, as others do, acknowledge the Lord's mercy in restoring the king?

Mr Liv.—I have [my Lord] done so, both at the first, and sometime since.

L. Ch.—But what is the reason that you do not keep the day appointed by the Parliament?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I have not that promptness of judgment or expression that were requisite for surprising questions, and would beg, if your Lordship please, that I may be forborne.

L. Ch.—Can you not give a reason why you keep it not?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, even [in] the laws of God, there is a great difference betwixt a man's doing of that which God hath forbidden, and the not doing at a time, for want of clearness, the thing that God hath commanded ; and much more this holds in the laws of men.

L. Ch.—But what reason can you show why you scruple to keep that day?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, there may be some expression that may furnish a scruple to a man who conceives that God only can appoint a holy-day.

L. Ch.—But you kept days of your own. You kept a day of thanksgiving for the battle of Langmarston Moor, and several days of fasting in the time of the engagement. Did you not keep the day for Langmarston Moor?

Mr Liv.—So far as I know, I did ; but these days were not, or were not called, holy-days, but only appointed on special occasions ; and, besides, one may scruple if any have power to appoint anniversary holy-days.

L. Ch.—But will you keep that day hereafter?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I would desire first to see an issue of this wherein I am engaged by this citation, before I be urged to answer for the time to come.

L. Ch.—Well, because of your disobedience to these two Acts, the council look on you as a suspicious person, and, therefore, think it fitting to require you to take the oath of allegiance. You know it, and have considered it?

Mr Liv.—Yes, my Lord.

L. Ch.—The clerk shall read it to you. (He reads it.) Now that you have heard it read, are you clear to take the oath?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I do acknowledge the King's majesty (whose person and government I pray God to bless) to be the only lawful supreme magistrate of this and all other of his Majesty's dominions, and that his Majesty is the supreme civil governor over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastic as civil; but for the oath as it stands in terms, I am not free to take it.

L. Ch.—I think you and we agree as to the oath?

Lord Advocate.—My Lord Chancellor, your Lordship doth not observe that he useth a distinction, that the King is the supreme civil governor, that he may make way for the co-ordinate power of the presbytery.

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I do indeed believe and confess that Jesus Christ is the Head of his Church, and that He only hath power to appoint a government and discipline for removing of offences in his [own] house, which is not dependent upon civil powers, and noways wrongs civil powers. But withal, I acknowledge his Majesty to have a cumulative power and inspection in the house of God, for seeing both the tables of the law kept; and that his Majesty hath all the ordinary power that was in the kings of Israel and Judah, and in the Christian emperors and kings, since the primitive times, for reforming, according to the Word, what is amiss.

L. Ch.—We do not say that the King hath power to ordain ministers, or to excommunicate; and, therefore, are you not free to take the oath?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, in the terms I have expressed, I am free to take it; but I know not if it would be well taken off my hand to add one word, or to give an explication of the oath which the Right Honourable the States of Parliament hath set down.

L. Ch.—Nay, it is not in the power of the Council so to do.

Mr Liv.—I have always been of that judgment, and am, and will be, that his Majesty is supreme governor, in a civil way, over all persons and in all causes.

L. Commissioner.—You may not say that you have always been of that judgment, for you have been opposite to the King, and so have many here, and so have I been; but now it is requisite that we profess our obedience to him, and would wish you to do so. You are to consider that there is a

difference between a Church to be constituted and a Church constituted ; for when it is to be constituted, ministers and professors may do their work upon their hazard ; but when a Church is constituted with the consent of the civil magistrate, who hath power to appoint the bounds of parishes, and the stipends, he may appoint the bishops his commissioners, and ordain them to keep synods, and ordain ministers to come to these synods.

Mr Liv.—May it please your Grace, I hope the Churches that are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles were constituted Churches, although they wanted the concurrence of the civil magistrate.

L. Ch.—You have heard many things spoken ; will you not take some time to advise whether you will take the oath or not ?

Mr Liv.—I humbly thank your Lordship. It is a favour which, if I had any doubt or hesitation, I would willingly accept ; but seeing, after seeking God and advising anent the matter, I have such darkness as I used to get in such things, if I should take time to advise, it would import that I have unclerness or hesitation, which I have not ; and I judge it were a kind of mocking your Lordship to take time, and then return and give your Lordship the same answer.

L. Com.—Then you are not for new light ?

Mr Liv.—Indeed I am not, if it please your Grace.

L. Ch.—Then you will remove yourself.

Being removed, and called in again—

L. Ch.—The Lords of his Majesty's Council have ordained, that within two months you remove out of his Majesty's dominions ; and that within forty-eight hours you remove out of Edinburgh, and go to the north side of Tay, and there remain till you depart out of the country.

Mr Liv.—I submit to your Lordship's sentence ; but I humbly beg that I may have a few days to go home and see my wife and children.

L. Ch.—By no means ; you may not be suffered to go to that country.

Mr Liv.—Against what time must I go to the north of Tay ?

L. Com.—You may be there against Saturday come seven night.

Mr Liv.—What if it be stormy, or I not able to travel ?

L. Com.—Do it with all convenient diligence.

Mr Liv.—Well, although it be not permitted me that I should breathe in my native air, yet I trust what part of the world soever I go to, I shall not cease to pray for a blessing on these lands, and to his Majesty, and the Government, and the inferior magistrates thereof, but especially to the land of my nativity.

L. Ch.—You must either go to the Tolbooth, or subscribe a few words of acquiescing to your sentence.

Mr Liv.—My Lord, rather than I will go to the Tolbooth, I will subscribe the same, the tenor whereof is :—“ I, Mr John Livingstone, late minister at Ancrum, bind and oblige me that I shall remove myself forth of his

Majesty's dominions, within the space of eight weeks after the date hereof, and that I shall not remain within the same hereafter, without licence from his Majesty or Privy Council, under the pain of death ; and that I shall depart from Edinburgh to the north side of Tay, and there remain until my departure, and that my going off Edinburgh shall be within forty-eight hours after the date hereof.—Subscribed at Edinburgh the 11th [day] of December 1662.”

L. Com.—You must see that you keep no conventicles, nor preach in Churches nor houses.

To that he answered nothing.

He cannot say that this is all that either they or he spoke ; or that he hath so punctually repeated their speeches as his own, but so near as he remembers, these things were spoken. It may be some of the things given as spoken by the Chancellor were spoken by the Commissioner. One also of these two had some discourse, that his case was like some of the contests of the Jesuits anent the power of the Pope and Council ; but he did not well understand it nor remember it. He remembers also one, but he knows [not] who, asserted that it was a part of the King's supremacy (and so imported in the oath) to set up the bishops in the Church. Some things also they spoke to which he gave no answer ; but, so far as he remembers, this is the substance of all.

Now, also by the suggestion of some others, he remembers, that when he was speaking of the King's civil power in religious things, they inquired if the King had power to convocate synods. To which he answered he had, not meaning thereby that he had the only power, but that as Christ's officers have power from Him to enact, so also the King, when need is, hath power to convene them ; but he did not say, as is given out by some, that the King hath power to dissolve synods at his pleasure. They also inquired if there was any co-ordinate power with the King's. As he remembers, he answered there was no civil co-ordinate power with the King's ; but if he did not add the word civil, as he cannot fully determine whether he added it or not, so it must be meant that way, for he was speaking of the King's civil power, and had before asserted that Christ had appointed a government and discipline, which was not dependent on civil powers, and Christ's power in the Church (his sovereignty being infinite) cannot be said to be co-ordinate with the civil power that He hath given to creatures ; and the power that his servants exercise in His name cannot properly be said to be co-ordinate with civil powers, it being of a far different kind from theirs, being only exercised ministerially, and being about things of another world.

A LETTER

WRITTEN BY THAT FAMOUS AND FAITHFUL MINISTER OF CHRIST, MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE, UNTO HIS PARISHIONERS OF ANCRUM, IN SCOTLAND, DATED ROTTERDAM, OCTOBER 7, 1671.

WELL-BELOVED IN THE LORD,—I cannot excuse my long silence. I have a woful lazy disposition, and indisposition for writing; yea, I judge anything I write is scarce worthy that any should look on or read, besides that my slow and shaking hand is some hindrance to me. Yet when I consider that I have an account to make for you to the great Shepherd, as having laboured amongst you in the ministry of his Word some fourteen years, and now after near by nine years' banishment, age and infirmities creep on, and through a constant pain of the gravel I have much ado, once a-week, on the Lord's day, to go a very short way to the public worship, so as there is no great probability I can ever see your faces in this life, and it is most fitting for me to set my face forward toward my last reckoning, I thought I behoved in a manner to make unto you my testament, and open my mind concerning myself concerning you, and concerning the present position of affairs in that land.

And in the entry, notwithstanding of all the sad things that have fallen out of late, I would put you in mind of the many good days we have seen together, both of Sabbath-days and solemn communion days, wherein we saw the Lord's power and his grace in his sanctuary, that in remembrance thereof we may exalt his name together, and know, that though He cause grief, yet He will have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies. Ye may easily discern what a difference is between those days and such as ye now see; and what an evil and bitter thing it is, that by our not improving of those days, we have provoked Him to hide his face, and send such an inundation of matchless apostasy, perjury, persecution, profanity, Atheism—yea, darkness, distractions, and despondency, amongst his own: in all which we may yet expect He is waiting to be gracious, and will be exalted that He may have mercy upon us.

I. (1.) For my part, I have peace in regard of these particulars—*1st.* That not only since my entry into the ministry, but even from my infancy, the Lord was pleased to lead me to an aversion from Prelacy, a stinted liturgy, the ceremonies, and other corruptions of that time; and that in my ministry, both in Ireland and Scotland, I joined with those who were strait in the cause of God, and testified against these evils—that I joined in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and other parts of the works of reformation that was carried on in the year 1638—and thereafter, as

being assured that the Lord did then, does yet, and will ever approve of that work and the prosecution thereof. *2d.* That I came to Ancrum not out of any worldly end, but from a desire to do service to God, and to the souls of his people, and had thereto the Lord's call by your invitation, and the consent and sending of the rightly constituted Church that then was, both the General Assembly and Presbytery. *3d.* That in my ministry among you, howbeit I came much short of attainment, my resolution and aim was only to set the glory of God and good of your souls before mine eyes; and that it pleased Him so to bless my poor weak endeavours, as that sundry seals of the ministry of his Word were visibly seen, some whereof are already in glory, and some are wrestling thither. *4th.* That when I appeared before the council, at what time I was sentenced with banishment for refusing to swear the oath, as they called it, of allegiance, and which was indeed the oath of supremacy, and did really contain such a supremacy as is since fully established, that then I did not, as was propounded by them, take time to advise of mine answer, which I judged could import my unclearness in the matter, and that it was not so much out of respect to me as for that very end propounded, but told plainly I was fully clear, and resolved not to take it. For these, and many such singular passages of the Lord's gracious guiding me in my pilgrimage, I desire from my heart to bless his glorious name, and would beg help of all his people to join with me therein.

But (2.) I have challenges besides many other in respect of these particulars—*1st.* That all along in my ministry I did not stir up or improve the gift that the Lord had given me, nor so carry myself like a spiritual, grave, diligent, and faithful servant of Christ as I ought to have done. *2d.* That in my ministry among you I was not more frequent in visiting families, and dealing with persons in particular, to bring them to, and keep them in, the ways of God. *3d.* That when the late grievous defection began in the years 1661 and 1662, I did not stir up myself and others—whatsoever hazard might have ensued—to appear, by supplications and public testimonies, in avowing the covenant and work of reformation; which, if it had been done by Church judicatories, or but singly by ministers and professors in the due season, according to our engagements, might both have glorified God, been a door of hope for the posterity, procured more peace to our consciences—yea, possibly stopped much of the defection and suffering that hath since ensued. *4th.* When I appeared before the Council, I did not take occasion humbly, yet plainly, to demonstrate the guilt of those things which were publicly enacted and done against the prerogative royal of Jesus Christ, and against his Church and people, and to give warning of the wrath to come on them and the land without repentance, but did content myself with answering what was propounded to me. For these, and such other neglects and miscarriages in my life, I would desire to go mourning to the grave, and would

entreat for help from you and others of the Lord's people, to seek from Himself pardon and purifying of both private and public, both sins of person and calling.

II. As for you, I may reckon you all in three ranks. The first rank, and I fear the greater number, is of those who although in general professors of Christianity, yet, so far as could be observed, never laid religion to heart; and some of these, for gross ignorance and looseness, were always debarred from the Lord's Supper; others, although having some knowledge and a civil walk, yet upon good grounds were always suspected to be void of the love and fear of God, continuing in their natural unrenewed condition, neglecting the worship of God in their families and alone, and showing, by all their carriage, that their thoughts and desires never went beyond this world. These no doubt are glad of the change now come, that they may cast off Christ's yoke, and be free of the Word and discipline, which terrified and tormented them, and may now both swear terrible oaths and get drunk, which by some will be expounded as a clear evidence of their loyalty; they may now, after the example of many great ones, walk in the lust of uncleanness, mind nothing but how by any means, just or unjust, to get the world, and then how to spend it on their lusts; and to their power, persecute all who will not run with them to the same excess of riot. Now, as I have often in public, with as great earnestness and tenderness as I could, warned these to flee from the wrath to come, so I would yet desire them to stand still a little before they go to the pit, and hear from a truly loving friend a few words, which I am confident, in the day of the great reckoning, shall be found a message from the living God. Do you believe there is a God, or heaven, or hell? or can ye, with all your strength, scrape the thoughts of these out of your sleeping consciences? Or do ye in such sort hate God, that because ye are his creatures, ye will so far be avenged on yourselves as to sell yourselves to his enemy the devil, for nought, to be tormented in all eternity? I am most sure none of you all can be sure that ye are reprobates; and I can give you assurance, greater than the stability of heaven and earth, even the sworn Word of Him that liveth and reigneth for ever, that if ye will forsake your wicked way, and yet betake yourselves to the only Saviour of lost sinners, ye are no reprobates. Oh! what advantage have ye, when ye have gained all the world, and all the pleasures, all the riches, and all the favour of it, and have lost your immortal and precious souls? It is utterly impossible but that sometimes your own heart tells you there will be bitterness in the end. Doth not whoredom and drunkenness waste the body, take away the judgment, and leave a sting in the conscience? Can any avoid the curse that goods gotten by falsehood or oppression bring upon the man and all he hath, yea, on his posterity? Is it not said that Satan can prompt men to swear, curse, and blaspheme, and utter that which he dare not utter himself? And although ye were free of all outward outbreak-

ings, doth not an unrenewed estate, the neglect of commanded duties, Sabbath-breaking, and such evils, bind you over to the wrath of Him who is coming there in flaming fire to take vengeance on them who know not God, and obey not the Gospel? Ye may possibly think you are so far gone on that there is no retreat, and the ways of the Lord are such as your disposition can never agree with; but how can your disposition agree to burn and consume, and never consume, in everlasting flames, where each of all your sins shall have their own particular torment? How can ye agree to dwell with infernal furies? or will ye add to all your other wickedness, despair and despising of all the Lord's loving, loud, and long-continued invitations? What shall you answer, if hereafter the Lord shall say to some of you, I would have given thee both grace and glory if thou hadst but sought it; thou wouldst not give once two or three knocks at my door; you would not open when I knocked oft and long at thy door: by so doing, you have subscribed thine own reprobation and condemnation?

Oh! let me obtain this much of all and every one of you, for all the pains I have taken among you in preaching, for all my nine years' banishment from you, for all the prayers I have put up for you, for all the love which He who knoweth all things knoweth I bear to you—yea, let your own souls, and the love you have to your own welfare here and hereafter, obtain it; or rather, let Him who for sinners shed all his most precious blood at Jerusalem, obtain this of you, that you will take one day each of you alone, from morn to evening, forbearing both meat and drink, and go apart rather into some quiet room in a house, or unto some part of the fields, where you may be most quiet, and having beforehand marked in the Bible such places as are fit to be read at such a time; as also, having somewhat searched your way toward God, and his ways toward you, there set yourselves in his sight, spending the time in confession of sins, and prayer for pardon and grace to serve Him, and save your own souls; and if (which is not readily to be supposed) ye get no access on such a day, yet continue thereafter in such exercise and suits; for deliverance from hell, enjoying of heaven, and the favour of God, are worth more pains than you can take all your life. Now, if this so easy and necessary advice shall be rejected, without prescribing time and place, or measure and manner, but if the main intent of taking some time to humble yourselves before God, and turning unto Him, be rejected, I take instruments before sun and moon, and all the creatures, that I have left this warning, as an indorsed summons, fixed on the door of your consciences, to be called and judged before Him who is ready to judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing, and in his glory; when, beside the witnessing of all your sins, of your own consciences, and of all the creatures, I also, as your lawful minister, sent to procure your reconciliation with God, shall appear to witness that ye got fair warning, but did reject the same, and would needs choose death. Therefore, while

it is called to-day, take a trial of Christ's yoke ; do put Him to it, and see whether or not He will open the windows of heaven, and rain blessings and righteousness upon you : come and see, and taste the goodness of the Lord. Ye shall be made to say, He is a rich and loving Master. Once engage your hearts to Him, and you may defy Satan and all the allurements and terrors of the world to draw you from Him. Glad would my heart be to hear, before I go to the grave, that some of you have begun a new course ; and if ye begin indeed, ye will not get it suppressed—it will be heard. I shall, as I can, pray for it, and desire others here to pray for it. It is not needful to multiply words ; I leave it with you, as ye shall answer to Jesus Christ, when He shall come in the clouds.

The second rank is of those who either had true grace, or seemed to have it, and who went a length beyond others in an orderly walk, and following the ordinances at home and abroad ; but since the late change, have either turned loose and profane, or so far sided with the corruptions of the time, that not one footprint of their former steadfastness and tenderness doth appear, but they are justly reckoned among those who will obey whatsoever is commanded by man, although directly opposite to the will of God, revealed in his Word, and to their own lawfully sworn engagements. These, without repentance and amendment, are in a large worse condition than those of the first rank ; for their practice proclaimeth that once they betook themselves to Jesus Christ and his ways, and had some love and respect for Him, but now they repent that ever they did so ; for they have seen something in Him for which they judge He is not worthy that they should either do or suffer any thing for Him. I am much assured that Satan hath got such entrance in some of those who once had a profession, and now are declined, that they shall not again be renewed unto repentance, but shall wax worse and worse, having their consciences seared with a hot iron. Oh, that my fears may be prevented ! But I have good confidence that some who have gone a great length in this course of apostasy, shall yet, before they go off the world, glorify God by a free and full confession of their foul fall. Yea, I trust that sundry of them want not a gnawing sting even all along, but fear of shame before the world, and fear of worldly loss (and oh, how small a thing of the world have any of these to have preferred to blessed Jesus Christ !)—these hinder hitherto their coming off their dangerous way. Let all who have declined, and who have not willingly and wilfully chosen to remain in opposition to God and his righteous ways, and his afflicted people, let them but compare their present state with what it was before, and answer within their own heart to God, which of the two they allow as best ? Ye had encouragement beyond many others in that the Lord enabled three or four of that congregation, and these but boys, cheerfully to endure scourging and banishment, rather than depart from their former principles and practice, and most of these are now in a

better outward condition than before. These shall be witnesses against you if ye do not in time betake yourselves avowedly to your former profession. I have yet by me the subscriptions to the covenant of all the men that were of the congregation. Not only that paper, but the hands of all, both men and women, which in swearing the covenant, after reading the solemn acknowledgment of sins and engagement to duties, were lifted up to God—these hands, because they will endure for ever, shall be everlasting witnesses either for you or against you. You got warning that such trials would come as have since ensued, and seemed to be fortified against them.

Remember the speech I had to you the Monday after the last communion, wherein, presaging what would shortly follow, I in a manner bade you farewell. Ye seemed then to be somewhat moved, and to resolve on all hazard to abide by the cause of God—ye seemed to run well. Who or what hath hindered you, that ye should not obey the truth? It may be there are few or none in all the land who, in all points, have kept their covenant to God, but have neglected some opportunities of their duty; and the good Lord will pardon such as see the plague of their own heart, and turn to Him; but to join in the course of defection with those who have abjured that covenant, to countenance an intruded hireling, and join with him in that which they call worship—yea, to sit and drink with him who was lawfully and deservedly excommunicated by the Church of Scotland, to keep holy-days appointed by men, to withdraw from the fellowship and meetings of those who, in some degree, continue in their integrity—these are such gross and direct violations of the oath of God as can proceed from nothing but a fearful deserting from God—from a preferring the will of man to the will of the living God, and preferring the ease and petty pelf of the world to the salvation of your immortal souls. I am fully sure, ye dare not say before the Lord, that although all fear of inconvenience from man were quite taken away, yet conscience of obeying the will of God would make you do as now ye do. If ye were sure within ten days by death to turn your back on all, would you not think it fitting that both God and the world saw a change on you from your present way? And you have no assurance of one day. Think often on Christ's Word, that who deny Him before men, He will deny them before his Father. It is impossible—it is utterly impossible—to be a disciple of Jesus Christ or an heir of glory, without a resolution to quit all, even life itself, for his sake, when called to it. I am much afraid, when the conscience of some of you shall waken, that ye shall hardly be kept from some degrees of despair. Come off, come off in time; be not afraid or ashamed to witness against yourselves, and the wicked course of the time. Give glory to God, get peace to your own consciences, strengthen the hands and make glad the hearts of those that are seeking God. Ye know not but if ye delay, your wakening may come after the door is shut, and that then shall be no times of refreshing from the presence of 'I : 'Lord'

As for the poor wretch that is thrust in upon you, do not hate him, do not injure him ; rather pray for him, and use means, if it be possible, that he may recover, but do not countenance or join with him. Ye may easily be sensible he is not a messenger from the Lord for your spiritual good, but a snare and hardener of you in unwarranted ways. I may, by good ground from the Word of God, affirm, that unless a gracious change be wrought, both he and all that follow him shall perish eternally. Now the Lord himself, who only can do it, open your eyes to see the danger of your way, urge and enable you to take some time to mourn before Him in secret, and openly to testify, as occasion offers, before good and evil, that ye are returned to your former profession ; then shall none of all your transgressions be mentioned unto you.

The third rank is the little handful of those who, in such an evil time, have laboured to keep their garments clean, to whom it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer, or at least expose themselves to suffering, for his sake. Ye have great cause to bless the Lord, and I and many others will join with you to bless his holy name, that howbeit ye have but a little strength, ye desire to keep his Word, and not deny his name. Ye have found, and will find yet more, that Christ will not be behind with you, nor sleep in your debt. I trust your consolations abound far beyond your fears or dangers of sufferings. Your hundred-fold is going to the fore for you and yours in the bank of heaven, when more than an hundred is the interest for one. Christ was once owned as King of his Church in that land—that in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, his laws in his Word should be the only rule ; and hereunto all, from the highest to the lowest, had by oath engaged themselves. Now abjured Prelacy is brought in, Christ's faithful servants cast out, hirelings thrust in his house, the whole disposing of Church matters, persons, and meetings, by the Act of Supremacy, referred to the sole arbitrament of a mortal creature, and persecution bended against all who go not along with us in that apostasy and perjury ; and is not then suffering endured in as important a quarrel as ever was since the foundation of the world? The smallest point of Christ's prerogative royal is not only worth the sufferings, but worth more than the eternal salvation of all the elect. Be not afraid, but He who sits crowned King on Mount Zion knows well how to right Himself. Not only a touch of the iron rod in his hand, or the sword that cometh out of his mouth, but a frown or wink of his eye, can dash in pieces all the potsherds of the earth. He shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed. This cloud of opposition to his work will be scattered, as many others have been before. He is only taking a trial what will be every man's part ; and not only the malice of enemies, but the weakness of some of his own will be discovered. He will suffer the opposers of his work to

sport themselves a little, as if they had done their work, and rooted out both truth and godliness. And He will have his own brought to a necessity, both of more vigorous faith depending cleanly and close on Himself and his Word, and more deep humiliation, serious repentance, and amendment. But He hath his set time when He will awake as a mighty man, and I hope build his palace in that land, with the addition of more glory than ever was before.

As for you, I would advertize you of two or three things—*1st.* It is not enough to be steadfast in the present controversy—ye must study to be holy in all manner of conversation, and shine as lights, blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation. An idol entertained in the heart, or a blemish in the life, will make a fearful discovery of unsoundness in the end. Let the love and fear of God be made evident to all onlookers, in all your carriage, so shall ye go near to convince even adversaries of the reality of your religion. *2d.* Consider this battle is not at an end : ye have not resisted unto blood. Ye know not what trials may abide you ; keep on your armour, strengthen your resolution to deny yourselves, and all ye have, for his sake ; dwell near to, and be always on good terms with the Captain of Salvation ; and be not afraid but ye shall be furnished abundantly what to say, what to do, and how to endure. *3d.* If the Lord, for such fearful apostasy and breach of covenant, shall, besides the dreadful spiritual judgments already poured out, send any common calamity on that land, as sword, pest, or famine, I would pray and hope that ye may be hid ; but if any of these strokes shall reach any of you, do not grudge—your sins might procure more ; it is much if ye get your souls for a prey. *4th.* Keep up your meetings for prayer and mutual upstirring, cry mightily to God each of you apart, so shall not your meetings be flat or formal ; a few wrestlers may help to keep God in the land—He is not willing to depart, if any will but hold Him. Seek repentance to the land and yourselves, stability to those that stand, recovery to such as have slidden or fallen. Let me have some little share in your prayers, that I may finish my course with joy, and still bring forth fruit in old age. Seek from the Lord right zeal, wisdom, and tenderness, to deal with any of your neighbours that ever appeared for Him, and now have declined ; if ye prevail with any of them, admit them to your meetings. Even the Lord give you understanding in all things.

III. Now as concerning the condition of the Church, and work of God in that land, ye remember that although I shunned not, according to my poor measure, and as occasion offered, and necessity required, to show my mind of public matters, dangers, and duties of the time, yet I used not to insist very much on such things, as not being much inclined or able for disputing ; and having found by frequent experience, that so soon as any were gained to close indeed with Christ, and lay religion to heart in earnest, these

generally, out of a native principle, became presently sound in the controversies of the time. And in the present case, several things would seem rather to persuade silence; because, indeed, our present condition ought rather to be matter of lamentation and mourning before the Lord, day and night, alone and in company, than matter of discourse amongst ourselves; and because it's very hard to use freedom, and not displease some whom a man would be very unwilling to offend; and because, of all men living, I have least reason to think that I would offer my light as a rule of any other man's light. But when I consider, that as one (although most unworthy) yet instructed by Jesus Christ, as an ambassador from Him to his people, I am shortly to give account before Him of my negotiation, I cannot decline what light I judge I have from Him out of his Word, anent present affairs, to open the same to you, as in his sight, in as great simplicity and ingenuity as I can.

And first, I need not insist to declare, that notwithstanding of all that hath fallen out of late, and all the objections against the work of reformation—all which were both propounded and answered above thirty years ago—that yet both I and all that land, and the posterity after us, stand bound before the Lord to adhere to the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and all the parts and degrees of reformation and uniformity which we had attained. Neither will I conceal, that howbeit thereafter I withdrew from the meetings of the Protesters, when I perceived the matter like to tend to a stated schism, that yet, after as narrow a search as I could make, I have no challenges, but rather approbation, that in the beginning I joined in the protestation against the courses taken in the year 1651, and thereafter, for bringing in the malignant enemies of the work of God to councils and command. I am not willing to rake in such ashes (oh! if the fire were extinguished and forgotten!), and I know that some good men, in a day of great darkness and distress, did what they conceived for the time duty; yet when I consider our former engagements to the contrary, and that the principles and motives of these courses would necessarily recoil against former endeavours of purging the army, and against the opposition made to the unlawful engagement in the year 1648—yea, against the Solemn League and Covenant, and by consequence against the late work of reformation—yea, against the first reformation from Popery; and that the bulk of the disaffected ministers of the land, some whereof, although borne down, might have been observed in every General Assembly, even from the year 1638, that these did natively join to make up the party, I judge these courses to have been no small step of the defection of the Church. I could have wished, indeed, that more moderation, and more real endeavours for union in the Lord, had been used on both sides; but I was also convinced that the late sad change was, in some respect, seasonably sent from the Lord, that faithful ministers and professors should rather suffer by the prelates,

and such as, by overturning the work of God, brought them in, than by judicatures of the Church, which in all appearance would shortly have followed, yea, in some places was already begun. And it is most sad, that when time hath brought to light the necessary consequence of these courses, yet few or none of these have testified any resentment thereof. Beside clear demonstrations of the efficacy of the Gospel, in converting and confirming sinners, which have been as conspicuous in the Church of Scotland as in any of the reformed Churches, the Lord was pleased from the beginning to put in the hand of his servants in that land a piece of service not so directly called for at the hands of some others of the Churches—to wit, as Christ's prophetic and priestly offices had been debated, suffered for, and cleared, so they should stand and contend for his kingly office; that He is not only inwardly a spiritual Head to his mystical Church, but externally a spiritual politic Head to the politic body of the visible Church of professors, and their only Lawgiver, to invest them with intrinsic power to meet for his worship, and their officers appointed by Him, to meet for discipline and ordering the affairs of his house; that no ceremony or invention of man that wants his stamp is to be brought into his worship, no officer to be brought into his house but such as He hath appointed in his Word; and although his servants and people are to carry towards God's ordinance of magistracy where they live as any other subjects, and to deny them no respect or obedience due to them, yet in their meetings and administrations they are not subordinate unto or dependent on any civil power.

These and such others were the points asserted and suffered for by the renowned worthies of this Church—by Mr Knox, Mr Welsh, Mr Bruce, and many others, who now shine in glory. And although there have been when a most fit time came, and being urged thereto by authority, yet in former times several sad days of the defection of ministers, as in the year 1584, and at other times, yet because there never was such a black hour and power of darkness as is now fallen upon us, I shall, in the second place, touch some particulars for which I judge ye and I, and many others, have reason most bitterly to mourn before the Lord.

· *1st.* That in the beginning of this grievous defection, such a base cowardice fell generally on all, that not one testimony from any Church judicatory in Scotland was given to the cause of God, and against the horrid violation of a sworn covenant; yea, some as industriously stopped testimonies as if they had been hired so to do, some whereof pretending it was not a fit time declined it. It was, first and last, the guilt of those who had the conviction on them to neglect the duty, for want of the concurrence of others. True zeal for the honour of our Master, or remembrance of our reckoning before Him, would have stirred us up to another sort of boldness. We would not have been so blunt in our own concernment; the sight of the father's danger broke the tack of a son's tongue who was tongue-tacked from the

birth. The Lord, indeed, provided a real testimony from some who had, and have yet, of their bones witnessing before the sun. But, O that we did not adventure somewhat for his glory, for our own peace, for the good of posterity, yea, for the true good and edifying even of our opposites! We ought not only to be deeply humbled, and deal much and long for pardon for such an omission, but earnestly seek grace and strength to take hold of any opportunity for repairing such a loss.

2d. That some of those ministers who were laid aside by authority did in a manner lay themselves aside, as if they had been exonerated of all charge; whereas such as have any liberty of a subject, and feet and tongue loose, ought rather to be instant in season and out of season, and from house to house instruct and warn young and old, both of former charge and everywhere, as occasion offers. It is true none are now apostles; but ministers have the same charge that apostles had—to feed the flock of Christ—and are given primarily not to any particular charge, but to the universal visible Church. Few of the apostles or apostolic men had either such Churches and pulpits to preach in, or a settled maintenance. Love to Christ, and love to the souls of the people, that are perishing in ignorance and disobedience, would banish the love of ease, and the fear of danger, and the idol of carnal prudence. That however a man for maintenance of himself and his family might practise medicine, or labour land, or betake himself to any other employment, yet he is to remember the ministry is his main employment, and that, at his admission, he engaged before God to be diligent and faithful therein. Some have preached out of prison windows; some have converted their keepers. It were to be wished that a minister in all places, in all company, at all times, were about somewhat of his Master's work; so shall he hear at last, "Well done, good and faithful servant." Let us deal with the Lord, that He will deal with the hearts of all his servants, and thrust them out into his harvest, as I hope some, who seemed to be somewhat deficient in that duty, are already begun to bestir themselves and others upon sight of the courses of the time, and the people's necessity and willingness to hear, and that they will do yet more abundantly.

3d. That after the destroyers of the Lord's heritage had razed the work of reformation to the foundation, and had not only invaded the rights that He hath allowed his servants in the government of his house, but, as far as creatures can do, usurped his own prerogative royal; and not at all hiding the snare, but by the letter to the Council and the Council's act opening the design to have the ministry of the Word wholly dependent on the civil power and supremacy—that yet some ministers accepted that which they called an indulgence of their ministry, without any public testimony either of their adherence to the oath of God and work of reformation, or against these usurpations. O! for a head turned into waters, and eyes a fountain of tears, to deplore day and night such an indignity done to the Son of God without a witness, and such shame cast upon the Church of Scotland. Our

fathers, for far less matters, contested with the powers of the earth, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with us ; and do we think that our Lord and Master is not able to maintain his own cause? I have great charity for most of the men, who I suppose may have a sting in the bosom for neglect of the opportunity. A Peter and a Barnabas may be carried away at a time to and by a dissimulation. The credit of the ministry ought to be dear to us, but the credit of our Master and his interests ought to be dearer than all things else. The ministry of the Gospel is indeed a great benefit ; but nothing hinders why the ministry of the Gospel might not have been had, and not yet be had, without a pulpit and a stipend. It is an ill-made bargain where the one party gets clear gain, the keys of Christ's house in a manner delivered up to them, and the other is uncertain if God will bless a ministry purchased at such a rate. If any ministers have had a hand in contriving or procuring that indulgence, I suppose they have done more mischief to the poor Church of Christ in that land than all the prelates and all their hirelings ; and if such an indulgence should be offered to, and accepted by all the outed ministers of the land without a public testimony, I would look upon it as the most dreadful presage that yet hath appeared of the Lord's totally forsaking of the land. It is not now Episcopacy and ceremonies that is the controversy, but whether Jesus Christ be King of his own Church, which He hath bought with his blood ; or if the leviathan of the supremacy shall swallow up all, to which it is all alike, whether it have prelates or presbyters subservient unto it, only it must rule according to its own arbitrament, without control, and bring forth yet more and more fruits of all impiety and profanity. A minister that can preach truths which no man questions, and miskens this grand controversy, or speaks of it so darkly as that he discovers he desires not to be understood, I durst not say that in that he is a faithful ambassador of Jesus Christ. Sure if his own reputation were touched, he would speak in a more piquant manner ; and his Master's honour should be above his own repute. A bare not agreeing to the accommodation propounded, is not a sufficient evidence of faithfulness at such a time. Satan counts no great gain of the prelates, nor them that set them up, nor them that follow, but outed ministers and noted professors would be a great prize to him ; and I am sure, winnow as hard as he can, he shall get none that belong unto Christ. O ! how sad is it that some, to please men, and those the overturners of all the work of God, have laid aside that useful part of reformation and uniformity—the expounding of the Scripture—formerly practised to so much edification ; and others mangle it so, as it were as good to forbear it.¹ The

¹ Livingstone here refers to the practice of *lecturing*, which was discountenanced and prohibited while the prelates were in power. It deserves to be remarked, in this connection, that the celebrated *Jeremy Taylor*, bishop of Down and Connor, employed his episcopal authority to put down lecturing, and ill-treated Presbyterian ministers on this head.—ED.

excuse of the short days of winter, or weakness of one's body, may well allow a man to make both the lecture and the preaching shorter ; but on such a pretext to lay it aside, especially being in some sort a case of confession, I fear shall not be allowed before the righteous Judge. If it be said, Better have preaching without lecturing nor [than] no preaching at all ; true, if there be a physical impediment in the way of lecturing, or if all preaching had been by the Lord restricted to such a pulpit by the indulgence of such a creature. But when men come to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they may bring us into bondage, and would inure us to take one of their burdens after another, we ought not to give place by subjection, no not for an hour ; for by such arguing, better have preaching without ever citing Isaiah, than none ; better without mentioning the decree of election, or imputed righteousness, than none at all. Alas ! the Lord hath poured on us the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed our eyes ; our prophets and our rulers the seers have covered. Oh, what a deep wound was it to my heart, to hear of a minister, who I think certainly had both true grace and rare gifts, that he so far complied with the course of the time, as to keep a holy-day appointed by men, and drink about the bonfires ! What will be the end of those things ? What, when God shall waken the conscience ? Our ministers were our glory, and I fear our idol, and the Lord hath stained the pride of our glory. None of us who are here, and seem to be dissatisfied with some things at home, want conviction of our own grievous miscarriages ; and it is probable that if we had been at home, we might have done worse than others. If it were possible, I would desire so to speak for Christ and his interest, as not to reflect on any person ; but Levi's duty and blessing lie otherwise. I profess to you, although I have a real excuse of my inability to debate and argue, without which the propounding of one's mind seems too dictator-like, that yet I have apprehension that my not writing to some friends makes the guilt of some things done or omitted more mine than theirs. O for the day when all of us, whether together or apart, without reflecting on any but ourselves, might mourn the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon ! I should look on that as Scotland's great delivery ; yea, it is to be most earnestly sought from the Lord, and endeavoured that the whole bulk of the people, and even those who have carried on the defection, might get repentance ; so should we be a greater wonder to the world of his matchless mercy, than now we are of sudden and shameful apostasy. And many such wonders He can work if He please, and we may suppose will work, if there were wrestlers for such a blessing ; but that also is his own gift. To Him be all glory for ever !

In the close, it will be expected that I give you all some directions how to walk in such a time, and as they come in my mind, I shall set them down

—1. In all things, and above all things, let the Word of God be your only rule, Christ Jesus your only hope, his Spirit your only guide, and his glory your only end. 2. See that each of you apart worship God every day, morning and evening at least ; read some of his Word, and call on Him by prayer, and give Him thanks. If ye be straitened with business, it is not so much the length of your prayer that He regards, as the uprightness and the earnestness of the heart, but neglect not the duty ; and if ye be without the hearing of others, utter your voice, it is sometimes a great help—but do it not to be heard of others ; sing also a psalm, or some part of a psalm ; ye may learn some by heart for that purpose. 3. Through the whole day labour to set the Lord always before you, as present to observe you, and strengthen you for every duty ; and then look over how the day hath been spent before you sleep. 4. Such as have families, set up the worship of God in your families, as ye would avoid the wrath that shall be poured on the families that call not on his name. 5. As occasion offers of any honest minister coming alongst, neglect not the same ; and on the Lord's-day, go where ye can hear the Word sincerely preached by a sent minister, who will witness against the evils of the time—without which, I apprehend, whatever a man's gifts be, the Lord will not send the blessing. Oxnam is not far off, and I hope Mr Scott doth and will declare for the sworn reformation, and testify against the present defection ; but I dare not bid you hear any of the intruded hirelings, whom they call curates. I know some good men have heard, or do hear some of them ; but I believe, if all fear of inconvenience were removed, they would do otherwise. If no occasion of a public meeting be, or if ye cannot go to it, sanctify the Lord's-day in your families, or at least each of you in your own heart. 6. Give no occasion to the world to say that ye neglect your calling, or are busy-bodies in other men's matters, or have any doubleness in your worldly dealing ; a faithful carriage, free of covetousness, is a great ornament to the profession. 7. Have a care of your children, that they be taught to read, and have Bibles so soon as they can use them ; and take them with you to hear the Word preached, and instruct them yourselves the more diligently that public means are scarce. 8. Such as have any leisure, read some good books, whereby ye may profit in knowledge and affection. Read now and then the Covenants, the Confession of Faith, and the Longer Catechism, and the little treatise printed with them. I would recommend to you the writings of Mr Durham, and Mr Binning, and Mr William Guthrie, and Mr Andrew Gray, especially Mr Rutherford's Letters (I hope shortly ye shall be supplied with some more copies of them), as also any good pieces from England, as Mr Alleine, or the like. I dare not recommend Baxter to you—he is a dangerous man. Let Chasters and Standhil buy some such as they can, and lend them to others to be read. 9. Any thoughts ye have of the busi-

ness of the time, examine them well by the Word, and present them oft to God by prayer ; and what ye get so confirmed, be not easily moved therefrom, although some ministers should be of a contrary opinion, for in these days sundry of the common people have clearer light and steadier practice than some ministers ; but be not proud or self-willed in your own opinion. 10. By any means see that ye be not drawn to a contempt of the ministry, or ministers in whom anything of God really appeareth, although some might have slidden in an hour of temptation ; but study all lawful ways of union and healing, yet so as ye approve nothing which the Word and your conscience condemn. 11. Strengthen yourselves in the main grounds of religion against Popery, and read some short treatises for that purpose ; ye know not but it may be a great part of the trial of the time. 12. Some ministers have begun of late to question Christ's imputed righteousness ; look upon these, whatever show they make of moderation and accurate walking, as enemies to Jesus Christ and the salvation of souls. 13. Keep you far, very far, from this last device of Satan—Quakerism, which, under colour of sobriety and patience, overthrows all the grounds of the Christian religion (and, indeed, they should not be looked on as Christians) ; themselves, and the light within them, which is also in all Pagans, is all their saviour. Converse not with them ; as much as ye can, avoid conference with them ; the evil spirit that is in them desires no better nor continual wrangling : many are much mistaken if there be not much devilry among them, as some come off from them have testified.¹ 14. I know the course ceaseth now that was taken for providing the poor with meat ; but after your ability, set apart some of your means for the poor. I mean not the sturdy vagabonds, but poor householders ; especially those that have any good in them. 15. Deal in all earnestness and love with any of your neighbours, whom ye perceive in a way that will destroy their souls. Visit your neighbours in their sickness, and drop something for their souls' good. 16. Let such as have been elders, and have not run the wicked course of the time, know that their obligation ceaseth not, but rather is increased, to visit and oversee the flock, and warn and comfort, as occasion requires. 17. Forget not Christ's command to love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you. Many a time our carnal anger and bitterness put on a

¹ The severe judgment which Livingstone here pronounces upon the Quakers is in accordance with the views which were generally entertained of this sect by the Reformers of the seventeenth century ; and it is justified, in some measure, by the avowed opposition to the Scriptures as the rule of faith, and to some of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and by the extravagance of George Fox and other leaders of the party. It would be as improper, however, to apply it to the sentiments and practice of such truly excellent persons as the late Joseph B. Gurney and Mrs Fry, and the great majority of modern Friends, as to confound the Baptists, a religious denomination of our day, with the Anabaptists of Germany in the time of the Reformation.—Ed.

disguise as if it were zeal ; true love to God and our neighbour would prompt us to many duties that now are forgot, and to a better way of doing duties, and yet keep us from being partakers of other men's sins. 18. Guard your hearts from a carnal disposition in speaking or hearing of the miscarriages of others, and let not that be all the matter of your discourse, howbeit it may be part ; but there is more edifying to be speaking of what is good. 19. I hear there is a rare work of grace begun of late in some, not far from you, in the borders of Northumberland. I judge it were for your advantage, if some of you, such as are able, went thither to be acquainted with them. Your friend, Henry Hall, would easily make your acquaintance ; their fire-edge might help to kindle up old sitten-up professors ; yea, if some of you, who are yet graceless, would go and see their way, ye might be smitten with that blessed disease.

I fear ye shall hardly read my hand, and yet it hath taken near by as many days to write as there are pages ; but it was not fitting to make use of any other's hand.

Let this letter be read to all of the parish who will be willing to hear it, and to any that are gone out of it, as Andrew Burkholme and Margaret Walker ; or any that used ordinarily to meet with us, as Mrs Eliot, Isabel Simpson, and such others. I know there is a great change since I left you, by the death of some, and coming in of others ; but I am sometimes refreshed to look over the roll of the parish as it was when I left you. Desire from me Mr Henry, and Mr William Erskine, or any other of that sort, to come now and then to visit and water you. I could wish that when ye hear of any honest merchant in Edinburgh, or any other coming hither, some of you would give them a particular account of both good and evil, to bring to me. I had a little account lately from John Totcha, that made me both joyful and sad. I shall write when any of my sons are to come over, that if they can they will come to you a day or two, and bring me information how it is with you. Now, as I can at this distance, I embrace you all, and all that used to join with us at our communions. I salute you all, I bless you all, I commend you all to God and the Word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. The rich and powerful grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all !—Thus wisheth your loving and lawful pastor,

JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

ROTTERDAM, 7th October 1671.

LETTER

FROM MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE TO A FRIEND.

DEAR FRIEND,¹—This being a dismal time, wherein great wrath hath justly come forth from the Lord against us, He is provoked to cover the daughter of our Zion with a cloud, and turn the day of the Gospel into a day of gloominess and darkness; wherein, alas! we have not only willingly left our guide, and left our way, but also are drowned in a deep swoon of spiritual slumber, like one fallen from a high place, and so damaged that he can neither clearly consider where he is or what is his duty. And I find strong convictions within my bosom of my great failing (because of deadness, and darkness, and carnal-mindedness) to proclaim and trumpet out the matchless love of Christ to sinners, and to woo the bosom of sinners into the bosom of his love. And O that my dozed and carnal heart were so inflamed, that it were kindling many friends with sparkles of his love! I do beseech you, in the bosom of his love, make it your study to be often trying and making sure the root of the matter is in you. If there be a failing in the root, the fruit will soon be rotten at the heart. Examine, “Give all diligence to make your calling and election sure.” O what strengthening cheerfulness is there to be found in feeding upon the meditation of his first espousals, when you and I were wallowing in our soul’s blood! O what inexpressible sweetness! to be often reading over the marriage-contract, and all the articles of the poor rich believer’s juncture, wherein, if there be a miss on our part (for there is none on his), there is time as yet to fill it up. Can ye tell me what a ripe cluster of the vine that groweth in glory’s land it is, to read over with the spectacles of faith all the promises, all the mercies? Such a promise is mine, and the blessing with it; such a mercy is mine, and the blessing with it; such a cross is mine, and the sweet kernal of the blessing under the sour slough that is without. But O! what is all this but the off-fallings and latter meat beside Himself? Himself the flower, the garland, the quintessence of glory! O to find, without a beguile, Himself subscribing by his Spirit upon my soul, I will betroth thee to myself, I will be thy God and husband; and He subscribing for me, Thou shalt be one of my chosen people; and my soul and all that is within me saying, Amen, amen; even so, come, Lord Jesus; even so, I take Him to be my married husband, my God, and my Lord. What remaineth, then, but I am my well-beloved’s and my well-beloved is mine? O to throng in and to eat greedily of this banquet of love! It is a wonder that the soul crieth not out, as once precious old

¹ Probably written after Charles II. was restored, and the persecution had commenced.

Mr Welsh did upon something the like, "Hold, Lord, enough; I can bear no more." O for a sweet fill of this fanatic humour!

Tell me, do ye desire (as I doubt not but ye do) to have eyes to see, hands to act, feet to walk, wings to flee, in all commanded duties? Here it is, be often trying, and making sure, and reading over the beginning and progress of his love to you, and of yours to Him. But in self-trial, it is good to have a special care that gifts come not in the balance with grace; for that is too gross a wither-weight. Lay by the painted case, when you weigh the jewel. O how hard is it to discern and judge, as, upon the one hand, how a precious spark of upright walk may be hid under the rubbish of a roughsome nature; so, on the other hand, how a sweet, soft, tender, natural temper, may prove but a glistering piece of the bastard rock! Yet it is long ago (I bless the Lord on your behalf) since I had hope, and now am very confident, that there is mutual and covenanted love between you and the Beloved. Weigh your receipt of all sorts, weigh it to a grain weight, deny nothing of it; (but O, to be denied to it!) and remember often, that ye must give account of your stewardship, and answer how ye have improven every penny of every talent ye enjoy. To whom much is given, of them much shall be required. When ye and I shall get any clear sight of our deservings, we will have cause (though the Lord hath sometimes hid his face) to close our song of praise thus, The Lord hath dealt bountifully with us. Yet I do beseech you, rest not satisfied with any length ye have attained to; sit not down, stand not still, but labour to grow in all the dimensions of an upright love, till ye come to the full stature, which will be when ye are transplanted to the Paradise beside the tree of life, upon the banks of the river of glory, that are at his right hand for evermore. Press forward aye till ye obtain the prize and crown. A Christian course is either ebbing or flowing. O! [how] do some strive to grow in riches, others to grow in court and honour! yea, the very wicked makes it his glory to grow in wickedness; only the backgone Christian is easily put off if he can keep life in the play.

And grow in the adorning grace of humility, which fitteth the back for every burden, and maketh the tree sickerest at the root, when it standeth upon the top of the windy hill. This is the true palm-tree that groweth the stateliest and strongest, when many weights are hung on it to bear it down. Look often upon your lesson, your copy, and your teacher, all in one: "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly." O how often have I resolved to be more humble, when the Lord hath preferred me to some favour! And yet, when the temptation came, my woful heart hath made that very favour a leaping-on stone for my pride to ride on horseback, that went a-foot before.

And I pray you, labour to be rich in the royal grace of believing. Ah,

how justly may Christ upbraid his passengers of this generation, "O ye of little faith!" And although possibly ye be not much sensible of pinching want here, and have not met with much brangling, yet gather and lay up much, for ye know not how soon the time of famine may come, that will eat out the remembrance of your plenty, and tempt you to say that ye but dreamed it. The fresh-water mariner is stout enough in fair weather. O, to believe in the dark and stormy midnight, that the sun will comfortably rise to-morrow! O, to win to trust in Him, when his hand thrusts me and my comforts through the heart! "They that know thee will put their trust in thee." How seasonable is that petition now, "Lord, increase our faith!"

And when the soul wins to the lively exercise of believing, O, but then there will be much loving! She loved much, because she believed much was forgiven her. When the believer wins to any clear discovery of the Beloved, he needs neither promises to allure, nor maranathas to curse him into the love of Christ. When the little bit of brittle glass is laid open, and looketh directly to the sun, "We all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." When faith findeth Christ, and getteth leave to embrace Him, then weak love hath strong arms to hold Him, and thinks not shame to wrestle Him home to his mother's house. And then when faith and love act on the soul, I do assure you it is like new wine working on the mother, that must have a vent of praises, or else be ready to burst at the broad side. Alas! for that capital crime of the Lord's people—barrenness in praises. O, how fully am I persuaded that a line of praises is worth a leaf of prayer, and an hour of praises is worth a day of fasting and mourning! Yet there is room enough for both. But O! what a massy piece of glory on earth is it to have praises looking as it were out at the eyes, praises written upon the forebrow; to have the very breath smelling of praises, to have praises engraven on the palms of the hands, and the impression of praises on every footstep of the walk—although this be that day (if ever) wherein the Lord calleth to mourning and fasting! And ah, alas! there be an answer written upon every room of chambering and wantonness, upon the doors of taverns, hostler houses, and market crosses—"They arose up to play." Sore carriages after the play! Yet I say, O how sweet and suitable is it to tune up the heart with the 101st Psalm—"I will sing of mercy and of judgment!" The most heavenly Christian is *most* in praises. And bless the Lord, I beseech you, who hath fitted you, and your worthy friends about you, in any measure to testify your praises in the practice of charity. O, what a rich favour is it to be admitted and made capable to refresh the hungry bowels, and clothe the naked loins of your precious Redeemer! Dear friend, you know some, when they crossed

Jordan, had no more but their staff to speak of, and are now blessed with a large portion of Jacob's inheritance, either in penny or pennyworth. O, there is nothing so sure to you, I can assure you, of all your enjoyments, as the bread that is casten on the waters! O, how sickerly is that laid up from the reach of the roughest hands! And O, what a rich income bringeth it in the end of the day!

Be much in secret wrestling. Ah! how much am I afraid that public professors, and private professors, and society professors, and kirk professors, and family professors, prove but painted sepulchres, for want of secret wrestling, which is indeed the best prevailing way, and most free of muddy ingredients. Aye trail the very deadened backdrawing heart before him, and resolve to let it die among his feet, if he will but strengthen it to wrestle. O! but the noble Advocate maketh it clear in heaven, that this, even this, is a valiant wrestling. And the more weakness there is in our performances, if there be sincerity, the more of strength is let forth for the making up of our wants. Blessed be the sinner's Second! And ye will hardly believe, but I hope ye know how soon a very drowsy sleeping Jacob is turned to a prevailing Israel—"I will not let thee go till thou bless me." Let the 2d verse of the first Psalm be made your heart's practice without a beguile. O, suck frequently and greedily the milk of the Word, that your soul may grow thereby: especially the book of the Psalms, that doth indeed contain a cure for every case ye can be trysted with; as also the gospel-prophet Isaiah, that proclaimeth the best news that ever was in heaven or the earth to lost sinners. But O! eat up and digest the precious history of his (Christ's) life and death, contained in the evangelists, till it turn (if I may so say) into flesh and blood to you. Come here and wonder, and believe the lively, living, yea, life-giving map of his matchless love. Remember to watch. Here is not only wild foxes, but also roaring lions, which are but emblems of the deccitful and desperately wicked heart. Labour to keep a spiritual frame in all your ways. What a sappy life were it to the merchant or the tradesman, when walking before his shop-door, or in the chamber at night, or riding out the way! Then the meditation of Him shall be sweet. And when the hand is busy in giving out and taking in, and writing up, then keep a great hank of the heart in heaven, "For our conversation is in heaven." Surely this would prove inexpressibly sweet and easy too, if we had passed our prënticeship in it.

Beware of the witch world, that will make a witch's hinder end. Ye know how inconsistent the love of the world is with the love of Christ. O how many do I see play the witless child that is like to break his neck to get the bird from the nest, and flattereth it a while, and it fluttereth on him a while, till it gets wings, and then hind goes it; or, at the best, like the butterfly that is hunted after and cloated on; but stay till the painted wings

of capacity to enjoy be plucked off, then the bonny butterfly is nothing but a gruesome worm, that is troublesome and a burden to the bairn.

Beware, I pray you, of predominants, these devils that cannot be cast out but by fasting and prayer. Alas! that it should be truly said, He is a good man, but he is very greedy; He is a Christian man, but exceeding proud. Lord, blot out the blotting *but* in the believer's testimonial. O, valiant conqueror: "I kept myself from mine iniquity." Forget not to set apart some times, or keep those that are set apart. If our precious King Josias be killed in his ordinances, in the power and purity of his gospel, it will becometh all his friends to be frequent in Zechariah's mournings. Here are, indeed, the most destructive arms against the adversary. O what matter of mourning and bitter lamentation, to see with those eyes of ours the slaughtering execution of that doleful threatening (John viii. 21). Alas! the glorious hedge is not only plucked up, and the carved work cut down, but also how many thousands of old ones rotting to dead in their ignorance, and none to cry them out of their dead-throws! and how many thousand young ones hasting, and root-growing in black nature and profanity, because there are none travailing in birth! Let me but in sobriety pose, without any spark of malice (I know in whose name I write it) those reverend stepfathers of the Kirk, under whose hands so many of the poor children perish, if they feed on or taste the venison of a converted soul to Christ among all their dainty dishes? Are they to be blamed for it? How can they or their under-hunters catch that which is not their proper prey? But all that have half an eye open know that this hath been always poor Scotland's plague of plagues, during the time of the prelates' dense reign, which will be most completely cured by praying, fasting, and mourning them down. And rest not alone herein. A threefold cord is not easily broken. "Where two or three are gathered together." That very *then* is now written upon all dispensations—"Then the Lord's people spake often one to another." I have known two or three make a society that has been instrumental in converting some, and confirming several. Strive for peace with all men in the Lord: I mean not if any shall break open doors, and banish out the married husband, defile the marriage bed, and abuse the children in a high degree, and then command the chaste but forced wife not only to cast the contract with her lawful husband in the fire, but also to subscribe all dutiful obedience to him. No, no, by your leave, Sir B., though ye were a lord of velvet, it is much, if not excessive condescendence, if she bid you go to doors in peace. I pray you be very peremptory in the Lord's strength to stick strictly to your resolutions and engagements. Vow and pay. Ah! how often have I observed my resolutions to flee high like an eagle, but my performances to creep laigh and slow like a snail!

Above all things, remember Zion; set to your seal and amen to the 5th

verse of the 137th Psalm. Alas! what pleasure can I take in ceiled houses, in soft beds, or dainty fare, while when I am walking alone, or lying down, or finding the sweet relish of meat and drink, I think I hear precious Zion begging at the door, all in rags, and her vail torn, mourning out her complaint, Remember me, remember me: defloured, defloured, and dare not so much as cry to testify my innocence, under highest pains. But when doors on earth are closest, then heaven's gates are widest open. Therefore, when ye are admitted to the banqueting-house, and his banner over you [is] love, when his left arm is under your head, and his right arm doth embrace you, then put up many love-suits for Zion. Let none take the noble crown of your profession from you, or mar it in the least; for the crown of truth is the crown of crowns. I am very sure there is none of the friends of Christ that step aside but they may hear the voice of their lovely King crying after them, will ye also leave me? How many have I seen that have ventured to loose but one buckle, that have found themselves upon a shooting brae or on an icy hill!

Buy the truth, and sell it not. Be encouraged; I assure you it is a downcoming market by hundreds and thousands, as I could easily clear, although the followers of Christ must prig and stand upon a hoof or an hairbreadth, for I know little difference betwixt pennies and pounds in selling any of the precious interests of Christ. I shall not take upon me to determine if there be anything indifferent; but I dare pawn mine immortal soul, that whoever has any spark of love to Christ, that keeps at greatest distance from the failings and fallings of the times, shall have greatest peace at the end of the day; an ounce weight then is worth a pound now. I will not force the faith of any to date the day of a delivery from that day of the deepest sufferings of many of the Lord's people; but I am sure enough that the strength and standing of some (I say nothing here either of king, court, or council) that very time received a fatal blow, that hath made their strength and standing to pine away from day to day till now. And though they should put off for many days, it will be their death at last. And although there may be much stickling to fix themselves, and bear down that which makes them groundlessly afraid, what if it be but among the throbs of their languishing and decaying cruelty? Is it not clear that a part of the Kirk of Christ hath been wrestling under a great fever, viz., Come, O physicians of value, consult and consider whether or not she hath gotten a kindly cool, much blood and much sweating, and though there may be a relapse, yet not unto death, not unto death?—whether the Lord, on a sudden will, in his own time, restore her wonted health, or let her dwine out of her disease; but after two days He will revive us, and we shall live in his sight. Though the vision tarry, yet wait for it; it shall not tarry. "O, come, let us return," &c. It is true, I fear a furnace seven times hotter—

many drawing in an inundation and deluge of a storm from some other quarter. Yet I do believe there will be some differencing marks (if it come) betwixt the chastisements of the godly and the judgments of the wicked. Yet I know nothing that will prevent it, but either the conditional offer of Sodom and Gomorrah, or that unparalleled preservative that followeth the 17th verse of the 57th of Isaiah. However, blessed, O blessed, is the man or woman that dwells in love : for he that dwells in love dwells in God. And believe it, his love needeth no epistle of commendation. Come, all Christians, and spread forth all your experiences and manifestations of his love, and declare all that you ever heard or read of it. There is yet an unfound world of his love. O angels that live among the treasure, tell the weight and measure of his love if you can. Take the stars of heaven to be your counters, add all the drops that are in the sea, the pickles of sand that are on the shore, and the piles of grass that are in the earth. Sit down (for ye cannot stand till ye are done) and sum up the count of his love. No, no, give it over, give it over—it cannot be summed. Men and angels may wonder themselves in the depth of it, but the depth of it cannot be believed to the full. “O the height and depth !” O friends, for Christ’s sake, wrestle yourselves into the royal banquet of his love. Eat and drink abundantly, and welcome. This stuffing holds out storm indeed. O strangers, come and taste. O incarnate devils (while ye are yet incarnate), come and taste. There is hope, there is hope. I do declare it, a tasting of it can make saints of devils. O pray much that faith may be to you the evidence of things not seen, which represents things past and to come as present. Suppose ye had seen Him tempted and carried here and there by the devil ; suppose ye had been with Him in the garden, or standing under the cross, and let the soul cry out, “What manner of love is this ?” When sinless nature did sinlessly scunner at the infinite ugsomeness¹ of the cup of wrath—“Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me,”—then, even then, love set all the wheels of desire on work to drink it out for sinners. “With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer.” He outstripped them all, when He was on his way, and set his foot upon the belly of Peter’s unkindly kindness, for He was in a marriage haste. Suppose He had been asked, Lord, what moveth thee so innocently to suffer all this ? He would have answered, Love, love—love to sinners. But is it for such a lost worm ? Such a man by name and surname ? Such a woman by name and surname ? Yes, yes, yes. When justice came with a direful stroke of infinite wrath to your poor soul and mine, the blessed Lord did interpose his blessed soul to receive the blow, and crieth, Justice, strike here ! pointing at his own heart : “By whose stripes we are healed.” O dear friend, wrap yourself, O wrap yourself, in this sea of salvation. Let men and devils swim after you to harm you, be not afraid, they cannot live in that ;

¹ An old English word for *ugliness*.—Ed.

that is not their element. O be conquered and led captive by this love. Let it be your delight to be love's prisoners, that so ye may attain the most noble freedom in heaven or in earth. I say no more, but (with what good-will my poor heart can reach to) I do seriously, in the bowels of Christ, beseech you, yea, I do obtest you before God, by all the bands of his love to you, and all the bands of your obligations to Him, by your appearing before Him in the great day, and by your eternal enjoying of Himself in glory, that ye labour to be much in his love, and lay yourself much out for his love. And the good-will of Him that dwelt in the bush ; the grace, mercy, and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest upon you, your family, and all the honest friends of Christ acquainted, or unacquainted, about you.

JO. LIVINGSTONE.

LETTER

FROM MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE, WITHOUT DATE.

Grace and mercy be multiplied on you from the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord, and upon all the fainting, trembling-hearted sons and daughters of Zion, who have resolved to hang their harps upon the willows, till the Lord bring back your captivity as the streams of the south. Blessed are all those that wait upon Him. He is bringing his people into a non-such strait, which will only make way for giving proof of his sovereignty over the hearts of his people, in the curing of their distempers ; for as He has evidenced that He has seen his people's way, and is displeas'd therewith, so also will He heal the same, and restore straight paths for his people to walk in, and will in his mercy and pity hear [bear?] them, and redeem them as in the days of old, that so the enemy shall not always have liberty to make their mouth wide in blaspheming. Our storm is like to be sharp, and swell so that it will try the footing of all ; yet am I hopeful in the Lord, that He is but about the laying of a fair foundation for more presently making up the new building, and is but laying a fair pavement for the chariot-wheels of his Gospel, to run more swiftly and gloriously upon, with less difficulty than ever heretofore ; and I think I may apply that word in Numbers 23d, of Balaam's time—it shall be said concerning the people of God in these lands—" O, what hath God wrought ! " It shall bring matter of admiration to all that hear of the great works of God anent his truths, and the deliveries of his people, and blessed shall they be who shall come cleanly through the present trial. Our fathers have not seen such glorious days of life from the dead, as some of this generation shall see. Our fathers digged the well, by supplications and wrestlings ; and their children shall drink of the sweet refreshing springs of bright, clear, running salvation. When I

think upon the glorious, lightsome days the people of God shall have a little hence, it is matter of astonishing admiration to me—I cannot word my thoughts of it. I think I see them altogether as one amazed people, drunk with astonishment through the goodness of the Lord. I think the matter of joy shall be so ravishingly astonishing, as many of the choice people of God, who have gotten grace formerly to believe that they have a right to the joys of heaven, shall question whether they have a right to partake of such unspeakable consolation, wherewith the friends of Zion shall then be filled. So astonishing shall it be, it shall be a thing that hath not been told, and shall hardly enough be believed when seen; so that the people of God shall be as in the 126th Psalm. When the Lord turned their captivity, they wondered whether it could be true that they found, or if they were but laughing in their sleeve.

I add this, that the people of God shall meet with that (Isa. lxii.). Howbeit darkness shall cover the earth, yet the Lord will arise for his poor, contemned, covenanted party in these lands, and their afflictors shall be made to acknowledge them to be the only godly party, whom now they call hypocrites and treasonable persons, when his people have bidden the furnace, as in Dan. iii. 28, that the heathen king must cry out, “Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in Him, and hath changed the king’s word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god except their own God.” And as Daniel was delivered out of the lion’s [den], his God is magnified. Yea, I will adventure to say this, that the light shall go out from covenanted and married Zion, and shall shine on this kingdom now in darkness, as it is said (Isa. lx.), Kings shall come at the brightness of thy rising; they shall gather themselves together, and come in bands and brigades: so that then the people of God shall [gather] together as astonished at his mercy; their hearts shall fear and be enlarged. I add this more, that our banished shall be brought back, and shall abide as married. (See Isa. lxii. &c.) Yea, further, I will adventure upon the Lord’s hand to say this also, that foreign nations shall make diligent inquiry for Zion’s banished and scattered friends, that they may send them honourably home; and this they shall do to insinuate in Zion’s favour, so great esteem shall be had of Zion’s favour that day. I will further say, that many abroad shall be blithe to come and join with us in building of the Lord’s work of reformation. O Zion, weary not of thy life, but desire to outlive the storm, that thou mayest see that blessed peace upon Israel; and blessed shall they be that shall win cleanly through this storm.

SAYINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

OF MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE, LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT ANCRUM,
COLLECTED FROM HIS OWN MANUSCRIPT ; TO WHICH ARE ADDED
REMARKS AT TWO COMMUNIONS, DECEMBER 1634.

Every bowing of the knee is not an honouring of Christ (Matt. xxvii. 29) ; so many when they think they are praying are but mocking Christ.

It is the want of love makes me in company condescend to worldly and idle conference, and not behave myself as a servant of Christ.

Christ's human nature, that before his passion was a veil to obscure his Godhead, is now as a transparent lantern of glass where through we may see his Godhead.

Christ in dying went to meet death, whereas death meets us.

A soul that loves Christ will be homelier with Him than with any else ; so that it will speak to him that which, if they said to any other, they might perhaps accuse as treason.

When one is under defection, if he be not so much the more careful to use the means, but become careless, it may be he shall fall into a dangerous sin ; for the Lord deserts to try us, to see if we will stick to Him.

The Lord will let his own sometimes fall into those sins they most fear and loathe, because that when He gives grace and strength to abstain from these, they do not so well mark and mourn for other sins.

*Quodcunque legas, sit semper Scriptura Sacra opsonium.*¹

When the mind is full of light, the heart is full of love, and the conscience full of peace.

I am persuaded if it were possible that I could go to hell, yet Christ would come to it to seek me, and rake the coals of it to get me out.—Mr Robert Ham[ilton].

After prayer, I am to look back and recapitulate what petitions God hath put in my mouth, and these I am to account as blessings promised, and to look for the performance.

Finding myself, as I thought, sorely deserted and somewhat hardly dealt with in my particular state, I made a promise to God not to tell it to any but to Himself, lest I should seem to complain or foster misbelief in myself or others.

It would seem, concerning conformity urged, or any part of it, that embracing thereof is an obeying of human devices in God's worship, imposed and urged by those who have no authority from Christ, but rather from

¹ Whatever you read, let Holy Scripture be always your daily food.

Antichrist; which obedience, since it is transgressing of a negative precept, may in no sort be yielded to; whereas in some sort, and in some cases and some circumstances, that which is bidden in an affirmative precept may be left undone.

Whence comes it that one and the self-same thought coming in the mind at one time is not much regarded, or does not satisfy the mind; whereas at another time, perhaps either before or after, it is very pregnant and pleasant, and of singular good use? It is because at one time the thought comes only alone, not backed with clearness and proving, and with the society of other thoughts that are annexed with it as at other times; or because at one time it is only represented to the mind by our natural spirit, and not also by God's Spirit, as at other times; or because it is objected [presented] to the understanding when it is not in good case to consider of it, as at other times; or may it not also be said that when the understanding is in best case it is not so easily satisfied with any thought, but always seeking somewhat more eminent?

We that are defiled with so great pollution, is it not a wonder that our words in prayer, which almost die in the coming out of our lips, should speil [speed] so well, and climb so well or high, as to go into heaven to bring us back an answer?—Mr Robert Blair.

I care not to be always in bonds and grief in secret, if the yoke be taken off when I go forth to God's work in public. If it were given to my option, the Lord knows I would rather, if it were possible, live a godly life to honour God, and thereafter go to hell, than live to the dishonour of God, although with assurance to go to heaven in end.

If an evil nature and great abuse of grace be reason to make me to distrust God, I am sure I have more reason than any in all the world; and yet although both were double to what they are, even thus as I am now (that is, without any presence of God to my feeling), I think I would be very sorry to dishonour God that far, even albeit it were profitable or pleasant to me so to do, as any may know it is not.

Satan strikes aye either at the root of faith or at the root of diligence, either to discourage from good, or to entice to evil.

A proud person thinks, though he dare not say it, that amends may be made to God, but not so soon to himself.

What means it that both the furniture for the tabernacle most part was that which was got of the Egyptians (Exod. xii.), and the provision for the temple was got from the Syrians? (1 Chron. xviii.)

Increase of love to Christ were a good preparation to me for the communion. Neglecting of fasting and humiliation in secret makes me, when a public occasion of that comes, to find myself exceedingly unable. I am in danger either to take too great a list of the work of the ensuing communion

in a fainting, faithless manner, or else to go too light under it. Many a time I find great heaviness in the Lord's service, yet I think I love it not the worse for that ; for it is an easy hell to be weighted with the burden of the Lord, and if but once in the year there should come liberty, it were enough ; and yet I can hardly say but once a day I get some enlargement. But the consideration of my guiltiness may make me take desertion in good part. Sometimes when to my sense I am wonderfully deserted, the Lord says to me, " Be not offended at this my dealing, and you shall the sooner get better." The Lord keep me that I be not writing a lie now, for Satan says that this is a lie. Lord, I desire no more health or strength of body, or strength in my soul, than to do thy service ; and seeing I hope to get that, I am content not to have a grain more for my own case or any other use.

Infrequency in meditation makes meditation very uneasy ; but if I could get my mind in use, and keep it so some while, I know I could find it very readily, and find it grow on my hand.

This necessity that comes upon me (and hath always hitherto been) of being much abroad, although some may find it very profitable for others, yet by it I find for myself my mind goes more out of frame than when I stay at home. Company of God's children refreshes indeed ; and seeing I go when I have the Lord's call to it, it is not my going that has the wite,¹ but my miscarrying mind. This sore travail hath the Lord given to men under the sun. O then, well they that are above it ; yea, well they that shall be above it—of whom I hope I am one.

It is good, when we think ourselves in an evil state, to be seeking out if anything in the soul be in good case, and cherish that, and praise God for it ; for sometimes when I think myself as empty as ever I was, yet, it may be the morrow after, I shall think myself more empty, and then begin to look if anything be right, and bless God for it, whereas I did not so before.

REMARKS

ON PREACHING AND PRAYING IN PUBLIC, BY MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

It is most probable that no gift, no pains, a man takes to fit himself for preaching, shall ever do good to the people or himself, except a man labour to have and keep his heart in a spiritual condition before God, depending on him always for furniture and the blessing. Earnest faith and prayer, a single aim at the glory of God and good of people, a sanctified heart and carriage, shall avail much for right preaching. There is sometimes somewhat in preaching that cannot be ascribed either to the matter or expression, and cannot be described what it is, or from whence it cometh, but with a

¹ An o'd English word for *blame*. — F. D.

sweet violence it pierceth into the heart and affections, and comes immediately from the Lord. But if there be any way to attain to any such thing, it is by a heavenly disposition of the speaker. A man would [should] especially read the writings, and labour to follow the gifts of those whom God hath, in the most eminent manner, blessed with the converting and confirming of their hearers, rather than those who seem to have rare gifts for learning and delectation, without such success.

It is very needful that a man prudently discern what is the nature and extent of the gift that God hath given him, that in offering to imitate others, he does not stretch beyond his own line, but only correct the defects of his own gift; and what is good therein, labour to improve and exalt that.

It is very fitting that a man have plenty and choice of words, that as need requires, he may vary his expression; and sometimes the enforcing of the same thing with diverse words to the same purpose hath its own use, especially to a dull auditory; and so we find, that often in the Prophets and Psalms, and poetic Scriptures, the same thing will be twice expressed, only in different words. But a custom of multiplying synonymous words and epithets, and sentences to the same purpose, is very unsavoury to an understanding hearer, that seeks matter and not words, and would feign to proceed from scarcity of matter, and a desire to fill the hour any way.

The light of nature, which is a spark of the will of God, hath taught many useful rules, even to Pagans, anent the right way of making solemn speeches before others, the most of which are to be applied to preaching with due discretion; so that what is thought unseemly in the one is to be avoided in the other. But the best rules are taken from the preachings of Christ, of the apostles and prophets.

DIRECTIONS, MISCARRIAGES, AND EXTREMITIES IN PREACHING.

I. *For Matter.*

1. A mediocrity should be kept, that there be not too much matter in one sermon, which but overburdeneth the memory of the hearers, and would seem to smell of ostentation; and, on the other hand, that there be not too little, which hungers the auditory, and argues an empty gift.

2. The matter would [should] not be too exquisite and fine, with abstruse learning and quaint notions, which go beyond the capacity of the vulgar, and also savoureth of ostentation; nor yet too common, and such as most of the auditory might themselves devise, for it procures careless hearing, and despising of the gift.

Moreover, these faults would [should] be shunned:

1. Too many particular points reckoned, as 8, 10, &c., loads memory, and too few is flat.

2. Too exquisite method, and none almost at all.
3. Too much should not be left to assistance in the time, and yet not all premeditated.
4. Ordinarily go not beyond the hour.
5. Not too much Scripture cited, nor too little.
6. Not to insist long in proving clear doctrines.
7. Not too few doctrines, nor too many.
8. Not to insist on points that may be spoken to on any text.
9. Neither too many similitudes, nor none at all.

II. *Words.*

1. Not too fine, nor too common.
2. Avoid many synonymous words and sentences.

III. *Utterance and Voice.*

1. Not like singing.
2. Not long-drawn words.
3. Not affect at a weeping-like voice.
4. Not too loud, nor too low.
5. Not to speak too fast, or too slow.
6. Not to interrupt with oft sighing.

OBSERVATIONS

BY MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE, PREVIOUS TO HIS DEATH.

Upon August 19, when some of his friends occasionally were together to visit him, he was desired by his wife to speak something to them.

“There is,” said he, “a vanity in speaking, and desiring to hear : but He needs no testimony from men ; yet if my poor testimony could signify anything, it is good my common to give it Him, for He hath made good his Word to me in all things.

“The Lord was pleased to take me when I was young, and to keep me on his side ; for, when I was at the College of Glasgow, He engaged me in an opposition to kneeling at the communion.

“The first acquaintance ever I had were Christian acquaintance, as the tutor of Bonitoun, and my Lady Kenmure, who is the oldest acquaintance I have now alive in Scotland.

“When I was called to Ireland, I was joined with some worthy men there whose books I was not worthy to bear.

“And,” after a pause (for he was not able to speak much together), looking

towards his friends, he said with an emphatic sweetness, "Carry my commendations to Him (meaning Jesus Christ), till I come there myself, and bring them."

After this Jacob-like pause, he added, "I die in the faith that the truths of God which He hath helped the Church of Scotland to own, shall be owned by Him as truths so long as sun and moon endure. I hate Independency, though there be good men among them, and some well-meaning people favour it; yet it will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware: for they vanish into vain opinions.

"I have had my own faults, as other men; but He made me always to abhor shows.

"I have, I know, given offence to many through my slackness and negligence; but I forgive, and desire to be forgiven.

"I cannot say much of great services; yet if ever my heart was lifted up, it was in preaching of Jesus Christ.

"There is a cloud—I would not have people foretasting the worst, yet there is a great storm coming; but I hope it shall not bide long.

"I have not much to do now with creatures; I have ordered my cause, and He knoweth my words which I uttered before Him at Mizpeh."

Speaking something of his special friends in the south, he mentioned particularly these two ladies, the Lady Mertoun and the Lady Riddell, who, he said, had been very useful to him and his family.

His wife perceiving him not able to speak more at [that] time, and apprehending what followed, desired him to take his leave of his friends. "I regret not," said he, with an affectionate tenderness; "and it is like our parting will be but for a short time."

III.

THE RACES.

THE RACES.

INTRODUCTION.

It can hardly be expected that a discussion on the practice of horse-racing, conducted on moral and religious grounds, will excite any general interest, or be regarded with favour by almost any class of the community. This fashionable amusement has been of long standing, and widely prevalent. It has been associated with ideas of heroism, military glory, and public utility ; while those who patronize it are of that privileged class in society, that the voice of friendly counsel or remonstrance can rarely reach them. Their amusements, though of doubtful morality, and frequently followed by mischievous consequences, are, forsooth, to be judged of by a different rule from that which is to be applied to the occupations of persons of inferior rank ; and to hint, in the least, at their impropriety, or to expose their opposition to the requirements of the Divine law, is likely to be regarded as unwarrantable and presumptuous interference.

On the other hand, the friends of religion and morality appear to shrink from the attempt to expose the manifold evils of the race-course, either from undue apathy on the subject, or from the apprehension that expostulation or argument would be addressed in vain to those who resort to it. Serious persons, and professors of religion, see horse-racing so generally practised, and are so accustomed to meet with accounts of the accidents, successes, and reverses of the races, that they lose something of just abhorrence of the moral evils connected with them, and unconsciously catch something of the contagious indifference. The pulpit and the press, those powerful reformers, are in a great measure silent in relation to this practice. A portion of the public press either advocates this system of cruelty, or records the races in such terms as evidently indicates its approval of their continuance. While the evils of the stage, of public lotteries, and of some other kinds of gambling, have

been exhibited and denounced by the ministers of religion, and in publications of various kinds, it is an observable and significant fact, that scarcely a warning voice is uttered in the sanctuary against an amusement which leads to gambling and dissipation of the worst kind, and is fraught with ruin to the fortunes, morals, and souls of thousands. Beyond a few tracts prepared and circulated by ardent philanthropists, almost nothing has been published in condemnation of a usage as injurious to those who countenance and uphold it, as to the best interests of society in general. To maintain the exciting and fashionable dissipation, a variety of appliances are employed, all well adapted to secure the object. The yearly "Calendar," the embellished weekly serial, the lively description, and the attractive fictitious narrative, are called into requisition to set off the pleasures of the "turf" in the most engaging manner, and to recommend them to thoughtless youth; while the newspaper entering families, and describing the multitudes that assemble on the race-ground, the vigour of the competition, the glories of the scene, and the prizes won, without giving the least hint of the demoralizing tendency of the race, tends powerfully to attract—some from the love of novelty, and others from worse motives—to join in the giddy amusement. While this is going forward from year to year, and the allurements to prevailing vice is held out in almost all parts of the kingdom, and to all classes of society; while noble and royal patronage is extended to horse-racing, it is certainly strange and melancholy that, on the part of Christians who are alive to the interests of religion and pure morality, there is no vigorous and sustained attempt to grapple with an evil of great magnitude, and no employment of sanctified talent to exhibit its intrinsic immorality and disastrous consequences.

The time is certainly come when, if, as we allege and hold ourselves bound to prove, there are gross abuses and demoralizing practices inseparable from horse-racing, it is fit that these evils should be fully exposed, and that purified public sentiment should be directed to put an end to the practice which produces them. Reform—social, political, and sanitary—is the watchword of the day, and in its onward progress the last remnants of *Feudalism* are destined ere long to disappear. Retrenchment of all useless expenditure will not only be demanded, but exacted; and the imaginary rights of no privileged class will be suffered to interfere with the public benefit. Christian men must no longer shrink from the performance of a plain duty in

this matter, under the vain apprehension that their exertions will be unavailing. They must bring their Christianity to bear upon the amusements and fashionable practices of the day, equally as upon its ungodly principles, and upon unjust laws and customs, though of long standing. The abolition of the slave trade and of slavery was effected by the vigorous and persevering efforts of noble-minded philanthropists ; and the awakened conscience of a Christian people, and the generous sacrifice of *twenty millions* of pounds out of the public treasury, testified the earnest desire of Britain to wipe away the last foul stain of the accursed system from the national escutcheon. The measures proposed for the termination of slavery were at first vehemently denounced by those whose vested rights were interfered with, and were ultimately carried, on the principle of establishing what humanity and justice equally demanded, whatever should become of private or class interests. The temperance reform has been promoted by those who felt that society required to be freed from drinking customs, though some engaged in the traffic might complain ; and legislation on railway extension, on restriction of labour in factories, and on the food of the people, has interfered with long-prevalent usages and private rights, in order not only to relieve the community, but also, in the end, to benefit those very classes which were most adverse to the change.

Were Christians, and especially the ministers of religion of all denominations, to lift up their voices against the gigantic evils of the race-course, and show that they were manfully resolved to prevent the mischievous consequences to thousands of unwary youth, and to society in general, there is every reason to believe that ere long the practice would cease to exist, and would only be recorded in history as a departed relic of a barbarous age. The nation, or its legislators, surely can have no interest in upholding, either by grants of public money or by example, what is detrimental to public virtue. Many persons of rank and influence, who have hitherto countenanced the races, only require to have the numerous evils connected with them clearly shown, and the baleful effects of their own example in upholding them pointed out ; and we are persuaded they will readily listen to the voice of Christian remonstrance, and abandon a practice which is frequently as ruinous to those who follow it, and to their families, as it is offensive to Christian morality. We are acquainted with one instance in which two excellent individuals, when elected to seats in the legislature,

at the request of a number of the electors of known Christian principle, at once applied the donation which they had formerly given for a cup at the county races, to support a Christian charity, declaring that this was as gratifying to their own feelings as it was honourable to those who demanded it.¹ Other public men, not a few, we are convinced, will readily imitate this good example, whenever the voice of Christian men and ministers will more loudly and generally make a similar demand. And why may we not hope that the day is not distant when legislators, in their place in Parliament, shall insist that public funds shall no longer be appropriated to support a practice which is justly chargeable with cruelty to the noblest of animals, not unfrequently the cause of the loss of human life, and most injurious to the morals of thousands? And why should the name of our beloved Queen—a Christian lady, adorned with every private and domestic virtue—and that of her excellent Consort—be any longer associated with an institution which is abhorrent to Christian principle, and which occasions the prodigality, beggary, and ruin of thousands—individuals and families—both in the higher and lower ranks of society?

¹ The case here alluded to is that of Sir Robert Bateson, Bart., and Captain Jones, when elected members of Parliament for the County of Londonderry. An esteemed friend (Lieut. Calder, R.N.) has supplied to us the following gratifying account of a similar instance of a distinguished public man refusing to countenance races:—Some years since, the celebrated T. B. Macaulay, Esq., member of Parliament for Edinburgh, declined subscribing to support races in the neighbourhood of that city, which had always been done by his predecessors in office. On this occasion, he publicly stated to this effect: That it would be unworthy of him to hold his seat for such a city as Edinburgh, and as a public man countenance the practice of racing; and as he disapproved wholly of the system, he declined giving his own personal assistance in the case.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HORSE-RACING—ARGUMENTS IN ITS FAVOUR.

THE horse has been justly regarded, in all countries where he is known, as the most serviceable of animals, as the swiftest that has been brought under the dominion of man, and as possessed of many generous and noble qualities. While it may be impossible, at this distance of time, to determine what is the native country of the horse, it is a singular instance of the beneficence of Providence, in anticipating man's wants and providing for their supply, that the species is so extensively distributed over the earth, and that this most useful animal is found, of various forms and sizes, in almost every region, both of the Old and New World. Different nations, from the earliest ages, have sought renown for the species of horses peculiar to them. All pains were employed to improve the breed, and to develop to the utmost the valuable qualities of the animal; while poets, orators, and eminent writers, have acquired fame by their lively descriptions of the horse—his qualities, habits, and employments. In all languages, similes expressive of high moral characteristics have been taken from the horse, while some of the most beautiful descriptions of poetry have been employed on the same subject. The inspired description of the war-horse in the book of Job (chap. xxxix. 19-25), picturesque, magnificent, and strikingly truthful, has been universally and deservedly admired:—

“ Hast thou given the horse strength?
Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?
Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper?
The glory of his nostrils is terrible.
He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength;
He goeth on to meet the armed men.
He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted;
Neither turneth he back from the sword.
The quiver rattleth against him,
The glittering sword and the shield.

He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage ;
 Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.
 He saith among the trumpets, Ha ! ha !
 And he smelleth the battle afar off,
 The thunder of the captains and the shouting."

Compared with this inspired description, so simple, expressive, and yet poetical, the splendid attempts of the immortal Greek and Roman epic bards are greatly inferior. The one is the passage in the sixth book of the *Iliad*, relating to the return of Paris with Hector to the battle of Troy :—

" Ως ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ Φάτνῃ." ¹
 &c., &c., &c., &c.

And the other is in the eleventh book of *Aeneid*, where Turnus, coming forth fully accoutred for the fight, is compared to the horse that has just broken loose from the stall :—

"Qualis ubi abruptis fugit præsepia vinclis." ²
 &c., &c., &c., &c.

We have evidence from archæology and ancient history, that the horse was employed from an early period in warfare. At the period of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt (B.C. 1491), we are expressly told in the sacred narrative, that Pharaoh pursued the Israelites with "six hundred chosen chariots, and with all the chariots of Egypt;" and we know from Egyptian paintings, and the recently-disinterred monuments of Nineveh, as well as from the *Iliad* of Homer, that horses were extensively used in

¹ "The wanton courser thus, with reins unbound,
 Breaks from his stall, and beats the trembling ground ;
 Pamper'd and proud, he seeks the wonted tides,
 And laves, in height of blood, his shining sides ;
 His head, now freed, he tosses to the skies ;
 His mane dishevell'd o'er his shoulder flies ;
 He snuffs the females in the distant plain,
 And springs, exulting, to his fields again."

Pope's *Iliad*, b. vi.

² "Freed from his keepers, thus, with broken reins,
 The wanton courser prances o'er the plains,
 Or in the pride of youth o'erleaps the mounds,
 And snuffs the females in forbidden grounds ;
 Or seeks his wat'ring in the well-known flood,
 To quench his thirst, and cool his fiery blood ;
 He swims luxuriant in the liquid plain,
 And o'er his shoulder flows his waving mane :
 He neighs, he snorts, he bears his head on high ;
 Before his ample chest the frothy waters fly."

Dryden's *Virgil*, b. xi ; l. 743-753.

the ancient war-chariots, and were carefully trained for this purpose. It does not appear that much corresponding to our modern *cavalry*, in which the soldier is mounted on horseback, was known in ancient military tactics ; at least, few records have been transmitted to us of such a practice. The most usual manner of employing horses in war among ancient nations, was in connection with the chariot, in which one or two persons rode ; and the training required for this purpose was less a trial of speed, than that the horses might readily obey the reins, and make quick evolutions, according to the will of the charioteer. In the Olympic games, horsemanship was first formally introduced as a part of the national amusements. In the 33d *Olympiad*, we find a race of full-aged horses ; in the 71st, the race for mares, called the *Calpé*, resembling what is termed the "Oak Stakes" at Epsom, was instituted ; while in the 131st *Olympiad*, the race of *πῦλος κέλης*, or *under-aged horses*, was established.¹ The practice of horse-racing was afterwards adopted at others of the Grecian games, and extended to other countries. It seems not unlikely that a design to improve the breed of horses, for which certain districts of Greece were early famed, served partly to introduce this practice ; while it is undeniable that many of the ancient games, though instituted and observed in a barbarous age, and among a comparatively uncivilized people, were much less injurious to public morals than similar amusements in modern times, and among communities boasting of civilization and refinement. As the theatrical amusements of Greece were at first simple, and not hostile to public morality, but became afterwards polluting, according as the scenic representations were improved ; and as the modern stage, notwithstanding the praises of its admirers, has proved a fertile source of corruption to thousands, so horse-racing in Christian countries, and amidst boasted refinement, has been associated with increasing immorality and vice.

If *antiquity* is sometimes pleaded in favour of horse-racing, it deserves to be remarked, that it originated among rude and pagan nations ; and that when we refer to its history in modern times, and in these countries, we find the practice most followed at periods noted for laxity of public morals, and distinguished for national disgrace and degradation. The times of Charles II., characterized by unbridled licentiousness, were the era of the extension of racing in England ; and the monarch, who passed his days in ignoble pleasures, and went to his account

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xi., art. Horsemanship.

from a scene of gross Sabbath-breaking, was the patron of the turf in his day,—occupation befitting one who trampled under foot the rights of his subjects, and who, with his infamous court, did all that was in his power to banish serious religion out of the land, and to pour over it a flood of disgusting immorality.¹ In subsequent times, the race-course has been most frequented and encouraged by princes and others in high station, whose lives generally were examples of everything but what was becoming and praiseworthy. Idleness, dissipation, gambling, and thoughtless extravagance have been, for the most part, the prominent characteristics of those who have been renowned at the turf, or been famed for the breeding and possession of a superior racing stud. If horse-racing, therefore, is advocated on the ground of its antiquity, we are willing to admit that it is an ancient usage ; but its chief promoters, in all ages, have been those who have been little concerned about public virtue, the devotees of pleasure, the careless, and the irreligious. Antiquity of itself cannot be taken as a commendation of a practice. Error may plead an origin in our world almost as ancient as truth ; and customs of long-standing, and that are even sanctioned by extensive popular favour, when tried by any correct standard of morality, are found to be offensive and deleterious.

Secondly. The practice of horse-racing has been pleaded for as *necessary to improve the breed of horses* ; and it is even argued that some species of the horse are of *such a physical conformation as to be unfit for any other employment*.² We are willing to admit that the lower animals may be greatly improved in their habits by careful training, and that there is nothing in itself wrong in developing their powers and capabilities to the utmost. With a generous, noble-spirited creature like the horse, training will generally be successful. The fiery nature will be tamed, the animal rendered subservient to the will of

¹ The character of Charles II. has been ably sketched by Charles James Fox, in his masterly *History of James the Second* ; and Macaulay has presented a graphic account of the melancholy end of the "Merry Monarch." Neither of these writers can be blamed for puritanical sentiments, nor for having any cordial sympathy with the principles of the victims of oppression under this inglorious reign.

² In a sermon preached some years ago in Belfast, on the evils of horse-racing, by the Rev. Josias Wilson, the late lamented minister of River Terrace, London, when meeting the argument in favour of races, as best improving the breed of horses, he shrewdly remarked—"We do not find that boat-races are kept up to improve the breed of boats ; in both cases gambling is the great incentive."

his owner, facilities acquired for the employments to which he is destined, and his powers drawn forth to a wonderful degree of perfection. Especially in docility and swiftness, and in sustained exertion, may the horse be brought greatly to excel other animals whose physical organization is even better adapted for displaying some of these qualities, and to surpass every competitor. But while this is readily admitted—and it is granted that the full development of the fine qualities of the horse, the effect of careful training, cannot be viewed without admiration—this will not prove that horse-racing is the best method of training, nor that even were it better than some others, we should countenance or approve of the practice. The breed may be improved, and the good qualities of the horse developed, without having recourse to the race-ground; and there are many useful purposes to which the energies of the animal may be applied, by which gambling, drunkenness, prodigality, and the other countless evils which accompany the races may be avoided. Besides, the race is regarded not simply as a *means of training*, but as an *employment* to which horses previously trained are to be devoted. Many animals that might have been otherwise usefully employed for a length of time, are by the race speedily disabled; and of the others, few are afterwards fit for any other purpose.

It is certainly an extravagant inference that horses that are slender in make, and fleet of foot, are not fit for any other business. Even in these days of locomotives and railways, the horse, distinguished for agility, gentleness, and ardent spirit, may be most useful for travelling on business, and for exercise to promote health, or pleasure; and were racing to be entirely given up, the same training would be required; and the horses that are now sacrificed to a frivolous and mischievous amusement, would be engaged for more valuable and rational purposes. That one peculiar species of the horse is by nature designed for the race, and is unfit for any other pursuit, is a mere gratuitous assertion. If it has any proper meaning, it must be that the Creator designed the establishment of races, and that He formed an order of creatures solely for this purpose. The absurdity and blasphemy of such an assumption need not be declared. The Creator's works are all perfect in their kind, and subserve the purposes of infinite wisdom and moral goodness. The lower animals were created for man's use, and he was constituted their natural guardian and protector. To abuse them for his own pleasure, and to

employ them to propagate evils which are directly opposed to the moral nature of God, and which are condemned in his Word, is man's sin, for the commission of which he is justly held responsible. Creation groans because it has been enslaved and degraded by man in rebellion against his Maker and Sovereign. The lower creatures have been perverted and abused, and made to subserve sinful purposes, by man, who ought to have been their benefactor, but who is frequently their tyrant and oppressor. The holy and benevolent Creator can never be, in any sense, the author of sin, nor can He approve of, or connive at such a use of the creatures He has made as would lead to the perpetration of wickedness. He hears the *groans* and *travailing* together of the creatures. He takes the condescending title of the "Preserver of man and beast;" and when He had terminated the reign of sin in the world, the creature, for a time made "subject to vanity," shall be delivered from "the bondage of corruption," and introduced into "the liberty of the sons of God."¹

Lastly. Horse-racing has been advocated *as a necessary amusement* for persons of different classes in society—the rich and poor, the high and the low. We may fully grant that recreation is requisite for the working-classes, and that persons in the higher ranks may indulge to some extent in rational and pleasurable amusement. But this admission will not avail in favour of horse-racing. With the rich, the practice frequently leads to dissipation, extravagant expenditure, and prodigality. Among the lower classes that frequent the race-ground, it generates a love for sensual indulgences, produces idleness, stimulates dangerous and destructive passions, and leads to vice of every kind. Recreations and amusements that are worthy of immortal, accountable beings, enlarge the intellect and promote bodily health and mental purity. While they are guarded and restrained by a due regard to the authority of God, who established the laws of nature, and who clearly announces his will in his Word, they do injury to no human being, either in body or in mind, or in outward estate. They are always consistent with the "first and great command"—to love God supremely, and to love our neighbour as ourselves. Those amusements, on the other hand, which peril one's own

¹ The reference here is to the sublime and beautiful passage in Romans viii. 19-22, which, whatever else it inculcates, certainly teaches that the lower creation, at a future period, shall not be perverted for sinful and unworthy purposes, and shall be delivered from oppression.

peace and safety, and which inflict injury on others—those which plainly violate Gods laws, and which are inseparably associated with sinful courses, are evil, and no plea of necessity can be sustained on their behalf. The higher ranks must not think themselves privileged to trample down important moral distinctions, as the poor are not at liberty to employ their leisure or times of recreation, so as to do injury to themselves or others. The rich can command many sources of pleasure which are rational and befitting, and can resort to amusements and recreations which have no mischievous tendency like the race-course. Some of this class—and, we rejoice to think, a number large and increasing—appear to be duly sensible of the responsibility connected with their station in society, abstain from whatever would have an evil influence upon others, and practise all that is pure and lovely, and of good report. For the poor and the sons of toil, we plead the relaxation of oppressive labour; we urge that recreation shall be allowed them; and we earnestly claim for them the improvement of their dwellings, a plentiful supply of wholesome food, and whatever else can alleviate their burdens, and make their outward condition comfortable. But while doing so, we decidedly object against the race-course, as a place from which they can derive no improvement, either of body or mind, and from which, in all ordinary cases, they will carry away immense injury. The excitement of the scene tends to unsettle the mind, and to stimulate base passions. The company they associate with, the cruelties to men and animals which they must occasionally witness, the low indulgences and degrading vices with which they come in contact, all tend to ruin the character and destroy the souls and bodies of the working-classes of society. None have returned from the race-course improved as rational and immortal beings, few free of the taint of evil practices and habits, to pursue honest industry and cultivate virtue with keener relish, few to bless domestic society—to be better husbands, parents, or children. On the contrary, thousands may lay to the account of the races the ruin of their virtue, the loss of their character and reputation, and the vortex of evils into which they were rapidly drawn, till they were involved in misery in this world, and landed in destruction in the world to come.

Convinced that this is a just and not an overcharged representation of the consequence to multitudes of resorting to horse-races, we cannot but regard as most mischievous, and as

worthy of the strongest reprobation, the practice, increasing of late, of planning races for the times when public business is suspended, and when the working-classes have holidays. It is surely sad enough to desecrate what are usually regarded as the period of the nativity and crucifixion of the Saviour, by vain amusements of any kind ; but how deplorable is it to employ the same seasons, hallowed by the most solemn associations, in alluring vast numbers to a race or steeple-chase, where the dregs of society are collected from every quarter, and where the most debasing vices are openly practised to the most fearful extent ! Railway directors, by providing *special trains* for the votaries of pleasure, by reducing the fares, and by subscribing largely for the prizes on the race-course, have a large share of the responsibility of thus demoralizing the community. Were the managers of railways as deeply concerned about the cause of public morality as they seem to be alive to the desire of deriving the largest possible profit from the capital which they have expended, instead of *lowering*, they would *increase* the fares at the times of the races. In the end, it will be found short-sighted policy to disregard the claims of morality, because of any worldly consideration ; and railway directors who employ their servants and locomotives to further racing and Sabbath-desecration, may be taught by experience that what they gain by relaxing the bonds of morality will yield them no enduring profit. The employers of workmen should use their influence to discountenance such profligacy ; while Christian men of every name, who regard the authority of God, and value the prevalence of pure morality, should offer a determined opposition to a practice which rears up a principal obstacle to the spread and power of the Gospel, and which is fraught with misery and ruin to multitudes.

CHAPTER II.

EXTENT OF HORSE-RACING, &c.

THE extent to which horse-racing is carried on in modern times furnishes a sufficient ground why we should attentively consider the nature of this fashionable amusement, and its effects upon society, and why Christian men should deliberate and decide whether it is to be countenanced or to be condemned, and wholly abandoned. If the practice is in itself of doubtful morality, or of evil and demoralizing tendency, this is a cogent reason why we should refrain from it altogether; for the scriptural rule is, "Whatever is not of faith is sin." But if it be found that a practice, at best doubtful, and tending to evil, has become inseparably connected with many other practices which are palpably opposed to the Divine law, and which are hurtful and ruinous to great numbers of individuals, and to communities, there is then a loud call to all who are concerned for the welfare of society, or who desire to do good to the bodies and souls of their fellow-creatures, to expose it to public reprobation, to guard others from being ensnared by it into courses of dissipation and folly, and to labour to effect its discontinuance.

Such a practice is horse-racing. The records of the "racing calendar," and the accounts contained in the department of "sporting intelligence" in the daily news, show that very large numbers of all classes of society, in different places, are drawn into the vortex of sensual indulgence on the race-course; and that the morals, religious interests, and, of course, the temporal welfare of the community, are placed in jeopardy, and exposed to serious and extensive injury from this quarter. Not to speak of other countries, besides several places of general notoriety, and of long standing, which may be termed "national festivals of the turf," almost every county in these kingdoms has its race-course, and some of them have several such places of resort. Then there are races in these places, frequently twice in the year, besides occasional, and large assemblages for the same

purpose on public holidays, and as often as railway directors shall, for ends of their own, stimulate the desire for sporting and exciting amusement, by giving money for race-prizes, and advertising cheap trains, thus securing to themselves in return, from the folly and immorality of the people, tenfold what they expended in subscribing for the race.

Of the higher ranks, large numbers of the younger branches of the nobility are trained to a life of idleness and extravagant expenditure by taking part in the races. With some great families, the honours of the turf are hereditary; and to have been renowned for the best racing stud, or to have frequently carried off the palm in the race, is blazoned on their escutcheon, and handed down from sire to son, as achievements worthy to be ranked with the greatest military exploits—with the honours of statesmanship, with discoveries in the arts and sciences, and with the triumphs of philosophy! The effects of this practice upon certain families of the nobility and gentry, who are addicted to the business of sporting, may be afterwards noticed. Meanwhile, it is evident that those who begin early to take delight in racing, and who give themselves up to follow it, are thereby, in a great measure, unfitted for the proper duties of life; and the headlong pursuit of low pleasures, ruined fortunes, and overwhelming debts, which they entail upon their descendants, declare how little they have gained, and how much they have suffered of irreparable loss, by following—to say the least—a useless and dangerous employment.

The establishment of the race-course, and its patronage by persons of rank and influence, tend, moreover, to draw vast numbers of others to take part in the practice. The amusement is, forsooth, fashionable, and therefore it must be countenanced and upheld by persons in the most exalted station in the land. The presence of the sovereign is expected, and frequently enjoyed, once in the year at Ascot races, in England. Leading members of Parliament, and sometimes of the Ministry, take a deeper interest in the fortunes of the turf than in attending to the public business of the empire; and the cases are not rare in which, on the week of the great races in England, the proceedings of Parliament are for days suspended, or “the house counted out,” to allow legislators to compete for the honours of the turf, or to try their skill in the gambling connected with the races. In other instances, members of Parliament from distant counties are known to desert their post in the houses of legislature, and return to their residences at the

period of the races, deeming it of greater importance to display their skill in racing, and to make or lose fortunes by betting, than to attend to the wants of their constituents, or to conduct the legislation of the nation. Grants of public money are made by Parliament to encourage racing. Thus, in the "Irish Estimates" of the last session, the sum of £1850 is mentioned as having been allotted out of the treasury, to provide some *fifteen* Queen's cups for races in Ireland. It is sad enough, that while other grants of public money are canvassed and objected against as extravagant, this appropriation of public money is opposed by very few of our legislators, although it is made for supporting a course of dissipation and extravagance among persons who, if they must follow it, are able enough themselves to uphold it—in a country, too, where multitudes are starving, and vast numbers are forced to emigrate to other lands for want of adequate means of sustenance.¹

The patronage of the races by persons of the higher ranks, leads a great number in other conditions in life to imitate their example. The influence of the great is thus productive of an amount of evil, from which it is believed many of this class, if they properly saw it, would recoil with horror. Even were the noble and the rich at liberty to misspend time, waste money, and put in jeopardy their own character by patronizing the races, they ought surely to reflect and pause, when they know that many to whom it is highly criminal to neglect business and engage in gambling, and follow low pleasures, are seduced by their example to such courses. This is, in fact, the case to a very large extent; and it forms another illustration of the injury inflicted on society by horse-racing. Not a few persons who are engaged in business, and professional pursuits, especially if they have been at first successful, betake themselves to the races. Some that resolved to go occasionally, and for recreation and pastime, become addicted to the practice; and some not only bet, but whether winners or losers, continue to gamble till it becomes a habit, which they have no power to lay

¹ The Belfast Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has, for some years past, presented an annual petition to Parliament against voting public money for Queen's Plates at the races. Why should not this goodly example be followed by many others, and the table of the House of Legislature be covered with earnest petitions on this subject, until this appropriation from the national treasury to sustain a cruel and demoralizing practice be withdrawn? It is encouraging to observe that, in the present session, the minority in the House of Commons against the vote was greatly above what it ever was in former years.

aside; while others of the same class purchase and keep racers, and seek to obtain the riches and distinction from this source, which they cannot hope to enjoy from honest industry or neglected business. Especially is this frequently the case with young men, the sons of merchants, or manufacturers, or respectable tradesmen, whose parents had amassed for them considerable worldly means, but who indulged them early in habits of idleness, or allowed them to frequent scenes of deceitful pleasure or foolish amusement.

In former days, in the south and west of this country, many of the larger farmers, merchants, and shopkeepers, not only frequented the race-course, and other places of unprofitable and frivolous amusements, but frequently took an active part, and embarked a large stake in the races. The consequences may be readily imagined. The mind became alienated from the pursuits of regular industry; business was looked upon as a drudgery, and an employment unbecoming a gentleman; capital was speedily squandered; extravagant and dissipated habits were contracted; and character itself became a wreck. Thus, persons that might have benefited their country, and been useful to themselves and others, became a nuisance in society, and were reduced to ruin. Families had their property wasted, and were brought to poverty. Large estates were squandered, and the posterity of those who were famed for their sporting propensities received the entail of a ruined fortune, and, at the same time, of absurd views and reckless habits, which rendered their situation irrecoverable and hopeless. From various causes, which have been at work throughout society, it is believed, that in this country at least, the number of the class to which we have referred, who launch out into this course of folly, has of late been considerably diminished. But still it will be found, we fear, that throughout Britain and Ireland generally, there is a large number, especially of thoughtless young persons, and of some kinds of dealers, as in the traffic in spirituous liquors, who, either from the disposition to imitate their superiors, or their own propensity to idleness, vice, or exciting amusement, are led by the races to neglect business, bring themselves to ruin, and involve others in the like destruction. While the turf is talked of and praised, and sporting is held up as a fashionable and noble employment, and wealth, and rank, and beauty combine to honour it, it will always happen that many whose energy and talents might have conferred blessings on society, will be misled by the practice, with-

drawn from sober and honest pursuits, and urged forward in a course of ruinous prodigality and destructive vice.

Last, and in some respects worst of all, is the influence of the horse-race upon countless multitudes of the working-classes, farmers, merchants, tradesmen, and servants. Where races are established, the attraction of the novelty, and excitement of the scene, is too powerful for vast numbers of such classes to resist, and accordingly they throng the course with the utmost eagerness. At some of the principal races, not fewer than 30,000, 50,000, and even 100,000 persons assemble, and are congregated at the scene, often for several days, or a whole week; while, in places of less notoriety in the records of the turf, and at holiday races and steeple-chases, 9000 or 10,000 persons collected are regarded as an ordinary assembly. These are taken from home, mingle with gamblers, thieves, drunkards, and prostitutes, calculate on spending money, often largely, and lodge in places where no account is made of purity of character, and where property and reputation frequently become an easy prey. It is impossible to estimate fully the extent of the injury that is thus inflicted, not only upon the individuals who are ensnared to the race-ground, but likewise upon those with whom they are intimately connected, and upon society at large. Clerks, and young men in business, thus have their principles undermined and prospects destroyed. Many of the ablest mechanics, and most promising workmen, become the victims of intemperance and other vices. Families are rendered miserable; and the anxieties and fears of wives about their husbands, and of parents about their children, that frequent the race-course, and the certain injury inflicted on the peace, worldly prosperity, and morals of the household by the habits contracted or fostered there, attest how pernicious is this practice, and what a boon it would be to society if it were altogether discontinued.¹

So sensible is the community in some places of these evils, that sober and religious parents and masters greatly deprecate

¹ Of late, the practice of racing, and particularly the very barbarous species of races—the steeple-chase—have greatly increased in various parts of Ireland. This may be in part owing to the working-classes obtaining better employment than formerly, and being better remunerated for their labour, and to the railways affording greater facilities for repairing to the race-ground. The fact, however accounted for, is undeniable, as many of the public papers, at certain seasons of the year, contain catalogues of the races for the month, which almost equal the list of fairs for the same period. This state of matters is certainly much to be deplored, as, besides the evils inseparable from racing, it generates idle and dissipated habits, and so must prevent the real prosperity of the country.

the establishment of races in places to which those under their care have access, and at the seasons when they are held employ every means in their power to prevent their attendance, even for a single instance. Ministers of religion know that the practice is absolutely destructive to the piety of such of their flocks as follow it, and hesitate not, betimes, to utter warning in the sanctuary against it. Considering all that we have stated in this brief view of the extent of racing, which may be verified by facts innumerable, we ask, Is there not a pressing reason, and a loud call, why vigorous measures should be adopted to put an end to amusements which are so injurious to the best interests of society? Were but a few individuals, of any of the classes to which we have referred, placed in peril of suffering irreparable injury in so many ways by an existing practice, or were even one human being so endangered, humanity and religion would equally demand that it should be seriously inquired whether it were proper to permit its continuance, especially when no substantial benefit could be shown to result from it, to counterbalance the evil. But when it is the temporal welfare, usefulness, and soul's safety of thousands upon thousands that are affected, and when the morals and prosperity of society are concerned, then surely it behoves all that would do good to mankind to lend their influence to subvert and abolish entirely an institution which is productive of results so mischievous. Right reason, equally with true religion, teaches that "no man liveth to himself, and that no man dieth to himself," and that we should, as much as in our power, "do good to all men," and do injury to none. To deny one's self for another's good is not only a Christian duty, but is a practical principle of great value in the conduct of life, which has been exemplified in all ages by those who have been benefactors of mankind. If these maxims be applied to horse-racing, then it must be apparent that there is nothing to plead in its favour, while there is everything to demand its discontinuance.

A view of the *evils* which are inseparably connected with this practice, or which are its direct and unavoidable consequences, will show still more clearly the path of Christian duty in this matter. These we proceed to consider in detail. We solicit, from candid men of every class, a due consideration of the statements which follow, convinced as we are, that such consideration will be sufficient with some who are favourable to racing, to lead them to abandon a pastime which cannot be followed without perilling the interests, temporal and spiritual, of thousands, and inflicting incurable injuries upon society.

CHAPTER III.

EVILS OF HORSE-RACING TO THOSE WHO PATRONIZE AND SUPPORT IT.

THE evil nature and effects of racing may be considered—
1. In relation to the dangers to which it inevitably exposes those who engage in it; 2. In the effects of their example upon others; and 3. In the consequences to society at large. By considering these in order, and by exhibiting some of them in minute detail, it will, we think, be apparent that this practice is not to be viewed, in any measure, as a laudable or harmless amusement, but must be regarded as a great moral evil, and as the parent of many vices, the progress of which it is the duty of every true Christian and virtuous citizen to labour in every possible way to arrest.

To determine whether a practice or pursuit is evil or good, allowable or to be prohibited, we must refer to a standard of conduct—to one which declares plainly what is right, and condemns what is wrong, refusing to bend to human passions and prejudices, and which is fixed and unchangeable. This can be no other than the Law of God, originally inscribed on man's nature, and now clearly revealed under the most solemn sanctions in the Word of God; and which is of universal and perpetual obligation. Any action or course of conduct, which, although not formally forbidden in the Divine Law, is plainly opposed to some of its express precepts, must be evil in its nature, and ought not to be practised. Such, we have no hesitation to declare, is horse-racing. There are requirements not a few in the Word of God, which this practice palpably disregards, which it is utterly impossible to obey and take part in these fashionable amusements, whether as actively engaging in the sports of the turf, or as being visitors of the race-course. We are commanded to "abstain from all appearance of evil."¹ We are warned against being "partakers" in others' sins.² It is solemnly enjoined upon us, "Be not con-

¹ 1 Thes. v. 22.

² Ephes. v. 7.

formed to this world.”¹ We are under obligation at all times, and in all circumstances, to “do good to all men as we have opportunity.”² And as the end of all our actions, even the most common and minute, it is commanded—“Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.”³ These, and many similar precepts and prohibitions, clearly teach that we should not only abstain from what is generally admitted to be immoral and wicked, but from all that is of doubtful morality, from whatever has the appearance of evil—that we should do good, and that in such a way as properly tends to produce a favourable impression—that we should ever refrain from whatever tends to draw others into sin, and that the Divine glory should be distinctly proposed to ourselves as the end of all our actions. Now, no person who has the least acquaintance with the practice of horse-racing, can for a moment believe that it is possible to render this practice accordant with these Divine injunctions. To say the least, no person can either be a promoter or a frequenter of the races, and abstain from the appearance of evil, or be guiltless of leading others into sin. It is presumed that few will have the temerity to plead for racing, on the ground of doing good either to men’s bodies or souls, and, least of all, will pretend that the practice tends to promote the glory of God.

It need not be alleged that these views are too strict, and that it is puritanical or pharisaical to apply such precepts as we have quoted to fashionable amusements and recreations, to which those resort who have time and worldly means at their disposal, and that it is harsh and intolerable to prohibit the enjoyment of pleasures which may be partaken of without much injury to others. Hereafter we shall show that what is assumed here is destitute of proper foundation, and these so-called pleasures cannot be obtained but at the expense of serious and lasting damage to the highest interests of thousands. Meanwhile, it may suffice to say, that the injunctions to which we have referred are a part of an eternal code of morality, of which the highest authority has declared that “he that offendeth in one point is guilty of all,” and that “he who breaks one of the least of these commandments, shall be called the least in the kingdom of God.” By this holy and most righteous law, every human being shall be judged, and all his actions shall be tried. “We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according

¹ Rom. xii. 2.² Gal. vi. 10.³ 1 Cor. x. 31.

to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.”¹ Judged by this unerring standard, there can be no doubt that the practice on which we are animadverting is condemned as evil. Not one precept of the Divine Law pleads in its favour, while many express injunctions palpably condemn it; and it cannot be shown that it derives the least sanction or support from the spirit or principles of the Law of God.

A practice which is thus evil in itself cannot be expected to be productive of any but evil effects. A corrupt tree can only bring forth corrupt fruit. Accordingly, we regard horse-racing as—

I. In the first place, dangerous and evil in its effects to those who patronize and support it. There are certain scenes, to which a person who has a proper regard to his own safety and character will not readily commit himself. Those which tend to excite the mind unduly, which lead into improper company, and which present strong temptations to vice, are of this kind; and any person who has a proper sense of the innate evils of his own heart, and of his responsibility for his principles and conduct, will carefully avoid them. We are creatures of habit, and our characters are, in a great measure, formed by the impressions made upon our minds from external impulses, by the associations which we cherish, and by the company and scenes with which we are conversant. Strong excitement, it is generally admitted, is unfavourable to mental peace and soundness, and sometimes even injurious to the bodily health, and fatal to the life. There are, it is true, lawful callings and important pursuits in which the mind may be greatly excited at times; but those who engage in them know that it is indispensable to their internal peace and comfort, and to their continuance and success in useful employment, to preserve equanimity and avoid undue excitement. How much greater, therefore, is the obligation to refrain from scenes and employments that disturb mental calmness, and stimulate the passions, when these are alien from the proper duties of life, and when from them no real and permanent benefit is to be derived! Such a scene is the race-course. The bustle and excitement connected with it are among the most prominent of the aspects which it presents to the spectator; and those who have their delight in the turf, and who enter fully into the sport, are thrown into the most violent mental tension—have their passions often roused to

¹ 2 Corinthians v. 10.

the highest pitch, and their hopes and fears alternately much excited. The noble creatures themselves, which are made the victims of man's pride, passion, and folly, are roused by the scene, strain every muscle, and, as if conscious of the object to be gained or lost, put forth exertions at times far beyond their natural strength. The riders are stirred up, too, to put forth their utmost efforts, and from the eager desire of success, and the shame and mortification of defeat, peril health and risk life itself. Those that own the horses, or who enter large stakes in the race, are urged by impetuous passions. The desire of obtaining or preserving a high reputation in the sporting world, the fear of losing the capital largely embarked, and the dread of the disgrace of losing the race, the intense eagerness of gambling, and other baser passions, stimulate the mind, and lead the principal actors in the scene to the most earnest and unnatural excitement. A merciful man is merciful to his beast, but in the excitement of the race the lives of horses and riders are as nothing when placed in the balance with the sordid love of gain, or with "the bubble glory." Those who take part with the different competitors, and who bet on the race, are likewise drawn into the vortex, while vast multitudes of the spectators are infected with the same mania. Contending emotions and passions—and these, moreover, all of the baser animal sort—agitate the minds of thousands; and whether the parties concerned obtain the object of their wishes or meet with disappointment, there is no effectual relief from the tumult of exciting passions. If successful, the reward can afford no real peace to the mind, or minister purity and comfort to the conscience; and if unsuccessful in the game, the shame of defeat, and the loss of money, often grieve the mind and urge the individual to the most fatal courses. Who would willingly throw himself into such a scene of excitement, even for the attainment of objects valuable and worthy? Who, with a due regard to his mental peace, and vigour and comfort, would venture on it for all the glories to be acquired in the sporting world—for all the laurels of the turf?

The *loss of valuable time* by those who take part in the horse-race, must be regarded as another great evil connected with the practice. The Divine command to all to whom the Word of God comes is, "See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time."¹ It requires no argument to show how foolish and extravagant wasting of our

¹ Ephesians v. 15, 16.

Lord's money, in the prodigal misspending of time, is caused by the races. It is well known that many jockeys spend their whole time, week-day and Sabbath—save what they consume in low vices—in acquiring skill for successful competition, in preparation for, or practising on the race-ground. The “gentlemen of the turf” boast of their abilities to enjoy life, as they term it, by *killing time*; and the countless multitudes who frequent the scene of dissipation and deceitful pleasure, spend days and weeks, not only in a way that contributes nothing to promote the great end of their existence, but in a manner that unfits them afterwards for the proper business of life. The period allotted for discharging the duties of life, and for preparation for judgment and eternity, is surely too precious to be squandered in amusements which injure both mind and body and outward estate, and corrupt society.

Money is, moreover, *squandered to a vast amount* in racing. Enormous sums are frequently paid for race horses, so much as £500 sometimes for a year-old colt of the racer breed; and a good racing stud will cost what is equal to a large fortune, or the purchase of an estate. Then the cost of training, support of jockeys, &c., swallow up a still farther amount of money; while subscriptions to establish and keep up races in particular localities, and entrance-fees for races, &c., demand a profuse expenditure. The community is most unjustly taxed for grants of public money by Parliament for such objects, and in other cases, local corporations have made liberal grants to encourage the sport.¹ Fortunes are staked and lost, or gradually squandered by the higher ranks in racing. Few that thoroughly embark in it are ever in the end gainers; while not unfrequently large estates are from this cause encumbered with debt and pass out of families, and posterity is reduced to beggary and ruin. We shall consider more particularly the ruinous practice of gambling, as connected with horse racing, hereafter. If, independently of gaming, the money spent in connection with races, in intoxicating liquors, railways, and other public conveyances, and vicious practices, is considered, it will be found that this amusement withdraws from useful purposes and pursuits enormous sums of money. Its direct tendency is to

¹ In *Bell's Weekly Messenger* for November 20, it is mentioned that the Doncaster Corporation had made a grant equivalent to *two thousand guineas* to the races in that neighbourhood. Of course, this large sum must be raised from the public funds at the disposal of the corporation—in other words, from the property of the inhabitants.

supply largely the means of sinful gratification to the worst classes of the community, while it entails poverty and misery on many who are seduced to pursue after the pleasures of sporting. The Divine command concerning property is to "use the world as not abusing it."¹ The money squandered in racing is evidently not thus used. It is worse than thrown away, as it is applied in a way that tends to ruin men's souls and bodies. The large sums of money that are spent on the races might be productive of incalculable benefit, if appropriated to valuable purposes—to the spread of the Gospel, the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, the relief of the destitute, the reformation of juvenile offenders, the cause of education, &c.

It is worthy of remark, that generally the persons who are addicted to sporting give little or nothing for such purposes.

Lastly, we may mention, in this connection, that those who follow racing are unavoidably *led into evil company*, and are exposed to *powerful temptations to vicious practices*.

At the races there can be no possible selection of associates. The race-ground is the rendezvous of all sorts of characters; and though there may be found there persons of high rank, and some who are men of honour and integrity, and who are averse to vicious habits, such should surely feel that they are not in their appropriate place at the races. It is certainly not seemly to see the Queen of Britain and her illustrious Consort gracing with their presence a scene where the worst and most disreputable characters, male and female, set off polluting vice in its most gaudy dress, and attract the unwary to the orgies of drunkenness and lust. And men of rank, who have any regard to moral character and decency, should manifest their sense of honour and propriety by separating themselves from the company, which is composed of a few who are thoughtless and uninured to vice, but which contains, in many instances, a great majority of those who are destitute of moral principle, who set at nought equally the laws of God and man, and who are the pests of society. It cannot be said there is no danger here. Of the different classes in society who throng the race-ground, there are some of each who are well known to be reckless, dishonest, and vicious. The principal actors are, in many instances, distinguished for immorality. These mingle freely, and are the associates on the race-ground with persons who are of better principles, and who are yet uninitiated in the mysteries of wickedness. There cannot, in the nature of the case, be any proper choice of company, or distinction main-

tained between the pure and the impure. If the Spanish proverb hold good—"Show me a man's company, and I will tell you who he is,"—then the fellowship of the race-course must be regarded as most dangerous to reputation and character. As one of the most powerful objections against theatrical amusements is that which exhibits them as a "school of vice" rather than of virtue, from the loose morals of the actors and actresses, and from the commingling together of the vicious and the moral in the audience, so the same argument shows horse-racing to be perilous to reputation, and destructive to good character. Who is there, besides, who knows properly his own heart, that will think himself safe in coming into near and frequent contact with scenes where vice, in countless forms, is spread out in its most attractive and alluring aspects? The fact that tens of thousands who were once virtuous, have thus been snared, and taken, and destroyed, should be regarded as a solemn warning. Who can take coals in his bosom and not be burned? It ought to be sufficient for us to know that we are in danger of slipping and falling, as thousands, as strong once as we are, have done, to lead us to avoid the precipice. If we are taught daily to pray, "Lead us not into temptation," we are equally instructed to shun the allurements of vice, and to keep as far distant as possible from everything that would weaken the moral sense—that would show us to be "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God," and that would afford the least countenance to those who make light of important moral distinctions, or who have pleasure in ungodliness.

II. We may consider the conduct of those who follow horse-racing *in the effect of their example upon others*. There can be no doubt that every human being has some influence upon others, either for good or evil, and that every person is accountable for this influence. The power of example is universally admitted. It is the most impressive means of teaching; and instructions without example, however excellent, are frequently unproductive of any good effects. The habits and character of individuals, of communities, of races and nations, are moulded by the plastic power of example; and from father to son, through many generations, this power continues to operate, either to elevate and ennoble, or to degrade and corrupt thousands of human beings. A valuable practical maxim is, to ponder the influence of one's example, by considering seriously what would be the effect if all were to act in the same manner; and it should always be felt that none

of our actions, however trivial, are to be regarded as indifferent. Those which are apparently of little importance, as far as they are open and observable—the principles which we profess, and the words which we utter—all have an influence, sometimes unseen, but always powerful, to give a direction to the life and conduct of those with whom we come in contact, and to fix their destiny. Habits are formed gradually, and, when once put on, they have the power of a *second nature*, operating suddenly, and with an influence which is felt to be irresistible. Character is made up of numberless thoughts, actions, and habits, most of which are derived from impressions made by external objects around us, or from the persons with whom we have intercourse. If these statements be admitted, then it follows that we should be solemnly and constantly warned to do nothing, to follow no course of conduct which would tend to lead others to imbibe improper principles, or would entice them into foolish or wicked conduct. On the contrary, our continual study and aim should be to practise ourselves whatsoever is honest, and lovely, and of good report, that others may be induced by our example to go and do likewise. Our Lord's all-comprehensive precept is obligatory upon all Christians, and is applicable to every principle and action of their lives—"Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."¹

The *example* of those who delight in horse-racing cannot, we think, on any grounds be approved by the Word of God, or sanctioned by dispassionate judgment, or pleaded for as praiseworthy or pure. Judged by its uniform or most observable effects, it is generally evil, and there is scarcely to be found a single good result that might redeem it from this censure. Those who, to gratify some darling desire of sensual pleasure, support a practice which invariably leads to disregard the most important moral distinctions, and to violate many precepts of the Divine Law, that intimately concern the peace and happiness of the individual, and the welfare of society, have surely reason to ponder the effect of their example, and their deep responsibility. If they would not be partakers in the sins of others, and expose themselves to the fearful consequences, they will do well to consider whether they can possibly reap any advantage from the races which will counter-vail the injury which their example is calculated to inflict, or

¹ Matthew v. 16.

compensate, in any measure, for the many evils which result from it.

A few of the most prominent of these evils, which are always found connected with the races, we proceed to specify. Others, which are well known to prevail, we purposely refrain from mentioning, for it is shameful to speak of many of those things which are done in secret by many who are addicted to this exciting amusement. Our decided conviction, formed from the records of such scenes, and from the testimony of those who have visited them, is, that every species of profligacy is promoted by a race-week. At this season of folly and unrestrained indulgence, the votaries of vice, and those whose trade is to seduce and ruin others, come abroad in open day, and regard the race-ground as their most profitable market. Evils of the most hateful character are at other times practised in secret; but here they court notoriety, and are either exposed to view in the most loathsome aspects, or are set forth in every possible way to allure and destroy the unhappy victims of sin. Prostitution and licentiousness, drunkenness and strife, on these occasions forsake the lurking-places to which the better feelings of society at ordinary seasons drive them, and stalk abroad in all the shameless impudence of emboldened profligacy. Every person knows that to the race-course great numbers of the most worthless members of society flock from the dens of debauchery in the large towns, and from every part of the country, to partake in the unholy revelry, and to swell the amount of a nation's guilt and wickedness. The roads, fields, and pathways that lead to the scene of folly and giddy amusement, are strewn with the victims of riot, intemperance, and every species of vicious excess. In every direction, the spectator hears the voice of the blasphemer, meets the reeling drunkard, or witnesses scenes of the lowest profligacy. By night and day, and even on the Sabbath, the ancient orgies of Venus or Bacchus are exceeded on the race-ground. In the evening and throughout the night, the inns and public houses are filled with excess; the haunts of profligacy are thronged with the votaries of pleasure, and the streets are disturbed with quarrelling and violence. Such are the *unavoidable, necessary consequences* of the race-week, consequences which are to be charged upon *it*, and *it only*. Even though it could be proved that these were not the *necessary* results of racing, yet as it can be shown that they are their *invariable* accompaniments, the conclusion against the practice would be equally valid. These

scenes of folly, vice, and misery would not, to anything like the same extent, be witnessed among us but for the races. We do not deny that numbers of respectable and virtuous persons take part in upholding the races, believing them to be a harmless and salutary amusement, and that individuals of this character may be found occasionally on the race-ground. But such, we believe, associate themselves with the practice from real ignorance of the abominations which they are thereby promoting. They do not properly consider the effect of their example in countenancing, by their presence, scenes which so directly promote debauchery and profligacy. They have not thought upon, and they do not know, the debasing and accumulated vices which are imported into every place where races are established; if they did, they surely would not give them their countenance and support. That the evils connected with the races may be properly seen, we notice a few of the most prevalent.

1. *Idleness.* There can be no doubt that time is entrusted to us by our Maker, not to be wasted, but to be carefully improved. On its proper improvement depend, in a great measure, our character and usefulness in life, and our preparation for eternity. It has been justly said "that the besetting sin of every human being is indolence;" and if this is not early laid aside, and habitually resisted, life will be passed in inaction, or frittered away by not being occupied with any worthy pursuit, or directed to any valuable end. In seasons of reflection, or in moments of regret for lost opportunities and past folly, and at the approach of death, most persons bitterly bewail that they have squandered and misspent time, and would willingly give much more than they possess to bring back again what they have carelessly suffered to pass from them, or prodigally thrown away. The haughty Queen Elizabeth is said to have exclaimed on her dying bed, "Millions of money for an inch of time!" The earnest desire was breathed too late. Many such inches she had foolishly thrown away, and they were all gone, never to be recalled. "O," cried one, as he lay dying, "Call back time again; if you can, call back time again, then there may be hope for me; but time is gone."

The evil of wasting time, and the curse of idleness, are strikingly depicted by our great moral poet Young, in his "Night Thoughts"—

"Where is that thrift, that avarice of time,
Blest avarice! which the thought of death inspires?"

O Time ! than gold more sacred ; more a load
Than lead to fools ; and fools reputed wise.
What moment granted man without account !
What years are squandered, wisdom's debts unpaid !
Haste, haste ! he lies in wait, he's at the door,
Insidious death ! should his strong hand arrest,
No compensation sets the prisoner free.
Eternity's inexorable chain
Fast binds, and vengeance claims the full arrear.
On all-important time, through every age,
Though much and warm the wise have urged, the man
Is yet unborn who duly weighs an hour ;
Who murders time, he crushes in the birth
A power eternal, only not adored."

The race-course is justly chargeable with this *murdering of time* to an incredible degree, and with generating and encouraging habits of idleness. What has been said of another amusement—the theatre—is certainly true of the horse-race. It has never been "pretended that any one ever went to the race to receive instruction in morals, in religion, or in the science of life."¹ The time that is devoted to this practice is not only not employed to any good purpose, it is misspent and thrown away ; and those persons who uphold or resort to this exciting amusement become indisposed and averse to the proper use of time, and addicted to habits of idleness. Unlike some other scenes of dissipation, which are resorted to in the evening, after the business of the day is finished, the race occupies almost exclusively whole days and weeks. Some make it a kind of profession and business ; and men of rank in society, who keep racers, or bet largely at the races, and others who form clubs to regulate prizes and fix the stakes, and settle the rules of the course, are known to give themselves up to this as an all-engrossing passion, and to neglect for it the duties of the family and the proper pursuits of their business, whether agricultural or mercantile. Jockeys and others who train the horses for the course, are known idlers, having little or no ideas above the worthless employment to which they are devoted ; and they are thereby unfitted for any of the pursuits of steady industry, which might permanently benefit themselves and their families, and be of general advantage to society.

Then of the thousands who frequent the race-ground, it is evident that not only the time spent in waiting on the amusement, but likewise a large portion of other valuable time, is thrown away. What has been said of the excessive multiplica-

¹ Todd on "Great Cities ;" *Works*. p. 589.

tion of holidays applies here. Not merely the day spent as a holiday is abstracted from the productive labour of the community, but a large portion of other time is also wasted and misspent. Hence the prosperity of the country is retarded, and many are kept in poverty, have slothful and idle habits fostered, and are frequently reduced to beggary. If one holiday causes two or three days, and sometimes a week of idleness, much more do the races materially interfere with all regular industry in places where they are established, unfit numbers for persevering labour, and generate, on a large scale, habits of idleness. Time is spent beforehand in talking of the race, and in making preparation for visiting the course. Not unfrequently several days are consumed at the scene of riot and revelry; the nights are given up to carousal and guilty pleasure; the company into which the visitant falls encourages to neglect business and to regard idleness and sensual pleasure as the supreme happiness of life. Whoever of those who take delight in such an amusement, have returned from the race-course more disposed to pursue the business of an honest calling, or better fitted for the active duties of life? The farmer, and shopkeeper, and labourer, will hardly return from the exciting scene with a quickened relish for a life of toil and plodding industry. The book-keeper may sharpen his pen and rub his aching head, after he comes back from the scene of dissipation, but he will be able to accomplish little of his task, and that not to satisfaction; and rarely will the mechanic find that he can use his tools, and command his thoughts and his hands as well, after having been at the races, as if he had altogether abstained from resorting to them.

Most pernicious of all is the practice of frequenting the race-course *to the young*. Buoyant with passions and hopes easily excited, calculating on many years to come, and not yet taught to estimate the value of time by its loss, young persons are in great danger of losing the season for improvement, and of contracting fixed habits of aversion to steady industry in any laudable pursuit, and of incorrigible idleness. In connection with the races, there are multitudes of young men who find time to be idle, to seek society, and to corrupt others. The feverish excitement all around affords to such the most desirable opportunities for pursuing their wretched avocation. The plea of harmless amusement, and of promoting the vivacity, and indulging the pleasures of youth, is sure to turn away the mind from sober history, and to indispose it to profit by the

experience of others. The aim of idlers is always to make others like themselves ; and their chief attempt is upon those who are known to be of better habits, or who are a little above them in respectability. Hence they seek their company, fawn and flatter, spend hours in idle talk, and lead them into practices in which the duties of life are wholly forgotten. Well has it been said, "One hour in the company of such is not merely an hour of time lost ; it has given them a kind of pledge that they may command their time again. It is a letting down of the standard of life ; it is the creating of a taste for company that is unworthy of you ; it is forming and fixing habits that will be likely to ruin you. You do not at first feel the loss of the hour or two of time, but you are about to go into the meshes of the net which will soon make you a helpless prisoner."¹

Time has been properly said to be money. If employed aright, it may be made available for much that gold can never purchase ; and, on the other hand, time misspent or misapplied will be found a greater loss than that of thousands of gold or silver. If a calculation were made of time taken from productive employments by horse-racing, it would be found to amount to thousands of pounds, in the separate localities and at the recurring seasons, where races are held ; and if a total of the whole were made out, the amount of the tax thus paid by the nation would at once surprise and appal us. This is, however, by far the smallest item in the account. Idle habits are a curse to those that indulge them, and idleness is mischievous and ruinous to society. An idle community can never be virtuous ; and in vain may we expect to find either families or societies distinguished for peace, comfort, or prosperity, that neglect persevering industry, or that are indolent or extravagant. Idleness is opposed to mental improvement, and inconsistent with intellectual or moral excellence. Whatever, therefore, tends in any way to encourage it, must be regarded as detrimental to society, and should, by all means, be avoided. Horse-racing we regard as a practice properly chargeable with promoting this vice,—the prolific parent of many others ; and therefore we consider that all who are concerned for the well-being and advancement of the community are under obligation to discountenance it.

2. *The prodigal misspending of money, and the kindred vices of theft and dishonesty.* These immoralities, it will generally be

¹ Todd on "Great Cities ;" *Works*, p. 577.

admitted by all who have any knowledge of the subject, are intimately connected with horse-racing. Very large sums of money are expended by those who follow the business of racing, in the purchase and training of racers, in subscriptions for prizes, and in many other ways connected with the course. In a case like this, where love of foolish distinction prevails, and the ruling passion importunately craves gratification, expense is of no account; and it is known that such a sum of money is frequently squandered by a single individual in racing as would purchase an estate, or be a handsome capital in business. Everything connected with races is conducted in the way of wasteful and extravagant expenditure. Economy, or the proper application of money to a valuable purpose, would be regarded here as singularly out of place; and the person who enters into the sport, and would propose to act in a prudent manner, as any upright merchant would do in laying out his money, would be reckoned mean-spirited, and unworthy to associate with those who claim to be exclusively the men of spirit and honour. Money, like time, is a talent, for the use and proper employment of which, all who possess it are solemnly responsible. The prodigal expenditure of it on unworthy objects is in itself criminal, and is followed by very baleful consequences. The estate is wasted, debts are contracted, and the person is often hurried into the most criminal courses. Even if there is occasionally a temporary gain from racing practices, unlike the gains of honest industry, it can yield no real satisfaction, nor afford the prospect of permanent enjoyment. Here, in truth, partial success becomes a positive loss, as it encourages larger speculation, and those who make it are urged on to more lavish expenditure, and to more reckless habits. The annals of sporting fully reveal the fact that families that have been addicted to racing have rarely continued for two or three generations in possession of their patrimony; while frequently a much shorter period has served to put out their names, and reduce them to ruin. The money or property acquired by horse-racing seldom descends from father to son; and if in a few instances it does, the improvident and reckless spirit which usually accompanies it, shows its possession to be purchased far too dearly. The numerous evils that are connected with the misapplication of money in racing, by the principal parties concerned, will be fully pointed out when we come to speak, in a separate head, of gambling.

It is not by the rich alone, nor by those who are the chief

conductors of the races, that money to a large amount is misspent. The multitudes that frequent the course lavish money, without any calculation of the amount, or any consideration of the useful purposes which it might otherwise subserve. The money collected as fares on railways, and for the hire of other conveyances during the race-week, or even for a single day, is enormous. A still larger sum is paid for intoxicating drinks and entertainments furnished at an extravagant rate, while the various ways of criminal indulgence occasion a large expenditure. Vice of every kind is a heavy tax; and all who follow its ways, whether they are high or low in society, are made to know, by bitter experience, that to cultivate proper habits and practise virtuous conduct is cheap indeed, compared with the pursuit of sinful pleasure. Of thoughtless youth, and of persons in the working-classes, it is well known that a single visit to the races will often swallow up the means that would have decently supported the individual, or even families, in comfort, for many weeks. There is surely much that is criminal in this, and whatever would entice such persons into extravagance or prodigal habits ought not to be encouraged.

Of the lower classes who frequent the race-course, a large number squander, on base and low pleasure, the money which is absolutely required for their own subsistence, or for the comfort and support of immediate friends and relatives. Many of these either absent themselves from the sanctuary, or contribute nothing to the spread of the Gospel; and, if urged on the subject, they plead the want of means, if they do not even avow the excuse of the infidel, and refer to the mercenary disposition of ministers, and scoff at the services of religion. If the whole amount of the money that is yearly expended in various ways on races in these countries were stated, it is believed it would far exceed all that is raised in the same period for supporting the ministry, building churches, for disseminating the Scriptures, and for extending Christian missions over the world.¹ The sums appropriated out of the national treasury for queen's cups, and the contributions and subscriptions for prizes of other kinds at the races, form a large amount, which, if applied to some really useful purpose, would do incalculable good. As it is, this money is clearly a talent misspent and abused. It is

¹ In connection with the Ascot races of the present season (1853), it is stated that no less a sum than £300,000 changed hands in the course of a few days in Tattersall's, on account of betting and speculations in racing.

applied to injure society in many ways, to promote wasteful and extravagant habits, and to destroy the property, morals, and happiness of vast numbers, the victims of folly and vice.

Besides the money actually expended in connection with the races, the natural consequences of a course of wasting are to be considered, and these may be properly ascribed to the same source. In the higher ranks, many who are addicted to racing contract debts which are never paid; tradesmen dependent on them are defrauded out of their hard-earned wages; forgery, and other disreputable courses, are not unfrequently tried, to avert the ruin threatened, or to repair a broken fortune; and thus the laws of God and man are outraged by persons who, in pursuit of worthless gratifications, have learned to regard their own will as the supreme director, and have not studied to practise the golden maxim—to do to others as they would wish them to do to them. The young who are in the employment of others, such as clerks, operatives in confidential situations, &c., frequently acquire by dishonesty what they squander at the races, and they return to make up their losses by pilfering what belongs to their masters. Many parents have to lament bitterly the extravagant habits of their children, who have been allured to the scene of excitement, or have afterwards to mourn with poignant regret over the disgrace brought upon their families, when they are detected in cases of fraud and dishonesty.

The races, indeed, are the scenes where every species of dishonesty and theft is practised on a large scale. Notwithstanding the most stringent rules of the course, there are frequent complaints of unfairness in the competition. Men loudly boast of honour, and yet nobody expects honour or honesty to be uniformly observed by gamblers. Amidst the excitement of the scene, and in the eagerness of the competition, men will take an advantage which they would refuse to avail themselves of in the ordinary calm course of business. The ruling desire is to acquire the distinction, and win the prize; and the means by which this is obtained are little considered. The favourite haunt of the swell mob is the race-ground; and these thieves, in the garb of gentlemen, and the lower fraternity of the same craft, successfully ply their vocation, and generally reap a golden harvest. Such persons naturally conclude that they will have easy work in abstracting property from those who make little account of their time and money, and who render themselves unfit in any way to protect it, by yielding them-

selves to dissipation and debauchery. The haunts of vice to which many resort in connection with the races, are notorious for every kind of dishonesty. Nobody expects aught else there; and the wretched victims that peril soul and body by going in paths that lead down to hell, need not complain if they come away robbed of their money and clothing. After this exhibition,—and we are persuaded we have fallen short, instead of exceeded, in the delineation,—is it not evident that horse-racing directly leads to prodigality and a criminal expenditure of money, and that it promotes, to a great degree, all sorts of dishonest practices? Does it not, therefore, become the solemn duty of all who would put down such evil practices, as being most injurious to society, of all who would, by lawful endeavours, promote their own and their neighbours' wealth and outward estate, to abstain from and discourage this dangerous and demoralizing amusement?

3. *Sabbath Profanation.*—The law of the Sabbath is not only of universal and perpetual obligation, but is a most benignant provision for man and the lower animals. It was instituted in paradise, immediately after the appointment of marriage,—the foundation of families and social relations. “The Sabbath was made for man,” designed for universal man, for his benefit in the fullest sense, and secured to him by divine authority and prescription, so as that no inferior power should dare to infringe the sacred enactment, or rob man of its beneficent provision. The Sabbath is God's great and all-pervading means of giving efficiency to his moral government, and holds a similar relation to general morality that marriage does to social purity and happiness. It was intended to commemorate and enforce the rights of God, as the Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer of man. It was in every way designed for man's welfare, bodily, mental, and spiritual; and its due observance contributes to his health, peace, and happiness, both as an individual, and as placed in various social relations.

The testimony of an eminent physician respecting the foundation of the Sabbatical appointment and its salutary effects, is deserving of serious consideration:—

“Researches in *physiology*, by the analogy of the working of Providence in nature, will always show that the Divine commandment is not to be considered as an arbitrary enactment, but as an appointment necessary to man.” . . .

“The Sabbatical rest is necessary to man, and the great enemies of the Sabbath, and consequently the enemies of man, are all laborious exercises of the body or mind, and dissipation,

which force the circulation on that day in which it should repose; which relaxation from the ordinary cares of life, the enjoyment of this repose in the bosom of one's family, with the religious studies and duties which the day enjoins, not one of which, if rightly exercised, tends to abridge life, constitute the beneficial and appropriate service of the day.

"Therefore, to all men, of whatever class, who must necessarily be occupied six days in the week, I would recommend to abstain on the seventh; and in the course of life, by giving to their bodies the repose, and to their minds the change of ideas, suited to the day, they would assuredly gain by it. In fact, by the increased vigour imparted, more mental work would be accomplished in their lives. A human being is so constituted, that he needs a day of rest, both from mental and bodily labour."¹

The law of the Sabbath was promulgated amidst the awe-inspiring verities of the Divine manifestation on Mount Sinai, and was enrolled among those moral precepts which were spoken by the mouth and written with the finger of Jehovah, which were designed to be the rule of duty to every human being, and to be of perpetual obligation. In the "Ten Commandments," it occupies a peculiar and remarkable position at the end of the First Table, and as an introduction to the Second,—as if intended to declare that by the due sanctification of the Sabbath, there is security given for the observance of all the duties we owe to God, and for the proper performance of all relative duties to man. In many passages of the Bible, God speaks as if the keeping of the Sabbath were everything, as if it comprehended or would secure obedience to all his commandments. "This," justly remarks an able American writer, "is the case. Such is the nature of man, such the institution of the Sabbath, and such the effect which the keeping of it will have upon him, that if he is obedient to God in this thing, he will be obedient to Him in other things. A Sabbath-keeping people will be an obedient people. The manner in which they treat the Sabbath will be a test of their character, an index of their morality and religion. God did not think it necessary, therefore, to say to his people in these passages, that if they would not commit murder He would bless them; or if they would not be guilty of theft, He would bless them. He knew that if they would rightly keep the Sabbath they would not commit murder or theft, or ordinarily be guilty of any gross outward crime.

¹ Testimony of John Richard Farre, M.D., before the Sabbath Committee of the House of Commons, 1832.

Men who regularly observe the Sabbath, and habitually attend public worship, which is a part of the proper observance of the day, do not commit such crimes. While they keep the Sabbath, the Sabbath keeps them, not by force or coercion of any kind, but by the influence of moral government, through means of his appointment."¹

Adopting these views of the nature and design of the Sabbath institution, which are not only scriptural, but likewise consonant to right reason and universal experience, then horse-racing must be condemned as interfering with the due observance of the Sabbath, and leading to multiplied and gross instances of Sabbath-desecration. The training of the racers, it is well known, is conducted throughout the Sabbath as on other days, and the persons who are employed in this business are notorious as gross Sabbath-breakers. The preparations for the course are frequently made on the Sabbath; and in these a large number of persons are employed. In many places, where races are established, the Sabbath is given up to the grossest profanation. On the Sabbath which begins the race-week, hundreds, and sometimes thousands, are collected on the ground, and all kinds of exciting employments are going forward, in erecting tents and booths, for the sale of spirituous liquors, and for accommodating the actors in the shows and sports which are regarded as the necessary accompaniments of the races. Waggon and carriages, containing the materials for these structures, intoxicating drinks, and other articles for sale, are brought to the place. Not unfrequently the parties interested in the race visit the course on the Sabbath, survey the ground, and make arrangements for the unhallowed sport. These parties draw a large number of idlers and dissipated persons together. Children and young persons are attracted to the scene, and the race-ground, especially in fine weather, presents the aspect of a fair; and the day and night are spent by numbers in manual employments, and by others in a manner offensive to all morality.² With such an introduction

¹ *Sabbath Manual*, by Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D., pp. 11, 12.

² On one occasion, not many years ago, it was stated in the public prints, that on the Sabbath before the Doncaster races, the streets were literally obstructed by betters collected before the betting-room. All regard to the Sabbath, or to public worship, was out of the question. Not only the devotees of gambling and the worshippers of mammon had congregated to follow intently their unhallowed practices, on the day of sacred rest, but their assembling in crowds disturbed others in seeking to observe the law of God—would necessarily keep multitudes engaged at the hotels and places of public entertainment—and many others, of the thoughtless and dissipated, would be led, by such an example, to gross Sabbath-breaking and gambling.

to the races, it is not to be expected that the conclusion should be characterized by any proper respect to the day of sacred rest. Accordingly, the Sabbath after the race-week is, on the race-ground and its vicinity, given up to unlicensed and general desecration. The devotees of pleasure, the victims of intoxication, and gamblers, linger on the scene. Thieves and prostitutes, and those whose business it is to tempt others to wickedness, hope to collect a plentiful gleanings from the dissipated, equally from those who have been winners in racing, and from such as console themselves for having lost their stakes and squandered their money, by betaking themselves to gambling, drunkenness, and other low vices.

Not unfrequently the Sabbath after the race-week is spent on the race-course in open sports by the lowest classes, in the racing of country horses and asses, foot-races, and other amusements, the public authorities and police not interfering to put a stop to practices so demoralizing, and so scandalous to a professedly Christian people. Besides what is transacted on the race-ground, a vast amount of Sabbath-breaking takes place elsewhere, which is fairly traceable to the races. Multitudes profane the Sabbath by travelling to and from the course. The drivers of conveyances, waiters at inns, and porters, are robbed of the day of sacred rest, to accommodate these idlers and pleasure-hunters. Again, numbers are so jaded by the exciting sport, that they are unfitted for any proper observance of the Sabbath; while by recounting the fortunes and incidents of the race to others, multitudes who did not themselves visit it are withdrawn from the sanctuary, and emboldened to neglect the exercises of religion. Ministers of religion can readily mark on the Sabbath the effect of the races by the diminished attendance of numbers of their flocks in the house of God; while they have afterwards to mourn over the ruin, for time and eternity, of not a few who are led away by the ensnaring and exciting amusement. If all these things are considered, it will be seen that Sabbath-profanation, to a very large extent, and that in its most offensive and degrading forms, is inseparable from horse-racing. The connection is that of cause and effect; and guard it as you may, the practice cannot exist without obliterating throughout the community, in a great measure, a sense of the authority of the Sabbath, and trampling under foot one of the most merciful institutions of heaven.

If we turn to some European countries, we see how readily the practice of horse-racing allies itself with the ungodliness

and immorality of communities. In *Spain* bull-fighting and other gross sensual amusements are generally practised on the Sabbath among a people who are said, by the concurrent testimony of all intelligent travellers, to be centuries behind the current of European civilization and improvement. In France, where the Sabbath is desecrated by all kinds of political movements—where, in many of the towns, secular business is only suspended for a short time in the morning, and the theatres are open in the evening for the entertainment of a giddy population—horse-races are very generally fixed for the Lord's-day, and are attended not only by the masses of the people, but by the highest functionaries of the State. A year or two since, races on a grand scale came off at Paris on the Sabbath—the President of the Republic countenancing the scene with his presence, and an immense concourse of people of all ranks, from the provinces as well as the capital, took part in the entertainment. Numbers of the sporting fraternity were attracted from other countries; and the news of the day stated that Scottish and English noblemen had their racers competing on the occasion, and came in for their shares or losses in this case of national contempt and defiance of God's law, in this scene of flagrant and gross immorality.

Even where, as in these countries, persons in high station do not thus openly disregard the law of the Sabbath, and public opinion, purified by scriptural sentiment and religious feeling, will not tolerate such a flagrant desecration, the whole tendency of the races is to infringe upon the rest of the Sabbath, and to lead great numbers throughout the community into the worst kinds of Sabbath-profanation. The exciting nature of the amusement, the multitude of persons which it draws together, many of whom have no deep or abiding sense of moral obligation, and the drinking, gambling, and other vicious practices which are associated with the races, all lead directly to profane God's holy day, and to deprive the community of its countless and invaluable blessings. Whatever would deprive any portion of the people, even a single individual, of the rest of the Sabbath, should be regarded as rebellion against God, and an injury inflicted upon society at large. The Divine precept—"Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy," is obligatory upon all; and those who from any motive, whether of pleasure, or honour, or gain, either follow a practice themselves which obliges them to disobey it, or which compels others in their employment to violate it, or which holds out a temptation to great numbers to

indulge in Sabbath-breaking, are assuredly not guiltless. The strict observance of the Sabbath has ever been followed by blessings manifold to individuals and families and communities; while, on the contrary, Sabbath-profanation has never failed to bring down Divine judgments upon a people who set at nought the most beneficent appointment of heaven. A vicious community can never be long prosperous or happy. Sabbath-breaking, when extensively prevalent, tends directly and powerfully to weaken and destroy the sense of moral obligation, and to set wide open the flood-gates of immorality. God in righteous indignation against a people that spurns his best gift, and sets at nought his authority, gives them up, as He did the ancient Jewish nation, to wander in their own vain counsels; and national judgments attest the displeasure of the Moral Governor of the world against such as contemn his laws, and impiously throw away the shield of a nation's defence. By abolishing the practice of horse-racing, a principal source of Sabbath-desecration would be removed—the progress of other great evils connected with it would be arrested, and another step would be taken for expelling from the nation all Sabbath-breaking practices, and of securing to all classes of the community, and to future generations, the incalculable blessings of the Sabbath.

4. *Drunkenness.*—Drinking customs are most injurious to a community, and every patriot and philanthropist should do all that is in his power to prevent and banish them entirely. Drunkenness is not only itself a degrading and ruinous vice, it is the parent of many other vices. The fullest investigation, and the simplest and most disinterested testimony of multitudes who are best qualified to judge on the subject, have clearly shown that *three-fourths* of the crime, more than *one-half* of the disease and insanity, and a large proportion of the public burdens and poverty of the community, are to be traced to drinking customs. It was true wisdom in Mahomet to prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors to his followers; and it is a fact which cannot be mentioned but to the shame and reproach of Christian lands, that among a population of some *one hundred and thirty millions* in Mahometan countries, and in those which profess the Buddhist idolatry, numbering about *three hundred and fifty millions*, there is nowhere to be found what is fearfully common among us—A DRUNKARD'S GRAVE. There can be no doubt that if the traffic in ardent spirits were wholly given up, and drinking customs abandoned, there would accrue

to the community, both civil and ecclesiastical, incalculable benefits of various kinds. The physical comforts of the people would be increased ; domestic peace and happiness would be promoted ; a principal impediment to the spread and success of the Gospel would be removed out of the way ; vice and crime would be greatly diminished ; and many that are led away and destroyed by pernicious usages would be rescued from ruin in this world, and endless misery in the world to come. It is stated that, since the legislature of the state of Maine refused to licence distilleries and the traffic in intoxicating drinks, the state jail has been empty of prisoners, and every kind of crime has diminished to an astonishing degree, while the moral, social, and religious improvement of the people has advanced beyond any former precedent. While we lament that our rulers, in these countries, have not seen it to be true wisdom and the best policy to give up revenue which is derived from the degradation and demoralization of the people, and that all ministers of the Gospel, and others of public influence, have not duly felt the obligation to act with Christian decision, in opposing and putting down drunkenness, it certainly becomes all Christian men, according to their station and influence, to wage incessant war against this monster evil, and to do whatever is in their power to expel from society drinking usages—to rescue from destruction the hapless victims of intemperance, and to employ all legitimate means for cutting off the future recruits of drunkenness.

Believing that no persons who have properly considered the subject can gainsay the evidence that has been adduced, of the numerous and incalculable evils of intemperance, or can dutifully refuse to co-operate in removing them, we cannot but regard horse-racing as a practice which in many ways promotes drunkenness, and which ought to be discountenanced by all who would desire to rescue the victims of this odious vice from ruin, and to advance the cause of temperance. Races are universally associated with drinking to excess. Not unfrequently the keepers of inns and public-houses themselves embark in racing, or contribute to establish and maintain races, for the purpose of swelling their gains, and advancing the traffic in the demoralization and ruin of the thousands that are addicted to drinking practices. The race-ground, and the avenues that lead to it, are often thronged with besotted drunkards, and present an aspect as offensive to all decency as it is revolting to all the feelings of humanity. The courage and

excitement of the jockeys, betters, and lovers of the sport require to be kept up and stimulated by intoxicating drinks. The winners frequently squander their ill-gotten gain in fits of drunkenness, while the losers seek to conceal their mortification and drown their sorrows, by surrendering themselves unreservedly to debauchery. Many thoughtless youth who resort to the race-course are inveigled, or go of their own accord, to the gin-palace or dram-shop, and thus receive their first lessons in the art of intoxication, and take the first downward step towards the loss of character and ruin that inevitably attend the drunkard's progress. The hateful vices and odious practices which are found inseparable from the races, are partly stimulated by the use of intoxicating liquors; and drunkenness, in part, is the result of vicious conduct. Drunkenness is, at the same time, the cause and effect of numerous vices. If we possessed full moral statistics of the races, in the various localities where they are established, it is believed that the money lavished in drinking alone would far exceed all that could generally be anticipated; and that the numbers that are either for the first time ensnared into a destructive practice, or that have their downhill course to ruin greatly accelerated, exceed all calculation. Who can estimate the wretched state of a single victim of intemperance, with health injured, his worldly estate dissipated, friends and family disgraced, become a curse to society, brought to a premature grave, and the soul cast a wreck on the shores of a lost eternity? Such is the fearful doom of the drunkard. How sad and irreparable the injury inflicted on domestic relations—upon parents, or wife, or children, by his infatuated conduct! And not only the example while he lives, but his memory long after he has passed to the retribution that awaits him, is a curse to the community. Surely every Christian who loves his neighbour, who knows the worth of the soul, or who has any regard to the Divine authority, or concern for the Divine honour, should contribute his exertions to prevent, if possible, a single individual throughout the community from being seduced into a course so fatal, from being hurried into a vortex of misery so tremendous. And when it is not the fate of one, but of thousands that is concerned, every principle and feeling of religion and philanthropy urge us to come to the rescue of them that are in danger of drifting away to hopeless perdition. "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we know it

not ; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it ? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it ? and shall not He render to every man according to his works ? ”¹ Let horse-racing be abandoned, and one large and deep fountain of intemperance will be dried up. Not a few who, addicted to this amusement, are in the high road to the drunkard’s doom, will be rescued ; and many others, yet untaught in the ways of intoxication, who, as sure as they resort to the races, will be the future recruits of the army of drunkards, may be saved from a course which, while it is ruinous to character and destructive to soul and body, inflicts lasting and aggravated injury upon society.

5. *Cruelty to animals—Danger and loss of life to riders and others.*—The present age is distinguished from those which preceded it by enlarged philanthropic effort. Inquiries are constantly set on foot, and perseveringly prosecuted, to discover the evils that afflict society, and to alleviate and remove them. Associations are formed and ably supported, consisting of persons of all ranks, from the titled peer to the humble mechanic, for the purpose of relieving human misery, preventing crime, promoting the health and physical comfort of the poor, and advancing the improvement in knowledge and morality of the masses of the people. Within the last ten or twelve years, notwithstanding the many great evils still remaining in our social system, there has been most gratifying progress made in the diffusion of humane sentiments and feelings. Usages sanctioned by law, and that had existed for ages—such as confining some kinds of criminals in unhealthy cells, and many cases of capital punishment—have been abandoned. Such inhuman sports as cock-fighting and prize-fighting, which were formerly frequented by persons of influence and respectable standing in society, are now, in many districts, entirely given up, or left to be followed only by the dregs of the population.²

¹ Proverbs xxiv. 11, 12.

² It is gratifying to observe that legislation has been of late years employed to put an end to demoralizing practices. By the Act of Parliament, 12 and 13 Victoria, cap. xcii., a penalty of five pounds is imposed for cock and dog fighting. Persons who keep places for these purposes are to be fined £5 a-day. Were the community thoroughly alive to the evil of these practices, such a law might speedily effect their entire removal. It is to be feared, however, that this is not the case, as the writer has been informed of instances in which such multitudes still assemble for these infamous sports, that the fine is at once paid, and the fight goes forward when the officers of the law have retired ; and of others in which large numbers collect periodically for the same purpose, in places where they can elude the detection of

Ragged schools, public baths, penitentiaries, and city missions, indicate that the wants and woes of humanity have been searched into, and that there are many active devoted hands and hearts employed in attempting to redress them. Some of these philanthropic exertions are but of recent origin ; but even the progress which they have already made, proclaims that the era of neglect has passed away, not again to return, and that Christians are everywhere awaking to a consciousness that the spirit of our holy religion is eminently practical, and that it has yet to reap some of its noblest triumphs, in removing the evils, moral and physical, that afflict the population of Christian countries, and banishing all that is inhuman from the earth. The value of human life is felt and acknowledged, wherever pure and undefiled religion prevails, and all proper means, often at great expense, are employed to defend and preserve it. The lower animals, too, have justly been assigned a distinct place in the efforts of Christian philanthropy. Man is regarded as their natural protector ; and the *bondage* to which his apostasy and rebellion against God has reduced them, he is bound, by every means in his power, consistently with the design of their position in the scale of existence, to alleviate. The degradation and sufferings of the irrational creation furnish at once an affecting memorial of man's "first disobedience," and a powerful motive to treat the lower animals with kindness and compassion. The future era of the dominion of knowledge and true religion will be distinguished by the cessation of the groans of creation, and by freedom from the primeval curse, to a large extent, of the inferior animals. "For the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."¹ It is certainly the duty of every Christian to do all that is in his power to hasten this joyful consummation ; and as we may ourselves antedate the millennium, by living in the spirit of true devotedness, so should we strenuously labour to realize one of its special characteristics, when the

the police. In such instances, every member of the community should consider himself solemnly bound to enforce the law, to put down a practice at once inhuman and brutalizing.

¹ Romans viii. 22, 20, 21.

creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and shall be introduced to be a sharer, according to its capacity, in "the glorious liberty of the children of God."

Of the philanthropic schemes of our day, few are more deserving of the friendly regard and cordial support of Christians of every name, than the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals." Toiling in a field which has been long neglected, and which scarcely attracted even the notice of other labourers, pleading for creatures that could not themselves utter the language of complaint, nor appeal to Christian sympathy in articulate words, and encountering the prejudices and rude opposition of those who can hardly be brought to consider themselves responsible for the treatment of animals which are their property, they have nobly pursued their self-denying course; and with a vigilance ever wakeful, and penetrating everywhere, they have detected and exposed cases of cruelty and neglect which had for a long time been permitted to pass unheeded. With heroic determination they have brought offenders to justice, and engaged legislators and the public authorities in what must ever be regarded as a beautiful exemplification of their high functions. The provisions they have made for alleviating the sufferings of the lower animals, and promoting their comfort, are characterized by singular wisdom; and, what we regard as the chief praise and highest achievement of this excellent association, their exertions have powerfully tended to diffuse humane sentiments and feelings. Cruel masters and drivers of horses have been exposed to the indignant reprobation of the community, and have been taught that it is not less their own interest than an obligation to law and justice, to treat with kindness the animals under their care; while the principle which the society everywhere inculcates, that the inferior animals are entitled to protection and kind treatment, has served to extend humane views and refined feelings throughout every department of society. This brief digression may be forgiven, because the labours of these excellent men tend to promote objects similar to those which this essay aims to advance, and because of what they have already achieved in the cause of Christian philanthropy.

Horse-racing is justly chargeable with cruelty to animals; and in proportion to the noble qualities of the horse, and his utility to man, is this cruelty aggravated, and deserving of reprobation. We are aware that it has been pleaded that a racer

of pure blood, and that has been well-trained, takes delight in the course, and suffers no injury from his exertions. To some extent this may be true, and yet it may be properly asked, Why then are the whip and spur used without mercy? Cases may be adduced in which animals have frequently competed in the race, and yet have remained without permanent injury. But, on the other hand, numbers of fine horses are, in the course of training, or by violent exertions in the race, damaged in limb, or become wind-broken, or otherwise so disabled as to be unfitted for any useful purpose. Some are killed at once; to hear of others falling in the mud, or severely bruised, is a common occurrence in the sporting intelligence; and a great number even of favourite racers, on retiring from the turf, are spoken of as broken-down animals; and, if afterwards engaged in other employments, they carry with them hurts that must be painful to them while they live.¹ The truth is, that the health and comfort, or even the life of the animal, must, in the nature of the case, be but an inferior consideration with those who are ardently addicted to racing. To obtain the honour and carry off the prize is everything; and, although the owner and the jockey may feel an attachment to a generous animal, yet the stakes contended for are so large that they are reckoned sufficient to counterbalance an injury received, or even the entire loss of the horse. Although we have not sufficient statistics of racing to speak very positively on the subject, we believe it can be clearly shown that the average life of race-horses is much shorter than that of similar animals properly cared for, that

¹ A highly respectable friend has stated to us, that, being in the South of Scotland when he was about *nine or ten years of age*, and having been taken by acquaintances to witness the races near Stranraer, amidst the sights which chiefly arrested his attention was the large swellings, trickling with blood, on the sides of the racers, when they came in after a few minutes' running. These were caused by the violent and incessant spurring of the riders. He says that the impression which this cruel sight made on his youthful mind, at the distance of between thirty and forty years, he has never been able since to efface. During the last year, a steeple-chase *came off* at Newtonards, County Down; and owing in part to the inequality and difficulties of the ground, and to the vigour of the competition, the horses were greatly injured. An excellent man, who saw the racers returning in the evening, stated to us that some six or seven fine horses had suffered so much, that some of them had the sinews of their legs cut, some were lame and bleeding profusely, and some were actually drawn in carts, being unable to walk. Surely, if a sense of decency and humanity will not induce the patrons of such a barbarous practice to discontinue it, it is high time that the public authorities should.

are engaged in useful employments. If they live after a few years spent in racing, they linger out existence, crippled and broken-winded, either in pain while engaged in some other labour, or fed by their owners from the remembrance of their former prowess.

Horses of the kind that are selected for racing are known to be long-lived ; and instead of a few years—six or eight at the most—given to a practice which affects the wind, or strains the muscles, and leaves swellings in the limbs, which either wholly or in part disable them, they might be preserved in health and vigour and comfort, for a period of *twenty* or even *thirty years*, in an employment which would be of permanent advantage to the proprietor and to society.

Besides, upon many other horses than first-class racers, a vast amount of cruelty is inflicted. It is well known that the practice of racing forms an irresistible temptation to the giddy excited multitude that crowd to the scene, to start in the like competition animals that were never trained for this employment. Farmers' horses, and others quite unfit for such exertion, are brought forward ; and by the excitement of betting, the brutal owners urge forward the animals at the risk of their life, or of receiving certain and lasting injury. Such is the natural consequence of an amusement where unbridled passion reigns, and where the voice of sober reason for the time is wholly unheeded. When all these cases are put together, and those arising from steeple-chases—of which we shall afterwards speak—are added, the extent and magnitude of these cruelties will appear far greater than is generally imagined. And they are aggravated from two considerations—first, from the noble qualities of the animal that is thus abused ; and secondly, the injury is inflicted in urging the creature beyond his powers, not in any work that is beneficial to society. It is solely to gratify the taste for low, sensual pleasure, or to promote the vice of gambling, that the horse, designed to be the companion of man, and of singular service to him, is exposed to the risk of loss of health and life, and is maltreated in various ways. The voice of humanity, equally as of Christian feeling, cries out against this flagrant wrong. Persons that perpetrate it, we are persuaded, would have the brand of society put upon them, were the number of cases of heartless cruelty brought together and fairly exhibited. Only because the

amusement is popular, and the races are commended in the sporting news, from the success of the winners, and the prizes carried off, while the casualties and moral evils connected with them are sedulously kept out of view, do such instances of cruelty not meet with general and indignant reprobation. Those that wilfully or thoughtlessly yield themselves to take part in perpetrating such wrongs upon an animal which has peculiar and superior claims upon man's kind treatment, take the direct way of debasing their own moral nature, and of leading others to hard-hearted and brutal practices. Hence the lower classes that frequent the race-course take delight in the ring, and cock-pit, and dog-fight; and the progress is rapid and easy from such unnatural and cruel sports to exhibit a savage spirit, and practise brutalities towards human beings. There is a schooling in the process of inhumanity. It has been justly said, "No person is all at once wicked;" and the first steps of brutality and the indulgence of cruel feelings are to be carefully shunned, as, if taken or indulged, no person can tell the depth of degradation to which the individual may afterwards be conducted. All are familiar with the story of Domitian,^r who, though naturally a boy of a kind and generous disposition, was indulged in tormenting flies, by cutting off their wings and legs, and amusing himself by their awkward motions. His kindly feelings were thus blunted and obliterated, until he became afterwards a cruel persecutor of the Christians, and a monster of inhumanity. The story of Hazael, contained in the Scriptures, illustrates the same thing. At one period of his history, when warned by the prophet of the cruelties which he would afterwards commit, his heart recoiled from the picture of cruelty presented, and he indignantly replied, "But what, is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" Yet he lived to perpetrate even greater cruelties than Elisha had predicted; and, it is likely, without any repugnance or feeling of remorse. Our wisdom in such a case is "*Obsta principiis*"—*oppose the beginnings*. And we have no hesitation in saying that the discontinuance of horse-racing would not only prevent a large amount of injury, and suffering, and loss of life which it inflicts upon the horse, but likewise of cruelty to animals in general, and that it would be the means of saving numbers from being trained to brutality and degrading practices. It is ever to be remembered that the Moral Governor of the world has clearly revealed his will, both in the constitution of things which He has established, and in the

^r Roman Emperor, between A. D. 81 and 96.

Scriptures, that the inferior animals should be protected and treated with kindness. Besides various express precepts on the subject in the Mosaic institutions, it is plainly declared in the Word, "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast."¹ And God gave as a reason for sparing Nineveh, that great city, that in it "There was very much cattle."² With such a beautiful instance of the Divine condescension before us, should we not be impelled to plead for the lower animals? Should not religion and humanity equally urge us to labour strenuously and perseveringly, till every form of cruelty be done away, and till practices, which are the disgrace of humanity, be entirely banished?

Cruelty to the horse, which flows from the races, is, however, far exceeded by the injury and loss of life which the same practice occasions to human beings. God has set the most powerful fence around human life, and has uniformly represented the taking of it away unjustly as one of the worst crimes, and as the deepest injury inflicted on society. The appropriate retribution is the highest that can be demanded of an individual—the forfeiture of life to public justice. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." The taking away of human life, without proper care to avoid it, whether directly or indirectly, is justly regarded as murder, and those who do so should be considered by every person and treated as murderers, as they are unquestionably so viewed in the eye of the Divine Law. The duellist and slave-dealer, however protected from condign punishment by barbarous customs, or iniquitous laws, are not the less murderers in God's sight; and all Christians should abhor their practices, and either compel them to abandon them, or subject them to deserved punishment.

There may be some necessary employments which involve a considerable risk of human life. Such are mining, sea-faring business, and defensive war; and while these may be pleaded for, as in the present state of society needful and indispensable, it is universally admitted that everything should be done that is possible to avoid the prodigal waste of life, and ultimately to diminish and remove the danger. The case, however, is far otherwise with those sorts of business or amusements that cannot be followed without imperilling life, and, in many instances, actually taking it away, when there is no call of duty to engage in them, when the object for which they are followed

¹ Proverbs xii. 10.

² Jonah iv. 11.

is of no use to society, but is only foolish, and for low, selfish indulgence. Of this class is horse-racing, and especially that kind of the race designated the steeple-chase. At every stage of the amusement there is danger to human life; and few races come off without some of the persons concerned in them, or collected on the occasion, either losing their life or suffering bodily injury. The riders are placed in such positions, and so urged by the necessities of the sport, that they cannot properly provide for their safety, and, accordingly, under the head of "Casualties" in the sporting intelligence, it is quite common to meet with accounts of persons of this class having received a kick of the horse and losing an eye, being severely bruised, or having an arm or leg broken, and to find cases stated of their being thrown violently and killed at once.

These matters, it is true, are often slurred over, as if they were of no consequence; for it would be regarded as quite improper to mar the effect of the description of a good race by dwelling on the calamities to individuals which it occasioned. Amateurs would not bear it; and the newspapers that would dilate on such things would be speedily thrown aside, as full of cant and intolerable. It is sad, too, not only to consider the utter disregard to human life which the passion for racing fosters, but likewise the apathy with which severe bodily injuries, and even the loss of life, is contemplated by those who are engaged in the sport. A fellow-creature, perhaps the head of a family, is thrown and severely hurt, so as to disable him for the remainder of his days, and to reduce him, and a family dependent upon him, to want, or he is at once hurried into eternity, in a state of mind wholly unfit to meet his Judge; and yet such an event is so little heeded, that the race is hardly arrested for a few minutes. The body of the sufferer is removed out of view, and in a short time all the mirth and mad excitement, and eager interest in the fearful game goes on as before. Is this a picture that can be contemplated by any person of Christian principle or right feeling, without repulsion and horror? A person that might have been useful lost to society, and his family reduced to misery, is an incident which ought not surely to be regarded as trivial or unimportant. But the thought of an immortal and accountable being cut off in a moment, and launched into eternity, from the hurry and confusion of a race-course, is awful indeed. The sudden loss of life, in any case, is to be contemplated with solemn feelings, but the eternal loss of an immortal spirit is unspeakably more

fearful. Who ever entered on a race in a prayerful spirit, invoking the Divine blessing on the amusement, or seeking Divine support in the eager competition? Have we any reason to think that jockeys in such a spirit engage in the maddening sport? And if, as the Bible declares, "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord," and if to live and die prayerless is to be without hope, then the condition of a human being in death, passing out of life without any opportunity of commending his soul to God, and with unworthy feelings and passions highly excited, is melancholy beyond conception. There must surely be much utterly wrong in a business which almost inevitably leads to such a catastrophe. If those who needlessly peril human life, or who engage others in employments by which they lose their lives, without having taken all possible precautions for their preservation, are justly held chargeable with murder, at least in a mitigated degree, then those who promote races, that thus endanger and destroy human life, cannot be held guiltless. It need not be pleaded that jockeys voluntarily engage in the business, and expect large wages; and that there are other employments, such as mining, &c., which are attended with equal, if not greater risk of health and life. Be it so; yet surely the "gentlemen of the turf" are responsible for withdrawing those who become jockeys from honest and regular industry, and for tempting them, even by higher wages, to a course which unavoidably exposes them to numerous accidents, and to the danger of life.¹ The other employments referred to are necessary for society, and it is only when racing can be shown to be of similar value that the argument from the one case to the other can be regarded as valid.

It is not merely the loss of life that takes place on the scene for which the races are to be held responsible. The riot, drunkenness, and debauchery which invariably accompany them, are followed by many "serious accidents," and by numbers of deaths. In connection with the races held annually in one place in the north of Ireland, with which we are acquainted, it was estimated some years ago, that at an average *three* or *four persons* lost their lives during the race week, either from the race itself or from drunkenness, quarrelling, or neglect, or privation—the fruits of dissipation and debauchery. If any-

¹ It may be asked, are those who employ riders in these dangerous and useless occupations willing to support them for life if disabled from earning a livelihood, or to provide for their families if they are killed?

thing like this occurs in the numerous other race meetings that are held throughout the United Kingdom, then the injuries inflicted on human beings, and the destruction of life that flows from this source, amount to a very large number. Races, viewed in their influence upon the health and life of man and animals, ought to be regarded as a pestilence more destructive than many epidemics that have excited alarm throughout the community, and called into existence cordons and boards of health, and led to other active precautionary measures. Were a committee of public safety to be established, or an association for the protection of human life to be formed, one of its first objects should be to put down racing, as by it more are injured and cut off than by several other mischievous practices combined. And then the mere bodily injury, or even the loss of the animal life, is as nothing compared with the evils inflicted on the families of the victims, and with the ruin of their souls. Therefore should Christians everywhere rouse themselves to exertions to have practices so cruel and destructive done away. The spirit and principle of the Gospel proclaim to every human being, "*Do thyself no harm.*" It inflicts no injury on the body or spirit, or outward estate of a single individual, and wholly discountenances and forbids everything injurious or destructive. It need not be told how contrary racing practices are to this; and, therefore, all who desire the prevalence and triumph of the principles and spirit of our holy religion, should set themselves resolutely and perseveringly to have them wholly relinquished.

6. *Gambling, with its fearful consequences.*—The vice of gambling is almost universally admitted to be among the most ensnaring and destructive which pollutes and disgraces human society. It can boast of a great antiquity, and has been practised to a very wide extent both in Pagan and Christian countries, and among persons of every grade in society. Historians tell us that the Lydians were the first people that resorted to it, when the country had been visited by a famine, and that they had recourse to it, to divert their minds from the privations which they were enduring. It is, furthermore, related that, under the excitement of gambling, they could forget for whole days that they had not tasted food for many hours previously. Whatever of fiction may be blended with this story, it cannot be denied that the expedient was well fitted to engross the mind, so as to make the Lydians oblivious of their sufferings and of every other consideration. We know that the Greeks and Romans, in the most refined periods of their history, were

passionately addicted to this vice ; and the frequent allusions which are made to it by their satirists, moralists, and historians, abundantly show that time and property, to an incredible amount, were wasted in the declining times of these states in gambling. D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, mentions the extent of gambling in the east. "When all other property," he says, "is pledged away, the Asiatic gambler scruples not to stake his wife or his child, and if still unsuccessful, the last venture he stakes is himself!"

"To discharge their gambling debts, the Siamese sell their possessions, their families, and at length themselves. The Chinese play night and day, till they have lost all they are worth, and then they usually go and hang themselves. Such is the propensity of the Japanese for high play, that they were compelled to make a law that whoever ventures his money at play shall be put to death." In the newly-discovered islands of the Pacific Ocean, they venture even their hatchets, which they hold as invaluable acquisitions, on running matches! "We saw a man," Captain Cook writes in his last voyage, "beating his breast and tearing his hair, in the violence of rage, for having lost three hatchets at one of these races, and which he had purchased with nearly half his property!" The ancient nations were not less addicted to gaming. D'Israeli gives numerous instances of the practice amongst the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Romans, and among the Goths, Germans, &c. "To notice the modern ones," he adds, "were a melancholy task ; there is hardly a distinguished family in Europe that cannot record from their own domestic annals the dreadful prevalence of this unfortunate passion. Affection has felt the keenest laceration, and genius been irrecoverably lost, by a wanton sport, which doomed to destruction the hopes of families, and consumed the heart of the gamester with corrosive agony."

There has always been among all people a very powerful desire to seek to acquire money by an easier and speedier way than by honest and persevering labour. Hence, wherever men congregate together with such hearts as they have, they will always have, in one shape or other, the means of such acquisition ; and the disposition for gambling may be, therefore, regarded as an inveterate propensity of our fallen nature, and the practice may be said to be the curse equally of civilized and barbarous society. The eager desire to get money rapidly, by whatever means—the passion which leads to gambling—has

been justly characterized as not only dangerous in its exercise, but as in itself infamous. The inquiry of the Latin poet—

“Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra fames?”¹—

has its answer in the weighty declarations of Holy Writ, “The love of money is the root of all evil.” “They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.” The grand maxim of the world, if not openly avowed, at least acted upon by millions, is that “money procures everything”—that “money is everything.” It is easy to see how readily such a maxim will be embraced by the young and inexperienced. To such the prospect of constant struggle, and the slow gains of honest acquisition, are repulsive and appalling. Opposed to this, the shorter path opened to wealth and pleasure by speculation and gambling is most seductive. In view of it, the labours of honest and necessary callings become insupportably forbidding and irksome, and the individual is easily induced to try his chance in the rapid road to riches.

It has been well said that there are few greater or more terrific mysteries than those of gambling. The passion for this vice once indulged becomes absorbing and all-devouring. When a person has taken the first step, he rarely recovers himself; and when once the gambler has fairly launched into the excitement of this vice, even if his conscience should, in a favoured moment, gain the ascendancy, he is made to feel that he has no power to escape from the fearful delusion; and he contends in vain against the current that bears him down to destruction. In the last century, the Earl of Bedford was so addicted to gambling, that he found it in some sort necessary to his existence; and, even in sickness, and when he was drawing near to death, he continued still eagerly to follow the practice. The celebrated Charles James Fox was so inveterate a gambler that he is said, on one evening, to have lost no less a sum than £25,000, and yet afterwards to have followed the practice as keenly as before. On another occasion, he is said to have continued at play no less than *twenty-two* hours consecutively, and to have lost £500 every hour, making a total of £11,000; and yet this did not cure him of the detestable passion.²

We need not wait to describe how ruinous gambling is to

¹ O infamous thirst of gold! what wilt thou not force mortals to do?

² See Appendix.

property and character, and everything that is valuable either to the individual or to society. Many who once staked large sums at a single throw, have been reduced to the most abject poverty—have ruined their families and friends, and at length, in despair, put an end to their existence. Young men who are drawn into the practice have become spellbound ; and, forgetting their business, their meals, and their sleep, have gone on till they were stripped of their clothes, and rendered the veriest outcasts of society. It is the striking conception of an eminent painter, when he seeks to illustrate this all-mastering passion, that the soldiers present were employed in gambling at the moment when the decision was made that the Saviour should be put to death. They are represented as too much engaged to look up, or take any interest in the scene !

The state of feeling of the gambler has been justly characterized as nearly akin to that of the damned ; and not inappropriately has the name "Hell" been given to the haunts of gamblers. The fact is, that gambling is the prolific parent of almost all other vices. It calls into activity every base and malignant feeling, and leads its victims into almost every infamous and detestable practice. It is naturally connected with blasphemy, falsehood, cheating, drunkenness, and murder ; and what has been said of another sin, may be most appropriately affirmed of this—"Suffer yourself to become a confirmed gambler, and, detestable as the practice is, it will soon be the only one among many gross sins of which you will be guilty." One may be ruined by the mastery of a single sin ; but, if a person becomes a gambler, he will, in all probability, descend to destruction, with the infamy of having been the slave of all kinds of vice, and of having been led captive by Satan at his will. Gambling seizes hold of all the passions—allies itself with all the low and gross appetites, and compels every evil propensity to pay tribute. There may be men of rank in society who follow gambling—and gamblers by profession dress finely and live in style—and yet it is undeniable that, with all their boasting of honour, and blustering about integrity, they are the prey of avaricious and dishonest thoughts, and are not unfrequently chargeable with cheating in practice. Hard drinking is inseparable from gambling. A person who visited the "Hells" in London, tells us that brandy is constantly offered without charge to those who enter these dens of infamy ; and, in the intervals of play, the stimulant of intoxicating liquors is always employed to nerve anew the relaxed physical energies,

or to drown the voice of conscience. Blasphemy, quarrelling, and murder, are associated with gambling, and are its frequent consequents; and suicide, in the most revolting forms, is often the end of the unhappy victim of this vice. It is said that in London, not a few who are irrecoverably given up to gambling practices, have previously formed the coolest and most horrid determination of self-destruction, when they have lost all in play; while in Paris, where gambling prevails to the most frightful extent, of those who are found every morning drowned in the Seine, a large proportion are those who, having been unsuccessful at the gaming-table, hurry thence to certain destruction.

Then, gamblers not only work their own undoing, they also drag to ruin multitudes of others over whom they have influence, or with whom they are connected. How many families have been thus destroyed! How many parents and wives have, by their children and husbands becoming gamblers, had all their fond hopes blighted, and been brought with shame and sorrow to the grave! How many children, that might have been respectable, and lived in comfort in the world, have inherited from their parents, ruined by gambling, a name of infamy, and an inheritance of poverty and wretchedness! Gamblers that have tempted and ruined others, or that have inflicted such injuries upon those tender relations, that naturally looked to them for protection, support, and comfort, should be regarded as less men than demons in human shape; and only the retributions of the judgment-seat, and of a lost eternity, can adequately declare the magnitude of their crimes.

No vice is so ruinous to society as gambling. When practised, as in some cases it is, by magistrates, legislators, and large portions of the community, it dries up every fountain of public benevolence. Schools are neglected, the ordinances of religion forsaken, charity ceases, and vices of loathsome character overspread the land. A society generally addicted to gambling will necessarily be a society sordid, reckless, and selfish—bent only on present gratification, and in which all proper attention to the public weal is neglected. As instances of the ruinous effects of the indulgence of the propensity to gambling, may be mentioned the cases of two English monarchs. It is well known that to this vice Charles the Second was, throughout life, strongly addicted; and, to meet the expenses of gambling and its kindred vices, he extorted taxes in the most illegal manner off his subjects, by ruinous fines imposed upon the

best patriots of the nation ; and by confiscating the properties of those that were banished or put to death, and by a pension basely received from the King of France for the purpose of establishing absolute power, he obtained the means of pursuing his infamous pleasures. Horse-racing and gambling received a very powerful impulse from the example and Court of Charles II. ; and it is a matter of history that the loose morals and low vices of that Court spread throughout all ranks, and the malign influence that emanated from it served to deteriorate English society for several generations afterwards. George the Fourth, while Prince of Wales, it is well known, was involved in enormous debts, contracted from his inveterate habits of gambling. It is said that in two years, soon after he attained his majority, he lost nearly half a million in play. It was solely to enable him to pay, by a settlement from the nation, his gambling debts, and not from any real affection, that he married the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. The unhappy results of this union, not only to the unfortunate princess, but likewise to the morals of the nation, may therefore be properly traced to the odious practice of gambling.

Having said so much in relation to a vice which is of so detestable a character, and so destructive, and yet is withal so prevalent, we think it must be generally admitted that it is every person's duty to do what in him lies to expose it to public detestation, and to banish it from society. Those practices which cannot be followed without gambling, and which plainly encourage it to a large extent, are, on this ground, to be condemned, and should be put down, as ruinous to individuals, and as most mischievous to the community. Even were they productive of some advantages, yet if they diffuse and uphold gambling, there is no benefit that can possibly be derived from them, that can in any measure counterbalance the enormous evils which they must necessarily inflict. That this is a proper view of the effects of horse-racing, all who are acquainted with the practice must at once admit.

The races are themselves a particular species of gambling, in some respects more ensnaring than what is usually thus designated, and they are inseparably connected with and lead to many other kinds of the same vice. Whatever men may pretend about the healthful effects of racing, and its use in improving the breed of horses, it is a plain case that none will establish or support races solely for such purposes. Were it not for the stakes offered, and the prospect of large and

rapid gains, the whole practice would be given up. The gentlemen who keep studs of racers, and who incur a large expense in their purchase and training, expect to be amply compensated by the large prizes that they will carry off on the race-course. "The sterling cash," it has been said, "and not the 'bubble—honour,' is the main object of the British sportsman on the turf." This may be readily seen when it is stated that a three years' colt has won, at three starts, the enormous sum of 8350 guineas; and that a three years' old filly has won the still greater amount of £11,100.¹

The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his memoirs of Lord George Bentinck, while labouring to free Lord George from the charge of being actuated by the sordid love of money in racing, admits that at one period he was an extensive gambler in racing, and that his pride was elated, and he took great credit to himself for the large profits that he thus acquired. "The turf, too, was not merely the scene of the triumphs of his stud and his betting book. Notwithstanding his mighty stakes, and the keenness with which he backed his opinion, no one perhaps ever cared less for money. His habits were severely simple; and he was the most generous of men. He valued the acquisition of money on the turf, because there it was the test of success. He counted his thousands, after a great race, as a victorious general counts his cannon and his prisoners."² Even this redeeming feature in the character of Lord George Bentinck, as a sportsman, is, we fear, seldom to be found in those who are devoted to horse-racing. There may be the pride of superiority, and the honour of success aimed after; but the prevailing motive is the rapid acquisition of money. This leads to peril the lives of the racers and jockeys; makes gentlemen overlook the character of those with whom they associate on the race-course; and reconciles them to many other things, which neither the rules of morality, nor a proper sense of self-respect would, in other circumstances, tolerate. Sporting gentlemen calculate, by their skill in racing, to repair broken fortunes, and to obtain money to enable them to live in pleasure and extravagance. Frequently the bets are enormous; and while some must, of course, gain, and realize large profits,

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xi.; article, Horse. See also *Racing Calendar*. Amount of Twentieth Riddlesworth Stakes at Newmarket; the Derby Oaks at Epsom; and the St Leger Stakes at Doncaster.

² *Lord George Bentinck: a Political Biography*. By Benjamin D'Israeli, p. 348.

others lose immense sums, and spend fortunes in the eagerness of the exciting competition. As it is well known that some ladies of rank are professed gamblers, so there have been some who are addicted to racing, and who are gamblers in this amusement to a high degree. It was recently mentioned of the late Countess of Lovelace, the daughter of Lord Byron, that her passion for racing was ardent—that her “betting transactions” were heavy; and though she was frequently successful, yet in a single year “her losses fell very little short of £20,000;” and it is added, as if relating a matter not the most common on the turf, that this sum she “very promptly paid on the day of settlement.”

Fair and extensive estates are thus burdened with enormous debts; and while honest and industrious tradesmen are defrauded, and farmers and tenants are oppressed by unfeeling agents and bailiffs, the heirs are left the titles and honour of nobility, without the means of supporting their station. Of the vast properties in this country that have of late years been put to the hammer in the Encumbered Estates' Court, a large number came into a ruined condition by the extravagance of racing and gambling. And many others who are not landed proprietors, have either themselves been beggared, and driven to desperate courses in the same way, or have left an entail of poverty and misery to their descendants, who, but for such things, might have maintained an honourable and affluent rank in society. Here the children suffer for the iniquity of their fathers; and, for many generations, the seed of these gamblers have reason to execrate the follies and fashionable vices of their ancestors. But it is not the persons who own racers, or the “sovereigns of the turf,” that alone are led into gambling at the races. Others, of every rank, bet on the chances of success. Gambling becomes a universal mania. The number betting, and the amount of the sums betted on a single race, often exceed belief. Thus it was stated in the course of last summer, that at one of the races in England, the people of Kingston-on-Hull had lost by betting on a single race, a sum equal to one-fourth of the whole value of the customs of the port in a year. It can readily be conceived that when so large numbers are congregated on the race-course, and where, amidst the excitement of the scene, gambling becomes a universal practice, it must be carried to a prodigious extent. Here the temptation is even greater, and larger numbers are drawn into the vice, than by means of the haunts of gambling—

the "Hells" of large towns. These being prohibited by law, and accounts being frequently published of the evils that arise from resorting to them, numbers are thus preserved from the snare. But betting at the races is under no restraint; and besides, multitudes go to these amusements with no design of gambling, who yet are inveigled by the company with which they associate, and by what they see going on everywhere around them. The first step taken, as we have already shown, the down-hill course is rapid, and recovery becomes hopeless. Many go away from the exciting scene directly to betake themselves to other kinds of gambling; and others return to their habitations, after being initiated in the mysteries of this infamous art, to pursue gambling practices wherever they have opportunity, to the ruin of themselves and others.

The races are indeed well known to be everywhere the chosen haunts of gamblers; and while they last, other scenes of gambling are suspended, as this is expected to yield the largest return. The gamblers of London make stated visits to particular towns in the provinces for the purpose of prosecuting their "professional" pursuits. The places selected for these periodical visits are generally those where races have been established; and the time and the season the race-week. Epsom, Ascot, Southampton, and other favourite resorts of the patrons of the turf, are honoured, during the racing days, with a number of portable "Hells." The proprietors of the London pandemoniums establish those moveable branch "Hells" in the course of a few hours. A marquee or tent suffices for the external part of the erection; and the bank, the dice, the wheel, the balls, and sundry packs of cards, not forgetting an ample supply of intoxicating liquors, are found all that is necessary, in the shape of furniture, for the interior. An eye-witness thus speaks of some of these scenes:—"I went into one of these portable "Hells" at the Southampton races of last year, and during the time I remained there, I saw a number of gentlemen plundered of very considerable sums. The hellites reaped a rich harvest on that occasion. After living for some days in Southampton in the greatest splendour, they returned to town laden with the spoils of simple, unsuspecting victims. At the Epsom races, too, at the present year, a friend of mine who was foolish enough to play, which is almost synonymous with losing one's money, states that gambling was carried on by the London hellites to an extent of which none but those who were present, and witnessed the transactions with their own

eyes, could have any idea. And yet, though thus notoriously carried on under the immediate observation of the magistrates and police, no one interposed to prevent her Majesty's subjects from being robbed of their money."¹

We have in this testimony an evidence of the greater danger, as well as the vast extent of gambling, as connected with the races. The public authorities put down the haunts of gambling in large towns, when they are duly informed of them; and hence the utmost precaution is employed by the proprietors of hells to conceal their practices from the magistracy and police. But, on the contrary, it seems to be taken for granted by all parties, that gambling is a necessary and indispensable appendage to the races, and nothing whatever is done to prevent it. The hellites that follow their avocations in London in secret, and that would be at once arrested, if they were found practising gambling openly, come forth at the races to open day, and none offer to interfere with them, or to act towards them as if their employment were illegal and prohibited. The reason is obvious. There are many members of Parliament, and persons in public station, who are confirmed gamblers; and the whole business of racing is just gambling of another kind; and it would therefore be regarded as a gross inconsistency to hinder members of the fraternity from collecting their gains on an occasion specially devoted to this unhallowed avocation.

The true state of the matter is this: without the foul spirit of gaming, the race-course would offer no charms to the greater number of those who frequent it. Gambling is, in fact, the very essence of the amusement. Who can deny that a taste for gambling is easily acquired and greatly invigorated upon the race-course? and that many who at first only made it their occasional sport have soon been hurried on to make it their business, and eventually to follow it to their destruction? The transition from the race-course to the cockpit, and to the temples of gaming is easy, rapid, natural, and not unfrequent; and by this treacherous, seductive, maddening vice, many once virtuous and honourable persons are hurried down to certain and irremediable destruction.

Considering the character and consequences of this odious vice, surely it requires no argument to show that every person who values his own safety, or who would save others from ruin, should do all that is in his power to banish it from the land. And if racing, as we have seen, unavoidably leads to such a

¹ *Sketches in London*, by James Grant, p. 381.

course of complicated moral delinquency, and certain destruction of property, character, and person, in soul and body, then it becomes a positive duty to labour by every possible means for its discontinuance. To us it appears exceedingly plain, that all persons who participate in and promote those things which are the cause of so much vice and misery, are thereby deeply implicated in their guilt, and may justly dread being made partakers of their plagues. We freely admit, as we have already done, that there are persons who patronize and frequent the races, who are not themselves chargeable with such vices. But if these vices are inseparable from the practice of racing, the persons to whom we allude must be regarded as, to some extent, the guilty cause of them. We can imagine numbers of comparatively honourable and virtuous men who follow racing, alleging that they do not resort to the race-course for an evil purpose; that they are not gamesters; that they do not pollute themselves with the vices that are practised at the races, and that they deplore their occurrence. Such persons may justify their own conduct, by putting the inquiry, "Must we abstain from an amusement which appears to us innocent, and in some respects useful, because others abuse it?" We meet this plea, first, by directing those who advance it to the plain and pointed declarations of the Divine Word, "Neither be ye partakers in other men's sins." "Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men. Avoid it, pass not by, turn from it, and pass away." "Wherefore, have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." The settled rule of the Divine government is that co-partners in sin must share in the plagues that are sent to punish it. Surely, in the view of such solemn prohibitions, no person of right mind can think it is lawful or desirable for him voluntarily to place himself, for the sake of amusement, in the company of those who dishonour God, blaspheme his name, and pollute themselves and others with debasing and destructive vices. The simple question is, Are such enormities as we have noticed practised and encouraged by means of the races? Then, whosoever promotes the course is responsible for the effects that flow from it. By upholding the races, he actively and positively promotes the vices which they engender. Every individual is a member of society, and whether his influence is extensive or limited, if he gives his sanction or personal attendance, he is, to the extent of his powers or means, the guilty cause of all the evil that follows. If none attend, the amusement would speedily be

abandoned. It is the presence and countenance of those who are considered decent members of society that principally uphold it; and they must, therefore, be held accountable for the numerous evils which follow in the train of racing. They cannot support the amusement without promoting the vices which they profess to deprecate. It is worthy of remark, too, that those who profess to hate gambling, and kindred vices, while yet they support or frequent the races, put forth no efforts to banish unworthy persons and demoralizing practices from the course. They well know that the attempt would be useless; but surely this does not exonerate them of the obligation to do away whatever disregards God's law and injures society; and if they are sensible that ~~all~~ efforts of this kind would be out of place at the races, then this clearly proclaims that the amusement itself should be abandoned. "The whole system is, and ever must be, evil, and the cause of evil; and all the profligacy, vice, debauchery, and ruin connected with it, are justly chargeable upon every person who in any way supports or promotes it by his personal influence or pecuniary aid."

CHAPTER IV.

THE STEEPLE-CHASE.

AFTER the views which we have given of the numerous evils that flow from horse-racing, both of a physical and moral kind, and as affecting individuals and society, it is unnecessary to consider in detail the evils that result from that species of racing which is designated the steeple-chase. The same idle and dissipated habits, the same vicious practices as are connected with the ordinary races, are encouraged here, and generally prevail to a far wider extent, or in their most gross and disgusting manifestations ; and besides, there are others, which are peculiar to the steeple-chase, that, if properly considered, should cause it to be generally disapproved of and abandoned.

The steeple-chase is comparatively a modern amusement, being little known in these countries till within the last thirty-five or forty years, and not much practised till the latter half of the same period. It consists in running horses at racing speed, for distances of two, three, or of even sometimes five or six miles, over a country with all inequalities of surface, over rough and soft ground, and over brooks, gullies, and fences, instead of the smooth and elastic turf of the ordinary race-ground. In some cases the course selected is chosen as presenting almost insurmountable obstacles, such as crags, marshes, and deep rivers, and the animals are not unfrequently required to carry a heavy weight while contending in the chase. It does not require to be shown at any length that this practice is dangerous as it is cruel, and that it cannot be followed without necessarily involving much injury both to men and animals, and a large sacrifice of the life of both. In any case, it is most cruel to employ such a noble and useful animal as the horse in this species of barbarous amusement. The risk of injury and loss of life is tenfold greater than in ordinary racing.

It is well known that the race-horse in the course, and the hunter in following the hounds, through their generous nature, and the power of sympathy, share in the excitement, and will put

forth exertions in running or leaping without the danger that would otherwise be incurred, if competitors were not near, or the object of pursuit were not in view. All this, however, is wanting in the steeple-chase. The animal has to be pressed with whip and spur to rise at a fence, the height of which it is not easy at sight to estimate, or to leap over a gully or river which deceives the eye. If the first attempt is unsuccessful, greater violence is required the second time to force the horse over the obstacle, and the consequence is, that not unfrequently he is injured by severe falls, and sometimes the life of both horse and rider is taken away in a moment by such foolhardy and mad adventures. A writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. XI, art. "Horsemanship"), justly speaks in the following condemnatory terms of this practice :—

"Steeple-chase racing never can be a game to bet money upon, from the almost perpetual liability to accidents ; nor do we think it fair that such animal suffering as we find it creating can be considered a proper medium for that purpose, allowing for a moment that such a medium must be found. But has man, who may be considered the delegate of Heaven over inferior creatures, the right thus to speculate upon their endurance of suffering? We think not ; but of this fact we are certain, there is hardly a more certain token of a cruel disposition than the *unnecessary* abuse of animals which contribute, as the horse specially does, to our advantage, convenience, and pleasure ; and even a Pagan has told us that he who smothers a cock *without necessity*, is no less guilty than the man who smothers his father."

The same writer traces the origin of the steeple-chase to the foolish and cruel practice which had existed from an early period, in hunting, called the "Wild-geese Chase," and which he thus describes, quoting from an old writer—" *The wild-geese race* received its name from the manner of the flight which is made by wild geese, which is generally one after another, so that two horses, after the running of twelve score yards, had liberty, which horse (qr. rider?) soever could get the leading, to ride what ground he pleased, the hindmost horse being bound to follow him within a certain distance agreed on by articles, or else to be whipt up by the tigers or judges which rode by, and whichever horse could distance the other won the match. But this chase was found by experience so inhuman, and so destructive to horses, especially where two good horses were matched, for neither being able to distance the other, till ready

both to sink under their riders through weakness ; oftentimes the match was fair to be drawn, and left undecided, *though both horses were quite spoiled.* This brought them to new train scents, which was afterwards changed to three heats and a straight course ! Our readers will acknowledge the resemblance between the modern steeple and the ancient wild-goose chase ; and we trust that, ere long, the example of our ancestors will be followed, and the man who is capable of exhibiting his horsemanship as the winner of a modern steeple-chase, will reserve his prowess for a better, if not a nobler cause.”

While we fully agree with the sentiments expressed in these extracts in relation to the cruelty of this species of race, and the responsibility of those who engage in it, we feel sorry to remark that the benevolent desires of the writer have not been realized. Instead of the promoters of the steeple-chase reserving their prowess for a better and nobler cause, and this kind of race being now regarded as “a game not to bet money upon,” we have abundant evidence that, of late years, the practice has been spreading. The “*Racing Calendar,*” and the “*Sporting Intelligence*” contained in the daily papers, inform us of steeple-chases taking place in many parts of the kingdom, and occurring at brief intervals. At these, the betting is generally keener, and the stakes not unfrequently larger, just in proportion to the impossibility of calculating the chances of the sport. Gambling is, therefore, carried on to a greater extent here than at the ordinary races ; and this vice, in every sense detestable, appears more odious still, as the stakes may be regarded as not merely a sum of money, but likewise as the lives of men and horses, that are competing in the cruel sport.

Again, the steeple-chase is frequently set on foot by more reckless and unprincipled characters than those who manage the affairs of the turf. It is often originated as a challenge after a drunken debauch, or for displaying some worthless feat of superiority in courage or resolute daring. The humane feelings and sense of justice of the community should show marked disapprobation of such extravagant follies. Those who get up steeple-chases, who, for the sake of some “bubble honour,” or to indulge gambling propensities, cruelly sport with the lives of men and animals, should be either treated as madmen, to be restrained from injuring themselves and others, or at least taught that they have no right, for the sake of any low and selfish gratification, to inflict injury on society.

Steeple-chasing should not, moreover, be permitted, as it

necessarily injures the fields where it is practised. The racing of the horses, and the crowds of persons that assemble to witness the race, both on foot and on horseback, must do, in many cases, much damage to the farmer; and though he may not loudly complain, or have recourse to legal measures to protect his property, yet, on the principle of British law, that regards "every man's house as his castle," and every person's right to his property as sacred, it is wholly unjust that he should suffer the least injury from such practices. But the injury to property is a small item compared with the wrong inflicted on the morals of the community by the steeple-chase. This practice brings the evils of horse-racing to the doors of many who would never think of visiting the race-course. Multitudes of the most worthless characters, the very scum and refuse of society, crowd to the scene; and blasphemy, obscenity, and drunkenness are poured like a torrent over districts of the country which were previously strangers to such abominations. We are acquainted with instances in which it has been estimated that not fewer than from *five thousand to ten thousand* persons have thronged to witness a steeple-chase. Scenes of bestial drunkenness occurred, which were frightful to witness, and drinking and riot were kept up for several days after. Numbers of the young, who were untutored in the ways of wickedness, were brought into contact with the lowest characters, and were drawn away from the paths of virtue, to the grief of parents and their own disgrace and ruin.

The cruelties of the steeple-chase, to which we have already alluded, are far greater and more extensive than is generally imagined. Many a fine animal is so injured as to be rendered afterwards useless, and not a few are killed in the sport. The gains of gambling are looked for to cover these losses; and this, with *the foolish distinction and honour connected with success*, are taken as compensation sufficient for sacrificing noble horses in the most unfeeling manner. In the items of sporting intelligence, it is quite common to read of a horse in the steeple-chase thrown in the mire, falling against a fence, or in a river, in leaping, and of injuries of wind and limb, which are not likely to be soon repaired, while others are reported as having been deprived of life in a moment. Has any person a right thus to treat animals which have peculiar claims upon human protection? Should public feeling tolerate such abuses? *Ought not the laws which punish cruelty to animals be applied here?* and should not the authorities compel the promoters of the steeple-chase to desist

from their unnatural practices, or heavily punish them if they persist? It is certainly too bad to fine a poor carman for cruelty to his horse that is of little use, and suffer those who cruelly maltreat and cause the death of animals that are very valuable to go on their reckless course, inflicting grievous injuries unrestrained.

Then the danger to human life by the steeple-chase is a vastly more serious consideration. None will pretend to deny that there is not great risk to the riders in the steeple-chase, from the nature of the ground, and for impediments in the course. And surely *he who perils the life of a human being, without any adequate cause, should not be held guiltless.* The fact is, that the death of riders in steeple-chases is a matter of frequent occurrence. In October last, a man was killed at once in a race of this kind in the south of Ireland, and he left behind him a wife and family to bewail his untimely end. If the annals of racing are carefully inspected, it will be found that throughout these three kingdoms, at an average, several deaths—sometimes as many as six or eight—take place every year from this cruel amusement. Surely the public authorities should interfere to prevent this prodigal waste of human life. If the same number of murders were annually committed by persons associated for this purpose, it would excite a thrill of horror throughout the whole community, and the most stringent measures would be demanded to put an end to such crimes. The only difference here is that the direct object of the steeple-chase is not the taking away of human life ; but as it manifestly puts it in jeopardy, and as when followed it will inevitably cause the death of numbers, it is to be justly held chargeable with murder, and should therefore be put down, as opposed to the law of God, and an offence of the highest kind against society. Where riders are not killed in the steeple-chase, numbers of them, by falls and sometimes by blows from the horses thrown, are often injured and greatly disabled. Were not horse-racing a fashionable amusement, countenanced and supported by those who, from their station, too often regard themselves, or are regarded as not amenable to the laws of morality, we are persuaded that the barbarous practice of the steeple-chase would not be tolerated in civilized society. Let the one be discontinued, and the other will disappear, only to be hereafter mentioned as a relic of savage life, or as the sport of madmen.

A P P E N D I X.

I. *Connection of the Irreligious and Immoral Press with Racing.*

WHILE it is to be regretted that some newspapers, that are not on the whole of an immoral tendency, publish in their "Sporting Intelligence" accounts of races, to please some of their supporters, and to pander to a vitiated taste, it is undeniable that the infidel press of the country contributes all its influence to recommend and promote races, and other demoralizing amusements. By means of advertisements of the various sports to which the idle and dissipated are addicted, the circulation of low corrupting periodicals, Sunday newspapers, and other papers that are favourites with those that are opposed to evangelical religion and Scripture morality, is greatly increased. The exciting accounts that are given in such vehicles of information of daring adventure, success and accident on the race-ground, in the ring and steeple-chase, furnish food to the depraved appetite of the lowest classes in society, and are the means of spreading moral pollution to an enormous amount. No person can take up a number of *Bell's Life in London*, and glance at its numerous advertisements of races—the challenges for prize-fights given in it, accounts of Sunday races on the Continent, of steeple-chases, dog-fights, bets on foot-races, glorious victories on the turf, &c., &c.—without being persuaded of the ensnaring and demoralizing tendency, not only of these amusements, but also of the pernicious tendency of the circulation of such trash, especially among the young and the working-classes of the community. It has been recently stated, as a melancholy evidence of the spread of infidelity in these countries, that while the circulation of cheap periodicals advocating proper moral and religious sentiments has, in some cases, decreased, such corrupting works as we refer to have been of late largely on the increase. Few can tell the injury done to the morals and welfare of a country by the power of the infidel press—as the state of France and some of the continental countries amply testifies. If horse-racing, steeple-chases, prize-fights, and other kindred amusements, were regarded as promoting the cause of true religion or Christian morality, it is not likely that they would be a principal staple of the news of the infidel periodical press. The fact is, the conductors of these organs of pollution know that the races contribute powerfully to destroy religion in the community, and to help forward demoralizing practices, and therefore they do everything in their power to render them attractive.

II. *Duty of Employers to Discountenance Races.*

In addition to the views which we have advanced, of the danger to the young and to the working-classes of resorting to the race-ground, we may

be allowed to address a hint to employers, and persons of extensive public influence. Believing that there are numbers of such persons who are aware of many of the evils which we have exhibited, we consider them under a solemn obligation to do all that is in their power to prevent a course of conduct, on the part of the working-class, which is always dangerous, and in a vast multitude of cases absolutely pernicious. Those who employ large numbers of persons could easily and powerfully co-operate in the exertions that are making, by benevolent individuals and associations, to check the evils that have been specified. Were they at once to make known their disapproval of attending the race-ground to all who are in their service, and immediately discharge those who were present at any horse-race, steeple-chase, cock or dog-fight, &c., such decisive conduct would operate most beneficially in deterring the young from evil courses, and would be the means of saving many individuals and families from ruin.

III. *Sudden Deaths Connected with Races.*

Connected with the sporting news of the day, few things are more common than to hear of the sudden deaths of individuals, both of higher and lower rank—not only from injuries on the course, or in going to it and returning from it, but from various other causes—sometimes from undue excitement, and exposure to the weather, and sometimes from other causes. At the horse races in County Down, which have just terminated, a melancholy instance of this kind occurred:—Mr Smythe, member of Parliament for Lisburn, in the vigour of life, on his return from the races, took suddenly ill, and, notwithstanding all the appliances of medical skill, expired, deeply lamented by friends and sorrowing relatives. We presume not to say a word respecting the character or state of mind of this young legislator, so suddenly launched into eternity. For aught we know, both may have been all that could be desired. But we merely put it to the heart and conscience of those gentlemen who frequent the race-course, Is it from such a scene of excitement that they would like to be at once hurried to that awful tribunal, where they must give account for all the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil? If the answer must, as we feel assured, be in the negative, then it behoves them to refrain from scenes which are injurious to solemn thought and mental quiet, and which are incompatible with any right preparation for eternity.

IV. *Picture of the Degradation of Gambling.*

The following graphic description of gaming, in which Fox, the celebrated parliamentary orator, acted a part, is from the *London Press*. What a fearful prostration of talent and character does it present in those who are devoted to this infamous practice!—

“And now there is a chorus of sounds echoing the *refrain*, ‘What a man that Fox is to be sure!’ His talents are extolled to the skies, and the state of his affairs is commented upon. He has no doating father now to pay £140,000 for his gambling. But he still is deep on the turf, and has shares in blood horses, and his cards may yet turn up trumps, and, better than all, Billy Pitt may be turned out. Another hour has passed away since that joyous supper at the Club. The summer morning has dawned

and the early market-gardeners are coming into town. The Eastern sky is streaked with the rising sun, and the cool air is refreshing after the heated supper-room. For the ten thousandth time the contrast between the calm beauty of nature, and the stir and noise of feverish passing life comes upon us, and the heart is touched. But as we are passing down this narrow street leading from Jermyn Street, what noise is that? Ha! there is a riot in yonder house, and the door is suddenly opened, and a couple of fellows, looking like bandits in servants' livery, kick out into the street, amid profuse imprecations, a cheating blackleg. Yes! it is a gaming-house. Ascend the stairs, walk into the second-floor chamber, and look upon the horrid scene. Yon Jew from Amsterdam is a gamester, noted through Europe! Near him is an Irish Peer, staking the remains of his rack rents. There is Lord Egremont, who thinks the whole set around a pack of pick-pockets, but still plays on; that fine young man with frenzy in his face, flushed with feverish rage, is a Prince of Blood Royal—the Duke of York. And there is Fitzpatrick, exhausted in body, and excited in mind—and, oh shame! there is that Fox on whose burning words the Senate lately hung enraptured! There is that Fox, from whose lips we heard the words of virtue, the precepts of the purest morality, and the flowing accents of enthusiastic philanthropy! see him now, half maddened with the *auri sacra fames*. See the gnawing misery in his haggard features, and hear him—but no! We cannot look on. The hero of our idolatry has fallen to a man. Our dream of a philanthropic demigod vanishes. We will not wait to see the ruined gambler stagger home to the lodgings where we found him last noon: our feelings are revolted. We have for the moment no patience with a whining sentimentalist who would cry, 'Alas! poor human nature!'

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

I.—SPIRITUAL SUPPORT AND CONSOLATION.

“It is always desirable that the editor of any work should be one whose sentiments harmonize with the spirit and views of the author, the publication of whose writings he superintends. This qualification for editing the Letters of Renwick, and giving a sketch of the life of this distinguished servant and martyr of the Lord Jesus Christ, Dr Houston possesses in no common degree. The task assigned him he could undertake *con amore*. In the Introduction, the editor has embodied a large amount of information regarding the times of the persecution in Scotland, in relation to the sufferings endured, and the sentiments, as well as the characters of the leading witnesses. The fact that there were no less than 7000 faithful adherents of the principles scattered over many counties, who were avowedly associated for their support, towards the end of the persecuting period, is one which is not very generally known. . . . Many think themselves happy in adhering to a profession of religion which they can maintain without any worldly sacrifice, or in connection with which they have no cross to bear ; and when it is otherwise, they are apt to covet the lot of those whose religious principles are so far from interfering with their temporal prosperity and honour, that they contribute to both. But rarely has it been the experience of those who have been faithful to the cause of God, not to have a temporal cross to take up, and to make worldly sacrifices for Christ’s sake. Hence the self-denial to which He called his hearers in the days of his flesh, as essential to being his disciples. This was eminently required in the days of Renwick ; but God was pleased to give him, and thousands besides, strength according to their day—giving them grace and public spirit, so as to value the cause of God, of truth and righteousness, the purity of the Church, and the good of posterity, far above all worldly considerations. We think the difference between the sentiments and overt acts of the men of the Second Reformation era, and those of the witnesses towards the close of the persecution, has been exaggerated, and may be accounted for, if not wholly, at least to a large degree, by the different circumstances in which they came to be placed, when the usurped supremacy was carried out with a high hand, and the Government had become a downright tyranny, in administrations as well as theory. . . . The spirit by which Renwick was animated in his labours appears in the Letters contained in this volume, which deserves, and we trust will obtain, a wide circulation.”—*Original Secession Magazine*.

“The title of this new work sufficiently indicates its nature ; and the name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the ability with which it is executed. Dr Houston has done good service to the cause of truth in general, and to that of a covenanted reformation in particular, by the publication of this valuable volume. . . . To all who love the memory of Renwick, we cordially recommend the volume before us, as affording, in the Life prefixed to the Letters, much interesting information in regard to the

youthful martyr ; and in the Letters themselves, no small degree of 'spiritual support and consolation in difficult times.' The publication of this volume was much needed, as the last edition of the Letters, of date 1764, has been long out of print, and great difficulty is felt in obtaining a copy. The present edition is emitted by the author from a conviction of the intrinsic excellence of the Letters—a conviction shared by all who know them ; and 'in the belief that those who value Renwick's noble testimony, will be unwilling to let his Letters pass into oblivion.' This new edition is as opportune as it is necessary, appearing as it does at a time when the great principles for which Renwick testified and died are in danger of being forgotten, and when, consequently, there is special need for their re-exhibition. If there is a slight want of information on one or two small matters, this is amply compensated by the excellencies of the work in other respects ; and in particular, by the warm love the author bears to the memory of Renwick, and the enlightened and steadfast attachment he manifests to the principles for which the youthful martyr suffered. The friends of a covenanted testimony, in this and other lands, are by this publication laid under a debt of gratitude to the author, which they ought to seek to repay by aiding, as far as they can, in its circulation. We earnestly recommend it to our readers. The volume is one which, both on account of its internal excellence and external elegance, is exceedingly suitable for presentation. Reformed Presbyterians could not find a better gift-book to bestow upon their friends, whether in the church or out of it, than this."—*Reformed Presbyterian Witness.*

II.—*LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN LIVINGSTONE.*

"This is one of those rare pieces of autobiography for which the Church of Scotland is remarkably distinguished. It is a solid, striking, and edifying production, full of incident, tragical and tender. There are some sixty pages of Introduction, with an Appendix, which occupies nearly half the volume, but the perusal of which will probably leave most readers with a feeling of regret that it is done."—*British Banner.*

III.—*THE RACES.*

"We have not read a more complete, and at the same time a more condensed history and exposure of the race-system, than is to be found in this little work of Dr Houston."—*The Commonwealth.*

"This little *brochure* is a calm, earnest, persuasive production. The author makes good his case, and demonstrates that the sports of which he treats are cruel to the brute, and demoralizing to the community. We trust his excellent and seasonable work will be extensively circulated, as we believe it admirably calculated to check those brutal and atrocious amusements of which it treats."—*Dimfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser.*

"In this work, Dr Houston has treated the whole subject of horse-racing in a learned and forcible manner. He has shown its origin and antiquity, its extent, and the evils it entails—such as idleness, prodigality, dishonesty, Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, gambling, cruelty to animals, &c., &c. Ministers who take an interest in the subject should avail themselves of this pamphlet, in discountenancing the evils it so ably exposes and condemns."—*Londonderry Standard.*

*ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS to the
Second Edition of "YOUTHFUL DEVOTED-
NESS."—Vol. II.*

"'Youthful Devotedness' is an effort of pastoral zeal, and the fruit of pastoral sympathy; and a work more adapted to its purpose, more replete with sound and seasonable instruction, could not, we think, have been produced. We only wish it may be read—read by the young men and young women who are in the habit of attending religious worship. Let this book be put into their hands, let it only be calmly and seriously read, and we cannot doubt the result. Oh, what sins, what calamities, what troubles would be prevented, if in early life the lessons of this excellent book were but adopted as the rule of conduct! Its leading topics are conversion, profession of religion, character befitting those who have made a profession of religion, social relations, preparation for death. . . . We do, with great confidence and earnestness, recommend this volume to the attention of Christian parents—of those parents who have children who are becoming, or who ought to become, the disciples of Christ."—*British Mothers' Journal*.

"This is a sound, earnest, and practical work. The single and obvious aim of the author is to benefit the Church of Christ, by engaging and directing the hearts of the young, particularly of young men, in the duties of religion; and with the ripe scriptural knowledge, warm-hearted piety, and excellent power of writing which he brings to his task, the work cannot fail to secure this purpose to a large extent. . . . In traversing this varied field, he has occasion to touch on many of the most interesting doctrines of evangelical truth, as well as to show their application to Christian practice; and he does both with the ability of a master in Israel. His views of public vowing and covenanting, as a part of the Christian profession, are in accordance with the Reformed Presbyterian creed, but are temperately, and not obtrusively, presented. His book is fitted to be extremely useful to advanced Bible classes and to Sabbath-school teachers. We are glad to see it in a second edition."—*United Presbyterian Magazine*.

"As our readers are aware, this is not the first time Dr Houston has been before them. He is well known as a multifarious and useful writer on subjects connected with religion, in a variety of aspects. The present work discourses on baptism in its relation to conversion; to the profession of religion; to the formation of character, in its relation to the young, to society, and preparation for the exchange of worlds. In all these respects, there is much in the work entitled to special notice, on the ground of its soundness and seasonableness. The publication is alike suited to old and young, gentle and simple, shepherds and flocks. The note at page 317, setting forth reasons for special prayer for an increase of labourers in the Gospel harvest, recently published by the Presbyterian Church of America, alone, is worth the price of the volume."—*Christian Witness*.

"It is a production of solid merit and of genuine excellence; comprehensive in plan, perspicuous in its treatment, and adapted to be extensively useful. . . . We do not think that a parent concerned for the respectability and moral welfare of his sons and daughters, could put into their hands a more profitable manual. We have seen a very considerable number of volumes treating of the subject in question; but for manly sentiment, judicious remark, and calm wisdom, we would give Dr Houston's work a decided preference."—*M'Phail's Magazine*.

