THE LATER JUVENAL PERIOD

with special reference to

RELIGION AND ETHICS.

Thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
by

Hector Macpherson, W.A.

Degree conferred, 22 March, 1923.
THE LATER COVENANTING MOVEMENT

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AND

ETHICS.
The main object of this thesis is to consider the later Covenanting movement in Scotland in relation to the chief religious conceptions among the Covenanters, the effect of these conceptions on the personal religion and on the current ethical ideals, individual and social, and the development of ethical thought during the period under discussion.

The Covenanting movement must not be isolated from the general current of European history, and must be viewed against the background of the seventeenth century. To a consideration of European thought and action in the seventeenth century, the preliminary section is therefore devoted.

In Sections II and III, the Covenanting movement in its dual aspect—politicoc-ecclesiastical and religious—is considered. Great stress is laid on the political Absolutist movement of the seventeenth century and its consequent influence on Covenanting life and thought.

Sections IV and V deal with the religious conceptions of the time as evidenced in the contemporary literature, Section VI with the personal religion of the day, Section VII with the ethical standards and Section VIII with the working-out of these in the social sphere. Under the head "Social Ethics" is considered the Covenanting doctrine of the visible Church and its profound influence on the political thought of the time.
SYNOPSIS.

I. Preliminary: the Seventeenth Century.

In this section, European life and thought in the seventeenth century is discussed. The chief results of the Reformation – the break-up of the Catholic Church and the acceleration of the disruption of the Holy Roman Empire into the states of modern Europe–are emphasised. Special attention is paid to the development of the Absolutist movement in the various European nations. It is shown how the Calvinistic branch of Protestantism, in contradistinction to the Lutheran, strenuously opposed the pretensions of monarchy and secular statesmen. Other differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism in the theological sphere are pointed out; while some affinities between both Calvinism and Lutheranism on the one hand and Romanism on the other, are briefly noted.

II. The Covenanting Movement in its Politico-Ecclesiastical Aspect.

Various modern estimates of the issues involved in the conflict are discussed and criticised. Emphasis is laid upon the Absolutist movement in Great Britain and on the fact that the persecution was essentially political, not religious in its aim. It is shown that the Royalists, at the Restoration, had a specially favourable opportunity. A discussion of acts of parliament and council shows that the Government pursued a most determined policy to render the Crown absolute and to transform Scotland into a servile state. The stages in the Covenanting opposition are traced, and the significance of the Queens-ferry paper, as the virtual inauguration of the Revolution is brought out. The question raised by a recent writer as to whether the movement was democratic in essence and effect is also discussed.

III. The Covenanting Movement in its Religious Aspect.

The point is raised as to whether the movement was more political/
political than religious and a negative conclusion is reached. To appreciate the movement on its religious side, the morality during the period - of the governing class, of the bishops and curates, and of the country generally - is considered. It is shown that on its religious side the movement took the form of a succession of revivals in the fields, and that this revival movement reached its high-water mark during the late seventies. Checked by the Bothwell rising, it reappeared among the Cameronians. It is shown that except for Leighton and the mystical school which surrounded him genuine religion was practically confined to the Covenanting movement.

IV. Dominant Religious Ideas.

The movement having been considered in its dual aspect, the question of the current religious conceptions is proposed for investigation. It is shown that Scottish theology was loyal to Protestant scholasticism and that the only modification was in the direction of the Federal theology. It is shown why Scotsmen were suspect of heterodox opinions in theology. Theological treatises are set aside in favour of an investigation of the contemporary literature, with the object of ascertaining what were the working conceptions of the Covenanting movement.

It is shown that the doctrine of inspired and infallible Scriptures was generally held and that in the main the Covenanters evinced a certain timidity concerning the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, whose range of actions was looked upon as somewhat circumscribed. Current religious conceptions are grouped under two heads, - the doctrine of God and the doctrine of Christ.

I. The doctrine of God is first examined. It is shown that a "natural theology" existed side by side with the scriptural. The sovereignty of God is next discussed and the current conceptions of His attributes are examined. (i) The holiness of God is shown to be the attribute most emphasised by the Covenanters, and the current eschatology is viewed as a corollary of this. (ii) It is pointed out that the love of God, though less prominent, was by no means/
means overlooked, and a discussion of the doctrine of the divine
decrees shows that, on the whole, while a high type of Calvinism
was maintained, the general drift of the preachers' message was the
offer of salvation to all.

II. The doctrine of Christ is next examined, and it is
shown how the principle of the Headship prevented the dehumanising
of Christ. And it is pointed out how the ever-present mystical
Christ was understood by the historical Jesus and how union with
Christ was understood by obedience to Him.

V. Popular Beliefs and Superstitions.

Besides the dominant religious ideas, there was a realm
of vague popular beliefs and superstitions. It is shown how the
Coveners (i) had a tendency to interpret unusual natural events
supernaturally; (ii) to give credence to weird and extraordinary
tales; and (iii) that they believed in common with Romanists as
well as Protestants in the existence of a vast spiritual world and
a personal devil holding sway over a large portion of mankind.
The attitude to witchcraft is touched upon.

VI. Personal Religion.

Criticisms of the personal religion of the Covenanters
as gloomy and morbid are considered. The phrase, "the fear of
God," is examined and its meaning discussed. The introspective
and brooding note in personal religion is noted, but nevertheless
it is shown that the dominant note was peace and joy. These
flowed from the closeness of communion with God and certainty of
salvation, and from confidence in divine justice. The spirit of
"selflessness," as evidenced by the martyrs, is shown to flow from
this.

VII. Ethical Standards.

The fact is emphasised that the religion of the Covenanters was essentially ethical: (i) the need for holiness was
proclaimed/
proclaimed by the various leaders. The question of corporate sin is discussed, and it is pointed out that despite the emphasis on holiness, the movement was wonderfully free from the spirit of asceticism; (ii) Love as a Christian virtue is next considered, and the attitude to the indulged and to enemies is carefully analysed. The ethics of rebellion, reprisal and assassination, as developed by the Cameronian party, are discussed.

VIII. Social Ethics.

The Covenanters viewed politics as social ethics and believing that no part of life was outside of the realm of religion. It is shown how the doctrine of the visible Church, with its idea of Catholicity and its principle of the Headship of Christ, profoundly influenced the social outlook and the attitude to the State, both in theory and in practice. The development of the attitude to the Government is noted, from the position, of passive resistance taken up by the moderate Covenanters, to that of active resistance, rebellion and revolution maintained by the Camerondans. The question is raised as to whether the principle of the Headship meant liberty of conscience and toleration, and it is shown that it would have done so if pressed to its logical conclusion. The Covenanters, however, limited it in its application, by reason of (i) their bondage to Scripture; (ii) their attachment to the dogmatic findings of Protestant Scholasticism; and (iii) by the deduction from the theory of one visible Catholic Church, which ruled out the idea of "churches" existing side by side, and so made for intolerance towards what was believed to be error or corruption in the Church. Finally, it is shown that the principle of the Headship was the great contribution of the Covenanting movement to ethical progress.
I.

Preliminary: the Seventeenth Century.

The seventeenth century may with some justice be defined as a period of readjustment, - political, ecclesiastical, theological, - marked by the gradual subsidence of the terrific storm which had swept over Europe during the previous century, altering the whole course of European history. For it is no exaggeration to define the Reformation as the opening of a new era in the life of the world, as one of those revolutionary movements which have issued in chaos and ruin, and have yet made new beginnings possible. It is a profoundly mistaken attitude which views the Reformation as merely a squabble between rival groups of priests, or a wrangle among hair-splitting theologians.

The Reformation was certainly in origin a religious movement; indeed, it may with fairness be called a religious revival on a great scale; but if so, then "the revival was set in a framework of political, intellectual and economic changes, and cannot be disentangled from its surroundings without danger of mutilation." (1) The sixteenth century was the revolutionary period in which these changes were made; the task of the seventeenth was the readjustment of the world in consequence of them.

(1) The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) owes its significance to the fact that it registered the first and most striking of these changes. It recognised the legal status of


a Protestant Church - the Lutheran - within the Holy Roman Empire; it thus registered the admission - reluctant and half-hearted - of the existence of more than one church in the same territory. (1) The "recognition" of the existence of this other church, it is true, amounted to little. The so-called peace was a mere truce, a breathing-space during which both sides prepared for a greater struggle for the mastery, (2) which took in the main the form of a series of contests between the sovereigns and governments supporting the rival religious systems. But these religious wars proved indecisive. And the fact was recognised by the signature of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 that the great religious conflict which had embroiled the continent in war had ended in a draw. At least there was little to show for the eight years of tumult which had elapsed since the truce of Augsburg. The salient fact about the treaty was that the Roman Catholic Church had failed to reconquer, either by force of arms or by propaganda, the greater part of the territory which had in the sixteenth century thrown off the Papal yoke. The treaty in effect registered this failure: for it definitely guaranteed the division of the Germanic territories between the two religions, and more important still, recognised the sovereign status of the new Protestant State of the United Netherlands. Still more significant was the recognition of the rights of another Protestant communion besides the Lutheran - the Reformed Church. The gains of Protestantism were, however, in great measure negative. For while Roman Catholicism had emerged a compact and unified entity, with a definite body of dogma, the Protestants

(1) It is true that the Roman Church ceased to be "Catholic" when the severance from the Eastern branch took place; but the two branches did not co-exist side by side.
(2) Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p.382.
were divided not only into the two main branches, but these had in turn thrown off numerous warring sects, which Lutherans and Calvinists felt it necessary to persecute. And thus in many quarters, such as southern Germany, France and Poland, Protestantism had lost ground, and the Counter-Reformation had been enabled to achieve a measure of success. But the seventeenth century was confronted with a fact indisputable and irretrievable. There was no longer a Catholic Church except in theory or in vision; rather there were two great churches - Roman and Reformed - each claiming to be the true Catholic Church, and side by side with them another Church - the Lutheran, and an isolated hybrid body - the Anglican - which were frankly national churches and which did not in the style of Romanism or Calvinism pretend to universality.

(II) The second great change wrought by the Reformation was perhaps more far-reaching and significant than the first. "The supreme achievement of the Reformation," it has been contended by an English historian, "is the modern state." Just as the ideal of the universal ecclesiastical realm, the one spiritual kingdom under the primacy of the Pope, was shattered by the Reformation, so was the conception of a union of tribes and peoples under the overlordship of the Emperor. With Catholicism went internationalism, and the modern state was born. It is true that the Holy Roman Empire had always been less of a reality than the Catholic Church; that it had ever been more or less a pale ghost of Imperial Caesarism, and that the outlying states of Europe had grown up to full nationhood virtually independent.

of the Emperors, leaving these potentates as actually the overlords of German and Italian princes. Yet the Empire was still regarded, on the eve of the Reformation, as a symbol of European unity: and that the Emperor was looked on as, in some degree at least, a king of kings, is evident from the fact that the rulers of England, France and Spain were each candidates for the Imperial throne. But the Reformation and the events which followed shattered the credit of the universal Empire even more than that of the Catholic Church. The nations which had cast off spiritual allegiance to the Pope were no longer likely to maintain the fiction of suzerainty to an Emperor. (1) The growth and development of European nationalities had, it is true, other causes than the Reformation; but the Reformation powerfully accelerated the pace, and with two exceptions the nations of Europe emerged from the great conflict as sovereign states, owning no superior either in the spiritual sphere or in the temporal. It was no accident that the two exceptions were Germany and Italy, where the two pretenders to universal authority had their respective abodes. (2) And even in these lands, although the German and Italian nations remained disunited and in a state of internal chaos, the power and credit of the Empire had passed away. "The Peace of Westphalia," as Bryce clearly remarked, "is an era in the history of the Holy Empire not less clearly marked than the coronation of Otto the Great or the death of Frederick the Second. As from the days of Maximilian I. it had borne a mixed or transitional character, well expressed by the name Romano-Germaniae, so henceforth it is in everything but title purely and solely a

(1) "Henry VIII of England when he rebelled against the Pope called himself King of Ireland (his predecessors had used only the title "Domitus Hiberniae") without asking the Emperor's permission, in order to show that he repudiated the temporal as well as the spiritual dominion of Rome." - Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 262.

(2) Lindsay, History of the Reformation, Vol. I., pp. 30-32.
German Empire. Properly, indeed, it was no longer an Empire at all, but a Federation and that of the loosest sort. (1) Even the rulers of the lesser German states had the power to follow any line of policy, to go to war or form alliances as they chose; and in still greater degree the monarchs of the great Powers, — England, France and Spain, — were independent of any external allegiance or restraint. The era of the "European anarchy" had dawned.

But the freedom of the kings of the various nations from the control or supervision of Pope or Emperor had one consequence of far-reaching import. From the nationalism, which blossomed into maturity at the Reformation, there was born the Absolutist movement. At first, to the English statesmen of the Tudor period, for instance, the phrase an "absolute king" meant a king not subject to foreign supervision, and "absolute monarchy" freedom from supra-national control, whether political or ecclesiastical. (2) Gradually, however, monarchs arrogated to themselves powers which formerly pertained to Pope and Emperor. Each little German feudal overlord became an absolute monarch; as early as the peace of Augsburg it was laid down that these princes were to be supreme over the consciences of their subjects as well as free to determine their own convictions. The principle was laid down ejus regio ejus religio, — the religion of the subject was made dependent on the will of the monarch; and the peace of Westphalia did not decrease but rather increased the power of princes. (3)

In still greater degree the seventeenth century witnessed the growth of absolutism in the other states of Europe.

(1) Holy Roman Empire, pp. 389-90.
(3) Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 386.
England had become, during the reign of Elizabeth, more and more of an absolute monarchy; and absolutism was pushed to its logical conclusion by her successor, James I. He ruled by Divine right, as God's vicegerent, responsible to no man, above all law. "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do" so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this and that.(1)

The political history of Great Britain during the seventeenth century was simply the record of the varying fortunes of the doctrine of state absolutism—known as the divine right of kings. And in France, then near the zenith of glory as a great continental power, absolutism carried the day. Louis XIV, called by Lord Acton "by far the ablest man who was born in modern times on the steps of a throne,"(2) was the most thoroughgoing of all the exponents of Divine right. His classical phrase, "L'état, c'est moi," crystallised an attitude, and this attitude impelled the whole policy of his reign. The authority of the Crown was supreme, triumphing over all rivals; local assemblies, synods and councils, civil and ecclesiastical alike, existed only by the gracious permission of the king.(3) And France was only the extreme case. The seventeenth century witnessed the triumph of absolutism all over Europe, except in England and Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Swiss Confederation.(4)

The monarchs of the seventeenth century treated the Church exactly as they treated parliaments and municipalities. The monarch regarded himself as head of the Church, the vicegerent of God, the fountain of all power. And the Churches were

(1) Green, History of the English People, p.478.
(2) Quoted by A.J. Grant, Cambridge Modern History, Vol.V., p.2
(3) Ib., pp.2-5.
(4) J. Morley, Oliver Cromwell, p:23.
not united in their attitude to these pretensions. Within the
the fold of Romanism as well as between the Protestant Commun-
ions, there was sharp division. While the Ultramontanists among
the French clergy stood for the traditional Catholic policy, a
strong body of churchmen rallied to Louis XIV, — a fact which
emphasises how the Reformation and the growth of Absolutism had
broken the old Catholic spirit. To the Gallican party, it
seemed a prime necessity that "Catholicism should be kept under
the strict surveillance of the civil powers; its profession was
not so much a duty to God as a duty to the State." Gallican-
ism was simply Erastianism called by another name.

If the Roman Catholic Church, truncated and shorn of its
power over the minds and consciences of men was, on the question
of State Absolutism, a house divided against itself, the two great
branches of Protestantism stood in sharp antagonism one to the
other. Indeed, in so far as this question was concerned, it is
ture to say with a prominent theologian that "not only one but two
Protestantisms" have to be taken into account. The attitude
of the Lutheran Churches, supported in this matter by the Angli-
can Church, which was, paradoxically enough, mildly Calvinistic
in creed, was sharply opposed by the position taken up by the
Reformed or Calvinistic Churches. In some measure this was due
to the origins of the two kinds of Protestantism. Luther had been
dependent to a great extent on the territorial princes, many of
whom were anxious from personal and selfish motives to be free of
the spiritual overlordship of a foreign bishop, which was galling

"To transfer the allegiance of the human spirit from
clerical to civil authority was roughly speaking the
effect of the movement of the sixteenth century alike
in Catholic and Protestant countries."
Figgis, Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century, —
(2) Troeltsch, Protestantism and Progress, p.53.
to their national pride and even more to their individual liber-
ties: accordingly, the princes carried through /ecclesiastical
revolution; and in each German state, and later in the Scandi-
avian countries, the monarch became the supreme head of the
Church. It was otherwise with the Reformed Church, which was
from the beginning in rebellion not only against the Roman hier-
archy but against the State. Zwingli, its actual founder, was
a citizen not of a monarchy but of a small republic. Calvin,
its greatest figure, was a convert to a church in full opposition
to the state - the Huguenot Church in France. In Scotland, the
Reformed Church was established only by a revolution which over-
threw the Government; in England the Calvinists were permanently
in opposition.

But there were other factors besides the accidental
circumstance of origin which explain the different attitudes to
absolutism which were adopted by Lutheranism and Calvinism
respectively.

First of all there was a religious factor. (1) Cal-
vinism and Lutheranism were at one in their insistence on the
direct fellowship of man with God, and in their opposition to the
Roman conception of the priesthood as a mediatiorial class, exer-
cising unlimited power by virtue of their ordination, and coming
between man and his Maker. Calvinists and Lutherans were alike
truly Protestant - protesting against the Catholic schemes of
grace and salvation and the Catholic view of the relation of the
clergy to the believer. And in the earlier years of the Refor-
mation, Lutherans as well as Calvinists stood for the "freedom of
the Christian man" - liberty of conscience, with all its impli-
cates in social and political life. But from the beginning,
the Lutheran witness lacked robustness. As the late Dr. Kuyper,
the Dutch theologian and politician clearly remarked, - "Luther
as well as Calvin contended for a direct fellowship with God, but
Luther took it up from its subjective, anthropological side, and
not from its objective cosmological side as Calvin did. Luther's starting-point was the special-soteriological principle of a justifying faith; while Calvin's, extending far wider, lay in the general cosmological principle of the sovereignty of God. It has been pointed out that in this matter Zwingli stood nearer to Luther than to Calvin in his insistence on the goodness of God, but to him and in still greater degree to Calvin, the majesty of God as Sovereign was of more significance than the saving grace of God in Christ. Hence the supreme place occupied in the Calvinistic theology by the doctrine of predestination, with its emphasis on divine election. The consequence of this emphasis has been pointed out clearly by a modern German theologian Troeltsch of Heidelberg: "The consciously-elect man feels himself to be the destined lord of the world, who in the power of God and for the honour of God has it laid upon him to grasp and shape the world. The man who is simply saved by grace, also, of course, receives his salvation direct from God, but in his dread of acting on the assumptions of predestinarianism, avoids any strict delimitation and relation of the spheres of God and the world, and takes refuge rather in a purely religious sphere out of the world." Hence Calvinism has ever taken the whole world as its province and emphasised in a manner alien to Lutheranism the social and civil rights as well as duties of the Christian man.

(ii) A second factor, in great measure arising out of the first, was the fact that Calvinism possessed what Lutheranism lacked - a clear-cut theory of the Church, with which to oppose not only the position of Rome, but also the new political absolutism which had arisen from the ruins of the Holy Roman Empire and

(1) Kuyper, Calvinism, p.20.
(2) Protestantism and Progress, p.63. It should be pointed out that the highly-emotional popular Evangelicalism with which the later nineteenth century familiarised us with its subjective individualism has more in common with Lutheran than with Calvinistic tradition.
the Catholic Church. Lutherans and Anglicans alike failed to realise that along with much error the Catholic concept of the visible Church embodied elements of permanent truth; and thus they simply exchanged one form of tyranny - foreign and spiritual - for another - national and civil. Calvin, however, never lost sight of the Catholicity and independence of the Church. He claimed indeed that the Reformed Church was the true Church, and vehemently rebutted the Roman contention that the Reformers had unchurched themselves.\(^{(1)}\) Indeed, he threw the charge of schism back at his Romanist opponents, holding that the papal church had ceased to be the true Church, while not denying that many members of the true Church were within its fold. And the idea of the Church Catholic was ever the ultimate idea in his mind; for his ideal was not only a union of Protestant Churches but a reunion with a purified Roman Church.\(^{(2)}\)

The ideal of a Catholic Church - which had faded from the minds of Lutherans and Anglicans, whose outlook was frankly nationalist - was thus opposed by Calvinists to the political absolutism of the time. And here the Calvinists and the traditional Catholics were at one. "The Catholics could not admit the control of the monarch in the sphere of religion any more than the Calvinist; and here, as in other things, the Catholic priest and the Calvinistic presbyter were agreed. Filmer, an exponent of Anglican monarchism, expresses this well when he says, in speaking of the doctrine of a social contract that "Cardinal Bellarmine and Calvin both look askance this way." For the doctrine of a social contract was the democratic doctrine put

\(^{(1)}\) Letter to du Tillet, Oct. 30th 1538 (quoted by Mitchell Hunter, Teaching of Calvin, p.147.)

The late Prof. Hume Brown truly remarked that "of all the developments of Christianity, Calvinism and the Church of Rome alone bear the stamp of an absolute religion." (John Knox, Vol. I, p.282.)

\(^{(2)}\) Mitchell Hunter, Teaching of Calvin, p.159.
forward by Catholics and Calvinists in opposition to Lutheran and Anglican doctrine of divine right."(1) Thus the Reformed Church was at one and the same time the rival and antagonist of Rome and the rallying-point of opposition to political absolutism and the divine right of kings.(2)

In one vital respect the Calvinistic doctrine of the Church differed from that of Rome. The seat of authority in religion was transferred from the Church to the Bible.(3) In this all Protestants were agreed. In the sixteenth century—during the lifetime of the first reformers—there was considerable freedom in handling the Scriptures. The comments, for instance, which Luther made on the various books of the sacred volume have an almost modern ring about them. To him the Gospel,—i.e. God's forgiving and redeeming love as manifest in Jesus Christ—was central and all else was subsidiary to it. From His Gospel, the Scriptures derived their authority: apart from it, they had no intrinsic value.(4) Thus the Gospel became the standard by which it was possible to judge the various books of the Bible, and in memorable phrases Luther voiced his preferences for certain books over others.(5) But Zwingli's attitude to Scripture was different. Christ was not to him central in the same sense as to Luther. Indeed he declared that the "knowledge of God in His own nature precedes the knowledge of Christ.(6) And the

(1) Mr. Ernest Barker in Wells' Outline of History, p.506.
(2) This was not always clearly realised, and the two factors were not always clearly disentangled. Shields, how­ever, in the Hind Let Loose (p.1) distinguished between the strenuous endeavours of the Papacy to regain the lost power and the fact that "the crowned heads or boars of the beast, the tyrants, alias kings of Europe ....... are advancing their prerogatives upon the ruins of national and ecclesiastical privileges to a pitch of absoluteness."
(3) It is true that Catholic beliefs were ultimately based on Scripture, but Scripture was received on the author­ity of the Church.
(4) McGiffert, Protestant Thought before Kant, p.56.
(5) See Beard, The Reformation in relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge, pp.157-9, for examples of these.
Bible was to him essentially the revelation of the Divine Will and an authoritative law-code rather than a means of grace. (1) Calvin viewed Scripture from essentially the same angle; the Bible was to him the word of God from cover to cover. He was himself a scholar and exegete of no mean order, and indeed a pioneer of scientific exegesis: indeed, Mr. Mitchell Hunter claims that he paved the way to "such a scientific examination of Scripture as has laid the axe to the root of much of his own dogmatizing and has deprived the Bible of that attribute of uniform and unquestionable authority on which he based his whole system." (2) And Calvin, though in less degree than Luther, exhibited a remarkable freedom in his handling of Scripture and in his emphasis on its component parts. (3) After Calvin's death, however, a marked retrogression set in; and with the dawn of the era of Protestant scholasticism a most uncompromising view of Biblical inspiration became prevalent, both in Lutheran and Calvinist churches. The authorship and date of the various books of the Bible were regarded in themselves as trifles. Prophets, psalmists, evangelists and apostles were viewed simply as so many amanuenses writing to the dictation of the Holy Spirit. Not only were the general truths of the Bible viewed as God-given; it was maintained that every word and letter — even the vowel-points of the Hebrew text — were directly inspired from above. Consequently the Bible came to be regarded as little more than a volume of proof-texts for the doctrines of Protestant theology.

Obviously the authors of the Westminster Confession — a document which belongs to the scholastic period — believed that a doctrine

(1) McGiffert, ib. p.70.
(2) Teaching of Calvin, p.27.
(3) When Calvin came to use the Bible practically, he ceased to regard it as a medium through which the Divine Spirit spoke to the human spirit, and fettered himself and others by a conception which was legal, not evangelical." Bayburn, John Calvin: his Life, Letters and Work, p.350.
could be formulated and proved by texts extracted from any portion of either Testament. It has been aptly said that "the same kind of an \textit{ex opere operato} theory was attached to the Bible as the Catholics attached to the Sacraments"\(^{(1)}\). Thus the Bible came to be regarded as absolutely inerrant on "all points on which it was its design to teach - historical, geographical, chronological as well as doctrinal or ethical."\(^{(2)}\)

The upshot of this was an attitude of hostility towards what was called heresy - which in effect meant towards all views which happened to conflict with the dogmatic system based on this view of Scripture. It is true that all the heretics of the seventeenth century - Socinians no less than Armenians, and Quakers no less than Anabaptists - made the Bible their final court of appeal; nevertheless they were condemned as sternly by orthodox Protestantism as by the church of Rome, for Protestantism had taken over \textit{in toto} most of the dogmas of Catholic theology. The Synod of Dort was as ruthless as any Catholic council. Likewise Protestantism vied with Romanism in its opposition to the new knowledge, the genesis of which had been itself a kind of by-product of the period of turmoil. It is true that science took its rise in the spirit of free enquiry released by the Renaissance, but its growth was doubtless accelerated by the emphasis in the earlier period of the Reformation of the rights of private judgment. Nevertheless, the revolutionary theory of the Earth's place in nature, put forward by Copernicus and advocated by Galileo was as stoutly contested and unsparingly denounced by Lutherans and Calvinists as by Romanists\(^{(5)}\). Nor was hostility less pronounced towards the new philosophical movement

\(^{(1)}\) McGiffert, \textit{Protestant Thought before Kant}, p.146.
\(^{(2)}\) V. P. Paterson, \textit{The Rule of Faith}, p.64, where the subject is concisely discussed.
\(^{(3)}\) Examples of Protestant hostility are given by Dr. Andrew D. White, \textit{The Warfare of Science with Theology}, Vol.I, pp. 126-30.
associated with the names of Descartes and Spinoza. (1)

If Romanism and Protestantism were at one in regard to the opinions which they repudiated, they were equally so in regard to their superstitions of the age. Behind the clear theological conceptions of the day was an indefinite background of weird superstition - belief in devils and demonic powers and in the activity of the evil spirits through their agents, the witches. It has been pointed out that the Devil played a large part in the life and thought of Luther. "His faith in Satanic temptation and possession was not only very real and deep, but of a childish simplicity and credulity. ...... His belief in the perpetual and all-pervading energy of Satan was a precise counterpart to his faith in the omnipresent activity of God," (2) and this belief was shared in greater or less degree by Protestants and Romanists. The belief in diabolical presence has been called "the intellectual basis of witchcraft," (3) and seems to have been held all but universally, side by side with exalted conceptions of the Divine presence and saving activity. At the same time the large number of those who were suspected of being specially connected with the Devil, and their own confessions of belief in his friendship to them, lends colour to the view which sees behind the prevailing belief in witchcraft the survival of a primitive and debased form of Paganism which had degenerated into Devil-worship, with the associated immoral rites. (4)

Such was in general outline the world-view of the seventeenth century - the political, ecclesiastical, religious and intellectual environment of the Scottish Covenanters and the background against which they waged their fifty years' struggle and endured their twenty-eight years of persecution.

(2) Beard, The Reformation in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge, p.165.
(4) This theory is elaborately presented by Miss Margaret Alice Murray, The Witch-Cult in Western Europe.
The Covenanting Movement in its Politico-Ecclesiastical Aspect.

In memorable phrase, the saintly Leighton in a letter to Lauderdale referred to the "unworthy and trifling contentions" of the later Covenanting period in Scotland as little better than "a drunken scuffle in the dark," (1) and remarkably enough this verdict has come to be endorsed in greater or less degree by various writers and historians of different shades of opinion. With a remarkable incapacity to grasp the issues at stake, the late Mr. Andrew Lang essayed to tell the story of the times "very briefly." The Covenanting party were fanatics and rebels, resisting the lawful government in a blind insistence on "parity of ministers," or conversely on the abolition of the office of bishop. "The various and veering governments could not grant these demands. ...... All that government wanted was to keep the Presbyterians in as good order as Cromwell had done." (2) In another place he described the struggle as the clash of two divine rights - "that of sacred hereditary monarchy and that of the apostolic privileges of preachers." (3) Following him came Colonel John Buchan who brackets together as of the same category "the ways of the Stuarts and the ways of the preachers," (4) maintaining that "the bulk of the ministers were preaching flat treason and anarchy," (5) while illogically admitting that the Covenanters in the era of persecution had a good cause. (5) The breaking of "the despotism of the Kirk" is to Colonel John Buchan a matter of greater import than "the overthrow of a corrupt and

(1) Lauderdale Papers, (ed. by Airy) III, p.76.
(3) Ib., p.422.
(5) Ib., p.136.
(6) Ib., p.131.
Dr. Law Matheson is more generous to the Covenanters, but on the whole his standpoint was the same. Even the late Professor Hume Brown whose sympathies lay wholly with the Covenanters, was inclined to accept the view that during the Covenanting struggle, two divine rights struggled for supremacy and that the result was compromise.

It is impossible, however, to maintain such a view when the various factors are taken into consideration and viewed in proper proportion. It is true, as Dr. Butler has so ably contended, that the second of the two Covenants - the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 - was essentially an intolerant document which committed the Covenanters to persecuting principles - "an open attempt to deny liberty of conscience to others." And it is true that as the struggle went on, the extremer elements clung with tenacity to the Covenants - that in short the Covenants became almost fetishes. But in themselves these documents were only means to an end; and were called into existence by the needs of the times. The struggle began long before the Calvinists in Scotland were called Covenanters and we cannot appreciate the issues at stake until we grasp the fact that the issues were not exclusively Scottish, nor were the vital points in dispute government by bishops, or the use of liturgies, or even the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy.

It is impossible, indeed, to pass a final verdict on the issues of the Covenanting movements without considering the situation in Great Britain as a whole against the general background of the seventeenth century and its various currents of

(2) Politics and Religion in Scotland, 1560-1695.
(3) Note his remark concerning the ministers who accepted the Indulgence. "The compliance of these ministers was in truth the first and necessary step towards that religious and political compromise which the force of circumstances was impressing on the Scottish people." History, II, p.414.
thought in matters political and ecclesiastical as well as theology and religion.

The history of Great Britain during the seventeenth century is in great measure the record of the conflict between Absolutism on the one hand and the Calvinistic attitude to the State on the other. There was of course another factor of far-reaching influence. Romanism was never far out of sight, and curiously enough, the Stewart kings, who were thoroughgoing absolutists and opponents of the political pretensions of the Papacy, were in the religious sphere more or less in harmony with Catholic beliefs.

It has been contended indeed that "it was against the Pope, not against the people, that the animus of the absolutist attack was directed." This was true in England, but only in the earlier stages of the Absolutist movement. The Elizabethan statesmen were bent on the removal of supra-national checks. But in the later part of the struggle it was against the Calvinists, who were in a general sense the champions of popular rights, that the attack was directed. The Stewarts were indeed all more or less sympathetic to Romanism as a religious system, and would gladly have reigned as Louis XIV did, actual head of a national branch of the Catholic Church.

A conditioning factor of the greatest importance with far-reaching effect on the course of events in Great Britain in the seventeenth century was the different form which the Reformation took in England and in Scotland. In England the change was effected by the Crown, and was part and parcel of the Absolutist movement as a whole; the sovereign became supreme head of

(1) James II & VII had two mutually incompatible objects.
the Church and the fountain of all ecclesiastical power. Henry VIII would have had the movement stop there; his ideal was a church Romanist in its essentials, in worship and in doctrine, minus Papal control. The time-spirit was too strong for Henry and a moderate Calvinism became the creed of the Anglican Church; but in ecclesiastical sphere the Tudors had their way, and the Church of England has since been the most national and Erastian of all branches of organised Christianity. In Scotland, the movement was of a radically different type. Firstly, the Scottish Reformation was delayed for a quarter of a century after the formal severance of the Church of England from Rome; and by this time Calvinism had become the dominant politico-ecclesiastical force on the continent. Secondly, the movement was inspired and directed chiefly by John Knox, the friend and disciple of Calvin, who saw in Geneva "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on the Earth since the days of the Apostles," (1) and who modelled the Reformed Church of Scotland, so far as lay in his power, on that of Geneva. Thirdly, and more important still, the triumph of Knox and the Protestant party was brought about at the price of a revolution; (2) and from the start the new Church had no innate respect for the heads of the State as such. The revolution, thoroughgoing as it was, did not commit the government to the hands of disinterested adherents of the Reformation; for there was still a Catholic queen, trained in the school of the Guises. And so, from the beginning, the Church in Scotland was a revolutionary organisation, too strong to be crushed, but only just tolerated, by the Crown.

At first the Kirk was on its guard chiefly against Romanism: but the dethronement of Queen Mary in 1567, and the

(2) Hume Brown, History of the Church in Scotland, II, p.145:-
"A revolution undoubtedly it was, politically as well as religiously."
defeat of the Armada twenty-one years later caused the peril of
the Counter-Reformation to fade into a background of a greater
peril. James VI, though trained a Protestant and educated under
the wholesome influence of George Buchanan, became at an early
stage of his career devoted to the political creed of state abso-
lutism in the form of the divine right of kings. Doubtless he
was encouraged by what he saw across the Border. There the
sovereign was indisputably the head of the Church and the source
of all ecclesiastical authority; and in the latter years of
Elizabeth's reign, the old Queen was an absolute monarch and the
country was frankly governed by her unfettered will. (1) And so
James, who looked forward to his succession to the English throne,
sought to bring Scotland into line. The power of the great feudal
barons was still great, and even their sporadic resistance ham-
pered him; but the chief obstacle was the Kirk, under the leader-
ship of Melville, who boldly declared that the Church was not and
could not be a department of State, and who laid down the prin-
ciple that "there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland." (2)
Taking as his guiding principle the idea enshrined in his phrase,
"No bishop, no king," James set to work to break the power of the
Kirk. His accession to the English throne in 1603 gave him his
opportunity. He had now the might of England at his back, and
by the time of his death in 1625 he had in a great degree suc-
ceeded. A modified episcopacy was introduced, and the Church
was subordinate to the State. Charles I, however, lacked his
father's ability as a statesman, and alike in England and Scot-
land, he pressed the absolutist creed too far, with results which
were fatal to himself. The long smouldering discontent in Scot-

(1) Sir Sidney Lee, The Last Years of Elizabeth, Cambridge
Modern History, III, p.352.
(2) During the famous interview in Falkland Palace: Calder-
wood's History, V, p.440; James Melville, Diary, p.325.
(Wodrow Soc. publications).
land burst into flame, and having alienated the nobility at the same time, as the clergy, he was face to face with a revolution such as had confronted his great-grandmother Mary of Guise. The charter of this Scottish revolution was the National Covenant signed in 1638. This document, which gave its name to a party and a movement, was simply a means to an end. It was not in the main a new document. The practice of signing bonds or covenants was not new in Scotland; several had been signed since the Reformation: one of these, the Covenant of 1580, with additions drafted by Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, was produced and again solemnly sworn. (1) In the face of complete national unity, the king was forced to capitulate.

But the situation in England was the complicating factor. The English Puritan party were engaged in the same kind of struggle as the Covenanters of Scotland, and the latter party by their assistance to the former under the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant in effect declared war again on the King. And the unforeseen end of the Civil War — the establishment of what, under various names, amounted to a military dictatorship — came about alike in England and Scotland. In spirit, it is true, English Puritanism was akin to the Scottish Calvinism which during the Commonwealth it dominated; but the sense of alien domination drove the bulk of the Covenanters on to the side of the kings. It was the unnatural coalition of Royalism and moderate Calvinism against the extremist elements typified in Cromwell and the "sectaries" which made the Restoration possible. The Protesters, it is true, pointed out the dangers lurking in the return to the Stewart dynasty; but their warnings passed largely unheeded, and when the Restoration took place, political Absolutism was placed in a position of commanding authority with the tacit

approval of the great mass of the people. As Charles James Fox truly remarked of Great Britain as a whole: "The short interval between Cromwell's death and the Restoration exhibits the picture of a nation either so wearied with changes as not to feel, or so subdued by military power as not to dare to show any care or preference with regard to the form of their Government." (1)

The Royalists were thus in a position of commanding influence and almost unlimited power. At the beginning of the reign of Charles II there was no question of establishing absolute monarchy in England. (2) It was the ultimate aim, and was achieved, in part at least, towards the close of the king's life, when the bad tactics of the Whig party over the Exclusion Bill played into the hands of the Royalists. The victory had been practically won for absolutism, as in the chief nations of the continent, when James II mounted the English throne. His absolutism was as robust as that of his brother and less dissimulated; but he attempted to achieve two aims which were mutually destructive. Louis XIV was a Catholic and an Absolutist, and he could afford to be both because of the fact that the faith of the French people was, as a whole, Catholic, and because Protestantism in France was Calvinistic and anti-absolutist. Charles II was Catholic at heart, but realised that for reasons of state he must carry the Anglican Church and the bulk of the people with him to make himself absolute; James II failed to realise this. He forgot that to the irreligious and politically servile Englishmen, as well as to the Anglican clergy and to the Nonconformists, Popery was an anti-nationalist despotism - obnoxious on both religious and political grounds. He pursued these two aims - to make himself absolute and Great Britain Catholic, with what

(2) Ramsay Muir, Hist. of British Commonwealth, I, p. 500.
has been called "that stupid obstinacy which is so frequently fatal to a man without talent,"(1) and the Revolution was due first and foremost to the folly of the last Stewart king.(2)

If Charles II and his advisers walked warily in England, their Scottish policy was of a different kind: from the beginning it was open and thorough. The circumstances were peculiarly favourable for the establishment in Scotland of thoroughgoing absolutism. The feeling of apathy was as widespread in Scotland as in England. For over twenty years life had been lived at the highest pressure. Wars, and rebellions, revolutions and counter-revolutions, intrigues and plots, had disturbed the life of the country for many years. Not only the wars with England but against Charles I and later against Cromwell, but the civil strife of the rival factions and the campaigns of Montrose, waged as they had been with atrocious cruelty, had left the country utterly exhausted. With the return of Charles II to the throne of his ancestors, it was felt that, whatever his views and his record, the situation had been stabilised, and that a reversion to normal conditions might be expected. In common with England, too, Scotland was undoubtedly experiencing in 1660 the ebb of the religious tide. The reaction against Puritanism was in full swing, and was reflected in the life and deportment of Edinburgh as much as in that of London. During the rule of the Commonwealth, despite the fact that the Assembly was not permitted to meet, and despite the division of the Church into the two hostile groups of Revolutioners and Protesters, the power of the Kirk in the social life of the community had reached its zenith. The Government was a foreign despotism, but its spirit was all on the side of moral discipline and its attitude to the Kirk was one of

(2) As Goldwin Smith clearly said, "The twin objects of James' policy, absolute monarchy and the conversion of England from Protestantism to Popery were thoroughly alike, as the history of Europe has shown; yet, happily, for the nation, one crossed and wrecked the other." The United Kingdom, Vol.II, p.56.
benevolence, and so in local and social matters, the Kirk-sessions and Presbyteries were allowed a free hand, and the consequence was that strong efforts were made, in the Lowlands at least, not only for religion but for morality. "In the interval between the two kings," according to Kirkton, religion advanced the greatest steps it had made for many years, the ministry was notably purified and the people strangely refined." This seems to me to have been Scotland's high noon. The only complaint of profane people was that the government was so strict they had not liberty enough to sin. Nobody complained more of our church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broke, people were become so sober." Making allowances for the fact that Kirkton wrote at a later date, when the period of the Commonwealth seemed almost idyllic by comparison with the persecution, there can be little doubt of the accuracy of Hetherington's verdict that "the account which he gives of the state of religion at that time in Scotland, though highly coloured, is nevertheless in all its main lineaments a faithful representation of the truth." This was undoubtedly due in great measure to the austere morality of the more active and earnest among the Covenanting ministers. Blackadder records that at the time of his settlement in the parish of Troqueer in Galloway, in 1653, "scandals did abound, especially idle swearing, excessive tippling in alehouses, foolish jesting, obscene expressions and promiscuous dancing, especially at marriages." To rectify this state of affairs, he ordered all to provide themselves with Bibles and commenced a strict personal supervision of

(1) See Beattie, History of Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth, p.93.
(2) Kirkton, History, p.48.
(3) Ib., pp.49-50.
(4) Ib., p.65. Law in his Memoirs (p.7) corroborates the estimate of Kirkton that the period was one of religious and moral progress.
(5) History of the Church of Scotland, p.364.
the habits of the people. Each half-year he catechised the entire parish, and his catechising was not of a perfunctory sort. Nor did he omit to drive home in his public preaching the elementary moral duties of religion. Discipline was freely invoked and even excommunication was resorted to. Zeal bore fruit not only in this particular parish, but in every place where such an intensive religious work was carried on; but it undoubtedly irritated and angered many who in their inmost hearts remained obdurate. Many of the nobles and gentry belonged to this class and resented the faithfulness with which their private vices were handled; and, accordingly, their influence was cast, when the Restoration came, on the side of a government dominated by men of the world, and of lax morality. Not only the frivolous upper class, but many among the lower ranks of the people rejoiced in the collapse of the Commonwealth government which had given the Kirk so free a hand. For these, "the Restoration, with its promise of happier days for the natural man, appears to have been an ammingle joy." The new Government alike in Scotland as in England had the unswerving support of the great proportion of the population who were frivolous and licentious, and were weary of restraint.

But there were particular circumstances peculiar to Scotland which still further assisted the Restoration Government in any policy which it chose to pursue.

(1) The first was the loyalty of the Scots to monarchical rule. Republicanism was the creed of but one or two doc-

(1) Memoirs of Blackadder, p.44.
(2) Ib., p.41.
(3) Ib., p.45.
trinaires; and the treatment of Scotland by the English Republican party had not been considerate or magnanimous. Scotland had been forced into an incorporating union distasteful and humiliating to the vast mass of the people. The Estates of Parliament had been abolished, and Scotland had been compelled to accept representation in a United Parliament, which was quite disproportionate to the population of the country. The courts of justice had ceased to function; and the General Assembly, the emblem of the independence of Scottish ecclesiastical life, had been dissolved by Cromwell in 1653. To the average Scotsman, republicanism spelt an alien domination, not perhaps oppressive, but galling to the national spirit; the cause of national independence appeared to be bound up with monarchical rule, and the Restoration seemingly implied the recovery of the independence of Scotland. That it was nominal independence only and that the country was for thirty years to be little better than a northern province of England did not become apparent until after Charles II was firmly seated in his father's throne. The uproarious loyalty which found expression in the convivial rejoicings all over the country was on the whole genuine; and if the Protesters - and probably many of the Resolutioners as well - felt some misgivings at the almost unlimited powers given to a king of whose sincerity they were suspicious, they had still no alternative in their minds to a Stewart restoration.

(ii) A second factor which told heavily in favour of the Government was the weakness of the Scottish Parliament. Throughout the greater part of its history, the authority of this Parliament had been in great measure stultified by the existence of the committee of the Lords of the Articles; for this committee, except during the period of the Covenanting ascendancy (1638-49) and again after the Revolution, was the ultimate repository of Parliamentary power. The Crown and the privy council dominated the Committee and the Estates alike; and the great nobles who formed so large a proportion of the membership had been driven by
force of circumstances almost wholly on to the side of the Crown. (1) Nor was Parliament jealous of its constitutional rights; there was no tradition in Scotland such as existed in the southern kingdom. Charles was forced to defer to the English Parliament and to consider the attitude of the House of Commons; he was under no such obligation in Scotland to waver his designs of absolute monarchy. (iii) The Kirk had been in the past two reigns the rallying-point of the national resistance. Through the Assembly rather than through Parliament had the popular voice found expression. But the Kirk was in 1660 well-nigh impotent. The Assembly had not met for seven years; and while the power of the Church in a social sense had been growing, it had been waning politically. In addition, the Church could speak with no united voice. To all intents and purposes, it had been split into two rival bodies, and the policy of the two parties - Resolutioners and Protesters - had been antagonistic. There was ecclesiastical activity, no doubt. Every effort was made by Douglas and other leaders to get the ear of the king. But Charles knew well that there was no actual power behind the resolutions and supplications of Presbyteries. And he was right. It is often said that the treachery of one man - James Sharp - was the cause of the restoration of Episcopacy. If so, the fact is the measure of the impotence of the Kirk.

Thus the times were peculiarly favourable in Scotland for the advancement of royalist pretensions of the most exaggerated form; and from the beginning of the reign it was obvious that Charles and his Scottish ministers were bent on realising in Scotland the ideal of a servile state. And it must be borne in mind that this was the unswerving aim of the Scottish administration for twenty-eight years. The persecution of the later Covenanters was essentially a political persecution. It is a profound

(1) Wodrow, History, I, p. 89. "Such fools" said Row "were our temporising, rotten-hearted nobles, flattering and fawning upon them that were to tread on their necks." - Blair, p. 406.
mistake to contend that the struggle was a religious one or even an ecclesiastical one in its essence. The Government did not wage it out of a disinterested zeal for the Episcopalian form of church government, or from a belief that the spiritual interests of the people would be best served if the Church were governed by bishops. (1) Charles II and his Scottish advisers, who had in their day all been Covenanters from political reasons, cared little or nothing for church government. But the episcopal form was useful to them, because it is essentially bureaucratic, because the royal headship was easily grafted on to it, and because the bishops—a few men appointed by the Crown and dependent on the royal favour—were much more easily managed than annual assemblies, in which every clergyman and elder had an equal vote. (2) This was perceived clearly by the Covenanting controversialists of the time. The writer of Naphtali for instance, characterised the "later prelacy" as "worse and more intolerable than the Roman hierarchy". The Roman Church with all its faults was under another and distinct head, and thus sometimes the Roman prelates were led to oppose unlimited royal power; whereas "our prelates, deriving all their power and being from the king's supremacy ..... have by sad experience ever inclined the government unto tyranny." (3)

That the establishment of absolute government, not only over the Church but over the State as well was the settled policy of all the Governments—more moderate as well as the more severe— from the Restoration to the Revolution is obvious from a perusal of the various acts of parliament and council, of proclamations, and oaths and bonds. Thus in 1661, besides the Act Regisary

(1) Dr. Matthew McKail's remark of Lauderdale, — "He values the Episcopal clergy as little as the Presbyterians when it comes in competition with the king's supremacy." quoted by J. King Hewison, The Covenanters. II, p.277.
(2) It is of course undeniable that Charles had a personal grudge against the men who had practically compelled him to sign the Covenant before owning him as king. Their democratic principles were distasteful to him. Hence his view that Presbyterianism was "no religion for a gentleman."
there was passed an act declaring it "high treason" for subjects, of whatever number, "upon any pretext whatsoever, to rise, continue in arms, or to enter into leagues and bonds, with foreigners or among themselves, without his majesty's special warrant and approbation had and obtained thereto." (1) Thus the right of association was abolished at one blow. Still more repressive measures followed. In September the privy council prohibited the electing of any person to be magistrate or councillor in any royal burgh who was not of "known loyalty and affection to his majesty's government." (2) Another act declared that any person "called to any public trust" must, besides taking the oath of allegiance, assert under his handwriting "his majesty's royal prerogative as is expressed in the acts passed in the present parliament." (3) An "act for the preservation of his majesty's person, authority and government" declared that all who "by writing, printing, praying, preaching, libelling, remonstrating, or by any malicious and advised speaking, express, publish or declare any words or sentences to stir up the people to the hatred and dislike of his majesty's royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical or of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops" to be "incapable of enjoying or exercising any place or employment, civil, ecclesiastical or military within this church and kingdom," and to be "liable to such further pains as are due by law in such cases." (4) The strenuous resistance - at first passive, but later active - to these measures did not deflect the civil rulers - such as Middleton, Rothes and Lauderdale, - on the one hand, nor the ecclesiastics, such as Sharp, on the other - from their course. Even while Lauderdale ostensibly adopted a policy of moderation, he took occasion to make this moderation flow from the mere good pleasure of an irresponsible despot. In the very year in which the first indulgence was

(1) Wodrow, History I, p.95.
(2) Ib., pp.244-5.
(3) Ib., p.100.
(4) Ib., p.264.
proclaimed (1669) the Estates, under the domination of Lauderdale, passed an act "anent the supremacy" reiterating the supreme authority of the monarch over all persons, and declaring "the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church" to be an inherent right of the Crown, and stating that ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proposed and determined therein were to be settled as his majesty and his successors "in their royal wisdom shall think fit." This was suggestively followed by an act "anent the militia" declaring the power of arming men and raising them in arms to be also among the inherent rights of the Crown.

The mere granting of the indulgence which the act anent the supremacy was required to legalise, was in itself the exercise of absolute state power, overriding all law, civil or ecclesiastical. The ministers who accepted the indulgence actually held their parishes not by the act of congregation, session, patron or bishop, but simply by the arbitrary will of the government, on certain specified conditions; so that the acceptance of the indulgence actually broke up the body corporate of the Church, the indulged constituting a little church within the church, under the absolute government of the State. Brown of Vanshpray did not overstate the position when he maintained that by the act of supremacy "the church as to her ecclesiastical being is annihilated; and there is no more a church as such, for that company is now metamorphised into a formal part of the civil polity and is like unto any other company or society of merchants, tradesman or the like." And he clearly pointed out the ultimate bearing of this policy on the relation between the State and the individual. Speaking of the "screwing up of the prerogative in civil matters" and "the iniquitous acts and actings tending to

(1) Vodrow, History, II, p.137.
(2) Ib., p.139.
the prejudice of the subjects as to their civil rights and privileges," he remarked that where rulers have destroyed the spiritual rights and privileges of their subjects it is but a small matter to rob them also of what is their due as men and as members of the civil society.\(1\)

The comparative failure of the indulgence and the steady increase of conventicles led in 1670 to the passing of the "act anent deponing," under which, "every good subject is bound down not only to inform against his neighbour, his father or mother, for going to a field-meeting or house-conventicle, but likewise to be a hangman to every one that shall be condemned for what was now made a crime."\(2\) By a succession of acts following this, the government claimed the right to interfere with and to regulate the private lives and habits of men. By the "act anent field-conventicles," any minister who preached in the open or to a house full of people, if some happened to be outside the door, was made liable to death and confiscation and all the "outed" ministers were forbidden to preach, pray or expound Scripture except in their own houses in presence of their own families.\(3\)

Two years later other acts made compulsory the baptism of children by the episcopal clergy within thirty days of birth, on pain of a heavy fine,\(4\) and commanded all ministers within the kingdom to "preach yearly" on May 29th giving thanks for the king's restoration.\(5\) The failure both of these measures and of the feeble efforts of Leighton and others to reach a compromise\(6\) did not deter the Government from embarking on a still more savage

\(1\) Testimonies of Scots Worthies, p.155.
\(2\) Wodrow, II, p.168.
\(3\) Ib., p.169-70.
\(4\) Ib., p.198.
\(5\) Ib., p.199.
\(6\) Ib., p.175. According to Mackenzie, Leighton was believed to be the "author" of the Indulgence. Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow objected to the Supremacy, and even Sharp "stated three pretenders to supremacy," in a sermon before Parliament, — the Pope, the King and the General Assembly, for which Mackenzie hints, he was almost "turned off."— Memoirs, pp.185-189.
and repressive policy typified by the "letters of intercommunicating" issued in 1575, outlawing a large number of prominent ministers and laymen, and by the quartering of the "Highland host" on the south-western counties, and by the crazy attempt to compel heritors and liferenters to engage themselves by a bond not only for themselves but for their tenants not to keep or to be present at conventicles. During the remainder of the persecution, these repressive acts follow each other on the statute-book with monotonous regularity. The imposition of the cess, the military policy by which it was hoped to "make the militia effectual for all the ends of a large standing army," "to bear down and ruin presbyterians," the bond imposed after the Bothwell rising, the passing of the Test Act, and the oaths of abjuration framed and imposed by the successors of Lauderdale, are the written testimonies of the determination of the Governments of the Stewart regime not only to keep the Presbyterians in good order but to make the monarch absolute master of the consciences of the Scottish people and dictator of their private as well as their public lives. The military policy of the time and the powers entrusted to Turner, Ballantine, Dalziel, Claverhouse, Lag, and other officers flowed not from the obstinacy of the people, but from the enormity of the absolutist claims of the last two Stewarts. It is doubtful if there has been in modern history a more determined effort to break the spirit of a large section of a nation or to compel a whole people to bend to an absolute will.

This steady aim, which met with but a feeble and hesitating resistance in the purely political sphere, was from the beginning strenuously opposed by a large section of the Church.

(2) Ib., p.378.
(3) Ib., p.365.
(4) Ib., p.485.
(6) Ib., III, p.119.
(7) Ib., pp.295.
(8) Ib., IV, p.157.
(9) "They would have their laws to reach thoughts as well as actions." - Shields, The Scots Inquisition, p.8.
(10) The Royalist Mackenzie admitted - "It was one of the main designs of our grandees ... to get all power devolved over upon
The opposition developed as the persecution grew in intensity, and several well-defined stages may be noted in this development. (i) From 1660 to the Pentland rising in 1668; (ii) From the suppression of this rising to the more formidable rebellion of 1679; (iii) from 1679 to the Revolution in 1689.

(i) During the first six years, the Government, as already noted, had everything in its favour. The unbounded loyalty of the mass of the people, the wave of indifference which passed over the land, the division of the Covenanting party into two hostile factions, and the treachery of Sharp, the agent of the Resolutioners, all told heavily in favour of the royalist policy. From the beginning, however, the violence and vindictiveness of the successive administrations of Middleton and Rothes tended to vindicate the misdeeds of the Protesters. The executions of Argyll, Guthrie and Wariston, the violence typified in the public burning of the Covenants and of Rutherford's Lex Rex, and the recklessness first of the "Drunken Parliament" in passing the Recisory Act and secondly of the "Drunken Council" whose order for the ejection of several hundred ministers astounded and dismayed Sharp himself, (1) were not calculated to commend the wisdom of the new regime to the mass of the people. Nevertheless, Scotland as a whole continued loyal to the Government. (2) The rebellion of 1668, despite the tyranny which provoked it, and despite also the wild rumours that it was engineered in conjunction with the Dutch, was never of a formidable nature. The fact that the bulk of the population even in Edinburgh were unsympathetic and that the peasantry after the defeat of Rullion Green were in some cases actively hostile (3) indicated that the proportion of the population disposed to go to extremes was very small. Indeed, in this period, field-preaching was confined almost to the Council; hoping thereby to make Parliaments unnecessary and to enhance all the government to themselves."—Memoirs. (p.167)

(1) Burnet, History, I, p.289.
(2) Livingstone, in his letter to his parishioners of Ancram spoke of the opposition as a "small handful." — Select Biographies, I, p.242.
(3) Wodrow, II, p.34; Naphtali, p.179.
entirely to the south-western shires, where the Protesting party had wielded most influence. (1)

(ii) The severities practised on the prisoners taken at Rullion Green not only discredited the Commissioner Rothes and the military commanders Turner and Ballantine; they tended to drive multitudes into sympathy with the Covenanting party; and the more conciliatory attitude of the new Commissioner Lauderdale, at that time advised by Sir Robert Murray and the Earl of Tweeddale, suggested to the community at large that the Government had begun in some measure at least to see the folly of a policy of mere repression. Both causes were probably potent in still further augmenting the ranks of the Covenanting party. In the seventies the spirit of disaffection and resistance to authority spread all over the south of Scotland and even penetrated beyond the Tay. In a letter written to McWard in Holland in 1679, Blackadder, who was identified with field-preaching from the beginning, remarked that by 1668 conventicles had appeared in Linlithgowshire and in the following year in Fife. In 1674 the movement spread to Clydesdale and Renfrewshire. In the same year conventicles became common in East Lothian and in the following year in Teviotdale and the Mearse. In 1677 the movement extended over Tweeddale, while in Mid Lothian there were "many public preachings." In 1678 conventicles were held as far north as Perthshire, and in 1677 the movement touched Dumbartonshire and was "like to break in towards the Highlands." (2) This is corroborated by a letter of the Bishop of Galloway to the Lord Register, in which that prelate complained bitterly of "the great

(1) Letter of Blackadder to McWard reproduced in Memoirs, (ed. by Crichton) 2nd ed. p.178. "From the minutes of Jedburgh Presbytery, we find that conventicles were held in Teviotdale as early as 1668." - Stewart, Covenanters of Teviotdale, p.215. (2) Mackenzie, Memoirs, p.168.

and insolent field-conventicles in Perthshire," and of a "constant field conventicle" attended by "several shoals of Highlanders in their trews and many barelegged, flocking thither to propagate the mischief of the good old cause."(1) In 1670, weapons of defence were carried by worshippers at the famous conventicle at Hill of Beath and this custom became more and more prevalent—an ominous practice which in the eyes of the authorities fore-shadowed another rebellion. The acute tension of the times was manifested by the skirmishes between the military and the armed covenanters at Lilliesleaf, Whitekirk and other places.(2) One of these encounters indeed developed into the battle of Drumclog, which precipitated the rising of 1679.

(iii) This rising was long desired by Lauderdale, who had long since abandoned the milder policy which marked the beginning of his regime. For a while, indeed, the Covenanters deliberately followed a policy of studied pacifism. "Goads of no kind ..... availed to change their humour and resolution to give no ground for justifying the brutal policy of Lauderdale."(3) The now widespread disaffection expressed itself simply in passive resistance.(4) But two unforeseen events brought about the rebellion which Lauderdale and his associates desired to provoke. The one was the Drumclog skirmish; the other was the assassination of Sharp, which has been called the Rubicon which once crossed meant civil war à outrance."(5) The rebellion, which ended disastrously at Bothwell, was a tactical error of the first magnitude, as some of the leaders clearly perceived. Not only was it disastrous in itself: it marked the transition from the policy of passive resistance, which had all but paralysed the Government

(1) Copy of Letter, Wodrow, II, p.150.
(2) Kirkton mentions "bloody skirmishes" — "especially in Lothian." — p.364.
(4) That the disaffection at this time was widespread is evident from the large number who refused to serve in the army raised to suppress the rebellion. — Wodrow, III, p.177.
in the seventies, to that of active resistance, which gave the Government the excuse for intensifying the persecution with redoubled fury. It also brought to a head the differences between the two sections of the non-indulged Covenanters which now became acute. The more radical party, which drew its inspiration from the exiles Brown and McWard, was openly rebellious in sentiment, and in addition began to advocate "separation from the indulged" — from the small number of ministers who had accepted the various indulgences. The more moderate party, led by Welch and Blackadder, were by no means clear as to the question of rebellion. Blackadder, indeed, deprecated the appeal to arms, holding that "the Lord called for a testimony by suffering rather than by outward deliverance."(2) Welch was more militant, and had been out at Pentland as well as Bothwell, but was at no time disposed to go the length of disowning the royal authority.(3) And the moderates, while refusing the indulgences and lamenting the sad compliance of the indulged with Erastianism,(4) were not inclined to sever Christian fellowship with these men. As is well known, the disputations of the two parties in the camp at Bothwell was an important factor in the collapse of the rebellion.(5) After Bothwell, the moderate party was practically eliminated. Welch retired to England, where he died in 1682 and though Blackadder continued to hold conventicles, his career was closed in 1681 by his arrest and imprisonment on the Bass. From 1680 onwards, the Cameronian party directed the movement. The Queensferry paper, the magna charta of the party, was a document of far-reaching import, in which the right of the House of Stewart was challenged, and in which a state of war between the Cameronians and the Government was openly proclaimed, — the former declaring themselves as

(1) Welwood and Cameron were the first to advocate this course.  
(3) The declaration of oppressed Protestants at Hamilton (Wodrow III, pp.96-98) was published with Welch's approval.  
(4) Saints of the Covenant, I, p.208.  
(5) Blackadder took no part in the rebellion.
a state within the state. The Sanquhar declaration and the Torwood Excommunication were the logical outcome of this new attitude. At Sanquhar, Cameron threw off allegiance to Charles II and declared war on him as a tyrant and usurper, and at Torwood Cargill cast the King and his advisers out of the fellowship of the Church. For eight years this party of the extreme left maintained the struggle and under Renwick's leadership the movement assumed formidable proportions - large numbers "flocking after the persecuted gospel ordinances to the open fields."(1) By the formation of the United Societies, the whole of southern Scotland was covered with an organisation openly defying the Government and repudiating its authority. The Societies virtually constituted a state within the state. No one could be recognised as a member of a society meeting "who took any of the bonds tendered by the Government, who paid cess, locality or militia money to the civil authorities, or stipends to the curates or indulged clergy; made use of a government pass, voluntarily appeared before any court of law, supplied any commodities to the enemy, allowed another to do any of these things in their name, or who in any form recognised the ministry of indulged or silent Presbyterians."(2)

It is true therefore to say that the Revolution began in 1680 with the drafting of the Queensferry paper and that Cargill, Cameron and Renwick were the pioneers of the great movement. At all events their policy was endorsed by the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1689. The attempt to enslave the bodies and souls of men and to establish by a reign of terror an oriental despotism(3) ended in ignominious failure, and it is well to

(1) Shields, Life of Renwick, Biographia Presbyteriana, II, p.92.
(2) Hutchinson, Reformed Presbyterian Church, p.59.
(3) Cf. Kirkton, History p.87, for corroboration of this estimate. The author of Naphtali, as early as 1667, characterised the tyranny as worse than the Spanish inquisition (p.165) and Shields maintained that the conduct of the Government would have made "Turks and pagans ashamed" (A Hind Let Loose, p.70). Taken all in all, Renwick's scathing indictment must be accepted by all who approach the subject with open minds, - "I think we/
remember that instead of two "divine rights" destroying each other, the claim of the Covenanters to civil and religious liberty was made good and the action of the Cameronians in disowning the Stewart dynasty was abundantly justified.

The tactical blunder committed by the extreme Cameronians was their failure to realise, that, although the Covenants had not been re-imposed, they had gained the substance of what they had contended for. In a sense, they had forgotten that the Covenants were but means to an end, called forth not only by the time-spirit but by the special circumstances of the day.

Thus during the twenty-eight years of persecution, the opposition to the Government gradually increased in volume and intensity until at the Revolution, the whole of Lowland Scotland was unanimous that an end be put to arbitrary tyranny. By the close of the period a Whig party in politics had made its appearance, and many of the aristocrats and gentry were on this side. But during the earlier stage of the conflict the "upper classes" were chiefly on the side of absolutism.

It has generally been an accepted article of belief that the resistance to the absolutism of the Stewarts was on the whole a popular resistance - that the Covenanting movement was generally speaking democratic. Indeed, writers of two or three generations ago used to be at pains to show that the later Covenanters were not all "plebeians," and that many of the leaders were of "gentle" birth and came of well-connected families. Recently, however, Mr. Thomas Johnston in his "History of the Working Classes in Scotland" written from the standpoint of modern Socialism, has challenged this generally accepted view. He essays "to dispel the current illusion that the Covenanting leaders, even the leaders of the hillmen and the hunted heroes of the moss-hags...

we never heard of a generation of persecutors whose spirits were more set on edge by hell fire than these; they persecute without compassion, they persecute without pity, so that they have given up not only with all things like Christianity, but with very human reason itself." - Renwick's Sermons, p.212).

(1) Defoe, an Englishman, emphasises this in his Memoirs p.164
(2) Hume Brown, History II, p.454.
were poor men."(1) He finds that "the revolutionary theological tradition and the evangelistic fervour which has come down to us is distinctly of mercantile and bourgeois origin." Legislation, he maintains, was weighted against the peasant, alike under Presbytery and Prelacy; and he draws a heartrending picture of the terrible lot of the "poor," — "branked and stocked and gouged and imprisoned and publicly admonished" under the rule "of each and of both."(2) The persecution of the witches, he would have us believe, was in essence a persecution of the working class — "of the mother and grandmothers of the labouring poor."(3) The accused women, he somewhat hardly states, "were almost always of the labouring class."(4) These assertions deserve some notice, coming as they do from a leading representative of the "parties of the left" in Scotland at the present time, whose recent historical volume betrays traces of much erudition and careful research.

In the first place, it may be said that there is no illusion, and never has been, that the leaders of the Covenanters were "poor men." That Blackadder was in his own right baronet of Tulliallan, that Peden was a laird, that Cargill was a lawyer's son, and Welch of ministerial lineage — these are no newly-discovered facts, and in themselves prove nothing.(5) The born leaders of human progress have never been men who have acted solely from selfish or class interests; democratic and working-class movements have again and again had leaders from the aristocratic and middle classes. Secondly, the evidence is conclusive that the mass of those who attended field-meetings and resisted authority generally, belonged to the poorer class of the community. Wodrow(5) states that the prisoners executed after Rullion Green were "most

(1) History of the Working Classes in Scotland, p.96. Mr. Johnston inaccurately includes Mrskine of Dun among the leaders.
(2) Ib., p.99.
(3) Ib., p.109.
(4) Ib., p.115.
(5) Wodrow, Essay on the Covenanter's Life and Letters
of them illiterate persons, of very common education." And as to the social standing of the average Covenanter, the testimony of the government officials who were engaged in the attempt to crush the movement, is surely to be preferred to the mere expression of opinion of a twentieth-century writer, however eminent. A royal proclamation indicates that the government believed the strength of the movement to be among the poorer classes; for it was enacted that "all men in country habit" were liable to be challenged at sight and detained in custody. (1) The Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, expressly stated that John Welch, during his campaign in Fife drew the "rabble" to follow him before he attracted the gentry, (2) and at a later date, in 1685, the Earl of Perth and Melfort, then Chancellor, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, railed bitterly against the Cameronians as a "new sect sprung up among us from the dunghill, the very dregs of the people." (3) More conclusive still are the lists of fugitives and martyrs. A roll of fugitives was issued along with a royal proclamation in 1684. Lairds are certainly represented in the list, - but the bulk belong to the working class - weavers, shoemakers, smiths, masons, chapmen, servants. (4) And an analysis of the roll of martyrs shows that ploughmen, weavers, shoemakers, chapmen, and servant-girls were among the irreconcilables. (5) Again McWard in discussing the persecution speaks of the very poor who had suffered - those ejected from huts and little hole houses. (6) But perhaps the strongest testimony to the essentially democratic nature of the movement is that of Alexander Shields, who was in the closest touch with it in its later stages. He expressly remarked that if the nobility had supported the cause, it would have been "a great mercy and encouragement"; their alliance would have been most welcome; but this clear duty they had abandoned. (7)

(2) Quoted by Wodrow II, p.244, from Mackenzie's Memoirs, p.272
(3) Wodrow IV, p.252.
(5) Testimonies of Scots Worthies.
(6) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, McWards Tracts, pp.159-161.
(7) A Hind Let Loose, p.211.
Mr. Johnston's contention that the movement did not touch the lives of the masses of the people would appear to be based upon the tacit assumption on his part of the existence of what is called in modern phraseology a "proletariat," - a dense population living under an industrial wage-earning system. In the seventeenth century, industrialism, as we know it to-day, was non-existent. The cities were much smaller than now, not only absolutely, but relatively to the population. By his reference to Renwick, a weaver's son, as belonging to the working-class, (1) he defines what he means by the phrase. Obviously he would concede that masons, chapmen, ploughmen, tenants, cottars, etc. belonged to the same class. These occupations are well represented in the rolls of martyrs and outlaws.

(1) History of the Working Classes in Scotland, p.98.
The Covenanting Movement in its Religious Aspect.

"The churchgoing of our ancestors," remarked Mr. Andrew Lang in his sketch of the later Covenanting period, "was enthusiastic, because the prayers and sermons "to the times" were often lively examples of party journalism." This means that in the main, conventicles were political meetings rather than religious gatherings.

This is a characteristic over-statement and a typical half-truth. The persecution was in its essence not religious but political. As has been already pointed out, the statesmen of the later Stewart period were neither religious fanatics nor ecclesiastical zealots. They were first and foremost politicians bent on establishing the royal supremacy, and upon realising the ideal of a servile state; and the Kirk was attacked because it had been the focus of organised opposition to royal pretensions. If, therefore, the object of the persecution was primarily political, it was inevitable that the resistance which the policy of the statesmen called forth should be of a political complexion. The laws which were driven through a servile parliament in the execution of the Government policy bore hardly on many individuals and the huge fines and excessive extortions were certain to drive into sympathy with the "outed" ministers large numbers who were not in the first instance particularly interested in religion or in theology. "It was no great wonder that not a few, who perhaps had no great sense of religion, joined with such as were forced to be in arms and wander up and down for their principles, and sided with any party who might procure their relief in their property and civil liberty so dreadfully invaded." And as the persecution waxed fiercer, and a new generation of preachers arose,

(1) History of Scotland, III, p.319.
(2) Wodrow II, p.62.
who had never occupied pastoral charges and had grown to manhood under the shadow of oppression, the sermons and lectures delivered at conventicles tended to become more and more political in their complexion and application. It has been pointed out that while in general the older leaders concentrated chiefly on the Gospel as a message of "salvation through a crucified Saviour" and based their opposition to the Government chiefly on religious grounds, on the usurpation by the King of the prerogative of Christ, the younger men tended to deal more and more directly with political issues. And it has been hinted that the younger men were encouraged to do this by the support of those who flocked to conventicles from political motives, "not properly considering the difference between a proselyte to a party and a true Christian." (1) Wodrow refers to the "unguarded expressions of some probationers in their sermons" and "the excesses to which some of these young men had run in their discourses with the people." (2) But indeed it was inevitable that social and political themes should come to be of a paramount importance. The supreme fact, which no one could ignore, was the persecution. It dominated the whole country and the people were hungering for a message for the times. (3) This they got from the non-indulged Covenanting ministers, who viewed religion and life as a connected whole. Thus the Covenanting movement was forced to become a political one. But that its roots were essentially religious is evident from the bare narration of its influence, spiritually and ethically, in the country from the Restoration onwards.

Accounts of the general moral and religious tone of the

(1) Aitken, Annals of the Persecution, p. 266.
(2) Wodrow, II, p. 500. This tendency was deprecated by the more moderate Presbyterians and was not without influence in producing the cleavage between the parties of the right and the left.
(3) The experiences of recent years enable us to understand, in some degree at least, the angle from which religion and life came to be viewed, from 1660 to 1690. During the great war of 1914-18, preaching became in great measure contemporary, and the war in greater or less degree coloured the message of practically every school of preacher - not only in Great Britain but all over the world.
country at the Restoration differ considerably one from the other, but there can be little doubt that in general it was low. Even when Kirkton wrote his celebrated account of the "golden age" in the "Interval between the two kings" he wrote of it in the past tense. He himself admitted that the effect of the Restoration was to change the disposition of the people and there is abundant evidence that, probably largely by way of reaction and largely by reason of apathy, there set in at the time among all classes a process of moral degeneracy.

Thus the governing classes in Scotland, taking their cue from the courts of Whitehall and Versailles were notoriously dissolute. As Hill Burton, a historian not biased by his own prejudices in favour of the Covenanters, truly said, "The political profligacy of Louis XIV's court was vulgarised when it passed on to St. James'; but when it migrated to Holyrood, the rough ways of the Scots made it more hideous still." Of its hideousness there can be no reasonable doubt. Burnet, in oft-quoted words characterised it as a "mad roaring time," when "the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." John Welch certainly did not exaggerate when he spoke of the Estates as a "drunken parliament." The truth of the charge was vouched for by Burnet's statement that the Act Recissory was only fit to be passed after a drunken bout. When the Privy Council held its famous meeting in Glasgow, the act of ejection was passed when all the members present were "flustered with drink," except one, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, who opposed the act; and it is recorded that while the members of the Council were in Ayr "the

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(1) History, pp. 64-65.
(2) Ibid., p.55.
(3) History of Scotland, VII, p.179.
(4) History of his own Time, I, p.165.
devil's health was drunk at the Cross there in one of their debauches about the middle of the night."(1) That these accusations of drunkenness and loose living generally were not mere malicious tales spread by the enemies of the Restoration statesmen is evident from the fact that Lauderdale reproved Rothes for his drunken habits,(2) while he himself was taken to task by Richard Baxter for the report that he "used to take his cups with excess and sometimes unto drunkenness."(3) Archbishop Leighton confessed to Burnet that Middleton and the other politicians who were instrumental in bringing about the restoration of Episcopacy "were so openly impious and vicious that it did cast a reproach on everything relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments."(4) An impartial survey of the lives and conduct of the Restoration statesmen in Scotland cannot fail to lead to an estimate little different from that of Renwick, who confessed he could not find a Biblical parallel to match their character and conduct. "They declare by their actions that they defy God; they declare their defiance against the Most High and cast out a flag against the heavens."(5) When account is taken of the debaucheries and vices of the rulers of Scotland, their betrayal of their former professions, their greediness and meanness above all their shocking cruelty, it will be seen that the verdict of the young leader of the Hillmen did not much overshoot the mark.

If such was the character of the Restoration statesmen, the churchmen - the new bishops and the "curates" generally - were scarcely more respectable. Little wonder that the saintly

(2) Lauderdale Papers, I, p.219.
(3) Tb., III, p.235.
(4) Burnet, History, I, p.201.
McWard expressed himself almost similarly at an earlier date - "No man would suffer himself to believe that even such a thing which had no cover of reason to cover the barbarity of its rage, would be put in execution." (Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p.167). Cf. Hallam's verdict, - "No part of modern history, for so long a period, can be compared in the wickedness of the government to the Scots administration of Charles II." Quoted by Lawson, Covenanters of Ayrshire, p.75.
Leighton was uneasy at the meanness and selfishness of his fellow prelates. By common consent, Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, was simply a buffoon, - "a man both profane and scandalous," (1) "a wag, insinuating, crafty, lecherous." (2) Hamilton, a renegade Covenanter, has been characterised as a "contemptible driveller." (3) Wishart, who was awarded the See of Edinburgh, was a "known drunkard" of profane speech. (4) Paterson, who afterwards filled the same See, was "one of the most notorious liars of his time, and vicious, base and loose liver." (5) Sharp, indeed, was possessed of a certain ability and he appears to have been of temperate habits and, in later years at least, of moral life. (6) But his policy as one of the rulers of Scotland reveals him not merely as a traitor, but as a cruel, vindictive, irreligious man. (7) And even Leighton, while of pure life, devout, even ascetic, showed a deplorable lack of righteous indignation against the conduct of the civil rulers and a strange indifference to the innocent victims of the horrible cruelties which were inflicted. (8)

In estimating the characters of the rank and file of the so-called "curates," - the men who were hurriedly thrust into the quips of the outed ministers - it must be borne in mind that they were highly unpopular and that stories of the scandalous living and disgraceful vices were eagerly retailed and implicitly accepted. Kirkton, while admitting that "because the body of them was certainly so debauched a company, common people would not

(1) Kirkton, p.135.
(5) Kirkton, Life of Blair, p.542, et seq.
(6) The Covenanters, II, p.52. Hewison concludes that "there is no evidence to sustain the horrid charges" of youthful vice against Sharp.
(7) Burnet emphasised Sharp's lack of true religion or piety (Hist. Brit. Ch. II, p.30). According to Brown of Haddington, Sharp was reckoned by those who knew him "a downright atheist who affected to believe that there was neither God, heaven, nor hell." Mr. Com- mund Airy, an unbiased impartial judge, maintains that Sharp's letters to Lauderdale show him to have been "in the most comprehensive sense of the word, a knave pur sang." (Lauderdale Papers, I, preface X.)
believe an honest man would continue in their company." (1) nevertheless draws a lurid picture of irreligion and immorality among the curates as a class. He himself, with his own ears, heard curates swear like debauched "red-coats" on the streets of Edinburgh. "No man," he asserted, "will deny they wallowed in our gutters drunk in their canonical gowns"; (2) and he collected a number of unsavoury stories of the prevalent licentiousness and drunkenness among them. Burnet's testimony is still more conclusive, for he was one of themselves and, in his own words, "lived among them and knew them well." They were the worst preachers he ever heard, — "ignorant to a reproach, many of them openly vicious — a disgrace to their order." (3) Even a contemporary politician was driven to describe them as "insufficient, scandalous and imprudent fellows." (4) In their contact with the members of the congregations into which they had been intruded, such men were singularly ill-fitted to win either respect or esteem; and the baser elements in their characters had every opportunity of developing. They were driven by force of circumstances, partly by their own choice and partly by the absolute subservience of the Episcopal establishment to the state, to be spies and informers in the service of a tyrannical government rather than ambassadors of Christ. (5)

The degenerate condition of the Church as established by law serves as an index of the contemporary standard of morality among the influential classes in the community, and then as now the vices and pleasures of the upper class were eagerly copied by a mass of unthinking and ignorant people of the middle and lower orders. Even after the orgies of the Restoration period had come to an end, the moral state of the country was deplorable. The

(1) History, p.179. (2) Fraser, Lawfulness of Separation, p.3. (3) ib., p.180. (4) History I, p.269. It is somewhat remarkable that men accused of ignorance and grossness were also charged with heresy. Thus Brown of Wemphray charged them with Arminianism, leaning to Popery (Apol. Relation, p.276). Rev. Jas. Anderson in his essay on the Martyrs of the Bass (The Bass Rock) stated that "several of the ablest among them had imbibed and taught Popish, Arminian, Pelagian and Socinian heresies." "They denied the supernatural and special influences of the spirit in regeneration."
picture drawn by the Episcopalian Burnet of a "deluge of wickedness that hath almost quite overflowen the land" — "scoffing at religion, swearing, drunkenness and uncleanness,"(1) is as definite as that of Hutcheson who spoke of the thousands in Scotland who had given up prayer and worship,(2) and is as lurid as that of the Covenanting lawyer Sir James Stewart, who testified to the "universal decay of religion," and spoke of the period as "the last times, wherein sin aboundeth and the love of many is waxed cold."(3) Making due allowance for a tendency to exaggeration natural under the circumstances, the testimony of the Covenanting leaders of the period is quite conclusive. Fraser of Brea speaks of the "great sluice of profanity and persecution" which broke loose. "Lord," he wrote, "what a world was this! nothing but drinking, swearing, mocking of godliness, and the freedom of the country lost."(4) William Guthrie draws a picture of all ranks of men given up to profanity, - "Scotland "never so full of abominations."(5) Welwood's delineation is still more lurid. He depicts Scotland as a nation full of hypocrisy, - "nothing but a whited wall"; of all the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland "there shall not be twenty that shall appear for God."(6) "All ranks have rebelled against the Lord and only a small remnant

P.46.
regeneration." To question and deny orthodox doctrines requires a certain modicum of intellectual power, so we are driven to the conclusion that a proportion of them were men of a certain ability. This is shown by the fact that a number of them seceded from the Church from time to time, and some of them, notably Forrester of Alva, joined with the Covenanters.

(4) Earl of Tweeddale, in letter to Lauderdale, - Lauderdale Papers, II, P.207. 
(5) Hill Burton, (History VII, pp.319-20) writes sympathetically of the difficult part which the curates had to play. They had "long felt that sad depression and disheartening feebleness which no minister of religion can avoid feeling when he has no flock and not a particle of sympathy from the people around him."

P.47. 
(2) Forty-five Sermons on CXXX Psalm, p.27. 
(3) Intro, to Naphtali, p.14. 
(4) Memoirs, Select Biographies, II, p.175. 
(5) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.143. 
(6) Ib., p.363.
have kept their garments clean.\(^{(1)}\) John Burnet of East Kilbride compared the country to Sodom.\(^{(2)}\) John Kid, the martyr, spoke of the people of Scotland as not better, in a religious sense, than those in the wilds of America.\(^{(3)}\) Cameron remarked on the "great ignorance even of the very first principles of religion," and lamented the prevalence of swearing, lying, stealing and adultery.\(^{(4)}\) Renwick spoke of the widespread unbelief. "God is an unknown God to the most part of men";\(^{(5)}\) and five truths are spoken of by him as largely disbelieved, - God, heaven, hell, death, and judgment.\(^{(6)}\) And at the very close of the persecution, Shields was able to state that "we may say of Scotland - Satan hath his seat in it, for profanity abounds without control amongst all ranks from the highest to the lowest, from him that sits upon the throne to the beggar on the dunghill. There is not only wickedness set up and every abomination universal, but it is tolerated and entertained."\(^{(7)}\) Making every allowance for the angle from which these men viewed the country and its moral state, there can be no question of the truth of the judgment of a careful modern historian, - "The social morality of the nation in the seventeenth century cannot be characterised as elevated."\(^{(8)}\)

The condition of the country as a whole is the necessary background against which we must judge the Covenanting movement. Within that movement practically the whole of the genuine relig-

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\(^{(1)}\) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.344.
\(^{(2)}\) Testimonies of the Scots Worthies, p.129.
\(^{(3)}\) Collection of Sermons appended to Faithful Contendings Displayed, p.13.
\(^{(4)}\) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.409. He expresses sympathy with those who "take a liberty to lie, especially when soldiers come to the house and ask if such and such a one was there: and he says, "Ye are not bound at the very first - if ye can without sin shift it - to tell them, but beware of lying on any account."
\(^{(5)}\) Renwick's Sermons, p.125.
\(^{(6)}\) Ib., pp.165-6.
\(^{(7)}\) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.403.
\(^{(8)}\) Mackintosh, History of Civilisation in Scotland, III, 264.
ious life of the country was to be found, and the consistent Covenanters formed a small minority. "Only a little handful," as Livingstone testified, "laboured to keep their garments clean." It has to be remembered that even of the ministers of the Church at the Restoration less than a third were evicted, yet the work of this small minority soon bore remarkable fruit. From a religious point of view the salient fact about the period of persecution is that it was a period characterised by successive religious revivals. The ejection from their pastoral charges of practically all the ministers who were distinguished not only for their opposition to tyranny, but for their sincerity of purpose, uprightness of life and spirituality of mind had a two-fold effect. Men like Blackadder and Welch, for instance, were thus set free for a campaign all over southern Scotland; in place of being confined to the country parishes of Troqueer and Irongray respectively, they had the Lowlands for their parish. They had the opportunity again and again of addressing large gatherings from Clyde to Forth and Tweed and Solway to Tay. And these men - who had become apostles of the land as a whole - were not only enabled to keep alive among the people the spirit of resistance to tyranny; they carried on in the bygoing an intensive evangelical campaign. By the close of the 'Sixties, the times were propitious for a revival of religion - even on a limited scale - if only by way of reaction from the irreligious spirit of the Restoration period. The huge open-air gatherings, the subtle influence of natural scenery, the spice of adventure and the element of danger, and also the personal magnetism of men who had sacrificed their prospect of worldly advancement to their cherished

(1) A small oasis in the Episcopal desert was to be found in the little group who imbibed Leighton's spirituality and mysticism, chief among them Henry Scougal, author of the Life of God in the Soul of Man. See Butler (Leighton, pp.281-2) and G. G. McCrie, Confessions of the Church of Scotland, pp.73-84.

(2) Letter to his Parishioners, Select Biographies, II, p.264.

(3) "Probably not more than 200 manses were settled up till the end of 1662." - Hewison, The Covenanters, II, p.163.

convictions, and whose calm courage, earnest and consistent lives
could not fail to produce a strong impression of a higher Power
sustaining them, all conspired to attract and to influence consider-
able numbers especially of young men and women who in quieter
times would perhaps have paid little attention to spiritual things.

During the seventies - in the period known as the
"blinks" when the holding of conventicles in defiance of the
Government became a regular practice - there was undoubtedly a
religious revival of considerable extent. "The Gospel was for
some years generally preached in the fields through the south of
Scotland, and that with success: God was unquestionably at work
upon the hearts of the people .... both in conversion and edifi-
ation."(2) In 1679 the movement reached its high-water mark.
"It pleased the Lord to visit Galloway and Nithsdale with a great
blink of the Gospel," Blackadder recorded; and he noted that the
movement not only covered the Lowlands, but touched Dumbarton-
shire, and was "like to break in towards the Highlands."(3) "It
is beyond all doubt that there are many more converts than ever,
Blackadder wrote to McWard.(4) Kirkton, while holding that the
political conversions at field-meetings outnumbered the purely
religious,(5) speaks of the wonderful conversions that followed
many of the sermons at conventicles and he recorded that occasion-
ally a curate would join with those who stood up to profess repent-
ance.(6) "In many places people really changed their conversa-
tion and became real converts."(7) Even more explicit and

(1) "People listened to the Presbyterians with attention,
because they preached upon hazard." - Kirkton, History,
p.364.
(2) Wodrow, II, p.497.
(3) Letter is given in full in Blackadder's Memoirs, pp.178-
181. (2nd ed. only).
(5) History, p.343. - "At the great meetings many a soul was
converted to Jesus Christ, but far more turned from the
bishops to profess themselves Presbyterians."
(6) Ib., p.353.
(7) Ib., p.364. Blackadder records the conversion of a pro-
fessed witch, as a result of Welch's preaching; while
his son records a typical instance of conversion follow-
Dickson stated that in Fife, during this period, the
people were "willing, not only to come to" God, but
"to run the way of His commandments with enlarged
hearts" -Warning Against the Indulgence, p.1
detailed is the evidence of Shields concerning this period. - "The word of God grew exceedingly and went through at least the southern borders of the kingdom like lightning, or like the Sun in its meridian; beauty; discovering so the wonders of God's law, the mysteries of His gospel and the secrets of His covenant and the sins and duties of that day that a numerous issue was begotten to Christ, and his conquest was glorious, captivating poor slaves of Satan and bringing them from his power unto God, and from darkness to light". (1) This revival appears to have been strictly ethical in character. Shields goes on to state that "many were truly converted, more convinced, and generally all reformed from their former immoralities," and that "even robbers thieves and profane men were some of them brought to a saving subjection to Christ." (2) Blackadder bore similar testimony, referring to the marvellous doings of the Lord in the waste places of Northumberland, where "a people who were without God and Christ in the world appear now to have tenderness of heart among them." "Take a look of what God the Lord has done by a persecuted gospel." (3) At one communion service at Hazelrig, just over the Border, conducted by Gabriel Semple, a number of villagers attended and "several on that occasion were brought to the Lord that had not the least profession of religion before and continued in the same." (4) Semple's meetings went on increasing and "reports regarding the great blessing received spread far and wide." (5) Veitch bore similar testimony to the change wrought

(1) A Hind Let Loose, p.82.
(2) Ib., p.83. Many other statements confirm the fact of a religious revival of great power at this period. Cf. Patrick Walker (Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.218); Fraser of Brea, Select Biographies II, p.325-6; Brown, History of the Indulgence, pp.179,269; Faithful Contendings Displayed, p.4; John Kid's Testimony, Testimonies of Scots Worthies, p.199; The testimony of an obscure youth John Clyde, executed at Magus Muir, Nov. 1679, is extremely valuable. He speaks of those wonderfully owned and carried on by the Lord's powerful and mighty hand not only to the conviction of some, but to the conversion of others." Ib., p.239.
(3) Appendix to Faithful Contendings Displayed, p.100.
(5) Ib, p. 83.
in the Border districts by the preaching in the open. "Is not this a change worthy a remark? To see a people who used to ride unweariedly through the long winter nights to steal and drive away the prize, now upon the report of a sermon come from far travelling all night to hear the Gospel."(1)

There can be little doubt that this widespread revival movement was checked by the disaster rising of 1679, one result of which was the elimination of the moderate Covenanters as a vital force in the country. Welch retired to England after Bothwell, and only Blackadder continued to preach in the fields after the rising. Henceforth the direction of the movement fell into the hands of the Cameronians. The fame of Richard Cameron, the joint founder, with Cargill, of the extreme left wing, is bound up with the civil and political aspect of his message; it is not so generally realised that there was another strain in his preaching - equally developed; he preached a fervent gospel to the individual soul. This evangelical note attracted notice for the first time when he was in Holland in 1679. Walker relates that "his private converse and exercises in families, but especially in his public in the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam, were very refreshing to many souls where he was close upon conversion."(3)

This was a surprise to McWard, who had been led to believe that "he did preach nothing but babble against the Indulgence." McWard however, found him a "man of a savoury gospel-spirit, the bias of

(2) Memoirs, (1st ed.) p.256. After Bothwell, he still continued to preach all over the Lowlands. His last conventicle appears to have been on Whitekirk Hill, at the close of March 1681, about ten days before his arrest. (Ib., p.282).
his heart lying towards the proposing of Christ and persuading to a closing with Him. On his return to Scotland Cameron appears to have had the two sides to his message—social and evangelical. One who was present at a conventicle near Crawfordjohn informed Walker many years afterwards that he heard Cameron, eleven days before his death preach on the text, "You will not come to me, that you may have life," and that during the sermon "he fell in such a rap of calm weeping and the greater part of that multitude that there was scarce a dry cheek to be seen among them."

An obscure martyr, John Malcom, in his dying testimony, spoke of the gospel preached by Cameron as "backed by the presence and power of Christ," and it has been truly said that "the best testimony to the power of Cameron's preaching is the fact that the tradition of that preaching has not died out among the people of the districts where he spoke."

Within a year or two of Cameron's death, the whole of southern Scotland was covered by a network of secret societies. The moderate party, as has been pointed out, was now bereft of leaders, and had been terrorised into a sullen obedience, but the religious fervour which had distinguished the Covenanters as a whole before 1679 now reappeared in the fellowship of the United Societies. In the "rules and directions anent private Christian meetings" drawn up by the youthful Walter Smith, one of the earliest recruits of the Cameronian party, great stress was laid on prayer: private meetings for prayer and conference were commended as tending to the glory of God, the advancement of religion and the mutual edification of those present. Members were urged to be "importunate with the Lord to go with them and meet with them."

(1) Letter of McFard, Earnest Contendings Displayed, p.156.
(2) Postscript on Cameron in Six Saints of the Covenant, II, pp.113-114.
(3) Testimonies of Scots Worthies, p.238.
(4) Herkless, Richard Cameron (Famous Scots), p.111.
(6) Ib., p.85.
(7) Ib., p.95.
the earnest and serious-minded people in each district. And so, when Renwick came over from Holland, the ground was prepared for another revival movement, and his preaching appears to have been attended by remarkable spiritual results. Shields, who was closely associated with the work of the United Societies, records that great numbers were brought to Christ "out of ignorance and darkness of nature." Such multitudes indeed flocked "after the persecuted gospel ordinances in the open fields" that Renwick was unable to comply with all the requests which were made for his services at conventicles. (1) Renwick himself in a letter to his Dutch friends, of date February 18, 1686, referred to the extension of his work. Despite executions and punishment of some and the defections of others, God "fills up their rooms again." And he remarked that doors had been opened in several places in Scotland where there was formerly no access. "I have observed my work, I say, to be now in some shires threefold and in some fourfold more than it was. .....

Also, it is almost incredible to tell what zeal, what tenderness, what painfulness in duty, what circumspectness in walk, in many young ones of ten, eleven, twelve and fourteen years of age in many places in Scotland, which I look upon as one of the visible and greatest tokens for good that we have. (2)

On the whole, it may be stated that save within the bounds of the Covenanting movement, (3) religion in Scotland was practically dead, and that among the Covenanters, a deep and fervent religious life existed. It is, of course, probable that

(1) Shields, Life of Renwick in Biographia Presbyteriana, II, pp.92-93.
(3) Todrow stated that much blessing attended the ministrations of the indulged as well as the ejected ministers. (II, p.380.) There were, of course, many excellent men who accepted the indulgence, such as Hutcheson, Wedderburn, and others; but possibly so far as the bulk of the indulged clergy were concerned, Howie of Lochgoin was not far wrong in his strictures. "The indulged were as great Gospel preachers (if not greater) than usually the more faithful were. And yet it is evident that they had no such success upon the hearts of the hearers. What could be ascribed as the reason of this but the want of faithfulness!" - Intro. to Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.68.
among the conforming clergy there were a minority of earnest Christian men, who exerted an influence for good. Leighton, indeed, may almost be called the founder of a school of mystical piety, which through Henry Scougal, profoundly influenced the Wesleys in the eighteenth century. Of Leighton's deep and true piety and close walk with God there can be no reasonable doubt; but the school which he founded was detached from the life of the nation and had no message for the times. Leighton prided himself on "preaching up Christ Jesus and eternity," in contradistinction to "preaching up the times." Unfortunately, this meant for him and his followers blindness to the ethical and social issues of the day, a singular servility of spirit towards one of the most monstrous tyrannies of modern times. The religious life of the Covenanting movement, while as deep and real as that of Leighton and his circle, instead of spelling retirement from the world, subservience to tyranny and blindness to ethical issues, nerved the Covenanters to play their part in the great struggle for human liberty and to mould the future destinies of their country.

(2) Ib., p.28, ff. Dr. Butler remarks that "Leighton and Scougal were in the ecclesiastical strifes of the period, - in them but not of them."
(3) Pearson, Life of Leighton, p.9.
(4) Thus Leighton denied the ethical nature of social life, maintaining that conscience had no validity in that sphere. He sneered at the conscience which counselled resistance as "ignorance, stiffness, wilfulness, pride, arrogance, hypocrisy" and had no other advice to offer than submission to the Government, however tyrannical. "God hath given none power to resist and rise against the powers that are over us" - Butler, Leighton, p.490.
After the creative period of the Reformation, there followed what has been called "a period of formulation in the sphere of theology." (1) During this period, controversy raged furiously alike among Lutherans and Calvinists: and among the latter, the chief bone of contention was the doctrine of predestination. The great Arminian controversy, it is true, was staged in Holland, but its echoes reverberated all over Europe and the decisive victory of high Calvinism profoundly affected the course of Protestant theology in the next two or three generations.

By the time when the Westminster Assembly was convened, Protestant thought had become fixed and static. Certain views had been clearly marked out as heretical and dangerous, and Protestant theologians felt it incumbent on them to formulate the faith in detail, and to leave no loophole for such heresies as the Arminian view of human freedom, the Socimian conception of the person of Christ, or the Quaker idea of the inward light, to creep into orthodox theology. The deliberations of the Westminster Assembly issued in the publication of the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which finally became the standards of the Church of Scotland, and from the time of their formulation were regarded as authoritative by Scottish Presbyterians.

Various causes conspired to render Scottish theologians, and the Kirk generally, unquestioningly loyal to the findings of Protestant scholasticism. There was little or no opportunity for original religious thought or discussion; and the Covenanters generally were in constant dread of any modification of doctrine or an uncertainty of formulation which might play into the hands of Rome. To the hard dogmatism formulated at the Council of

(1) McGiffert, Protestant Thought before Kant, p.141.
Treat, they were able to oppose the logical system of Calvinistic thought embodied in the Confession and in the Catechisms. There was, in addition, another reason which rendered Scotsmen still more hostile to heresy. That the Arminian party in Holland and elsewhere lacked robustness on the question of the independence of the Church is indisputable. The reason is more obscure. As Morley remarked, "Unseen, non-logical, fugitive and subtle are the threads and fine filaments of air that draw opinion to opinion." All history shows us how theological ideas abound in political aspects to match, and Arminianism, which in Holland itself had sprung into vogue in connection with the political dispute between Barneveldt and Prince Maurice rapidly became in England the cornerstone of faith in a hierarchy, a ceremonial Church and a monarchy. (1) Thus, by a strange paradox, a system of thought which, whatever its limitations, was more liberal than the high Calvinism it opposed, became identified with political and ecclesiastical absolutism and reaction. In England, too, Arminianism was in vogue among the Anglo-Catholic party which followed Laud, - a party which was believed to be not only Arminian and Brastian, but secretly Popish. It is probably true, as Morley has contended, that Laud had no leaning towards Popery, and that his immediate object was the foundation of a patriarchate of the three kingdoms, under the jurisdiction of Canterbury. (2) But the fact that Laud the Brastian who appeared to be working for an understanding with Popery was also an Arminian, was sufficient to condemn the Dutch heresy in the eyes of Scotsmen who were carrying on a sore struggle for the maintenance of their civil and religious liberties. There can be no doubt that this was a decisive influence in stiffening the attitude of men like Rutherford and the later Covenanting thinkers into uncompromising

(1) Oliver Cromwell, p.55.
(2) Ib., p.38.
hostility to any modification of the high Calvinistic doctrine. Only in one direction was there a substantial modification of rigid Calvinism. Federalism, or the "covenant theology," generally associated with the name of the Dutch theologian Coccejus, though dating from before his time, was much in favour during the seventeenth century, and found a footing in the later Calvinistic standards, including the Westminster Confession.\(^1\) This covenant theology was in its essence a protest against the abstract and speculative nature of high Calvinism and Arminianism alike; it has been well defined as "Biblical rather than speculative in character,"\(^2\) emphasising God's dealings with men in time as recorded or hinted at in Scripture, rather than probing too deeply into the mysteries of the eternal decrees. It was, of course, on the safe side of the dividing-line between Calvinism and Arminianism, for its major premise was the absolute sovereignty of God,\(^3\) but by concentrating more on the concrete than the abstract, it was rendered less arbitrary, though also less majestic and awe-inspiring than pure Calvinism.\(^4\) Naturally a system of thought which magnified the authority of Scripture had no need to fight against the time-spirit; and men such as the leaders of the Kirk, who had entered into covenant with each other for certain ends and had placed the whole nation under a covenant-relation with God, welcomed rather than deprecated such a system of theology. It found full expression in a popular exposition of Calvinistic theology, \textit{The Sum of Saving Knowledge}, the joint work of Durham and

\(^{(1)}\) McSiffert, Protestant Thought before Kant, p.154.  
\(^{(2)}\) Ib., p.155.  
\(^{(3)}\) Adams Brown, Covenant-Theology, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, IV, p.216.  
\(^{(4)}\) "The blessedness of the mercy-seat is in danger of being lost sight of in the bargaining of the market-place; the simple story of salvation is thrown into the crucible of the logic of the schools and it emerges in the form of a syllogism." - C.G.McCrie on Federalism - Confessions of the Church of Scotland, pp.72-3.
Dickson, published in 1650, which though never adopted as a standard of the Church soon took its place in popular esteem beside the Confession and the Catechisms. And the covenant-theology took its place side by side with — if not indeed interwoven with — pure Calvinism in the religious thought of the time. (1) "The old theology of Scotland has indeed been described as a covenant-theology." (2)

In Covenanting circles, heresy appears to have been practically unknown. A charge of Arminianism appears to have been preferred against one noted field-preacher, John Welwood, but he stated emphatically in a letter that he had vindicated himself. (3) James Fraser of Brea, a really deep thinker, was charged not only with Arminianism, but also with its corollary, the belief in a universal atonement; and though the charge was denied, it seems to have been not entirely baseless. (4) But with this possible exception, the Covenanters were orthodox of the orthodox in their theoretical opinions. Indeed, nothing came more readily to them than to charge the conforming clergy with all manner of theological error. Thus Kirkton blamed Gilbert Burnet for his sympathies both with Arminianism and Socinianism, and sneered at him for professing himself a man of "that high strain of moderation and charity that he has a bosom for every sect that wears the name of Christian." (5) And, as already noted, the charge of laxity in theological doctrine was made almost indiscriminately against the curates. (6) At all events, not only the leaders, but

(1) It appealed to some minds more than others. It is the central theme of a volume of sermons by Alexander Wedderburn of Kilmarnock (who died in 1679) entitled David's Testament opened up.
(2) Walker, Theology & Theologians of Scotland, p.40.
(3) See his life by Anderson in The Bass Rock, p.130. Brodie recorded that "he was thought to incline to Arminianism in some things." Brodie's Diary, p.391.
(4) Brodie's Diary, p.391.
the rank and file of the Covenanters took special pride in their orthodoxy. Thus James Learmonth, the Whitekirk martyr, executed in 1670, expressly mentioned in his dying testimony his adherence to the Confession of Faith and the two Catechisms; so did Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie, the two young women executed in 1681. Others were still more explicit. James Stewart "almost a boy for his years," who suffered on October 10th 1681, declared, - "I adhere to that blessed transaction between the Father and the Son - that holy device devised from all eternity - the Father to send his Son, and the Son to come and satisfy divine justice and so redeem lost men. ..... I adhere to our glorious work of reformation, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms ..... and I adhere to the Sum of Saving Knowledge, wherein is held forth the life and marrow of religion." A more authoritative pronouncement was that of Michael Shields, clerk to the United Societies. In the letter of the Societies to "friends in Ireland" which he drafted in 1687, the Cameronian faith is affirmed in "the written word of God as the only rule of faith and manners," and also adherence is affirmed to the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, the Covenants, and other documents.

These documents are elaborate and in parts mutually contradictory, and the fact that they were unquestioningly accepted theoretically does not give a very definite idea of the working conceptions of the time. The Westminster Confession is a very easy target for criticism. To construct an apparently overwhelming case against the formulation of Calvinistic theology in it is a comparatively simple task, and this being done, it is easy to ridicule the theology of those who accepted it. Buckle, the brilliant English writer who attempted the examination of the documents are elaborate and in parts mutually contradictory, and the fact

(1) Testimonies of Scots Worthies, p.187.
(2) Ib., pp.305, 317.
(3) Ib., p.386. John Potter, an Uphall farmer, also referred to the "transaction." - Ib., p.294.
(4) Faithful Contendings Displayed, p.300.

The vagaries of the Anabaptists can hardly be dignified by the name of heresy as Gib, their founder, appears to have been unbalanced mentally—Wodrow, III. p.349.
Scottish intellect, affirmed that in the eyes of the Scottish clergy "the Deity was not a beneficent being, but a cruel and remorseless tyrant," (1) "a God of terror, instead of a God of love," (2) and that in their view "all mankind, a very small portion only excepted, were destined to eternal misery." (3) It has been affirmed that Christ to the Covenanters was a mere speculative abstraction, (4) instead of a living historical figure or a spiritual presence, and that the religion of the time was little better than formalism, with the Sabbath-day taking the place of the Mass as an object of idolatry. (5) It is possible to find confirmation for this view of the religion and theology of the Covenanters by collecting together extracts from minutes of sessions and presbyteries, paragraphs and phrases in sermons which have been wrenched from their context, and the utterances of obscure extremists who have been erroneously supposed to be representative men. But a deduction arrived at by such means gives no true index of the dominant religious conceptions of the time. Too often has an erroneous conclusion been reached because men have begun by considering the Confession as the accepted creed of the time and have then deduced what they believe men who thus accepted it must have thought. The most rewarding method of study in order to reconstruct the world of religious ideas in which the Covenanters lived is through the study of the contemporary literature - outside of systematic theological writings. In the lectures and sermons of ministers, dying testimonies of martyrs, in the tracts for the times, in the diaries and journals and memoirs, the working conceptions of the period are more faithfully represented than in theological treatises, however massive in thought and ambitious in purpose; and much more so than in the theorisings of modern writers who have

(1) History of Civilisation, III, p.239.
(2) Ib., p.245.
(3) Ib., p.239.
(4) See Walker's Theology & Theologians of Scotland, p.175.
duced from the Confession what the men of the period ought perhaps logically to have believed.

The current religious ideas of the day may be conveniently grouped round the two master-concepts, - the Divine Sovereignty and the Headship of Christ. The first of these was common to all Calvinists. (1) The second was more particularly Scottish product, sharpened and deepened by the conflicts of the time. Round the first of these dominant convictions were grouped the chief theological doctrines; round the second, the ethical.

Both were, theoretically at least, grounded in another important doctrine. The doctrine of Scripture as a definite law-code, inspired and infallible was indeed the corner-stone of the whole structure of later Calvinism. (2) Hence, indeed, the uncompromising hostility to Quakerism which characterised all the covenanting leaders without exception, and the general timidity displayed by the Scottish theologians and preachers in regard to the activities of the Holy Spirit. It is, of course, true that even the Westminster divines themselves admitted, as the Quaker theologian Barclay was not slow to point out, though in a timid and halting way; that the Scriptures were ultimately guaranteed by the Holy Spirit, (3) and this fact was not denied. Indeed, William Guthrie, who had a distinctly mystical strain in his thought, explicitly stated that "the spirit of the Lord must witness the divinity of the Scriptures, and that it is the infallible word of God, far beyond all other arguments that can be used for t. (4) But on the whole, the Covenanters were afraid of the appeal to the Holy Spirit, - implicit though such actually is in protestantism, - and were bitterly hostile to those sects which

(1) "The Westminster creed makers grounded their Confessional structure upon the Sovereignty of God, being profoundly convinced that, to use their own language, "the light of nature sheweth that there is a God, who hath lordship and sovereignty over all." - McCrie, Confessions of the Church of Scotland, p.62.

(2) It is significant that while the first Scots Confession (1560) begins with the doctrine of God, the first article of the Westminster Confession is entitled "Of the Holy Scriptures."

(3) Apology, p.65.

(4) The Christian's Great Interest, (new ed. 1901), p.78. Guthrie was in great measure a mystic, as is shown by this chapter. 
emphasised the work and guidance of the Spirit. They feared the undermining of the authority of the Bible, and they regarded the Quakers with aversion because of their emphasis on the "inward light." Thus John Livingstone, ordinarily meek and tolerant, declared that: "Quakerism overthrows all the grounds of Christian religion," and that Quakers "should not be looked on as Christians, even hinting darkly at much devilry among them." 1) McFard bracketed Quakers with atheists, 2) and even the spiritually-minded Fraser, who confessed to a certain bias towards Quakerism, declared it a "device of the devil to cast off the Scriptures." 3) And thus, while the activity of the Holy Spirit was held to be necessary to the saving knowledge of Christ, 4) and while the Spirit was worshipped as one of the persons of the Trinity, yet the range of the Spirit's activity was regarded as circumscribed. Thus, in contradistinction to Quaker teaching, it was stated in an authoritative outline of belief - "We absolutely deny that the Spirit bringeth new revelations in matters of doctrine, worship and government; but only that he opens the eyes and enlightens the understanding, that we may perceive and rightly take up what is of old recorded in the Word by the same Spirit." 5) The principle that new revelations are possible, Wedderburn maintained, "fathers on the spirit of Christ, the spirit of truth, all the horrid imaginations of man's own heart. What a dreadful thing it is that the corrupt heart invents and imagines, and then fathers it on the spirit of God, and speaks lies in his Name." 6) "The proper work of the spirit of truth is not to reveal new truths, but to open the eyes to the truths already revealed," Hutchinson, indeed, sharply distinguished between proof of divinity and assurance of divinity. The function of the spirit, he main-

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1) his chapter on the proof from experience, pp.70-86.

2) Select Biographies, I, p.255.
4) Select Biographies, II, p.182.
5) Brought out by Guthrie in the "Christian's Great Interest.
6) An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Presbyterian Ministers (1677), Intro. p.11.
7) Fleming maintained that the Scriptures were verified by the justice of God in history- Fulfilling of the Scripture, p.250
tained is not to prove the divinity of the Scriptures, but "to assure us they are divine."(1)

The Covenanting view of Scripture as an infallible standard, divinely inspired, common to the Scholastic period of Protestantism, is, in the light of present-day knowledge, open to many grave objections. The chief deficiency in the Covenanting position in regard to Scripture was not so much the lack of the historical sense, and the absence of the idea of progressive revelation and moral evolution, — which defects were only to be expected, owing to the limitations of the age. More significant was the failure to judge the teaching of Scripture as a whole by the teaching of Christ. Considering the stress which was laid on the doctrine of the Headship of Christ over the Church, it is remarkable that the Headship of Christ over Scripture was not perceived.

The existence of discrepancies between the various books of Scripture was not denied, but the problem does not appear to have been seriously grappled with. A theory of the interpretation of Scripture was roughly outlined by Brown of Wemphray in his tract, The Banders Disbanded, in the course of a discussion of the words of Christ, "Resist not evil." The terms of the prohibition, it is said, are "general, illimited, and indefinite." "But if you should answer here that though that particular passage of Scripture doth not characterise nor discriminate what sort of evil we are to resist and what not, yet many other parallel places do; even so say I, that although one particular passage of Scripture may command peaceable living in general absolute and indefinite terms, yet other parallel scriptures do expressly qualify and restrict the same." "Though there were but one passage in the whole Scripture, that either expressly mentions or so insinuates, these qualifications and restrictions

(1) Forty-five Sermons on CXXX Psalm, p.315.
(2) Banders Disbanded, in McWard's Tracts, pp.71-72: cf. McWard's similar positions, Earnest Contendings, pp.76-77
of peaceable living, as thereupon we have good ground to qualify and restrict the same, I say that even that one passage is to be the rule and standard by which all the rest, indefinitely so expressed, are to be interpreted and understood, in reference to peaceable living, not contrariwise.\(^{(1)}\)

The ultimate outcome of this principle was that a command of Christ could be qualified or cancelled out by an appeal to the Old Testament. A single Old Testament example sufficed for the more extreme party to justify not only insurrection but assassination. Thus Richard Cameron commanded the action of Jael,\(^{(2)}\) and Alexander Shields was able to show that assassination might be resorted to as a last desperate resort by enumerating instances recorded in the Old Testament.\(^{(3)}\) And the antagonism to Romish ceremonies and to Romish reverence for images was undoubtedly stimulated by the vigorous denunciation of idolatry in the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament.\(^{(4)}\) Indeed, to the supreme place given to Scripture as an authoritative standard of conduct, and to the equality of the Testaments, which was a necessary corollary from the theory of plenary inspiration, there followed both the virtues and limitations of the Covenanters. Theoretically they failed to make Christ and His teaching the test of Scripture examples; in practice, however, the devotion of Christ as a person and a presence entailed the ethical following of Him.

I. "The glory of the Reformed Church in the past lay undoubtedly in its doctrine of God,"\(^{(5)}\) What Professor Hastie affirmed of the Reformed Church as a whole is eminently true of the Covenanting movement in Scotland. As already mentioned, the doctrine of the Divine sovereignty was one of the two dominant religious conceptions of the age. This view of God was like all

\(^{(1)}\) *Benders Disbanded*, in McWard’s Tracts, pp.71-72; cf. McWard’s similar positions in *Earnest Contendings*, pp.75-77.
\(^{(2)}\) *Herkless, Richard Cameron* (Famous Scots series) p.107.
\(^{(3)}\) *A Hind Let Loose*, pp.444-489.
\(^{(4)}\) This was clearly shown by Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*, pp.45, ff.
\(^{(5)}\) *Ib.*, p.7.
others essentially based on Scripture, but this did not preclude the existence of a kind of natural theology. For the Covenanting writers and thinkers were in line with the true tradition of the Reformed theology, especially the Zwinglian type. In the literature of the period, we find many traces of a view of nature as a revelation of God. Thus Hutcheson remarked that "the visible heavens in their beauty and light are demonstrations of the glory of God."(1) And this tendency to "see" God in nature was strongly reinforced by the conditions of life brought about by the persecution. The field-convanticle, assembling in the open, under the blue sky or the lowering clouds, in brilliant sunshine or in wind and rain, on the level moorland or beneath the shadow of the mountain, or in view of the expanse of ocean, was conducive to the development of the sense of God's presence in the material world. Blackadder recorded in his detailed account of the famous communion in 1674 at East Nisbet in the Merse, at which he was a leading figure, the impression made on him by the natural environment. The "spacious brae," covered with "delightful pasture," the "sweet and calm Sabbath morning" with its "clear blue sky" was the setting for the religious exercises of the day. "There was a solemnity in the place befitting the occasion and elevating the whole soul to a pure and holy frame," stimulated by confidence in the "invisible protection of the Lord of Hosts."(2) The fact of the presence of God in nature was quaintly expressed by Peden when he spoke of the mist as the lap of God's cloak.(3) And Cameron, in a lecture on the ninety-second psalm asked his hearers, - "When ye look to the Moon, to the stars, to the rivers and brooks, do ye see the hand of God in them? When ye look to the very corn ridges, do ye see the hand of God in them and in every pile of

(2) Blackadder, Memoirs (ed. by Orichton) 1st ed. pp.198-207.
(3) Peden's actual words were, "Cast the lap of thy cloak on old Sandy and thir poor things and save us this one time," Walker says, in the meantime "there was a dark cloud of mist cme betwixt them." - Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p."4.
grass? But how few see anything in the creation," yet "there are some that see more of God in looking to the creatures than in many sermons." (1) Walter Pringle, of Greenknowe, a devout layman, also saw the "power, wisdom, goodness and glory of God" in every pile of grass and every moving creature." (2)

Renwick appears to have been assailed in early years by doubts born of a kind of thought akin to modern naturalism or agnosticism. Relapsing into a labyrinth of darkness, he "was so strongly assaulted with temptations of atheism that being in the fields, and looking to the mountains, he said, if these were all devouring furnaces of burning brimstone, he would be content to go through them, if so be that thereby he could be assured that there was a God." (3) He surmounted these doubts, but they left their traces on him; for in his thought the strain of theism or natural theology was an important factor. In a letter of date February 18th, 1686, addressed to his Dutch correspondents in Friesland, Renwick gave an exposition at considerable length of the faith that was in him. The doctrine outlined is essentially philosophic. He asks his correspondents to take a look at God, "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." Then he asks, "do 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 traces of His wisdom, power and goodness?" (4) "Heaven and earth," he said in one of his sermons, "publish and preach forth the knowledge of God: sun, moon and stars are all written over in legible characters, teaching us the knowledge of God: the

(1) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 422.
(2) Select Biographies, I, p. 437.
(3) Shields, Life of Renwick, p. 8, (Biographia Presbyteriana, II.). It is interesting to notice that Livingstone was also quite alive to the subtle attractions of naturalism. "I have often showed you," he wrote to his flock at Amcrum, "that it is the greatest difficulty under heaven to believe that there is a God and a life after this." - Select Biographies, I, p. 226.
Earth, trees, mountains, hills and valleys, yea, and the piles of grass, are all written over, backside and foreside, with legible characters of the knowledge of God." The youthful Cameronian leader was not without a strain of nature-mysticism. In a letter written in 1685, he referred to the joy which he had experienced while lying on the open moorlands, "when others were sleeping; when the curtains of heaven had 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 everlasting drowned, each star leading me out to wonder who He must be who is the Star of Jacob, the bright and morning Star, Who maketh all His own to shine as stars of the firmament." A much more obscure person has left on record his account of a similar experience to that of Renwiek. John Stevenson, a land-labourer of Dailly, in Carrick, after being violently assaulted by atheistical thoughts of God, was reassured by the Divine revelation in nature. The merciful God, he said, caused "His perfections to shine on my soul while gazing on His wonderful creature the sea," and manifested Himself in water, grass and flowers. And to the annalist Law, deep thoughts concerning God were suggested by the elephant which was brought to Scotland in 1680. "Let this great creature on earth and the whale at sea be compared with a midge and minnow, and behold what deep counsel and great wisdom and power is with the great God, the creator and preserver of both." (i)

This view of God given by natural theology was thus an invaluable adjunct to the general theistic concept of the period, furnishing as it did concrete examples of the Divine sovereignty over the world. God, as conceived by Calvinistic theology was

(1) Renwick's Sermons, p.167.
(2) Life & Letters of James Renwick, p.130.
(3) Comforting Cordial, Select Biographies, II, p.417.
(4) Memorials, p.177. Fleming emphasised the witness of nature to the truth of the Scripture. From the harmonious motions of the heavens he deduced the truth that "there must be a first mover who is not subject to motion or change but does manifestly determine all these." - Fulfilling of Scripture, p.288.
absolute sovereign over man and the world, and His sovereignty was manifested in His oversight of the world and His guidance of human destiny. "The eyes of God," said McGilliken, "look to and fro through the Earth."(1) "There is," said Renwick, "an all-seeing eye of God, that knows well what is in man and what is designed by all men. ...... There is not a hiding-place for man to get his sin hid from God."(2) And even as God is absolute overseer of the world, so he is absolute governor—ruling over all lands and all men as over "so many insects."(3) There is no limit to His power. Despite the credulity of the age, however, miracles in the Biblical sense, were not deemed as likely to happen.

Hutcheson, indeed, expressed his preference wherever possible for a naturalistic interpretation even of Scriptural passages which might be believed to allude to miraculous occurrences.(4) Blackadder, it is true, expressed the view that the Almighty could as easily perform miracles than as in times past.(5) But a distinction was ordinarily drawn between miracles, interferences with the natural order, and wonders, the manifestations of his over-ruling power. God uses many different means for the accomplishment of His great ends—such instruments and means "as may nonplus the wisest." Even His enemies may be His instruments.(6) "We need not stand to give you reasons why He worketh so wonderfully, so far beyond our thoughts and reckonings," Blackadder said. "It may suffice us that He is God and not man; and who dare counsel Him!"(7) "Our power is gone," declared Cameron, "but He will not ways lack to do it, though His people should never draw a sword."(8)

For in the thought of the time God was a living God and "though we be under a cloud for the time, by the present discouragements,

(1) Speech before the Provost of Fortrose, ydew II, p.334.
(2) Renwick's Sermons, p.392.
(3) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.87.
(4) Exposition of Book of Job, p.115.
(6) Ib., p.356.
"I believe that I shall live and see the delivery of the Kirk of Scotland; being assured that the Lord will pity his church"—Michael Bruce, sermon at Barnbogle, quoted in Life of Alexander Reid, p.19
what the matter of that? we cannot mistrust the Lord.\(^{(1)}\) "The
times and seasons are not for us to know, but they are in His hand,
who should not be enquired after, for He doth in heaven and earth
what pleaseth Him, and who may say, what doest Thou?"\(^{(2)}\) And just
as the sovereignty of God is manifest in the outward destinies of
men and nations, so in the more subtle, invisible, stirrings of
the soul. "Ere a soul can believe, he must be called of God,"
Fraser concluded, "as it is God that calls, so it is God that
maketh to answer this call; and the creature is but merely pass-
ive.\(^{(3)}\) "Those regenerated render no help in it. There is
nothing in them to move the Lord to change them. Neither when
this work is begun can they carry it on without Him"; for man has
neither power nor will. The ultimate power is God, whose work is
irresistible.\(^{(4)}\) And "God can ply and does ply the hearts of all
as He will.\(^{(5)}\)

(ii) But although God is eternally active, using various ways
and means to advance His purposes, there is no caprice or variable-
ness in Him. He is above all law, it is true, but yet He does
nothing contrary to His nature;\(^{(6)}\) for though absolute, He is
holy and righteous.\(^{(7)}\) And any changeableness in Him is apparent
only. He may appear to change, but the change is in man. Human
thoughts of God, in Cameron's striking phrase, "ebb and flow,"\(^{(8)}\)
but His nature is unchangeable;\(^{(9)}\) there is no shadow of change
with Him.\(^{(10)}\) Certainly His presence is not always felt. He had
in the past forsaken those who had forsaken Him.\(^{(11)}\) For there is
such a consequence, as McWard pointed out, as "sinning Him away."\(^{(12)}\)
And when this takes place, and God hides His face from His people,

\(^{(1)}\) Dickson, Sermon in Faithful Contendings, appendix, p.120.
\(^{(2)}\) Blackadder, Sermon in Memoirs, p.355.
\(^{(3)}\) Memoirs, Select Biographies, II, p.163.
\(^{(4)}\) Shields, Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.611.
\(^{(5)}\) Sir Robert Hamilton, in letter to friends in Scotland,
Faithful Contendings, P.92.
\(^{(6)}\) Brown, Apologetical Relation, p.351.
\(^{(7)}\) Hutcheson, Exposition of Book of Job, p.133.
\(^{(9)}\) Gargill, 16. p.503: Life of Alex. Reid, A Scottish Jou-
\(^{(10)}\) Renwick, Life & Letters, p.17.
\(^{(11)}\) Letter to Cameron and Gargill on reception of Duke of
York, Earnest Contendings, p.331.
the cause is sin, and along with sin hypocrisy. (1) Thus, the
Lord's coming to a land, said Renwick, has different effects upon
"different sorts of folks": His aspect is "joyful to some, ter-
rible to others;" (2) and it is only sin that makes God an enemy. (3)

From the Divine holiness, the Divine justice is a nec-
essary and logical deduction. And from this postulate and de-
duction the persecuted party derived that unquenchable hope in the
certainty of Divine judgment on the persecutor which enabled them
to maintain an apparently hopeless struggle. As Wedderburn
pointed out, there is nothing arbitrary about the moral law.
"It proceeds from the same omnipotent creative God who laid the
foundations of the great earth." (4) From the fact that God is "a
very holy and a spotless God," not that "He is an unmerciful God
or any way cruel," Welwood deduced that "infinite indignation that
He hath against sin," and on one occasion, he asked, - "Do ye be-
believe that hellish prelates, abominable curates and selfish,
wicked noblemen - do ye think that these gentlemen will escape the
hand of God? I say, they shall not at all. As He lives He will
thresh them down and their houses and make their posterity beggars." (5)
The wicked may seem to prosper, but God is laughing at them. (6)
The wicked are but "poor bits and atoms of clay," helpless before
the Lord of Hosts. (7) They may appear to prosper, but their
prosperity is very uncertain. "They stand upon slippery and
slidderly stones, and shall soon fall heels-over-head;" (8) and if
the overthrow be long deferred, it will be all the more complete,
for God is waiting till they have put on the cope-stone of their
iniquities. In McWard's daring words, "we impose a necessity -
if I may speak so - upon a High and Holy God to speak. ........ And

(1) Renwick's Sermons, p.48.
(2) Ib., p.100.
(3) Ib., p.465.
(5) Sermons in Times of Persecution, pp.382-3.
(6) Cameron, Ib., p.455; Brown, Apologetical Relation, Intro-
duction (Epistle to Reader) p.14.
(7) Renwick's Sermons, p.162.
(8) Ib., p.223.
(9) Ib., p.242.
in that day when He gives His voice, we may expect it will be like
hailstones and coals of fire."(1) And from Divine judgment on
sin there can be no escape; it is inevitable, for it flows from
the nature of things. In a lecture on Jeremiah 13, 12-17, Car-
gill expounded a philosophy of this Divine judgment. "Accord-
ing to the universal madness" of kings and prelates, "so will the
punishment be. .... For any wise man in the world may see
that their actions indicate madness" - a madness that brings on
inevitable ruin, though it tarry for a while.(2) Cargill did not
doubt that this judgment was imminent. In a striking legal meta-
phor, he declared that God was about to hold a circuit court.
"The Master of Scotland must come and keep a court in Scotland"(3)
and not only in Scotland, but in other nations also. From this
truth, that God's justice is the ultimate fact, much consolation
was to be found. "In that day" said Blackadder, "who lives to
see it shall ye say He is a righteous God, for He appears for the
help of His people," for He "will take vengeance of His enemies for
the blood of His servants," and "enemies shall be forced to say and
see that there is a God to deliver out of their hands."(4) And
just because of this faith in eternal justice, the chief leaders
were able to foretell in a measure the course which events were
likely to take, and thus some of them became in the popular imag-
ation endowed with prophetic powers. Blackadder, for instance,
was able to predict with absolute certainty that the captivity of
the Kirk would be turned back again. "We cannot tell you, nor no
man, when that shall be: for the times and the seasons are not for
us to know, but are in His hand;"(5) indeed, God is in no way
answerable to man. "When thou wearies to wait, consider that
thou art a bit of nothing, a dependent bit of being, to be made or

(1) Earnest Contendings, p.193.
(2) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.514.
(3) Ib., p.535. Renwick used nearly the same metaphor —
Renwick's Sermons, pp. 113, 179.
(4) Sermon in Memoirs, (2nd ed.) p.361. Cf. also King in
Faithful Contendings, pp.57-38, and Renwick's Letter of
Sept. 6, 1682, in Life & Letters, p.13, also p.55.
not made, framed or marred at his pleasure. \(^{(1)}\) And it was equally
safe to prophesy, as Peden \(^{(2)}\) and Renwick \(^{(3)}\) did, great tribulation
for the country before the captivity was turned. But when Peden
"the prophet" began to outline the detailed course of future events
prediction was not so happy. \(^{(4)}\)

The current eschatology was the natural corollary to the
doctrine of the holiness of God. In one or two sermons on the
dJudgment-seat of Christ, Welch laid down this "one point of doc­
trine," that there shall be a day of judgment appointed wherein
everyone, man or woman, shall receive a reward or punishment suit­
able to the measure of their work or offences." And among the
"good reasons" why there will be such a day is the fact of injusti­
ce upon earth. "Therefore there must be a day of judgment, when
all evil sentences, all acts of parliament, all condamnators;
all persons and causes whatsoever shall come to a hearing again."\(^{(5)}\)

There will be indeed in many cases a complete inversion of values
in the world to come. Nothing escapes God's notice, said McWard;
the case of the poor man who has lost by theft "the least beat of old
cloths" is marked by God, "and marked on purpose that He may
in place thereof clothe you with rich and glorious robes: ......
in that day your rags will be taken away and you will appear il­
lustrious princes indeed." And the weeping of the little children
"for want of food, their pale faces, partly with fear, partly with
famine" will not go unpunished. It "shall certainly fill up the
cup of these Amorites."\(^{(6)}\)

\(^{(iii)}\) The fact - inevitable from the nature of the period -
that the holiness of God bulked more largely than His love in the
sermons and literature of the period - has sometimes given rise to

\(^{(1)}\) Hutcheson, Forty-five Sermons on XXX Psalm, p.244.
\(^{(2)}\) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.557.
\(^{(3)}\) Letter to Mrs Jean Hamilton in Life & Letters, p.135.
\(^{(4)}\) Thus Peden's prophecy of a terrible catastrophe, - "Bri­
tain and Ireland overthrown with judgment and drenched
in blood" remained unfilled.\(^{\text{Sermons in Times of Per­}}
\text{secution, p.561}}\) as also did Cameron's prediction that
the rod of the Lord's anger would be the French and
other foreigners." \(^{\text{Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.228}}.\)
\(^{(5)}\) Appendix to Faithful Contendings Displayed, p.47.
\(^{(6)}\) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, - McWard's Tracts, pp.164-5.
the inference that the Divine love was overlooked altogether by the Covenanters. Such is far from the truth. Indeed, Wedderburn of Kilmarnock declared love to be the fundamental attribute. "God is love, not only loving, but love itself."(1) William Guthrie characterised the Divine love as "without a crack or flaw in it."(2) Livingstone challenged the angels to "tell the weight and measure of the Divine love." "Take the stars of heaven to be your counters and all 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 and sum the count of His love. No, no, give it over, give it over, it cannot be summed."(3) The Divine love far surpasses all created love.(4)

Even Cargill, whose cast of mind was more or less austere, laid stress on the love of God. God's love, he maintained, shows itself in its acts or outgoings, firstly, in tender sympathy; secondly, in his presence; thirdly, in redemption, and fourthly, in bearing and carrying His people. It is a love that goes with men through all their afflictions; but the consciousness of it is conditional on man himself. "The more you delight in God, the more he will delight in you."(5)

Peden, in the course of a sombre sermon declared that behind the wrath in God's face was the love in His heart.(6) John King, while preaching the anger of God, declared that love lay behind the wrath,(7) and even in the grim sermon on judgment, Welch did not leave the Divine mercy ought of sight; he merely stated that there was a time-limit to mercy and grace.(8) "Sovereign love," said Blackadder, "the love that God bare to sinners," was the impelling cause of the Atonement. "Love must be at them: and therefore travailed a soul's travail to have the beloved saved."

(1) The Believer's Privileges, p.25.
(2) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.116.
(3) Letter to a friend, in Select Biographies, I, p.272.
(5) Sermon printed for the first time in Carslaw's Life of Cargill, Heroes of the Covenant, p.35.
(6) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.559.
(7) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.45.
(8) Ib., p.55.
(9) Ib., p.83.
It is in the letters of Renwick, however, that the most joyous insistence on the love of God is to be found. He wrote to a Dutch correspondent of that "infinite and transcendent love, in the profound depth of the admiration whereof angels are drowned." "God" he wrote in 1683 "cannot change His love, nothing can extinguish it." "However you may be surrounded with the world's malice and hatred, His love is still about you, and always next unto you."

The doctrine of the eternal decrees of God, with its corollaries, election and reprobation, and a limited atonement, seems difficult to reconcile with the Divine love, and equally difficult with Divine grace. For it appears to make God the author of sin. One of the consequences of the Arminian controversy was the sharpening of the Calvinistic doctrine, and it is not surprising that in the peculiar conditions of Scotland, a high type of Calvinism became prevalent in the earlier Covenanting period. Rutherford, the greatest theologian of his day, was a supralapsarian, and pronounced sin to be necessary for the manifestation of the Divine justice and mercy. But, as Dr James Walker pointed out, there was a gradual descent from this extreme position, and in the later Covenanting period, the modification was in progress.

There was not, of course, the faintest sign of sympathy with Arminianism. "The Arminian opinion" said McWard "doth proudly impugne the sovereignty of God", and with Arminianism went what he described as "the errors of universal redemption". Fraser alone among the writers and preachers of the time seems to have had a glimmering of the fact that there was an element of truth in Arminianism, and in the idea of universal atonement. While denying

(2) Ib., p.46.
(3) Ib., p.327.
(4) Walker, Theology & Theologians of Scotland, pp.75-76.
(5) Ib., p.75.
(6) The true Nonconformist, p.347.
(7) Ib., p.367.
that he was an Arminian, he maintained, in a certain sense a common redemption. In his Treatise on Justifying Faith, written while in prison on the Bass, Fraser outlined the view that Christ had purchased "common benefits," the ordinary temporal blessings of life, and that owing to His grace, the world is sustained and its material blessings enjoyed by all. Further he stated that "Christ did by his one infinite indivisible satisfaction and ransom, satisfy divine justice for the sins of all mankind, though with different intention and ends according to the different objects there-of" - the intention being to save the elect but not the non-elect. The opposition aroused by this divergence from the current doctrine of the Atonement indicates that the dogma of a limited atonement was held, theoretically at least, without question.

There is, however, a difference between the complete system of thought which a man may adhere theoretically in a philosophical sense, and the practical aspects of truth of which he makes use in everyday life. And an examination of the literature of the period shows that on the whole, the Covenanting preachers were loyal to the recommendation of the Westminster Confession that "the doctrine of this high mystery of predestination be handled with special prudence and care." (4)

There can be no doubt that Dr. Walker was justified in his opinion that "we are not to suppose that the holders of these views had any idea of making God the author of sin." Such an idea was indignantly repudiated. Shields laid down that the evil of the times existed only by the permission and providential

(1) Walker, Theology & Theologians of Scotland, p.50.
(2) Treatise on Justifying Faith, p.222.
(3) Ibid. Carstairs, father of the Principal, advised Fraser to destroy his book (Wodrow MSS, vol.39, folio 60 - quoted by Anderson, The Bass Rock, p.144). It is of course only fair to say that even in theoretical discussion of the question it was held that the elect, for whom the atonement was efficacious might be a very large number.
(5) Theology & Theologians of Scotland, p.79.
will" of God. (1) All evil, said Guthrie, was by the Divine permission: "God lets men fall." (2) And the doctrine of reprobation, although it occasionally makes its appearance in sermons, is not usually presented as an arbitrary, inexplicable fact. (3) Judgment, and punishment are emphasised, often with striking effect, but generally as a consequence of sin. In Michael Bruce's phrase, "Our Master will say to many, "I never knew you," because of your disorderly walking." (4) And Welch, in his arresting sermon on the judgment-seat of Christ, distinctly states that damnation is the consequence of sin. It will be terrible, he says, to hear the shrieks and cries of the damned; terrible to hear the cries of kings, princes, earls, lords, lairds, captains, rich and poor, high and low; to hear millions and millions of millions crying to hills and mountains to fall on them and cover them from the face of the Lamb; for yonder he is coming whom we despised, and his blood we had in our offer for washing away of sin: but we despised and trampled it under foot. What terror will it be to those who judged and persecuted him in his members on earth, may, to see him whom they thus rejected and slighted to be their judge". (5) And in another sermon, Welch implicitly assumed the offer of salvation to all, making no reference whatever to arbitrary reprobation or a limited atonement. (6) Blackadder, in a sermon preached at East Kilbride, and also apparently at the historic convention at East Nisbet in the Merse, made a special appeal to the sinners "yet out of Christ", who are slaves unto their lusts; and he went out of his way to refute the argument that such are beyond salvation. (7) Cargill, preaching on John 8. 36, emphasised the "open proclamation in the Gospel". Christ, he said, is ready to accept of all that come. (8) It was by Guthrie, however, that the note of

(1) A Hind Let Loose, p. 252; Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 596.
(2) Ib, p. 208.
(3) There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule, as when Renwick referred to the "miserable souls whom the Lord hath no other service for but to set them as a spectacle of indignation"—Renwick's Sermons, p. 93; Guthrie, Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 208; and Welch; ib, p. 633.
(4) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 317.
(5) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, pp 51, 53.
(6) Ib, pp. 60-71.
(7) Ib, p. 87.
(8) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 489.
universal opportunity was sounded most clearly. "Christ's market of His free offer is yet to be had for the salvation of any poor sinner who will have it."(1) Peace and salvation, he declared, are offered to the people, in universal terms. "If any man will, he shall be welcome."(2) "God excludes none, if they do not exclude themselves,"(3) God "would much rather have folk to be converted and live than die and perish."(4) Renwick, at the close of the period, emphasised the universality of the gospel appeal as strongly as did Guthrie at the beginning. In the course of his first sermon in the fields, he appealed to all to hear the invitation. "Then come away, there is no more wanting save come. ..... If you except not yourself, He will not except you. His invitation is unto all: "Everyone, come; he that thirsteth, come; he that hath no money, come.""(5) "His invitation is to everyone."(6) "He is a free saviour; for all who are here this night, young or old, men or women, may have Jesus Christ." And the wrath of God is an abiding wrath only if the help of Christ is not accepted.(7)

II. It is a common charge against orthodox Calvinism that it reduced Christ to a mere deus ex machina in the scheme of salvation, a means to an end; and so far as the authors of the Westminster Confession are concerned, there would appear to be some ground for this charge.(8) That undue emphasis was laid in the creeds on the theological Christ is admitted on all hands at the present day. The consequence was that the earthly life of Jesus, and his function as a prophet and teacher, were lost sight of; the humanity became merged in the divinity. And in the Covenanting literature of the period there is no trace of any deviation from orthodoxy on this question any more than on others. As Howie of Lochgoil remarked in his

(1) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.182.
(2) Christian's Great Interest, p.97.
(3) Ib., p.98.
(4) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.170.
(5) Renwick's Sermons, p.31.
(6) Ib., p.113.
(7) Ib., p.456. Mr. King Hewison gives it as his opinion that the Covenanters believed that the Atonement "was meant for all and must be preached to all." - (The Covenanters, II, p.549). This is certainly true so far as the message of the preachers was concerned.
(8) Westminster Confession, ch.8. The theologians of the day in great degree missed the significance of Christ's earthly
original preface to the collection of Covenanting sermons. — "The divinity and two distinct natures of Christ in one person; the special and particular extent of His purchase, the infinite virtue of his merit, death and sufferings, are held forth and exhibited" in the preaching of the time. Socinianism was as repellent as Arminianism. Christ was the second person of the Trinity, "God equal with himself," God equal with the Father, — the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. The Divine Christ, it is true, is not generally spoken of as God. Indeed, there is singularly little confusion of the persons of the Godhead; Christ appears to have been only occasionally the object of prayer: "The work of creation is not attributed to him as his personal property." Nevertheless, the divine Christ was viewed as infinite in knowledge. His human nature in Livingstone's phrase "is a transparent lantern of glass where through we may see his godhead."

But there was another factor in Scottish religious life which acted as a check on this tendency in Protestant scholasticism to dehumanise Christ. "The Scottish struggle concerning the Headship," as an acute theologian of last century pointed out, "brought the personal Christ into very exceeding prominence." For the doctrine of the Headship had two important corollaries: it concentrated attention on the spiritual presence of Christ in the world, and on his earthly life and example.

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real. Christ, he said, had neither house, people, nor property in Scotland. (1) The rulers had crucified Him again. (2) But yet He was active throughout the land. It was Christ who had stirred up His "zealous ambassadors," to embark on field-preaching; (3) it was Christ who made noble and notable inroads on Satan's dominions. (4) And this ever-present Christ suffered in and with His people. Peden regarded the persecution as "the filling up of Christ's sufferings in Scotland according to the ancient decree of heaven." (5) Margaret Wilson, the girl-martyr, when asked what she thought of her fellow-sufferers, as the waters of the Solway were overflowing her, replied - "What do I see but Christ - in one of his members - wrestling there? Think you that we are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us, for He sends none a warfare on their own charges." (6) Renwick, spoke of Christ as a near friend - a powerful, willing, kind and constant friend. (7) "It was said of a heathen, Socrates," he wrote, "all that knew him loved him, and they that did not love him, it was because they did not know him. Indeed, they that love not Christ, it is because they know Him not. If He were known, what a great, gracious, powerful, loving, bountiful and excellent one He is, the heart would be filled with love unto Him." (8) With this great strong friend, Michael Bruce urged the necessity of "union and communion;" (9) and Welwood spoke of Him as one with whom daily communion could be held, whose absence is "such a bitter thing," that no earthly thing "can comfort folk." (10)

(1) McFard, ib., p.123.
(2) Ib., p.126.
(3) Ib., p.125.
(4) Ib., p.126.
(5) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.567.
(6) Wodrow, IV, p.249.
(7) Renwick's Sermons, pp.531-2.
(9) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.289.
(10) Ib., p.352.
digest the previous history of His life and death contained in the Evangelists till it turn (if I may so say) into flesh and blood to you."(1) To Renwick, Christ is "the declarer of the Father's will, and the "faithful interpreter."(3) "The Lord Jesus Christ," to Cameron, is the object of the believer's love."(4) "And because of all Christ did for me, should not His followers desire conformity with Him?"(5) Wedderburn urged, "constant intercourse with Christ is the fountain of sanctification."(6) He drew, it is true, distinction between the imitable and the inimitable actions of Christ. Counselling his hearers to "propose the perfect pattern of Christ's life" before themselves, he said, "It is true that all the actions of Christ are not imitable; He was not a mere man but God and man, and what he did as God or as mediator between God and man we cannot imitate." But Wedderburn, having conceded this, concentrated on the "divine things wherein the Scriptures expressly propose Him as an example, as love, meekness, self-denial, patience, making it His work to do good."(7) Blackadder urged the imitation of Christ in calling his hearers to "witness for Him," "adhere unto his truths closely and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth."(8) Renwick is still more explicit in his assertion that "they that are righteous are those who have fled unto Christ and they indeed live righteously. Yet to make it more clear we shall in short tell you who they are who live righteously. These, viz. in a word "who walk as He walked:."(9) In a letter from the United Societies to "some friends in Ebden," written by Michael Shields, Christ was defined as "love and the pattern of it;" and from his commandment to love one another is deduced the urgency of mutual love.(10) Sir Robert Hamilton in a letter to the Societies

(1) Select Biographies, I, p.269.
(2) Renwick's Sermons, p.91.
(3) Ib., p.117.
(4) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.395.
(5) Ib., p.398.
(6) Believer's Privileges, p.20.
(7) Ib., p.170.
(8) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.104.
(9) Renwick's Sermons, p.31.
(10) Faithful Contendings, p.256.
from exile in Holland, gave as a reason for the smallness of Christ's flock that "boasting in somewhat without and besides Christ has cost us dear," and he urged that neither persons or parties should be followed unless "we see them following and imitating Him who was holy, harmless, undefiled." (1)

While the doctrine of Scripture prevented consistency on every occasion, Christ was very generally looked upon as the supreme historical example, to whom appeal was usually made. The holding of conventicles was justified by an appeal to the gospel; Christ and his apostles were "the greatest of conventicle preachers" who recognised no supreme magistrate and required no indulgence. (2) Christ had called Herod "that fox," and the disregard for authority as such which the phrase implied did not pass unnoticed. (3) Christ's forgiveness of his enemies was deliberately imitated by many of the martyrs. (4) And the afflictions of the persecuted were allayed by the knowledge that the Lord and Master "drank of the same cup," (5) "waded through deeper waters and rambled through hotter fires." (6) Thus the Headship of Christ was no mere ecclesiastical watchword, but was a principle to which on the whole the Covenanters studied to be loyal; (7) fidelity to that principle was the test of discipleship and was decisive as to the eternal destiny of the individual. (8)

(1) Faithful Contendings, p.219.
(3) Cameron, Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.413.
(5) McWard, Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Prunts, p.122.
(7) The Headship of Christ over Scripture was not, of course, theoretically admitted.
(8) The "Second Coming" of Christ was generally identified with the Day of Judgment (Welch Sermon in Faithful Contendings, p. 50; Livingstone, Letter in Select Biographies, I, p.259.) Peden and Renwick, in speaking of the "Lord's return to Scotland," appear to have meant simply retribution on the persecutors (Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.563; Renwick's Sermons, pp.57-59). A more spiritual view was outlined by Kid (Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.31).
V.

Popular Beliefs and Superstitions.

From the dominant religious ideas of the period, which have been discussed at some length, the chief strength of the Covenanting movement was derived. Side by side with these, however, there existed other ideas which can hardly be designated as religious. Protestantism had taken over from Romanism the belief in a vague, shadowy realm of portents and wonders, devils and demons and witches, and in a vast invisible world of evil. Very possibly Romanism had inherited these from the pre-Christian paganism of Scotland; the Catholic Church had taken over some superstitions and had waged intermittent war against others. But at all events these beliefs and superstitions bulked largely in the imagination of the people. In respect to wonders, prodigies and portents, the leaders as well as the rank and file were prone to trace God's wrath in material happenings and to look for signs and wonders. The age was an unscientific one. It is true that modern science had been born and that in the university of Cambridge Isaac Newton occupied a professorial chair. But even in England and on the continent the scientific conceptions of law was unfamiliar except in a small select circle.

If this was true of Europe in general, it was emphatically so of Scotland. The Scottish theologians were not indifferent, it is true, to the witness of nature to God, but concerning things in themselves, the most rudimentary ideas were entertained. That the old geocentric system of the world reigned virtually unchallenged is evident from Fleming's discussion of the heavens and the earth in his great work on Scripture. Belief in miracle, too, was widespread. The chief thinkers and preachers, it is true, laid little stress on it, and Hutcheson inclined to a naturalistic interpretation of texts.

(1) McKinnon, Culture in Early Scotland, p. 45 ff.
(2) Wedderburn, for instance, believed the stars to shine by reflected sunlight. — Believer's Privileges, p. 27. It is only fair to say that he speaks of the sea ebbing and flowing "with the course of the moon." Ib., p. 167.
(3) Fulfilling of the Scripture, pp. 297-298.
(4) Blackadder, Memoirs, 2nd ed., p. 239.
which might be taken to allude to miraculous occurrences. Nevertheless, even the most enlightened of the Covenanting leaders were prone to lay stress on what was unusual and remarkable, and to seek for supernatural explanations. Thus, McWard, interpreted the Great Fire of London in 1666 as a divine judgment on that city for the burning of the Covenants. (1) He also drew attention to the tremendous judgments of God, "whereby some that have been active in these cursed courses have been hurried out of the world," and to the "anguish and agonies, under which others of them have died." (2)

(1) One consequence of the non-existence of natural science was the supernatural interpretation of unusual phenomena. Thus, of the great comet of 1680, Law wrote, "No history ever made mention of the like comet, and it is doubted if ever the like was seen since the creation;" and he added that "it is certainly prodigious, of great alterations and of great judgments on these lands and nations for our sins; for never was the Lord more provoked by a people than by us in these lands, and that by persons of all ranks." (3) Patrick Walker, who referred to the comet as "that blazing star," records that when McWard, "who was then dying, heard of it, he desired Mr Shields and other friends to carry him out that he might see it; when he saw it, he blessed the Lord that he was now about to close his eyes, and that he was not to see the woeful days that were coming upon Britain and Ireland, and especially upon sinful Scotland." (4) Law was seriously perturbed at the possibilities for evil in the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1682. (5) One influential thinker, however, held much more enlightened views on these matters. To subject to the influence of the stars, said Hutcheson, "these things

(1) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p.148.
(2) Ib., p.185.
(3) Memorials, p.270.
(4) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.36. Walker collected many instances of judgments on particular persons for outrageous deed.
(5) Memorials, p.236.

* Even the well-balanced Wodrow, writing in the eighteenth century, spoke of comets as "preachers from heaven," which "neither prince nor prelate could stop"—History, I, p. 421.
which depend upon contingent causes and the will of man, so as to make predictions from them concerning such events and effects, is a mere folly founded upon so many fond suppositions which have no being in nature but are only the chimeras of the astrologer's own brain. (1) And he reiterated his belief that God "commands all the stars in their motions and influences and not fate or they themselves." But on the whole, such a clear and sane view was rare.

(1) Not only were natural phenomena misunderstood and misinterpreted. The age was one of great credulity and the most remarkable stories, which may have had a substratum of truth in some simple but misapprehended facts, came to be believed. Thus Kirkton records "wonderful prodigies in the air" at the time of the battle of Rullion Green. Several persons at Pittenweem vouched that "they heard the voice of a multitude, as they judged, about Wilstown Mount, praising and singing psalms." (2) Before the same battle two merchants of Haddington saw an apparition of four men and a dead body and "their dog was so feared that he durst not go forward, but came running back among the horses' feet." (3) Kirkton relates also that a fire was seen to rise frequently from a morass near Carnwath and cover the house of a man who was alleged to have murdered some of the Pentland rebels and buried them in the morass. (4) Thus "there was the sight both by night and day of brae-sides covered with the appearance of men and women, with tents, and voices heard in them." (5) Walker speaks of "showers of swords and bonnets" falling in a spot of ground "without Glasgow" in 1678, and he soberly recorded that "in the year 1686 many yet alive can witness that about the Crosfoot-boat, two miles beneath Lanark, especially at the Mains of the Water of Clyde, many people gathered together for several afternoons, where there were showers of

(1) Expos. of Book of Job (on ch.38, p.31-35) 2nd part, p.32.
(2) Kirkton, History, p.250.
(3) Satan's Invisible World Discovered, p.187.
(4) History, p.344.
(5) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.33-35.

The scholarly Fleming laid particular stress on these "prodigious signs", pointing out that sometimes "they have been shaped out to point at the very nature of the stroke then imminent, by a strange resemblance to the same, such as a flaming sword in the air... also showers of blood, the noise of drums and such like which are known usually to go before wars and commotions"—Fulfilling of the Scripture, p.259.
bennets, hats, guns and swords, which covered the trees and ground, companies of men in arms marching in order upon the water side, companies meeting companies, going all through other, and then all falling to the ground and disappearing; and other companies immediately appearing the same." (1) He added that two of the people who were present saw this vision, and a third "saw not," but that he himself, who was present at the place on three separate afternoons, could see nothing. Similar visions were seen in Glasgow and vicinity in 1684 and 1685. On May 6th of the latter year "a vision was seen of foot and horse on Glasgow green, between nine and eleven at night, and the horses in great companies on both sides running away with great speed, but all with empty saddles. A little after Huntly came and lay with his men on that same green." (2) Of a conventicle held by Welwood on the Lomond Hills, which was attacked by the military, "it was affirmed by some women who stayed at home that they clearly perceived like the form of a tall man of majestic stature stand in the air, in stately position, with one leg, as it were, advanced before the other, standing above the people all the while of the soldiers shooting. ..... The women knew not of the soldiers' onset at the time until the people came home." Four "honest men" forwarded to Blackadder an account of this, vouching for the truth of this vision. Patrick Walker records that Blackadder, who seems to have been more or less sceptical of such statements, examined the "most solid Christians" in the district of Rutherglen concerning the reality of atmospheric visions and miraculous voices, alleged to have been seen and heard; and he states that "Mr. Blackadder concluded it was of the Lord," and that after investigation he accepted the evidence as trustworthy. (4)

(1) Six Saints of the Covenant, p.37. See also Faithful Contendings Displayed, p.253.
(4) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.34-35.
Many of these visions were regarded as glimpses into the future, and some of the more prominent leaders were credited with extraordinary powers of second-sight. Indeed, Peden is chiefly remembered as "the prophet," - the word being used to designate the possession of supernatural gifts. This kind of prophecy must be carefully distinguished from the affirmations made by Blackadder, Cameron and others as to the ultimate triumph of the Covenanting cause and the final overthrow of the persecutors. These affirmations were confidently made as deductions from the doctrine of the righteousness of God and His activity in the world. Nor is it in line even with the unfulfilled predictions of Cameron or Welch, or Peden himself regarding the transformation of Britain into a field of blood and the coming of dire disaster through French invasion. But Peden was credited with the gift of prophecy of a different kind, - a sort of uncanny second-sight. Thus he was said to know of the defeat at Bullion Green before news had reached the house in Carrick which he was occupying; he foresaw the melancholy death of the young girl who scoffed at him while in prison on the Bass. He likewise foresaw the sad fate of the prisoners who took the bond after Bothwell. He predicted a tragic end for John Brown the carrier when performing his marriage, and again on the morning of the murder. There are only a few of a large number of instances where Peden was credited with the gift of second-sight and the power of foreseeing future events - not merely great world-movements, but events in themselves only of local or family importance. Making allowance for a certain substratum of truth, for a brooding, sombre element in his character and for certain gifts of an obscure kind, it is obvious that many of these stories of Peden reflect the current world-view of the time.

(1) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.228; also pp.92-93.
(2) Ib., p.48.
(3) Ib., p.49.
(4) Ib., p.53.
(5) Ib., p.61.
(6) Ib., p.84.
(7) Ker of Kersland recorded that when a party of Cameronians were on the way to join Argyll, Peden said - "We have no occasion to go any further, for the Earl is this minute fallen a sacrifice to the fury of his enemies" Whereupon several gentlemen pulled out their watches to mark the time, which was afterward found to answer to a very minute accordingly" - Memoirs of Ker of Kersland, I, p.8
Not only was the world believed to be full of things strange and weird; not only were the fortunes of the future read in the signs of heaven; not only were visions and prodigies believed in implicitly! Throughout the period under discussion there was a firm belief in the existence of an invisible spirit-world. Spirits both good and evil were supposed to roam everywhere; ghosts of the dead and dying appeared to the friends. "Fairies danced around the wirrikow;" little men in green inhabited the knells, and virile spirits lurked in wells and streams. Over and above this, there was firm and widespread belief in an invisible world of evil spirits, in which the chief place was assigned to the devil, or Satan. The Covenanting leaders had the most sublime faith in a Divine Power All-Holy and Omnipotent, and yet they found room in their world-concept for belief in a mighty Prince of Darkness, subject to God, certainly, whose power for evil was yet very great, and who was ultimately the power behind all the persecutions, bloodshed and outrages of the time. Cameron stated that "the devil was the first destroyer. He was the first and chief destroyer. Sin came from him. He is the great Abaddon and Appollyon." At the same time he added his opinion that "though there were no devil, yet there is that in the heart of man that would destroy him." In Brown's view, it is Satan who thinks it "for his advantage to add affliction to the afflicted, and to use his utmost endeavour to break them with one sad exercise." McWard spoke of the dark places in the land as "Satan's territories." And he warned his correspondents that the devil studies revenge when he is defeated. "Be sure, therefore, he will endeavour to be avenged upon you; he will make war upon you and manage it with all the force and fury he can, yea, with all the fraud and hellish stratagems. ...... He hath great wrath against a poor feeble company these many years." In the last analysis, therefore, the persecution was the work of Satan; yet McWard could

(2) Hutcheson, Expos. of the Book of Job, p.43.
(3) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.408.
(5) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p.126.
net grant such great powers to the Prince of Darkness. "Satan hath
got leave to open the very sluice of hell and drown Britain with such
a deluge of profanity."(1) The persecutors and their subordinates
were the devil's vassals. Sharp, indeed, was looked on as his special
ally, and the humanaeae or which was reputed to have flown out of his
snuff-box which his murderers opened, was supposed to be a proof of
this.(2) Graham of Clovenhouse was thought to be, as the devil's special
protege, proof against steel and lead.(3) To pay the cess to such a
government was to sacrifice to the devil.(4) To accept of the indul­
gence was to walk into his net; they were his special opportunity."For
the devil hath the knack to make himself to be entertained and received
as an angel of light when he knocks at an honest man's door."(5)
And this powerful potentate had many emissaries in the evil spirits
under his command. Cameron reminded his audience that while the Lord
Himself and His angels behold the meeting, still the "devils of hell,
many of them, no doubt, are here this day." "And he is a strange man
and she a strange woman who finds not these devils at present suggest­
ing some wicked notion to divert them from hearing or stealing away
the Word that it may not profit you."(6) Brodie of Brodie, the devout
North-country man, who hovered on the verge of the Covenanting party,
said of the devil, - "He knows what we are about; but we know not what
he is about, or when or how he works. All that we do or are is ob­
vious to him; but nothing that he does is obvious to us nor to the poor
wretches that he deludes."(7) Peden is recorded by Walker to have
observed that "it is very hard living in this world, incarnate devils
above the earth and devils beneath the earth."(8)

It is well to remember that this belief in the ubiquity of
the devils and his angels was by no means confined to the Covenanting
party; it was the fixed opinion of all classes of the community.

(1) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p.186.
(2) Kirkton, History, p. 481.
(3) Sir Walter Scott, Tales of a Grandfather, p. 554.
(4) Against the Cess, Tracts, p. 240.
(5) Moir, Earnest Contendings, pp. 89, 356.
(6) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 588.
(7) Diary of Alex. Brodie (Spalding Club) p. 261. By the "poor
wretches" Brodie evidently meant the witches.
(8) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 79. Of Huteson, Expos­
ition of the Book of Job, p. 9. Fleming, Fulfilling of the
Scripture, p. 289, 282.
Indeed, it was a professor in Glasgow University, who conformed to Episcopal and the Supremacy, who enunciated a complete theory of the existence and activity of the devil and his angels. (1)

Although normally invisible, evil spirits were believed to have been seen from time to time. Peden, is reputed to have had a scuffle with the devil in a cave in Galloway, (2) and to have beheld the devil in the form of a raven at a Quakers' meeting in Ireland. (3) John Semple of Carsphairn assured his hearers that Satan was so envious of the good work to be done at a Sacrament season that he would contrive a storm of wind and rain; and a man in black seen in the waters was reputed to be the devil. (4) Even when not visible, the devil was thought to be audible. A chronicler of the period related how once he heard Satan from behind a hedge, groan like an aged man, and shortly afterwards roar like a bull. (5)

One of the devil's principal functions was the convening of the witches' meetings. (6) The belief in witchcraft was the natural corollary to that in a powerful prince of evil, and was universally accepted by both Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Covenanters have been blamed for the persecution of witches in the seventeenth century, but whatever blame attaches to them must be shared by Roman Catholics and Episcopalians as well. During the persecution, the Covenanting leaders were quite blameless in this connection, for the simple reason that they had no influence whatever over the governments of the day, which nevertheless found time to carry on a vigorous campaign. (7)

The whole subject of witchcraft has been involved in much obscurity, but there can be little doubt of the truth of Lecky's remark that while some of the elements of pre-Christian paganism

(1) George Sinclair, Satan's Invisible World Discovered.
(2) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p.79.
(3) Ib., I, p.129.
(4) Ib., I, p.195.
(6) Law, Memorials, pp.121-145.
(7) Wodrow I, p.244.
became amalgamated with Romanism, another element "became a kind of excrecence upon recognised Christianity", and "hovering upon the verge of the faith", entered into the system of witchcraft. This view has been recently developed and elaborated in a recent work by Miss M.A. Murray on the witch-cult in western Europe. Miss Murray's contention is that witchcraft was simply a survival of ancient paganism - a religion of devil-worship, accompanied by child-sacrifice and immoral rites. The witches, male and female, were pledged to the service of Satan, and instead of being the innocent victims of a bloodthirsty clerical oligarchy, were in many cases men and women of depraved life and conduct. If this theory be correct, even in its main outlines, the attitude of intolerance which the Covenanters, and the Christian Church in general, displayed towards witches and witchcraft may be, if not excused, at least explained. A firm belief in the devil and in his extensive power for evil entailed a fear and dread of those who had professedly sold themselves into his service. And the Biblical monitions against witchcraft and magic and the specific Mosaic command to put witches to death had great potency in sharpening the Covenanting attitude of antagonism to what were believed to be diabolical activities.

(1) History of Rationalism in Europe, I, pp 36-37.
(2) The Witch-Cult in Western Europe, pp 156-59; 173 ff
(3) Exodus 22. 18.
VI.

Personal Religion.

In his examination of the Scottish intellect during the seventeenth century, Buckle maintained and elaborately defended the contention that in the eyes of the Scottish clergy of that period, "the Deity was not a beneficent being, but a cruel and remorseless tyrant." To excite fear was, he maintained, "the paramount object" of the preaching of the time. "Little comfort, indeed, could men gain from their religion. Not only the Devil as the author of all evil, but even He Whom we recognise as the author of all good, was, in the eyes of the Scotch clergy, a cruel and vindictive being, moved with anger like themselves. They looked into their own hearts and there they found the picture of their God. According to them, he was a God of terror instead of a God of love." In the light of an unbiased examination of sermons, diaries, memoirs, tracts, and journals, it is obvious that this estimate of the doctrine of God as held by the Covenanters is so prejudiced, so jaundiced and obviously the result of so perfunctory a study of the contemporary documents as to be utterly worthless. It is worse than a half-truth: as a description of the actual working beliefs of the teachers and thinkers of the time, it is little better than a caricature.

What then of the conclusion which Buckle deduced from his premises? - "Under the influence of this horrible creed, and from the unbounded sway exercised by the clergy who advocated it, the Scotch mind was thrown into such a state that during the seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth centuries, some of the noblest feelings of which our nature is capable, the feelings of hope, of love and of gratitude were set aside and were replaced by the dictates of a servile and ignominious fear." Careful investigation shows this deduction

(1) History of Civilisation in England, III, p.239.
(2) Ib., p.238.
(3) Ib., pp.244-5.
(4) Ib., p.247. R.L.Stevenson, whose sympathies were wholly with the Covenanters, also went surprisingly wide of the mark in his assertion that "those who took to the hills for conscience sake in Scotland had all gloomy and bedevilled thoughts: for once that they received God's comfort, they would be twice engaged with Satan." Quoted by Smellie, Men of the Covenant, p.281.
to be as untrustworthy as the premise on which it is based.

I. In a sermon preached at Irvine, where he exercised his minis-
try under the Act of Indulgence, Hudnason was at pains to point
out that there must be no misunderstanding of the phrase, "the fear of
God," which he defined as "the apprehension of the Divine majesty,
goodness and greatness." (1) It certainly must not be understood, he
said, so that "folk should make a bogle of God." (2) Nor was the "fear
of hell" of which so much has been made by critics of the Covenanters,
so large a factor in their religious life as has been alleged. To be
"out of the state of nature," said Wedderburn, "means complete immunity
from the fear of hell;" (3) and McWard sarcastically informed the "red-
shanks" or mercenary soldiers that they no more fear hell than he did.

That earnest Christians were greatly exercised over their
state of soul is, of course, indisputable. Sin was a very real menace
and peril, and the belief in a personal devil and in unseen powers of
darkness, (5) and in an eternal place of punishment, the abode of the
devil and the lost, rendered the sense of sin more awful. In addition
the times were dark and stormy: life was, to earnest men, hard and
grim. The outward conditions, the hazards and dangers of the time,
in themselves testified to the power of evil. It is not surprising,
therefore, that there is much evidence in the preaching and writing
of the time of what Fraser of Brea aptly called "soul-trouble." As
has been well said, it was the practical belief of the Covenanters
"that the heart is depraved and that the devil, the world and the
flesh are ever active in their hostility to the new man created in
Christ Jesus. . . . . . They were much given to introspection and
self-questioning, and analysis of frames and feelings." (7)

(1) Forty-five Sermons on OXXX Psalm, p. 201.
(2) Ibid., p. 205.
(3) David's Testament Opened Up, p. 33.
(4) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p. 15.
(5) Vide previous section (V).
(6) Select Biographies, II, p. 220.
Of Memoir Of Mr. Thomas Hog in Memoirs of Veitch, Hog, etc.
pp. 74-76! Experience of a pious woman to be found in Mem-
oirs of Mrs Goddall, Select Biographies, pp. 481-493. (VolIII).
A concrete instance of this is to be found in the experience of Fraser of Brea, who left a lengthy account of his inner life; he recorded how these feelings came and went, how his religious life had many interruptions and winters, going backward and forward; like the filling sea, some wave gained ground and some succeeding lost and abated, but a new overflowing regained all again. There would come a wave of the Spirit that would overflow largely, but after that a little ebb; and then when I little expected there would come a wave that would set me as far forward as ever again; and then a little decay and then a recovery so as for a long time I was tossed up and down like a locust, wearied of myself and of my life, and righteousness and enlargements of heart and of all these glories."(1) Thomas Hogg, of Kilearn, likewise passed through deep waters before he found peace of soul. "Crowds of sins" were charged upon him until he was in despair, and his whole experience was "as a terrible whirlpool." But at length he was rewarded with "faith's view of Christ."(2)

(1) This sense of joy and peace is manifest in the whole literature of the period. In his classic Christian experience, "The Christian's Great Interest," Guthrie spoke of a communication of the spirit of God which is "sometimes let out to some of His people," — "a glorious divine manifestation of God unto the soul, shedding abroad God's love in the heart," — "a thing better felt than spoken of," — "a flash of glory filling the soul with God." "O, how glorious," he proceeds, in a theatrical vision. "I cannot express the soul-anguish I was in." p. 21.

(2) Memoirs of Veitch, Hogg, etc., pp.74-75. The current belief in the devil and his activities was a large factor in producing this soul-trouble. Note the spiritual experience of Stevenson, of Dailly—Comforting Cordial, Sel. Bio., II, pp.417, 432, 438, 426, 428, Mrs Goddall, etc., p. 454. Of also Life of Alexander Reid, A Scottish Covenanter, p.23. He said— "I cannot express the soul-anguish I was in." p.21.
strain akin to mysticism," is the manifestation of the Spirit; faith here riseth to so full an assurance that it resolves wholly into sensible presence of God," and from this altitude of serenity, Guthrie proceeds to demonstrate how peace comes, and with peace, joy—an unspeakable and glorious joy in the soul, in the apprehension of God’s friendship and nearness."(1)

Guthrie’s experience was by no means unique; rather, it was typical of the religious life of the time. Livingstone, believing that "when the mind is full of light, the heart is full of love and the conscience full of peace,"(2) blessed the Divine name for his great peace of mind.(3) His fellow-exile, McWard, wrote of "that blessed second-sight, whereby a saint in the darkest hour of distress sees that which is soul-supporting." "Oh, the invisible God," he exclaimed, "made invisible to the poor-persecuted creature, in His omnipotent power, His infinite love and His unfailling faithfulness, makes all visible dangers vanish into an invisibility."(4) The prisoners on the Bass were equally at peace in their own souls. In his letter from prison, dated 11th August 1677, Peden, while envying the birds their freedom, confidently affirmed his belief in the Divine righteousness, and thanked the Lord for "the most common mercies."(5) A more remarkable instance of joy and peace in the midst of suffering is to be found in the journal of John McGilligen, outed minister of Foddertie, written in the same "base and unwholesome" prison. Three entries in October and November 1683 record McGilligen’s "gladness of heart." On the 19th October, the top of the Bass was to him "a Peniel where the Lord’s face in some measure was seen;" and in November he recorded "the sweet, outpouring of the Spirit."(6) Fraser of Brea, in the same "melancholy place," while acknowledging that "prisons must be prisons," spoke of

(1) The Christian’s Great Interest, pp.80-81 & 82-83.
(2) Select Biographies, I, p.280.
(3) Ibid., p.326.
(4) Poor Man’s Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p.111.
(5) Letter is given in Johnston’s Peden, the Prophet of the Covenant, pp.96-98. At a later date, when himself at liberty, he reminded the prisoners in Dunottar that "every day brings new mercies to the people of God." Ib., p.216.
(6) Woodrow, III, p.436, where extracts from McGilligen’s diary are given.

Dickson’s experience was similar. In a letter from the Bass he referred to the "floods of tenderness" he had met with—"a shining light breaking in upon my heart brighter than the Sun at the noontide of the day"— The Bass Rock, p.345.
the Divine goodness to him, and recorded "some special visits from God,"—
some further discoveries of the knowledge of Christ and the gospel I
never had before."(1)

Nor were the Cameronians, despite their sternness, less
happy in their inner lives. Cargill, in one of his sternest sermons,
pointed out how, in time of trouble, the kindness of God is always
felt.(2) In expounding Isaiah 26, 20-21, he said, — "There are
chambers of safety provided for God's people and children in a time of
wrath and indignation. Safety, pleasure and delight, are to
be found in them. Oh, happy soul that shall be delighted with them!"
And to the question as to what is signified by the word "chambers", he
replied, — "it is the soul committing itself unto God in His providence;
the providence of God shall provide chambers for you."(3)
The greatest joy on earth, Cameron maintained, is the joy of the believer.(4) But perhaps the most joyous type of religious experience
is recorded in the writings of Renwick. Confident in the Divine just
ice,(5) he trusted to the Spirit of God to bear up his soul in all its
difficulties.(6) Even in presence of death, tranquil joy was still
the keynote of his life. "Since I came to prison," he asserted in his
testimony, "the Lord hath been wonderfully kind. He hath made His
word to give me light, life, joy, courage, yea, it hath dropped the
sweet-smelling myrrh unto me. I have found sensibly much of
His Divine strength, much of the joy of His spirit and much assurance
from His word and spirit concerning my salvation."(7)

Not only in the lives of the leaders, but in the lives of
the more obscure followers of the Covenanting cause, the same note was
predominant. Pringle of Greenknowe, amid much harassment, rested under
the shadow of the loving-kindness of God.(8) George Brysson, an Edinburgh

(1) Select Biographies, II, p.343-346.
(2) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.547.
(3) Ib., pp.537-538.
(4) Ib., p.392.
(5) "The cause is the Lord's: He will overturn thrones and king-
(6) Ib., p.36.
(7) Ib., p.35.
(8) Select Biographies, p. 425 (Vol I)
(9) Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson (ed. by McCrie) p.370.
merchant, testified to the sweetness of his Christian experience. And the great conventicles, which were attended by thousands and at which conversions were numerous, were distinguished above all by the deep sense of the Divine presence felt by the worshippers. At one of the most famous of these "there was a spiritual and divine majesty shining on the work and sensible evidence that the great Master of Assemblies was present in the midst." (1) "There was a rich and plentiful effusion of the Spirit shed abroad on many hearts. Their souls, filled with heavenly transports, seemed to breathe in a diviner element, and to burn upwards as with the fire of a pure and holy devotion." (2)

This sense of tranquil joy was no mere transient feeling. The dying testimonies, not only of the prominent martyrs, but also of the more obscure and humble, indicate that they died cheerfully. A glad note of quiet cheerfulness was evinced by the martyrs executed for complicity in the Pentland rising, (3) of whom the most prominent was Hugh McKail, whose last testimony has become a classic. (4) James Learmonth, executed for his presence at the Whitekirk skirmish in 1678, died with a "willing heart and cheerful mind," having found the gracious presence and love of Christ manifested to his soul. (5) The experience of the Cameronian martyrs was similar. James Skene, executed as a hearer of Gargill in November 1680, dated thus his letter of farewell to his brother, an Aberdeenshire laird, - "From my Lord Jesus' house, which he has made a sweet palace, wherein he shews me his wonderful free love, the close prison above the iron-house in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, November 1680." (6) And in the testimonies of many other martyrs, men and women alike, the same sense of the Divine presence, and peace of soul, is the dominant note. (7)

(1) Blackadder, Memoirs, (1st ed.) p.203.
(2) Ib., pp.204-205.
(3) Testimonies of Alexander Robertson (p.100), John Nielson of Corsack (p.103), John Wodrow (p.115), and Ralph Shildes, an Englishman who had thrown in his lot with the persecuted party (p.119) in Testimonies of the Scots Worthies (combining Naphtali and the Cloud of Witnesses).
(4) McKail's speech from the scaffold, Wodrow II, p.59.
(5) Testimonies of the Scots Worthies, p.185-186.
(6) Ib.,/
(ii) This tranquility of mind, - born of the confidence in God's power and mercy, and the sense of election to eternal life, - was potent in producing a spirit of selflessness which enabled not only the leaders of the movement, but humble and illiterate men and women to bear torture and to face death. It was no sour asceticism which made these men and women indifferent to death; nor was it a selfish desire to escape from persecution and torture. It was the conviction that God had elected them not only to everlasting life, but to His service. The cause of His kingdom was well worth suffering and dying for; to suffer and to die was to co-operate with God, whose cause was greater than man's individual happiness. "Courage yet for all that is come and gone," Renwick wrote from Rotterdam in 1683; "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." Michael Shields wrote in similar strain during the hottest period of the persecution. "If God be glorified and His name exalted, what lose we?" "If God shall make our names, our enjoyments and our all, stepping-stones for Him, whereupon to walk for the advancement of His name and interest in the earth, we desire to be heartily content." Life was but a loan from God to man, as an obscure countryman finely said, and in the assurance that it was lent with a purpose, men and women could die, - as the Both'ness servant-girl claimed to die - as willingly as they had lived.

98.

(1) Life & Letters of James Renwick, p. 61.
(2) Faithful Contendings, p. 126.
(3) Id., p. 181.
(5) Marion Harvie's testimony, Testimonies of the Scots Worthies, pp. 311-315.
A study of the personal religion of the times proves conclusively that in place of being gloomy and morbid, it was in the main joyful and comforting. Indeed, what impressed an outsider — the Dutch clergyman, Brakel of Leewarden, — was neither the gloom nor the misery, but the "heavenly abounding blessings, the great abundance of the spirit and spiritual joy," and "the cheerful martyrdom for the name of Jesus which God your Father has in a more abundant manner bestowed on you than any church in the world in these times." (1)

(1) Brakel's letter to the "Fathers and Brethren under the Persecution," — Faithful Contendings, p. 33.
VII.

Ethical Standards.

Having considered the religious conceptions current during the period under discussion and the effect of these conceptions on the inner lives not only of the leaders but of the rank and file of the persecuted party, there remains to be ascertained the nature of the ethical ideals current among them. For the religion of the Covenanters did not consist in mere intellectual acceptance of the dogmatic statements of their formulated theology. Nor was it only a concern of the inner life; for the Covenanters were not mystics or quietists who retired within themselves from the turmoil and confusion of the world. Their religious conceptions and experience had a potent influence over their life and conduct. They were the dominating forces in shaping their ethical ideals and fixing their moral standards. Were these ideals and standards worthy? According to the reactionary historians of Cavalier and royalist sympathies, they were not. Hypocrisy, fanaticism and uncharitableness, issuing in turbulent and murderous principles have been charged against them.

Obviously the only court of appeal is the literature of the period, the sermons, testimonies, journals, letters, tracts, and memoirs which have been preserved. In these, we are able to trace the ethical ideals of the time, and to discover the stress which the various preachers, writers and martyrs laid upon conduct as the issue of religious belief.

I (1) As pointed out in a previous section, the holiness of God bulks more largely in the religious thought of the time than the Divine love. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Covenanting ethics the greatest stress was laid on holiness. Personal holiness, indeed, is, in the thought of the time, the direct fruit of religion; the possession of holiness is the test of the sincerity of religious profession. On this there is quite remarkable unanimity. Wedderburn speaks of the "absolute necessity of the practice of holiness as a thing wherein Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Lutherans, Anti-
nomians, and Anabaptists, all unite. (1) Livingstone's message from exile to his parishioners of Ancrum is first and foremost a call to holiness. To the large number who "have never laid religion to heart," he points out the folly of sin. Do not evil purposes, he asks, waste the body, take away the judgment, and leave a sting in the conscience? (2) On the "little handful" in his parish who had "laboured to keep their garments clean," he urged, along with steadfastness and devotion, to principle, first and foremost, holiness. "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, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation. ..... 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." (3) In another letter, less formal in style, he counsels a friend to beware of what he calls "predominants," - devils that no amount of prayer or fasting will eradicate. "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." (4) Guthrie, the necessity of holiness is urged with even greater emphasis. In all who do warrantably pretend to Christ," there must be a new creature. "This new creature is called "the new man," which doth hold out the extent of it." It is not simply a new tongue, or new hand, but a "new man." There must be a complete renovation, - a principle of new life and motion which is "the new heart," and flowing from this "acts of life," - conformity to the Divine image; and when this complete change is wrought in a man, he sees God in the world around him and seeks to live a holy life. (5) The Scriptural promises of life and peace are made to faith followed by holiness. (6) Holiness is indeed "the fruit of true faith;" without it no man shall see God. (7) Not only in his survey of the religious life in "The Christ-

Great interest, but in his sermons also Guthrie unweariedly sounded this note; there is certainly not a trace of antinomianism about his gospel; it is ethical through and through. "Faith moves only," he says, "when folk are diligent in duty," — "working righteousness and walking uprightly with God." (1) And the following of Christ, which is the duty of man because of the Great Sacrifice of Christ, must be a faithful following. Religion must fill the whole of life. Men must cleave to Christ "through good and bad report, through affliction and persecution." (2) He speaks scathingly of those who are religious by turns — who seek the Kingdom of God "before or at communions, when they hear of damnation and salvation;" (3) and no less sarcastically of those who "will pray half an hour in their families and then drink till it be day again." (4) And so he counsels his hearers to take religion seriously, to be "earnest with the spirit of God;" (5) and he emphasises the duty of self-examination; (6) for even the smallest sin — an evil thought or a wrong word spoken — will work havoc to the soul. (7) 

No less ethical is Michael Bruce. Indeed, his conception of religion may be defined as a sort of ethical mysticism. In a sermon on Genesis 42, 25, he puts some direct questions to his hearers. He asks, for instance, if sin has become more loathsome and ugly than the Devil or hell. "Dost thou see no help for thee in heaven or in the earth, but in the Lord Jesus Christ?" (8) And while accepting without questioning the current theory of the Atonement, he is concerned about the ethical fruits of the acceptance of Christ. He asks if the soul's-delight and longing desire is to have a well-grounded trust in Christ with union and communion with Him and as a consequence "the new birth, new nature and new creature." (9) But the test of the whole spiritual experience, with Bruce, is the

(1) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 241. 
(2) Ib., p. 182. 
(3) Ib., p. 207. 
(4) Ib., p. 205. 
(5) Ib., p. 187. 
(6) Ib., p. 199. 
(7) Ib., p. 97. 
(8) Ib., p. 187. 
(9) Ib., p. 289.
ethical result of conversion. There must be a true and real principle of love and zeal for God and His glory, binding the soul "to the gospel-way of new obedience to the moral law of God;(1) and seriousness, activity and diligence in the practical performance of every duty of religion.(2) For eventually the ethical fruits tell, - the "orderly walk." Because of "disorderly walking," many shall lose eternal life.(3) And Welwood, likewise emphasizing the urgency of holiness, refutes the view that "heaven will be, so to speak, a cage of unclean creatures."(4) The author and his collaborators stated emphatically in the "Apology for the Persecuted Ministers" that while rejoicing in Christ Jesus as mediator," yet we constantly affirm good works of piety towards God, of equity and charity towards men to be necessary." Regeneration was vital; but simply as the solid foundation of "good works."(5).

Nor were the more prominent of the field-preachers, properly so-called, less emphatic in urging on the people the necessity for holiness. To Welch, holiness was of paramount importance. To serve God should be, in his view, a delight; but this service must permeate all life. There must be "holiness in all manner of life and conversation:" "be holy in your eating and drinking, your discourse, your buying, selling, and in all your conversation."(6) All idols and "beloved sins" must be sacrificed as a proof of the believer's love of God;(7) on the day of judgment all manner of unholiness will be made manifest, and for secret unh holiness as well as palpable, men will be judged.(8) To Peden, holiness, or at least the will for holiness, was indispensable. "Ye may want many things, but ye may not want holiness." "Friends, ye may be blind, lame, dumb, and contemptible in the world and want many things, and yet come to heaven; but if ye want holiness, ye shall never come there."(9) Of Blackadder it has

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(1) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.290.
(2) Ib., p.291.
(3) Ib., p.317.
(4) Ib., p.360.
(5) Intro. to, Apology for Persecuted Ministers, p.12.
(6) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.68.
(8) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.49.
(9) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.557.
been said that he "never lost sight of the advice of the venerable Mr. Archibald of Dunscroile, who, introducing him to his people at Troqueer, exhorted him to make the Christian atonement the prominent theme in his preaching."(1) That he acted on this advice is suggested by the prominence of the doctrine of the atonement in three sermons of his which have been preserved. But the aim of the Gospel message, he told a conventicle at East Kilbride in 1678, is "to have some ungodly sinner made godly and some enemy reconciled unto God."(2) He exhorted the people to study thankfulness to God in all their ways, and to take the Bible along with them, "for every piece of your walk, and in all your deportment as becomes the Gospel of Christ."(3) And to him, the ultimate proof of the Divine blessing on the work of theouted ministers was to be found just in the fact that wild and desperate men had been enlightened in mind and reformed in life.(4)

Nor were the more revolutionary party less insistent on the need for holiness and likeness to Christ. The exiled McWard was impressed by the fact that "there is so little of real Christianity to be found among Christians:" and the reason of this, he concluded, is that men do not consider, — i.e. realise — that "Christianity is the soul cast in that blessed mould of disconformity to the world and conformity to Christ." All the special duties of religion, he concluded, are but the promoting of that begun conformity to Jesus Christ till it be carried on and consummated in a perfect likeness to him.(5) And in negative fashion, McWard specially noted as the signs of the absence of Christianity, worldliness, passion, pride, triviality of intent, love and hatred running in the wrong channels or seldom terminating upon the proper objects.(6) Brown laid down a regulative principle: all social loyalties, he maintained, must be brought to the test of Christ.(7)

(1) Johnston, Treasury of the Scottish Covenant, p.355.
(2) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.51.
(4) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.100.
(5) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, pp.109-110.
(6) Ib., p.139.
(7) Sanders Disbanded, Tracts, p.139.
"Purity," said Oargill, "is better than safety; and it is heart purity that God requires.(1) Men must quit their sins.(2) And Oargill laid stress not merely on sin in the abstract, but on the gross breaches of the moral law. When, at the historic conventicle at the Torwood, he excommunicated the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of Scotland, he did so not only for their tyranny, but for their uncleanness, drunkenness, swearing, and lying.(3) To Cameron, social righteousness was absolutely imperative. But while denouncing the rulers of the country, for their want of righteousness, he urged on his own followers the necessity of love to and conformity with Christ.(4) In the Lanark declaration, Renwick denounced the king for his shameful vices. "No other court in the world hath attained unto such a height of debauchery and depravedness."(5) And as in the world, so in the individual life, holiness is the prime necessity. It is not enough, Renwick declared, "to babble over two or three words at night and morning."(6) Who are the people of God, he asked; and his answer is a purely ethical one. "They who are righteous and live righteously. Now these who are righteous are these who have fled unto Christ and they indeed live righteously." These are they "who walk as he walked. They live righteously, beginning all things with God, referring all things to God." And this loyalty and obedience to God must be constant, — "not by fits and starts."(7)

In Renwick's correspondence, there is outlined a sound philosophy of Christian ethics. Every rational creature, he maintains, sets one thing or other before its eyes as "its main end and chief good;" and according to the man's disposition, so is the main end.

(1) Sermon in Carslaw's Life of Gargill, p.70-74.
(2) Ib., p.59.
(3) The Excommunication, Sermons in Times of Persagation, pp.498-501. This attitude to the sins of the rulers was in advance on the earlier position. Even Sir Jas. Stewart drew a distinction between "personal faults of governors" and "public miscarriages in point of government and in exercising the powers wherewith they are invested." - Jus Populi, p.402.
(4) ib, p.331.
(6) Renwick's Sermons, p.25.
(7) Ib. p.331.
(8) "Labour to know and find out wherein a man's chief happiness doth consist...Fix the heart in the belief of this that the enjoyment of God in Christ is our happiness"- Fraser, Select Biographies, II, p.372.
But the evil of the world arises from the fact that "it is but few who bend toward the true chief good, which is God Himself." So he bids his correspondent look at God as He is, "as the being of beings," and then as He is revealed in Christ "in His condescension, love, power, faithfulness and other properties." And when we do comprehend God and especially God as revealed in the Person of Christ, He will be the chief end. "Let us see Him and observe, and say "What have we to do any more with our idols." Those who embrace Christ are the "rich and happy." "Woe unto them that think they have no need of Christ," and to "them that would have Christ and their own something beside, for they have neither loved nor conceived rightly of Him. Woe unto them that make excuse for their not following of Him; for they know not their folly." But acceptance of Christ must be acceptance of the whole Christ. "Woe unto them that would divide Him and not take Him in all His offices" — prophet, priest and king — "for they have not learned Him." In one of his last sermons he drove this home more pointedly. Christ, he reiterated, cannot be divided. Many would accept him "as a priest to save them from their sins, but they cannot endure to receive him as a prophet to teach and lead them aright in his way and as a king to reign in and over them and to be subject to his laws." It is true that this "crosses their nature too much." But Christ must be accepted wholly or not at all. Love to Christ must be an abiding love — "not a flash and away again." Men must search into their souls, "searching to know what corruption is strongest and what grace is weakest;" seeking to have that corruption weakened and the grace strengthened. Love to Christ must manifest itself in hatred of sin; and Renwick is not content with speaking of sin in the abstract. He points out the incongruity of

(1) Life And Letters, pp.161-164.
(2) Ib., p.173.
(3) Renwick's Sermons, p.562.
(4) Ib., p.459.
(5) Ib., p.202. This emphasis on holiness was by no means confined to the leaders. Nisbet of Hardhill urged his children to "study holiness" in all their ways. (Select Biographies, II, p.407) John Stevenson, the Ayrshire land-labourer, gave as his last advice to "study perfect holiness"—Ib, p.476.
cursing and swearing with the profession of religion;'(1) and he specifically emphasises the urgency of having done with drunkenness and uncleanness, and "cheating and supplanting your neighbour". (2)

This emphasis on holiness was characteristic of the Cameronian party throughout. In a letter to the soldiers of Lord Angus' regiment, dated from Douglas, Lanarkshire, March 27, 1690, Michael Shields reminded the Society men who had enlisted in the regiment of the great need for holiness. The "sin, snare and danger of sinful associations" are held up as objects of fear, and the men are exhorted to remember their character "as a people more strict, zealous and religious" than others. "Let your light shine before men and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." The soldiers are specially urged to resist the peculiar temptations of military life - sinful and scandalous games, as cards and dice, duels and fighting, quarrelling "either among yourselves or with others," and above all, drunkenness, which "often occasions these unmanly and unchristian actions" is pointed out as a sin to be avoided. (3)

(ii) Renwick laid great stress on the danger of "going along with the known corruptions of the time." (4) There is no excuse for disloyalty to God because of the disloyalty of others; it is "juggling with God" to condone such as an "epidemical fault." (5) This question of the responsibility of the individual for compliance in corporate sin bulked very largely in the minds of the people, especially during the latter period of the struggle. The leaders were particularly exercised over it. To Brown, covenant-breaking was in itself a "dreadful

(1) Renwick's Sermons, p.331.
(2) Ib., p.477.
(3) Faithful Contendings, p.435. At an earlier date the general principle was - in the proposed regiment there should be severe punishment for unclean living and speech, cursing and swearing, drunkenness, etc. (Ib., p.400). "The holiness of life" of the Cameronian party specially impressed the sympathisers abroad. -(Brakel's Letter, 1682) (ib., p.33.)
(4) Renwick's Sermons, p.477.
(6) Even an obscure person like Mrs Goodall was thus exercised. "I have sadly smelt in having a hand in the present guilt of the nation. I always was conscious of my weakness and insufficiency" she confessed, while acknowledging that, by God's providence, she had been kept from "public steps of defection"— Select Biographies, II, P.488. Fraser traced this corporate sin to "men's desire to be neighbourly"—Sermon on Prejudice an Idol, p.2
It was the breaking of a solemn promise and a breach of the laws of truth. Though the whole land break the covenant, but one family, said John Guthrie of Tarbolton, that family is bound to stand to it. Acceptance of the indulgences with all that the indulgences implied was shown by Brown to be quite unjustifiable. The action of the indulged was essentially, in his view, anti-social and their "metaphysical abstractions" - justifications of their action, - neither Christian nor manly. McWard strongly condemned the proposal for an understanding with the indulged on the ground of the ungodliness of their action. And Cameron was even more severe in his condemnation of them. "Let them be godly men or be what they will, in this case they have not love to Christ in exercise." A similar viewpoint is shown by Brown in the Banders Disbanded. It was not merely inexpedient or unwise to take the bond which the Government offered; it was sinful. "I cannot see how such a liberty can without sin be embraced or bargained for." "That a sinful or iniquitous bond may be given with a good conscience, no conscientious man will affirm." And the bond is not only sinful: it is scandalous, giving ground or occasion for stumbling to others: and anti-social in its effects.

Still clearer was the issue raised by the imposition of the cess - a tax imposed for the express purpose of raising money to maintain a force to suppress conventicles. In one of the most cogent and convincing pieces of writing which has come down to us from the period, "A Testimony against paying the Cess to an unjust and unlawful Government of wicked Rulers," McWard showed that to yield obedience on the matter was sin. Payment of cess is personal or public concurrence

(1) Apologetical Relation, p.337. (2) Ib., p.347. (3) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.675. (4) History of the Indulgence in Faithful Witness-bearings Exemplified, pp.154-5. (5) Earnest Contendings, p.23. For this he was taken to task by the annalist Law, who had accepted the indulgence as a "hot-headed man, otherwise a man of parts and learning" who "having received misinformations of the state of our kirk here, kindled a great fire." - (Memorials, p.153.) (6) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.492. McWard also spoke of their disloyalty to Christ. - Earnest Contendings, p.28. (7) Banders Disbanded (McWard's Tracts, p.20). (8) Ib., p.42. (9) Ib., p.56 ff.
in waging and carrying on of this war against heaven. "(1) To pay the cess is to assist the government in the execution of their "hell-hatched and heaven-daring decrees, orders and laws;"(2) and the plea that it is payable by law is a "pitiful plea" which will not acquit before God the man who acquiesces in payment. (3) To do so is to choose sin in order to avoid suffering. (4) According to Renwick, the payment of fines is sin, - against God Himself and His work, against the godly, - even against enemies, for "it hardens their hearts and strengthens their hands in their wickedness." (5) One should be, said Shields, ready "to endure the worst this wicked world can make him suffer, ere he be found guilty in the matter of a compliance of that nature." (6)

(iii) It is noteworthy that, living as they did in an age of persecution, and emphasising as they did the necessity of holiness or loyalty to God, the later Covenanters avoided so successfully the peril of asceticism. It is true that there are traces to be found here and there of the spirit of other-worldliness. Such a spirit manifested itself when Fraser wrote of the world as "the great bar that hinders from Christ," (7) and when Michael Bruce described it as a "sinful vale of misery:" (8) when Ward expressed the view that one reason for the Divine permission of the persecution is that the sufferers may be hunted by the world's hatred "home to heaven:" (9) and when Cargill yearned wistfully for departure from earth and the "sweet rest" for those who seek after Christ. (10) But in general, though heaven is very real and immortality indeed the only quality which is precious in the soul, (11) yet to the Covenanters the world is God's

world. Life on earth is worth while; recreation and amusement had their place. It is recorded of Guthrie that "he used the innocent recreations and exercises which then prevailed, fishing, fowling, and playing on the ice, which at the same time contributed to preserve a vigorous health."(1) and that in the theory and practice of music he had "a more than ordinary dexterity." Blackadder, too, was at pains by occasionally participating in the mirth of his parishioners at Tro-quer "to teach them that cheerfulness is not incompatible with serious­ness; that piety has no necessary connection with an austere censor­ious temper."(2) The general attitude was not that life be narrowed, or man's activity circumscribed, but rather that holiness cover every part of life, including the "lawful use of every creature enjoyment and recreation."(3) Blackadder(4) and Pringle of Greenknowe(5) betray in their writings their keen delight in the beauty of the natural world.

Writing of the "new creature," Guthrie expressly pointed out the effect of conversion on recreation. The new creature "studies to make use of meat, drink, sleep, recreation, apparel, with an eye to God."(6) Renwick, in one of his lectures, went out of his way to state that he had no opposition to tobacco, provided there is moder­ation in its use, and that there is no smoking at public worship.(7) None of the prominent leaders of the Covenanters laid the least stress on remuneration as an end in itself. It is only "weights," said Wedderburn, which God calls on men to lay aside.(8) God, said Gargill, does not ask men to surrender anything that is lawful.(9) "I am al­lowing none," said Michael Bruce, "to quit his means or lands either, unless he be called upon it."(10) Nor is there any abstract virtue in self-sacrifice. Sir James Stewart brought to a focus the Covenant­ing attitude on this theme when he remarked that God never calls to

(1) Life of Guthrie. Dunlop, Select Biographies II, p. 50.
(3) Michael Bruce, Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 294.
(5) Select Biographies I, p. 237.
(7) Renwick's Sermons, p. 261.
(8) Believer's Privileges, p. 151.
(9) "Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 516.
(10) Ib., p. 318.
suffering "when He giveth a fair way of preventing it."(1) Certainly
the Covenanting emphasis on holiness and its fruits—sobriety, purity,
temperance, and loyalty to the cause of Christ—was free from the
element of asceticism which has, in so many cases, marred Roman Catho-
lic piety and morality.

II.(1) Just as the holiness of God bulked more prominently in the
thought of the time than the Divine love, so the urgency of holiness
is more emphatically insisted upon than the need for the spirit of
love. Nevertheless, the latter is by no means overlooked in the
literature of the time. Thus, Guthrie counselled his hearers to "lay
aside all passion and rancour at men."(2) They must "be denied" to
the injuries and wrongs allevied in the world, and he holds up Christ's
petition, "Father, forgive them," and Stephen's dying prayer, as ex-
amples to be followed.(3) He commended also charity in judgment of
others, characterising the spirit of jealousy as a "miserable evil."(4)
And the authors of the "Apology for Persecuted Ministers" spoke of
meekness, sobriety and judicious love, that speaks no evil, without
clear rational grounds," as "the great ornament of the professor of
Christianity."(5) And this spirit was to be world-wide in its range.

Among the subjects of prayer prescribed by Walter Smith, in the rules
for meetings which he drew up, were the reclamation of the Jews, the
enlightenment of the "poor Pagan world, living in black perishing
darkness without Christ and the knowledge of his name," the conversion
of Mohammedans and heretics—"that the blind may no more lead the
blind and go to hell wholesale, living and dying so."(6) Among the
reasons given for the general fast among the Cameronians in June 1688
was the lack of "sympathy with the sufferings of other churches, as
France, Hungary, and Piedmont."(7)

(1) Jus Populi Vindicatum, p.277.
(2) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.259.
(3) Ib., p.198.
(4) Ib., p.231.
(5) Apology for Persecuted Ministers, p.55.
(6) Six Saints of the Covenant, II, p.94.
(7) Faithful Contentions, p.342.
The Cameronians were indeed far from underestimating the urgent necessity of love as a Christian virtue. It fell, indeed, to Renwick to lead and direct an intractable minority, embittered by persecution and well-nigh goaded into violence. It would have been only natural if he had been carried even further than Cameron along the line of wrathful indignation and imprecation. His well-balanced mind, however, prevented that development. Throughout his leadership of the United Societies, Renwick's conception of God as a God of love first and foremost acted as a brake on the more stern and revengeful element in his Cameronian creed; and in one of his most important letters, he urged his correspondents not to become infected with the "sourness of others," maintaining that zeal should be accompanied by meekness "that you may be free from passion and prejudice. Let meekness be extended towards all persons and zeal against all sins."(1) His conception of the truly ethical life as bound up in the acceptance of Christ in his three offices of prophet, priest and king, led him to emphasise the necessity of dwelling not only in holiness but in love. "It is impossible for one child of God to hate another child of God."(2) The children of God ought to bear one another's burdens, and their love to one to another should make them faithfull to reprove and plead with one another in meekness and in love.(3) Even in the stress and strain of the Revolution period, Michael Shields in his letter to the Cameronians who had enlisted as soldiers in Lord Angus' regiment, advised them to "forbear and forgive one another. Be not of a revengeful, but of a gospel spirit."(3)

(ii) The controversies concerning the successive indulgences, the payment of cess and other public questions, occasioned much searching of heart and much plain speaking, and the controversialists of the period have been frequently charged not only with bigotry and intolerance, but also with lack of charity. But the attitude of the non-

(1) Life and Letters, p.167.
(2) The word "child of God" is ambiguous. It would seem, however, to exclude the persecutors.
(3) Faithful Contendings, p.433.
indulged - both moderates and extremists - towards those who had accepted the indulgence, was, though stern and uncompromising, still different in kind from their attitude towards the Government. They were still "brothers in Christ," though they had disowned the Covenanters and were guilty of disloyalty to Christ. Brown of Wamphray, possibly the doughtiest opponent of the indulgence, went out of his way to speak of his indulged brethren as "dear to his soul;" and he added, "I hope, though they should despise me and despitefully use me, shall be so." McWard too remarked that those who loved them dearly lamented the more over their defection, and spoke of his own honour and esteem for them.

Nevertheless, the position of the bulk of the non-indulged Presbyterians was admirably summed up by McWard in his discussion on love. Love to God must be "predominant and primary;" love to the brethren is "subordinate and secondary." And love and fear of the Almighty makes it necessary to withstand the indulged brethren in their course. Love to God and His precious interests must come first. McWard was far from minimising the difficult ethical problem thus raised. To see "brethren devour one another" is truly a sad sight. He confessed himself heartbroken - his soul "filled with bitterness and anguish" to observe such contentions among those who formerly enjoyed sweet communion with one another; and he was fully alive to the harmful effect of the "heat and hurry of debate" on the inner spiritual life. Yet he was resolute in his attitude. The indulged ministers by their action had betrayed the cause; they were responsible, by their action in accepting the indulgence, for the unhappy division.

(1) McWard, Earnest Contendings, p.223.
(2) Hist. of Indulgence (Epistle to Christian Reader) p.125.
(3) Earnest Contendings, p.110.
(4) Ib., p.218.
(5) Ib., p.84.
(6) Ib., p.80.
(7) Ib., p.57.
(8) Ib., p.252.
(9) Ib., p.66.
(10) Ib., pp.126 & 173.
ation from them. (1) Love to the indulged must be expressed by sharp rebukes and by taking such courses with them as to reclaim them from the error of their way. (2) They must present themselves as mourners for what they have done; (3) and apologies without repentance are of no avail. (4) Cameron stated frankly that he did not like those who were familiar with the "stated and avowed" enemies of Christ, (5) and he consistently preached separation from them. Even Blackadder, who represented the more moderate party, while counselling the avoidance of unnecessarily extreme positions, (6) implicitly declared that there must be repentance for compliance with Erastianism. (7)

After the Revolution, this attitude was maintained by a considerable section of the Cameronian party, who refused to enter the Revolution Church, on the ground that so many of its ministers had been indulged or had complied with prelacy. Alexander Shields, however, saw clearly that the issues had changed, and that with the Revolution a new situation had arisen. There are, he said, grounds necessitating conscientious people to withdraw from some church communion at all times; and there are other grounds "which will only justify withdrawing at some time." (8) He placed in the latter category the defections of the past. In his appeal to the Cameronians, he recalled this mind to the fact that "it is the great command to love our neighbour as oneself," and that "endeavours for union and concord among the lovers of truth are duties absolutely necessary." (9) "If there were more love, there would be more union and communion notwithstanding of differences." The supreme need, Shields pointed out, was reconciliation. "And if this reconciliation cannot be obtained any other way, there must be mutual forgiveness; not judiciary, to take away the

(1) Earnest Contendings, p. 299.  (2) Ibid., p. 292.
(3) Ibid., p. 399.  (4) Ibid., p. 322.
(5) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 403.
(7) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p. 208
(8) Inquiry into Church Communion, p. 24
(9) Ibid., p. 4.
guilt, that is God's prerogative; but charitative, which must be extended to many more offences and trespasses than are confessed and acknowledged to us." (1) After all, there is another duty as well as contending for truth,—that is, seeking peace. "The want of peaceableness as well as the want of truth will make our salt to lose its savour." (2) Peace must be pursued and followed even when it seems to flee away and difficult to be obtained. (3)

(iii) In his tract entitled "The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water," McWard proposed a still more searching question than that of the attitude to be taken up towards the weaker brethren. "What should be our carriage," he asked, "in regard to enemies?" The souls of enemies, he said, are precious, and he counselled prayer for them even "while they stretch forth their hands against you. Study ye this blessed revenge of good will; lift up your heart, with your hands unto God in heaven; that the spirit of repentance be given them." (4) Livingstone went perhaps further: "Forget not Christ's command to love your enemies," he wrote from Rotterdam to his flock at Ancrum in 1671, "and pray for them that persecute you;" and he pointed out the essential distinction between zeal and "carnal anger and bitterness." (5) And again "You would think it," he said in a sacramental discourse, "a strange thing to see a man coming to thrust you through with a sword; but truly though it were so you ought to go to death with the prayer, 'Good Lord, spare the life of him that woundeth me!'" (6) And Gabriel Semple, preaching in the parish of Kilbride in 1679, advised his hearers to pray for those in darkness in the north of Scotland and particularly for the Highland Host. "I think the Highland Host, that lately came from thence among you, might draw prayers from you." (7) These words were spoken at a time when the clansmen had just left the district,

(1) Enquiry into Church Communion, p. 5.
(2) Ib., p. 7.
(3) Ib., p. 8.
(4) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, McWard's Tracts, p. 204.
(5) Select Biographies I., p. 253.
(6) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 629.
(7) Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p. 131.
after much plunder and rapine.

The "great Marquis" of Argyll studied to die "as a Christian," and in accordance with this profession he pardoned all men in his speech from the scaffold, James Guthrie forgave all men the guilt of his death. Johnston of Warriston on the scaffold forgave his executioner. And these earlier and more notable examples established a precedent which was followed by the later and more obscure sufferers; especially during the earlier period. The testimonies of those who suffered after the Pentland rising are illustrative of the importance attached to the forgiving spirit during this earlier period. Hugh McKail freely pardoned all who were concerned in his execution and he was not alone in thus studiously following the example of Christ. During the whole period of the persecution, many of the martyrs, before they died, freely forgave their enemies.

As the persecution increased in intensity, the attitude to enemies became mixed up with the wider questions of the lawfulness of resistance or rebellion, and the legitimacy of assassination as reprisal for persecution. On this question there were differences even among the moderate Covenanters. The position of Blackadder was essentially that of "passive resistance." Believing that the times called for a testimony through suffering rather than outward deliverance, he deprecated the presence of arms at conventicles. "Trust rather in Jehovah and the shield of omnipotence" was his advice; and while not hindering any from taking up arms whose consciences were clear, he took no personal part in either of the risings. Fraser saw no call to arms and preached against rebellion. Still higher ground was taken by the less prominent Pringle of Greenknowe, who objected to war in itself. On the other hand, Welch though essentially

(2) Ib., p.155-157.
(3) Ib., p.194.
(4) Ib., p.561.
(5) Testimonies of the Scots Worthies, p.112.
(6) Thus Captain Arnot (ib., p.94) Alexander Robertson (p.99) and John Neilson (p.102) all forgave their judges and executioners.
(7) Memoirs, 1st ed., p.211.
(8) Ib., p.186-139.
(9) Select Biographies II, p.326.
(10) Ib., pp.431-2. He advised his sons to embrace any other
It was left to Brown to present in theoretical and logical dress the case for armed rebellion and defensive war in general. "He appealed from the higher to the lower. "It is necessary by the law of Nature that a man defend his life. And the reason is because God hath implanted in every creature inclinations and motions to preserve itself." Men are bound to love themselves better than their neighbours, for the love of themselves is the measure of that love which they owe to their neighbour. The law of nature alloweth one rather to kill than to be killed and to defend himself more than his neighbour."\(^{(1)}\) Suggestively, Brown went to the Old Testament and the classical writers for corroboration of this attitude, and his appeals to the New Testament were few. Unlike Blackadder and Fraser, he had no scruple concerning rebellion. He described the Pentland Rising as a laudable enterprise.\(^{(2)}\)

From this view that one loves himself better than his neighbour, which is certainly a degree below the ethic of Jesus, it was easy to pass from the justification of rebellion to the justification of assassination. After Bothwell, a new ethical question of first-class importance emerged — in how far were the suffering Covenanters justified in retaliation? If the Covenanters were liable to be arrested and hurried to the scaffold, were they justified in repaying their persecutors in kind? James Mitchell, who attempted the life of Sharp, was actually the first to defend the taking of life not on the field of battle, but by private individuals. This talented and promising young man proved from selected parts of the Old Testament, in the course of his defence of his attempt, that "it is the duty of every Christian, to the utmost of his power and capacity, to destroy and cut off both idolatry and idolaters," and he specifically maintained that the persecuting prelates should be "put to death."\(^{(3)}\)

P.116. lawful employment rather than be soldiers - an unusual position for the seventeenth century.

P.117.
(1) Apologetical Relation, p.163.
(2) Testimonies of Scots Worthies, p.156.
(3) Id., p.165.
In a modified form, this attitude of Mitchell's became that of the Cameronians. "Should we not love our enemies?" Cameron asked, "True," he replied, "we should love our enemies, but as they are the stated enemies of Christ, and going on in a state of enmity and defection from him, they are more than our enemies." As they are enemies to Christ, we should hate and abhor them." He went beyond the position of abstract hatred. "Are there none," he asked, "to execute justice and judgment on these wicked men who are both treacherous and tyrannical? The Lord is calling men of all ranks and stations to execute judgment upon them. And if it be done, we cannot but justify the deed, and such are to be commended for it as Jael was. "Blessed above all women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be." Shields gave a theoretical support to this attitude in his discussion of the "extraordinary execution of judgment by private men". This cannot be "reduced to any case that can infer the guilt of murder;" therefore it cannot be condemned but justified. Thus he speaks of the assassins as "several worthy gentlemen, and some other men of courage and zeal for the cause of God." At the same time, Shields was at pains to point out that the exemplary punishment of only "some select and expressly distinguished kind of notorious villains, men of death and blood" could be possibly justified, and even then he strongly repudiated the charge against the Cameronians of owning assassinating principles. Not only did he repudiate such an accusation; he made it plain that even rebellion was only a last resort. "We do not think it the way that Christ has appointed, to propagate religion by arms. ..... But we think it a privilege which Christ has allowed us, to defend and preserve our religion by arms." The rank and file of the Cameronians perhaps did not share Shield's scruples, theoretically at least. Patrick Walker, who as a

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(1) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.403.
(2) Ib., p.415. Herkless maintains that Cameron was preaching only civil war, not assassination. - Richd. Cameron, p.107.
(3) A Hind Let Loose, p.457. It is interesting to know that Blackadder at the very close of his career, during his examination before the Council, strongly condemned assassination. Memoirs, 1st ed., p.275.
(4) A Hind Let Loose, p.287.
(5) Ib., p.379.
(6) Ib., p.412.
young man, was concerned in the shooting of a debauched and brutal soldier, had no regrets for his action. His heart, he related, long afterwards, never smote him for this. He, of course, regarded himself as a soldier in arms against the enemies of God, for it has to be borne in mind that by the terms of the Sanquhar Declaration the Cameronians had declared war on the government. Every government agent was looked upon as an enemy, and in the Declaration of 1684 the United Societies, while declaring their detestation and abhorrence of "that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment and persuasion from us," threatened to punish the emissaries of the government, according to the degree of their offence. There is evidence to show that Renwick strongly opposed the publication of a threatening paper, but, according to Wodrow, he was "forced to go in with them to keep peace as far as might be among themselves"—contenting himself with softening the declaration.

Despite the theoretical justification of retaliation and even of assassination, two historic facts bear testimony that among the great mass of the Covenanters—Cameronians as well as Moderates—the ethical ideals were of a high order and were potent in controlling the feelings of natural resentment and hatred, which enter into the souls of men, during a period of brutal oppression.

The first of these is that assassinations were few. Sharp was the only prominent man who met his death at the hands of his opponents, and the deed was unpremeditated. One or two curates and several soldiers lost their lives during the hottest part of the persecution. When it is borne in mind that hundreds were shot in the fields and executed on the scaffold, this fact is eloquent. Only the power of a genuine religious ethic could have brought about such a re-

(1) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p. 354.
(2) Society People's Declaration, Wodrow IV, pp. 148-149.
(3) Wodrow IV, p. 150. Renwick put little trust in arms, and did not believe that deliverance would come that way—Sermons, p.
(4) Wodrow gave the number of assassinations as "four or five.
In a few months' time, he said, there were twenty times that number cut off "by people upon the other side"—III, p. 53
The second fact is that when the Revolution came and the Presbyterians became the masters of the situation, they used their newly-found power with much moderation. Even the party of the extreme left - the Cameronians - behaved with much restraint. A meeting of the United Societies convened in Sanquhar on Jan 23rd 1689, "perceiving that some was too bent to take redress of these wrongs rashly at their own hand, in doing whereof some disomsers might be committed whereby the cause, their brethren and themselves would suffer reproach, for preventing whereof they thought it expedient that such persons as were in the foreaid caes, should not at their own hand take redress: seeing there were now some hopes of getting these and other things redressed in a legal and orderly manner."

This manifesto practically put a stop to the process of "rabbling the curates" which had been commenced just after the Revolution in the south-western shires. Yet this rabbling, of which so much has been made by historians of Royalist sympathies, was accompanied by little or no bodily harm to the curates. Patrick Walker, who belonged to the militant wing of the Cameronians and who as a young man took part in these rabblings, declared long afterwards that he had many times since "thought that all who put their hands to that good work ought to be thankful that there fell not something out in our hands to make us ashamed and our names contemptible, all things considered, especially what they had been and done and that the reins were now laid upon our necks to do what we pleased and yet nothing was done by us to any, but what we might avow." That this was so is the strongest testimony to the existence of the restraining force of a genuinely ethical religion.

(1) Faithful Contendings, p. 317.
(2) Dodds, Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters, p. 390.
(3) Six Saints of the Covenant, I, p. 321-322.
VIII.

Social Ethics.

The Covenanters have been adversely criticised by historians and writers of various schools of thought for their alleged interference in politics. They have been accused of political preaching, and of dabbling in affairs of state. If such was the case—and such assertions are usually exaggerated—the circumstances of the time compelled the adoption of a political policy. The persecution of the Covenanters was, as has been noted, first and foremost a political persecution, and both the Moderate Covenanters and those of the more extreme school had necessarily a policy called forth by the circumstances of the time. Like other Calvinists they had a certain conception of the right ordering of the world, and a certain idea of the line of action which should be followed in view of the circumstances of the times; and in times of stress and strain, as long ago as the days of the prophets of Israel, and as recently as 1914–1918—preaching tends to become more or less coloured by current events and the dividing-line between politics and religion becomes less and less distinctive.

The general principle underlying the policy of the Covenanting leaders was set forth at the beginning of the persecution by John Livingstone just before his ejection from Ancrum. Dealing with the view that should not "hazard himself and his ministry" by speaking some things which he should have left alone, he asked, "What needs him do so? Faith and repentance, let him preach these. Truly, we think that well: faith and repentance we think very comprehensive duties; and I confess, I never delight to hear a man that the most part of all his preaching is what we call on the publick and to meddle with state matters. But there are times and seasons wherein a man's silence may bring a curse upon his head." (1) The representative leaders of the

(1) Vide Section II.
(2) Substance of a Discourse by Mr. John Livingstone, Select Biographies, I, p.207. At the close of the persecution, Shields criticised the plea for individual preaching in similar terms, Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.594.
Covenants believed the times and seasons in which they lived to be of such a nature. Only in "a clear exigence," McWard maintained, were public matters to be meddled with. But, he asked, "are public matters transacted without private men's accession? Or in this accessory, has conscience no concernment?" And in reply to the charge that public policy does not concern the souls of men, he sarcastically exclaimed, "O the rare temper of this new device, that both inwardly elevates to the highest spiritual abstraction, and outwardly smooths to a most easy temporising compliance."(1) It is therefore plain that to these men politics was no mere game; rather they conceived politics as social ethics, the working-out in the national life of the ideas which they held of God and of man's relation to Him.

As outlined in the second section, the chief political factor in Britain in the seventeenth century was the effort of the Crown, supported by the Royalist party, to drive to its logical conclusion the absolutist theory of the state. The circumstances of the time provided the Crown first in the earlier decades of the century, and, secondly, in the later, with an unrivalled opportunity. In both cases, the Crown found the Kirk the only effective rallying-ground in Scotland of the forces of opposition. In the first period, Charles I had contrived to alienate the nobles as well as the clergy and the joint protest of both classes found expression in the National Covenant. In the second period, Charles II had the nobles on his side, and a considerable number of the ministers unwilling to oppose him; but an organised opposition nevertheless existed in the outed ministers, who formed what has been called the "church in the fields."(2)

To the absolutist theory of the state these men and their supporters were able to oppose their doctrine of the church, which carried with it an attitude to the State. The doctrine of the visible church had been brought from Geneva by John Knox, and had been developed during the struggles during the reign of James VI by Melville and

(1) The True Nonconformist, p.61.
(2) C.J.McCrie, The Church of Scotland, her Divisions and Reunions, p.22.
others, and in the earlier Covenanting period by Henderson, Gillespie, and the chief leaders of the Kirk. Possibly this doctrine was unique.

I. In some respects it bore closer affinity to the Roman doctrine than that accepted by the Erastian or sectarian communities. The Kirk was not merely the Church of Scotland; it was the representative in Scotland of the Church universal. For the Reformers, as already noted, practically took over from the Romanists the idea of catholicity, and the earlier Covenanting writers maintained this position. The true Catholic Church was world-wide; and from this the Roman hierarchy had separated, "as the rotten wall maketh the schism in the house, when the house standeth still and the rotten wall falleth."(1) The Scottish churchmen did not "unchurch" the Romanists, recognising among them many representatives of true Christianity.(2)

The doctrine of the visible church in the period of persecution was well summarised by Brown. The Catholic Church, he said, "hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible. And particular churches, which are members thereof are more or less pure according as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered and public worship performed, more or less purely in them." Yet, he added, "the purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error, and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan."(3) There is only one church in the world, maintained Brown, of which all churches are members in particular. "And though in their particular meetings, they have a nearer communion with those who are part of the given meeting, yet they have a potential and remoter communion with all the members of the visible church."(4)

(1) Rutherford, Peaceable and Temperate Plea, p.122.
(2) Rev. J. Macpherson, Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology, p.113. Rutherford stated indeed that the Roman Church was not to be compared to a dead man, but rather to a sick and dying man. It is interesting to note that despite the animosity against Rome, baptism by Roman priests was recognised as valid by early Scottish theologians, inasmuch as the Roman Church was a branch of the visible church.
(3) Ib., p.102.
Renwick and Shields emphasised the distinction between "a joining which we may call catholic or universal among Christians considered as such, and an ecclesiastical joining among members of one particular organical church, considered as members of that church."

They affirm that there could be union with "Christians holding the same fundamentals."(1) They were at pains indeed to show that they did not unchurch members of the Roman church as such. "If we were in Africa or Asia," Shields explicitly stated, "we would join with all Christians holding the same testimony against Jews, Turks, or Pagans."

There is, of course, a still closer union among all Protestants, and within this, among those bound together by Covenant.(3)

Thus the Scottish Kirk was viewed as no mere isolated organisation; there could be no question of regarding it simply as the nation on its religious side. The United Societies, during the discussion concerning the ministerial status of James Renwick, authoritatively stated that "the church of Groningen did not make him a minister of the Church of Scotland, but they ordained him a minister of Christ and steward of the mysteries of God; a minister of the church universal - which is the primary relation of all ministers - a minister in any church whereof he was a member, and so consequently in Scotland."(4) And it was simply as "a minister of Jesus Christ"(5) a minister of the universal church, that Cargill, at the Torwood, passed the sentence of excommunication on the rulers of the Kingdom.

Shields' defence of Cargill's action was in itself suggestive. He cited the example of Ambrose in excommunicating Valentinian the tyrant and the Emperor Theodosius, thus indicating that in his opinion the representative of the Catholic Church in Scotland stood on exactly the same footing and could lawfully exercise the same powers as a bishop of the old Catholic Church.(6)

(2) Enquiry into Church Communion, p.37.
(3) Deformatory Vindication, p.163.
(4) Faithful Contendings, p.238.
II. There could therefore be no point, in the eyes of the thorough-going Cameronier, in the charge of schism which was levelled against them. Even the Cameronian party stoutly denied the accusation that they had separated from the church in Scotland. Brown, who was the founder of theoretical Cameronism, laid it down that "those who separate from the worst and greatest part do not notwithstanding remain a part of and a part in the visible Church. ..... Though people should withdraw from communion with the greatest part of the church which is now corrupted, they cannot be accounted separatists."¹

Michael Shields was careful to point out that the United Societies did not at any time consider their general meetings to be "ecclesiastical judiciatories."² They did not, said Renwick and Shields, constitute a church, but had been called into being only by the exigencies of the times.³ The separation from the "Scottish Covenanted Church" was but a negative separation — "passively considered in our being left alone at first in the time of our greatest straits and forsaken by the rest."⁴

III. Over and above this idea of catholicity, was the doctrine of the Headship of Christ, the necessary coping-stone of the edifice. Here, of course, was a fundamental difference between Scottish Protestantism and Romanism. In the Scottish view, Christ was the only Head of the Church, and the Pope was no vicegerent, but a usurper, even more vehemently the Covenanters dissented from the Erastian view which made the civil magistrate the head of the branch of the church in any given nation. "Thus it fell out in England," observed Moward, "after the Reformation, that the same, if not a more exorbitant power taken from the Pope was transferred and settled upon the Crown."⁵ The papacy was still retained, only the person was changed "from the Pope to the King."⁶ And this was more odious still, "the Pope being

¹ Apologetical Relation, p.292.
² Faithful Contendings, pp.7-8.
³ Informatory Vindication, Head IV.
⁴ Ib., p.79.
⁵ The True Nonconformist, p.471.
⁶ Ib., p.467.
at least in show a Church man. Erastianism was equally with Popery an encroachment of the rights of the Redeemer. "Jesus Christ himself and not the civil magistrate is the author and fountain of church power and government. (2) The kingdom of Christ "is another kingdom than the kingdoms of this world; for wherever Christ has a church, there is a kingdom. .... Sometimes one of the kingdoms of the world joins itself unto the church. (3) It was, of course, obvious that the church of Christ must enter into relations of some kind with the state in the various kingdoms of the world; and the theorists of the time visualised a friendly alliance of church and state. Sir James Stewart, who wrote the introduction to "Naphtali", while rebutting the argument of the "absurdity and inconsistency of two collateral and co-ordinate supreme powers and government in one kingdom," maintained that church and state so far from being hurtful are, if rightly managed, "singularly helpful to one another.\(^\) It was, indeed, a favourite opinion that the civil magistracy was ordained by God as creator and the church by God in and through Christ as Redeemer. (5) And the bias of the thought of the time was towards viewing the civil magistrate as deserving of all honour and obedience in matters civil, ministers being subject to him politically. Even the Cameronian Shields laid it down that "the fountain or efficient cause of magistracy is high and sublime." "The powers that are, be of God, not only by the all-disposing hand of God in His providence, as tyranny is; not only by way of naked approbation, but by divine institution.\(^\) (6)

1. The principle of the Headship of Christ over a universal church, existing independently of the state, produced first and foremost an attitude not only to the state but to pretensions of rank and power in general, which was confirmed and strengthened by the dissolute lives of the King and the chief rulers of the kingdom. It tended to a

\(^{(1)}\) True Nonconformist, p. 471.
\(^{(2)}\) Naphtali, p. 36.
\(^{(3)}\) Blackadder, sermon in appendix to Faithful Contending, p. 94.
\(^{(4)}\) Naphtali, p. 36.
\(^{(5)}\) Ib, p. 36; Shields, A Hind Let Loose, p. 173.
\(^{(6)}\) A Hind Let Loose, p. 191.
virile belief in human equality, and as a by-product, to championship of the rights of the poor and oppressed. All men are equal, said Sir James Stewart, "and none over another by name;" for no man is born "with a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand." (1) Kings remain "men of the like passions and infinities with the rest - yea, and subject to more temptations." (2) And Shields remarked scornfully that "the institution of monarchy in general does not make James Stewart a king no more than John Chamberlain." (3) Livingstone spoke of the king as a "mortal creature;" (4) Welch declared that "the poorest man or woman that has an interest in Christ, however contemptible here, shall sit above kings, queens, princes, dukes, marquises, earls and lords of the earth: may more, they shall be assessors with Jesus Christ in judgment." (5) Blackadder, himself of aristocratic lineage, referred scathingly and with a touch of irony to the "great folk" and their disdain to Christ's kingdom. (6) Guthrie explicitly stated, at the very beginning of the persecution that Christ gave himself for "very few great folk." "The great folk cannot endure to have Christ and his people in the land." (7) Welwood, too, handles the nobility and gentry with great freedom, not only for their compliance with apostasy and their bad example, but "for their oppression of the poor and racking of rents." (8) Cameron specifically asserted the equality of men whatever their class. "Great men should not despise poor folk, though there were a great difference between them." The great men are "no more in Christ's sight then the poorest beggar that goes on the ground." (9) And in another connection, Cargill goes out of his way to show his sympathy for the poor, bidding the "man of low degree" to rejoice. (10) Walker gives another instance of Cargill's hostility to the landowning class as a whole. (11) The Covenanting cause, said Sir James Stewart, fared better "without the concurrence of nobles." (12)

II. This attitude to the so-called higher class was indicative of the general position taken up towards constituted authority. To begin with, there was little or no loyalty to the state as such: loyalty was conditional and subordinate to morality, and there was no abstract conception of the state as apart from the government of the day, such as developed within the last two centuries. Sir James Stewart, the great legal mind of the Covenanting movement, laid down what may almost be called a forecast of the modern idea of national self-determination. Even as the form of the state is a matter for settlement by practical considerations, so is the size and extent of the state. It is an open question whether people living at some considerable distance from one another, or more contiguously, should join together in one and make up one body politic; or whether they should erect more distinct and independent commonwealths, though possibly of the same extract and language. Nature sayeth not that all in one island, of one extract or of one language, should become one political body under one political head. For the state, in Stewart's reasoning, is simply a means to an end; and this end which they intend as men must be their continued peace and tranquility, freedom from oppression from strangers or one from another, and the like; and as Christians the glory of God, the good of religion and of their souls. And as there was no loyalty to an abstract ideal of the state, so loyalty to the king was very qualified. Stewart argued that there was no particular reason, except a practical one, for the preference of the hereditary to the elective principle, or of monarchy to republicanism. Originally and radically the king is chosen by the people; the king and his subjects are bound by covenant one to another. Just as in all other relations which arise from mutual consent, such as those between man and wife, master and servant, tutor and pupil, master and
scholar, there are conditions on which the relationship is founded. And when the sovereign does not perform the conditions "condescended and agreed upon, de jure he falleth from his sovereignty". (I) And from this idea of a covenant, Stewart concluded that, even as early as the first decade of the Restoration regime, Charles II, by repudiating the Covenant, had broken the contract in virtue of which he had been called to the throne. (2)

Of course, reasoning of this kind was not new in Scotland. In the earlier stages of the Covenanting movement, such views had been openly promulgated. Robert Douglas, in preaching the sermon at Scone on the occasion of the coronation of Charles II in 1651, had decreed the royal power to be limited by contract. Rutherford, in his classic, "Lex Rex" had affirmed that power is not an inheritance from heaven bestowed upon kings, but a birthright of the people borrowed from them; and it is common knowledge that Rutherford was in great measure indebted to George Buchanan, whose "De Jure Regni" had in the sixteenth century roused the ire of James VI. (3) It is perhaps not without significance that Buchanan had in his early days studied under John Major, who, though no Protestant, held strong views on the limitation of kingly power, which were not improbably connected with the old Catholic view of the visible Church, which was in itself fatal to the conception of regal absolutism. "Everything indeed that Buchanan himself has said regarding the royal prerogative in Scotland" as the late Professor Hume Brown pointed out "Major said before him with the great bluntness and directness that marks his style". "As it was the people who first made kings" said Major "so the people can dethrone them when they misuse their privileges". He went even further than this. "As it is for the benefit of the whole body that an unhealthy member be removed, so is it for the welfare of the state that a tyrant be cut off." (5)

(1) Just Populi Vindicatuum, p.112  (2) ib, p. 140
(3) Gormanation sermon, reprinted in The Covenants and the Covenanters, p.364.
(4) It is significant that De Jure Regni was burned with Lex Rex
(5) Quoted by Hume Brown, George Buchanan, p. 281. see also Mackwen, Hist. of Ch. in Scot., III, p. 5; Lives of Eminent Scotmen, III, pp. 54-55; McGregor's Life of Knox, pp 4-5.
Thus even during the exuberant loyalty of 1660, a radical idea of the state and democratic attitude to kingship was by no means unfamiliar to thinking men. And to large numbers, Charles II himself was suspect. The fact that he had signed the Covenant might reassure the ignorant and simple-minded; it did not allay the suspicions in the minds of the leaders, and especially of the Protesters, that the Covenant would be broken. Another important factor in sapping respect for authority was the notorious dissoluteness of Charles' personal life and of the lives of his Scottish officers of state.

Nevertheless, in the earlier period the Covenanting leaders did not drive their own theories to their logical conclusion. They had apparently resolved to walk warily, and one cannot but be struck by their temperateness and studied moderation. The petition of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to Parliament in 1661, while supplicating for the establishment, maintenance and defence of the true religion, was almost sycophantic in tone. In the following year, the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright, while more assertive, humbly beseeched Parliament to give a "favourable answer" to just, reasonable and necessary desires: and the petition closed with expressions of loyalty. Six ministers, signing an explication of the sense in which they took the oath of allegiance, went as far as they could in the way of conciliation, acknowledging the king as the only lawful supreme governor, admitting that "his sovereignty reacheth all persons and all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil," — but adding the qualification, —"albeit it be in its own nature only civil and extrinsic as to causes ecclesiastical." McWard was summoned before Parliament for his alleged seditious sermon in Glasgow, in which he boldly declared that sin had been made national "by precept and practice." In his supplication to Parliament, McWard went out of his way to declare his loyalty.

(1) Hugh McKail's attitude was exceptional at the time, and his language unusually outspoken. His reference to the people of God as persecuted by "a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church" was generally accepted as an attack on the king and his government. Naphtali, p.256.
(2) Wodrow I, pp.112-113.
(3) Ib., p.254-255.
(4) Ib., p.295.
He pledged himself indeed to carry himself "as a loyal subject, abstaining from all things that might look like a shadow of reflection upon his majesty's person and government:" but after this almost fulsome profession of loyalty, he added the important qualification that he purposed "giving to God the things that are God's and to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

(1) The moderate party contented themselves with asserting the negative aspect of their view of the state, — which meant in effect the right of the individual conscience to obey God rather than man. "Materially, virtually, and eminently," said Livingstone, "he obeys his Master when he obeys the light of his own conscience, so far as he can attain to a clearness in it."(2) Thus Blackadder maintained in his examination before the Council that he was under the strictest obligation to exercise his ministry, whatever acts of parliament had been passed, his commission being "from the Word of God."(3) "We are met this day," said John Welch, at a communion at Maybole in 1678, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the king and head of His church. These meetings, ye know, are forbidden by authority, but there is one greater than they that commands the contrary of what they command, and His command must be obeyed."(4) This sense of a direct relation to and responsibility to God impelled these men to refuse and condemn the various indulgences which were offered from time to time. The state, they perceived, had no business either to prohibit a man from exercising his ministry, nor to grant him permission; the power of the Crown in these matters was usurped power. Thus Blackadder declared that embracing the indulgence was "too like compliance with the supremacy" — admitting the existence of a right which was non-existent.(5) The bond was condemned on similar grounds.(6)

(2) Select Biographies, I, p.211.
(3) Chrichton, Memoirs of Blackadder, p.295 (1st ed.).
(4) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.643.
(6) Sanders Disbanded, p.25.
In harmony with this negative attitude, the resistance of the Covenanters in the earlier period was a passive resistance. The Bentland Rising does not disprove this; for it was a mere accident, having as origin a local riot. Later on it became customary to carry arms to conventicles, - a practice which Blackadder strongly deprecated, counselling his hearers on more than one occasion to put little trust in weapons of war. (1) That Welch was less pacific than Blackadder is evident from his presence in the camp both at Rullion Green and Bothwell, but on the latter occasion he was there as a moderating influence, anxious to avoid bloodshed and not unwilling to negotiate to that end.

(ii) By the time of the Bothwell rising, a sharp division of opinion had arisen not only as to the indulgence, but also in regard to active resistance and revolution. The difference is seen in the two declarations issued at Hamilton and at Rutherglen. The moderates still owned allegiance to the king as civil ruler, while strenuously denying his supremacy and his right to grant an indulgence. Even Sir James Stewart, in his defence of the Bentland rising, had distinguished between resisting the "very person of the magistrate" (meaning the king himself) and "resisting his bloody emissaries." (2) And he is careful to deny the charge that the Covenanters are out to "punish" even wicked kings. Their aim is only to resist their unjust violence. (3) But they were outwardly loyal. The authors of the Plea for Persecuted Ministers, written in 1677, while threatening to refer their cause to the righteous tribunal of the just and almighty God, addressed the most noble and honourable lords of his majesty's secret council" in a deferential and respectful tone. In the Hamilton declaration, in the drafting of which Welch took a leading part, the appeal to arms is spoken of as a "last remedy." Sir James Stewart, while vindicating active resistance from grounds of reason and

(1) Memoirs of Blackadder, pp.211, 230-231.
(3) Ib., p.360.
Scripture, does so only "when neither flying nor hiding nor other such like means of safety are practicable." Loyalty was professed, any desire to diminish the king's "just power and greatness" was repudiated, and a free and unlimited Parliament and a free Assembly was demanded. The Rutherglen declaration breathed the spirit of defiance. Its authors not only read it at the Cross; they publicly burned copies of the various reactionary acts of Parliament since 1660.

This attitude of open defiance and active resistance was not new. It was a logical development from the Covenanting doctrine of the Church, and its corollary, of the State. It was outlined as early as 1685 by Brown of Wamphray. Defeating the Covenanters against the charge of sedition, Brown said, "There is a great difference between active disobeying of, rebelling against and violently, with force of arms, resisting the lawful magistrate doing his duty and commanding just things warranted by the laws of God and the land, and disobeying his unjust acts and resisting his violent, tyrannical, oppressing, plundering, spoiling and killing armies." Thus the legitimacy of active resistance was made to depend on the moral standing of the civil power. In a truly Christian commonwealth all laws should be "for the glory of God and the good of the souls of the subjects mainly, and for their external well-being only in subordination unto these great ends." Thus obedience to rulers was strictly subordinate to morality; and by rulers Brown meant not only kings but parliaments, the members of which he defined as "trustees intrusted by the people

(1) Jus Populi Vindicatum, p.259.
(2) Wodrow III, pp.94-95.
(3) Jus Populi, p.69.
(4) Jus Populi Vindicatum, p.259.
(7) Banders Disbanded (Tracts) p.84.
whose commissioners they are."\(^1\) Stewart, writing from the legal as much as from the religious point of view, expressed himself even more strongly. Kings have no lordly or domimative power over their subjects.\(^2\) They are not even proprietors of their kingdoms. Their power is properly only "a fiduciary power."\(^3\) And what is true of kings is equally true of parliaments, which are not themselves founders of power. The parliaments are merely the people's representatives. "Why then shall the perfidy of the people's representatives or their betraying of their trust, wrong their cause and prejudice them of their just right: ..... It is as lawful for an offended people to defend themselves from the injuries of a parliament as from the injuries of a sovereign, if not more.\(^4\) No form of government is sacrosanct. Government may be either monarchical or aristocratic or democratic, or a blend of all three: for though God and nature hath instituted government, yet not having determined any one form to be the only lawful form, people are at liberty to walk here on rational grounds and consult their own advantage. "\(^5\) So it followeth that it is merely from the people that this form and not another is made choice of.\(^6\)

At all events, whether by absolute king or by parliament, the invasion of Christ's prerogative was not to be tolerated, and to the Covenanters as a whole, Charles II, in assuming the supremacy, played the part of a usurper. "What address is possible," asked McWard, "to him who is thus set down in the Mediator's chair of state and wears his crown in our sight, without sin."\(^7\) McWard in another place spoke of Charles as "the usurper seated in the throne of Christ" the most absolute usurper of that throne "that ever the world heard of."\(^8\) Further, Charles "that usurper" was characterised as "that

\(^1\) Apologetical Relation, p.57.  
\(^2\) Jus Populi Vindicatum, p.146.  
\(^4\) Ib., p.39.  
\(^5\) Ib., p.83.  
\(^6\) Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Tracts, p.208.  
\(^7\) Earnest Contendings, p.33.  
\(^8\) Ib., p.131.
stated enemy to Christ," (1) whose supremacy was a betrayal of religion and a defiance of heaven. (2)

The logical outcome of this theoretical position was the attitude actually taken up by Cargill and Cameron and their followers. Cargill, while reiterating the view that loyalty is not unconditional but dependent on the moral character of kings and governors, (3) denounced Charles not only as a tyrant, but for his uncleanness, his drunkenness and his perjury. (4) Cameron spoke of the king as an abominable person, (5) the devil's vicegerent, (6) "one of the most vile adulterers that live." (7) Renwick spoke as freely of James VII, as the sworn vassal of Antichrist; (8) and Shields characterised the same prince as a monster of tyranny and perfidy. (9)

(iii) The logical outcome of this attitude was the repudiation of allegiance to such governors, and this was done in the Queensferry Paper, found in the possession of Henry Hall of Haughwaft at his apprehension, and though unsigned, generally conceded to be in the main the work of Cargill. This document is of importance as marking the final stage in the Covenanting thought on the subject. While others had shown that the king had broken the social contract, that he was ethically unfitted to receive the obedience of his subjects, and that kings might be deposed, the authors of the paper draw the obvious inference and definitely withdrew allegiance. After deciding that the House of Stewart could not be trusted, they proceeded to reject the king and to practically establish a community of their own—a kind of state within the state. In the outline of this new state, the authors of the paper declared against hereditary monarchy altogether, "government by a single person being most liable to inconveniences, and aptest (10) to degenerate into tyranny, as sad and long experience hath taught us."

(1) Earnest Contendings, p. 174.
(2) Ib., p. 334. — "Religion-betraying and heaven-defying supremacy."
(3) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 493.
(4) The Excommunication, Ib., p. 499.
(5) Ib., p. 411.
(6) Ib., p. 424.
(7) Ib., p. 409.
(8) Renwick's Sermons, p. 575.
(9) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p. 595.
The new commonwealth was to be a kind of republic, its laws modelled on the laws of ancient Israel.

The Paper closed with an ultimatum, "if we be pursued or troubled any further, in worshipping, rights and liberties, that we shall look on it as a declaring war and take all the advantages that one enemy doth of another, and seek to cause to perish all that shall, in a hostile measure, assault us, and to maintain, relieve, and right ourselves of those that have wronged us, but not to trouble or injure any but those who have injured us." (1)

The subsequent papers and declarations of the Cameronian party represent the gradual development of the policy outlined in this, perhaps the most important document of all. At Sanquhar, Cameron simply disowned Charles Stewart, as "having any title to or interest in" the Crown or Government of Scotland, which had been forfeited because of breaches of Covenant, usurpation of Christ's prerogative, and civil tyranny. Against such a tyrant and usurper, Cameron and his associates declared war, (2) but while threatening active resistance, they did not positively establish a state of their own, nor did they threaten reprisals against specific persecutors. At the Torwood, Cargill carried the movement a stage further. Taking the Sanquhar policy for granted, he excommunicated the king and his chief advisers, who had now been disowned civilly and cut off from the fellowship of the visible Church. (3) By 1684 the policy of reprisals implicit in the Queensferry Paper had been definitely adopted, (4) and the United Societies had endorsed the document practically in its entirety. They certainly did not consider themselves to be a separate church, (5) but they were practically a separate state. They had thrown off all allegiance to the king, and regarded themselves as in a state of war against him and his advisers; their members were forbidden to pay taxes or to contribute to the support of the Erastian clergy or to recognise the

(1) Queensferry Paper, Wodrow III, p.211.
(2) Sanquhar Declaration, Ib., pp.212-213.
(3) The Excommunication, Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.498. Cargill's text for his lecture on this occasion was Ezekiel 21, 25-27, including the words "thus said the Lord God, remove the diadem and take off the crown."
(4) Apologetical Declaration, Wodrow IV, pp.148-149.
(5) Informatory Vindication, p.79.; Faithful Contendings pp.7-8.
jurisdiction of the courts of law. (1) Indeed Renwick counselled his hearers on one occasion to disobey all tyrannical power, cost what it will. (2)

It now remained to formulate theoretically and philosophically this ultimate development of Covenanting thought. This was done by Alexander Shields in his work, *A Hind Let Loose,* published anonymously in 1687. In this work, revolutionary as it was in its attitude to the state, Shields was careful to make plain his attitude to anarchy. "As tyranny is a destructive plague to all the interests of men and Christians, so anarchy, the usual product of it, is no less pernicious, bringing a community into a paroxysm as deadly and dangerous." (3) Government is absolutely necessary in the interests of society, and active opposition to the magistrate should not be lightly undertaken. Difference of religious opinion, even though the magistrate be a heathen, is no valid reason for disobedience. (4)

While not ruling out the lawfulness of secession from the body politic, Shields was careful to say—neither are we for new erections of government, but are for keeping the society of which we are members, entire." (5) While obviously inclining, like Cargill, to republicanism, he refrained from a definite pronouncement as to which kind of government is preferable.

The starting-point of Shields' argument is the inalienable right of human beings to freedom. Freedom is natural to all, flowing from the sacredness of human personality. (7) "As no lion is born king of lions," so much less is any man born "king of men," lord of men, or representative or ruler of men. (8) This attitude is fatal not only to the doctrine of the divine right of kings; it is equally fatal to the divine right of parliaments. All power is from the people;

(1) Hutchison, Reformed Presbyterian Church, p. 59.
(2) Renwick's Sermons, p. 104.
(3) A Hind Let Loose, p. 211.
(4) Ib., p. 208.
(5) Ib., p. 214.
(6) Ib., p. 208. Shields believed that "kings and tyrants were for the most part reciprocal terms."
(7) Ib., p. 212: "every man created according to God's image is a sacred thing."
(8) Ib., p. 213.
Members of parliament and governors are but the people's delegates: and as "the cause is more than the effect, so "parliament-men do represent the people, - the people do not represent the parliament."(1) There is therefore no warrant for blind obedience. The human conscience is the ultimate seat of authority: it demands obedience to just and righteous rulers, but "tyrannical powers" are on a different footing. Conscience must deny tyranny, which is not ordained by God. Only a government founded upon a "bottom of conscience" will unite the governed to the governors by inclination as well as duty."(3)

Such an attitude to the state was bound to influence men's minds in regard to military service. Not that the Cameronians denied the lawfulness of war;(4) The lawfulness of defensive war, by which they meant rebellion, was all along one of their tenets. They objected, however, to any doctrine of blind obedience. During the negotiations concerning the enlistment of the Society people in the regiment raised under the command of Lord Angus in support of the Revolution, a "humble petition" was drafted by those desirous of serving in the regiment. Among the desires expressed was one that "our officers be always of our own choice or approbation: and that none be obtruded upon us without our consent: ..... that as soon as peace is settled and fears of rebellion or invasion cease, such as have a mind to go off, and their vacancies supplied with the approbation of the rest."(5) In another draft of the same petition, the demand was made that "officers superior and inferior be such that we can in confidence and prudence confidently submit unto and follow."(6) It is not surprising that the military authorities, even of the Revolution Government, ruled out such requests as subversive of discipline.(7)

(1) A Hind Let Loose, p.213. (2) Ib., p.391. (3) Ib., p.192. (4) It was the question of rebellion rather than that of war between nations, however, that chiefly concerned the Covenanting writers. (5) Faithful Contendings, p.399. (6) Ib., p.395. (7) It should be remembered that it was at a community at war with the other factions in the state that the Cameronians felt themselves to be in a position to state their terms to the new government before according it military support. (Ib., pp.398-404). It was in the same capacity they served upon the curates in the south-west the notice to quit (p.375.) and raised their own army and appointed officers (p.376).
The social ethics of the Covenanters thus laid great stress on freedom of conscience; and undoubtedly this was derived from the principle of the Headship of Christ. Thus, in the long run, as is generally conceded by balanced and unprejudiced historians, the Covenanting struggle spelt civil liberty, and freedom of conscience for the individual man. It has been maintained, of course, that the Covenanters claimed only freedom of conscience for themselves while denying it to others; and this contention is not altogether groundless. At first sight, it is difficult to reconcile intolerance in matters theological with the principle of the freedom of the individual conscience. And so the question arises, did the doctrine of the Headship of Christ spell ultimately universal freedom of conscience, which involves toleration?

Had the principle of the Headship of Christ been carried to its logical conclusion, it would undoubtedly have done so. For the Headship ought to mean Christ's absolute supremacy and complete obedience to his moral law, which includes love and kindness even to enemies, and cannot be said to sanction anything approaching to persecution; but the Covenanters were afraid of the implicates of their own principle, and thus in practice they limited it in scope and application.

I. Firstly, they limited the principle by their bondage to the letter of Scripture. The theory of verbal inspiration which they contracted was the ultimate factor. The rights of the conscience were peculiarly cogently maintained by one of the more obscure preachers, John Rae. Wodrow records that before the battle of Bothwell Brig, Sir Robert Hamilton attempted to dictate to Rae as to his attitude in public preaching. Rae replied that he had been wrestling against Erastianism in the magistrate for many years; and he would never truckle to the worst kind of Erastianism in the common people; that he would receive no instructions from him nor any of them as to the subject and matter of his sermons; and wished he might mind what belonged to him and not go beyond his sphere and station. Wodrow, III, p. 95. This is the more significant in that Rae was an uncompromising resister to absolutism. He was the preacher at the famous Whitekirk conventicle in 1678 which issued in a skirmish and the arrest of Learmonth (Historical notices of Scottish Affairs, Fountainhall, I, p.186); and he was ultimately apprehended and died in prison on the Bass (The Bass Rock, p.371).
held in common with Calvinists in general resulted in an equal value being placed on both Testaments. The equality of the Testaments was in many respects beneficial in its effects; for there can be no doubt that the Old Testament was a potent force in producing the opposition to tyranny; but on the other hand, the assumption of intra-Biblical uniformity and equality ruled out a genuine Headship of Christ over Scripture. Consequently to those who seemed to belittle the Scriptures, they were bitterly hostile. They had other counts against the Romanists, but one was the fact that the Scriptures were apparently less honoured in the Roman Church. And the truculence of their attitude to the Quakers can only be understood when we realise that to the latter the Scriptures were strictly subordinate to the conscience. Livingstone, in the earlier stages of the persecution, spoke of Quakerism as outside the bounds of Christianity, and likened them to betrayers of Christ. Shields at the close designated them the "blasphemous Quakers." Fraser of Brea alone seems to have made an effort to understand the Quaker position; and even he, while favourably impressed by many of the tenets of Quakerism, concluded the principle of the inward testimony of the Spirit to be a "device of Satan" to cast off the Scriptures. The attitude to Scripture not only issued in Bibliolatry but it engendered intolerance towards those who adopted different standpoints; and the bondage to the Old Testament imparted a tone of harshness towards those who were conceived to be the enemies of God.

II. In common with other seventeenth-century Protestants, the Covenanters were more or less in bondage to the orthodox theology. Protestantism had carried over from the Roman Church the belief that

(1) Select Biographies I, p.253.
(2) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.628 (sacramental discourse).
(3) Ibid., p.616.
(4) Select Biographies II, p.192. The Quaker position of non-resistance was likewise misunderstood and the apparent indifference of the Quakers to the designs of the Roman Catholics lent itself to a sinister interpretation.
(5) It was an important factor in sharpening the antagonism to witchcraft.
hersy was a moral offence. And in addition, as already remarked, local circumstances conspired to render the Covenanters specially suspicious of liberal views in theology. On this point there was complete unanimity. Heterodoxy, in any shape or form, was thought to be of the devil. One of the sanest, most tolerant, and most consistently Christian of the Covenanting leaders could say in dealing with the Arminian controversy, "election is mutable, as damnable heretics say, but thanks be to God, we have not so learned Christ." A clear-thinking layman could speak of Anabaptism as, equally with Prelacy, a device of Satan. Brown expressed his regret that, no physical restraint was put upon Papists; and in the later stages of the persecution, the society people kept a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer for certain causes, among which were specified, not only the introduction and toleration of Popery, but the "free liberty granted to Quakerism." Cameron denounced Socinianism, Arminianism, and Quakerism as "derogatory to the sufferings of Christ and his declarative glory in the world." Renwick spoke of the Arminian attitude as a "great iniquity." Shields went still further. "Suppose," he said, "a Papist, Quaker, Socinian, or Arminian should lay down his life for that which is mere truth and duty; yet they could not be accounted martyrs for Christ, because they are heretical, as to the most part of the fundamental truth of the gospel of Christ."

(iii) The principle of the Headship was limited in its application also by certain deductions from the theory of the Church. As already noted, it was held in common with the Romanists that there was but one visible Church, of which the National Churches were provinces.

(1) "Most of the reformers continued to retain, in a greater or less degree" as so orthodox a theologian as Cunningham has pointed out, "the sentiments in which the Church of Rome had instructed them." - Hist. Theology, II, p.563.
(2) Vide Section IV., pp. 56-57.
(3) Blackadder, Sermon in Appendix to Faithful Contendings, p.96.
(4) Sir James Stewart, Jus Populi Vindicatum, p.233.
(7) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.435.
(8) Renwick's Sermons, p.583.
(9) Sermons in Times of Persecution, p.605.
The Reformation was viewed as the process of cleansing the visible Church of its corruptions, and it was held that only the circumstances of the times prevented the assembling of a Protestant Oecumenical Council which should pronounce sentence of excommunication on the Roman branch of the Church. The idea of "churches" was quite alien to the thought of the Covenanters. They could not reconcile with their theory of one visible Church—the Kingdom of God upon earth—the existence of rival organisations side by side. Obviously, therefore, the idea of toleration, as we of to-day understand it, was unthinkable. Although Renwick belonged to the close of the period and to the extreme left wing of the Covenanting movement, his attitude to the Toleration granted by James VII was typical of the position of the Covenanters—a toleration is always of evil, seeing that which is good cannot be tolerated but ought freely to be owned and countenanced as such. .... To give toleration to idolatry is a great iniquity."(1)

Throughout the whole period, the Covenanting position—as formulated in the National Covenant and more explicitly in the Solemn League and Covenant—was that the visible church must be purged of error—"popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness."(2) And even in the democratic and radical Queensferry paper, there is a resolve expressed to endeavour, "the extirpation of all the works of darkness and the relics of idolatry and superstition."(3) The regulative and prohibitive clauses of the Covenants which crystallised this spirit and imposed this policy upon the Covenanting party acted as a kind of dead weight upon ethical progress in this direction and retarded the growth of the idea of toleration.

(1) Renwick's Sermons, p. 593.
(2) The Solemn League & Covenant, Article II—The Covenants of Scotland, p. 133.
(3) Wodrow III, p. 208. A glimmering of toleration is to be found in the advice of Shields to Renwick's critics, to "contain themselves within Gamaliel's boundaries,—that if this work be of men it will come to nought, but if it be of God it cannot be overthrown."—Life of Renwick, p. 49; Biographia Presbyteriana, Vol. II.
In fairness to the Covenanters, it should be remembered that the Roman church held the same view of one universal church, and was much more ruthless in the suppression of what it called heresy and schism. Events on the Continent bore testimony to the peril of Roman persecution, and the Covenanters doubtless felt the necessity of preventing the popish party from gaining a footing within their branch of the visible church; and they had reason to fear prelacy, not only because of its ecclesiastical affinities with popery, but because the prelatic system of church government had been and was being used by the Stewarts, in pursuance of their policy of the establishment of an absolute monarchy.

Dodds, in his appreciation of the Covenanters, distinguished between what he called their exclusivism and their universality, between "something that was local and special and breathed the imperfections of the particular age" and "something universal and perpetual, and interesting to all mankind, so long as there shall be such things as the true love of liberty and the free pure exercise of religious belief and worship.

To the former category belong the bondage to Scripture and subservience to dogma, the spirit of fear and the resulting intolerance. To the latter belongs the great conception of the Headship of Christ, the master-concept of the social ethic of the Covenanting movement. This principle was surely the supreme contribution of the Covenanters to ethical progress, for the Headship, pressed to its logical conclusion - a Headship of Christ not only over the church but over the Scriptures, the creeds, and social life - spells not only freedom of conscience but also the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth and the ethical upliftment of the human race.

(1) "The prelate was the first step-stone of the greatest enemy to Christ. I mean the Antichrist - a Pope in seed." - Fraser, Lawfulness of Separation, p.7.

(2) Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters, pp.392-393.
APPENDIX.

A Note on the Sources.

For Section I, the sources which have been consulted are the standard general histories of Europe, the United Kingdom, and Scotland.

For the thesis as a whole, the chief sources used are:

Histories and Memoirs.
Kirkton, History of the Church of Scotland.
Wodrow, History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.
Law, Memorials.
Burnet, History of his own Time.
Lauderdale Papers, (ed. by Airy).
Mackenzie, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland.
Fountainhall, Historical Notices (ed. by Laing).
Alexander Brodie, Diary.
Defoe, Memoirs of the Church of Scotland.
Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana (new ed. entitled Six Saints of the Covenant, ed. by Hay Fleming).
A True and Short Deduction of the Wrestings of the Church of Scotland, in Naphtali.
Brown, History of the Indulgence.
Apologetical Relation.
Shields, A Hind Let Loose (Historical section).
Life of Renwick, (Biographia Presbyteriana II).
Relation of his Sufferings.
The Scots Inquisition.
Faithful Contendings Displayed.
Select Biographies (Wodrow Soc. publications).
Blackadder, Memoirs (ed. by Crichton).
Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson (ed. by McOrrie).
Row, Memoirs of Blair (Wodrow Soc. publications).
Memoirs of Veitch, Hog, etc.
Memoirs of Ker of Kersland.
Life of Alexander Reid, A Scottish Covenanter.

Tracts and Controversial Literature.
Stewart, Intro. to Naphtali.
Jus Populi Vindicatum.
Brown, The Banders Disbanded.
McWard, Earnest Contendings for the Faith.
Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water.
Against the Cess.
Fraser, Lawfulness of Separation from Corrupt Ministers and Churches.
Dickson, Warning against Compliance with the Indulgence.
Renwick & Shields, Informatory Vindication.
Shields, A Hind Let Loose.
Enquiry into Church Communion.

Testimonies.
Testimonies in Naphtali and in the Cloud of Witnesses, reprinted with additional matter under the title of The Testimonies of the Scots Worthies.
Testimonies reprinted in Wodrow's History.

Letters.
Letters.

Documents.
The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant - reprinted in The Covenants and the Covenanters and other works.
The Declarations issued at Hamilton and Rutherglen (1679),
The Sanquhar Declaration (1680), The Queensferry Paper (1680),
The Torwood Excommunication (1680), the Lanark Declaration (1682), the Apologetical Declaration (1684) and other documents reprinted in Wodrow, in Johnston's Treasury of the Scottish Covenant and elsewhere.

Apologetic, Expository and Devotional Literature.
Fleming, Fulfilling of the Scripture.
Hutcheson, Exposition of the Book of Job.

Note:- Hutcheson's Exposition of Job alone of his works falls within the period. Guthrie's Christian's Great Interest may be reckoned as belonging to the period, though published in 1659.

Sermons.
The sermons may be grouped as follows:-
I. The collections of the two Indulged preachers, Hutcheson and Wedderburn; - Hutcheson, Forty-five Sermons CXXX Psalm; and Wedderburn, The Believer's Privileges and David's Testament Opened Up.
2. The sermon of Livingstone in Select Biographies I.
3. The sermon of Guthrie in Select Biographies II.
4. The sermon of Blackadder appended to the Memoirs.
5. The sermon of Fraser on Prelacy, an Idol.
6. The sermons collected and edited by Howie of Logghoin, which fall into two groups: (i) those appended to Faithful Contendings Displayed, by King, Kid, Welch, Blackadder, Sample and Dickson, and (ii) those first published in 1779, and reprinted in 1680 under the title of Sermons in Times of Persecution, edited by Kerr. This includes sermons by William Guthrie, Bruce, Welwood, Cameron, Cargill, Peden, Alexander Shields, Livingstone, Welch and John Guthrie.
8. Sermons of Guthrie and Cargill published for the first time by Carslaw in his lives of Guthrie and Cargill in Heroes of the Covenant.

The only question of authenticity which arises in connection with the sermons, which were in many cases copied from notes taken down in the fields, Howie, in his original preface to his collection, discussed this point, as also did Gichton in his Memoirs of Blackadder. Gichton expressed the opinion that Blackadder's sermon had evidently suffered much in the hands of the copyist or original/
The question has received careful attention in the preparation of the present thesis. From a study of the internal evidence, I am satisfied that for all practical purposes the sermons may be accepted as giving the general drift of the teaching of the Covenanting preachers, their ideas of God, Christ and the world and their message for the individual and society. A detailed discussion of the question has been omitted as irrelevant for the main purpose of the thesis.