A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE SCOTTISH CONVENTICLERS
FROM THE
RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION (1662-1688)

A Thesis
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Doctor of Philosophy

by
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"Wa, they have straitly charged us to speak no more in this name, but we will rather bide the Glooms of our Rulers, or we bide the Glooms of our God."

— Welsh of Irongray
"Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself, as it were, for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast."

— Isaiah 26:20, a favourite text of Cargill and Cameron
TO GLORIA:
whose love
spanned an ocean
and
half a continent

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In my quest for a thesis subject I had not read long in Scottish history until I became fascinated by the period of the Covenanters, 1638-88. I endorsed whole-heartedly the opinion of some historians that it was Scotland's epic age. But it was also an age of transition, and in history that means excitement.

The lethargic giant called Tradition was roused from his hibernation by change: he was pricked into consciousness by the Renaissance, and goaded to his feet by its offspring, the Reformation; and in this exhilarating hour he was forced from his gloomy cave altogether. But how far would this change reach? How pure and how permanent would the theological pronouncements of the Reformation be? The actors on this stage of history in Britain, at least, were destined to answer these questions for themselves.

Post-Reformation monarchs greedily gulped up the ecclesiastical power wretched from the hands of a church they no longer feared. England saw this happening, and experimented with a new form of government, called the Commonwealth. But it proved only to be an interregnum, for her people still yearned for the House of Stuart as much as the Jews yearned for the House of Saul. At the Restoration it was plain that Charles II, like Rehoboam, intended to make his little finger thicker than his
father's thigh. His sceptre soon swept over the Church, and within two years nearly two thousand five hundred clergymen were evicted, who would not conform to that same polity they had before the Reformation — with the one modification that the King, not the Pope, was to sit at its Head. Laws were enacted against many of these preachers because they continued to function as always, drawing their congregations after them into make-shift places of worship, which included the open fields. The failure of the government to enforce these laws was obviated by the Revolution Settlement in 1688, when the Age of the Covenanters comes to its end.

These fifty years of struggle is the most written about period in Scottish history; especially is this true of the second half of it, from the Restoration to the Revolution. But I soon realized that the history of Scotland at this time was virtually a history of the Kirk, which, in turn, was largely the history of those who were constantly on the offensive, the Covenanters; and, as Hector Maepherson points out, consistent Covenanters were the conventiclers — the field preachers. It was then that an amazing gap loomed before me: no comprehensive study had ever been made of these men as a body, though they have been crowned by some as the most decisive force in Scotland — if not in all Britain — in effecting the Revolution Settlement!

It is my purpose, then, to make a critical evaluation of
the field preachers from the Restoration to the Revolution. Biographies of some have been written, and chapters are given to them in histories; but the thing that made them famous and important, their activities as conventiclers, was still scattered in bits and pieces throughout the myriad literature from and about this period. The work that most closely approximates my approach is Macpherson's, *The Covenanters under Persecution*. However, though he treats the contents of some of the printed field sermons, his scope also includes the Covenanters as a whole; hence, his conclusions are as broad as his scope. I have, on the other hand, kept only to those matters preached in the fields which were given the most attention by the field preachers.

To fulfill the requirements of this thesis I naturally needed a solid foundation on which to begin. I had to know what these meetings were like; where, when, and how often they occurred; and who preached at them. I discovered that conventicles were more numerous than is generally thought, and that these "irregular" preachers numbered in the hundreds, whereas the popular opinion includes six or seven. In short, I found my foundation had never been laid. So, my first task was to compile four appendices, based on available information, which would embody an account of the identity of every field preacher, the information on every meeting held, and a list of all extant field sermons. This was not an easy task, to be sure,
and its completion gives me no little sense of accomplishment. I sincerely feel I have made a small contribution to Scottish Church History that may prove to be a plateau from which another can climb yet higher toward the elevated shrine of historic truth.

So, strictly speaking, my thesis is concentrated in the last five chapters. The first three are groundwork only. But I justify this broad foundation by the fact that none has yet ventured to lay it for me. In this second half, my chapter, "The Nature of the Field Sermon," may seem to some to contain an element of irrelevance. I maintain this should not be so. Even though the field sermons were never intended for critical evaluation, yet we must place their authors alongside other contemporary homilists, and also measure their abilities by the criteria of good sermonizing if we are truly to make an evaluation. My conclusions in this matter in no way affect my admiration for these men, who, after all, should never be remembered as homilists, but as something far better — as great men of God, as brave pioneers of freedom, and as sinuous forgers of human destiny.

As to sources, I am mostly indebted to the indispensable contributions of Robert Wodrow and John Howie. For my description of conventicles I am grateful for the help of Duncan Stewart's The Covenanters of Teviotdale, in which I found detailed descriptions of several famous meetings. Most manuscripts
pertinent to my study were found in three places: the university libraries of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the Trinity College, also in Glasgow. The last of these contains the most valuable manuscripts. The Lochgoin Farm, the ancestral residence of John Howie, proved to be fruitless in my quest, for the Howie MSS. were acquired by W. H. Carslaw, and later gifted by his estate to Glasgow University. The Wodrow MSS. also contain several pertinent documents.

Regarding sermons in print, I found this rule never to vary: those I found elsewhere were the same as can be seen in our own library at New College. Though we are relatively poor in Covenanting manuscripts, yet we have the largest collection of these sermons in print.

I quote Walker's 1827 edition of Biographia Presbyteriana throughout; and when other editions are used, the distinction is clearly indicated. In chapters where I have made frequent use of these two volumes I abbreviate them as "WKi and ii." The same may be said for Wodrow's two-volume 1721 edition of his classic history, which I abbreviate as "WI and ii." References to the thirteen volumes of The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland are designated as "PCI to xiii." "APvii-viii" refer to the Acts of the Scottish Parliaments, "Aik" to Aikman's Annals, "Blk" to the Memoirs of Blackader, by Crichton. A few other sources are cited in shortened ways, by authors, or by an abbreviated title, but only in the case
of well-known books which have been quoted frequently in
the course of a few pages.

I use modern English spelling, and whenever possible,
quote modern editions of sermons, such as Howie's *Sermons
Delivered in Times of Persecution in Scotland*, by James Kerr
in 1880, to which I refer using the publisher's title,
*Sermons By Martyrs*. Occasionally I designate "HC" for
house conventicle, which can be generally defined as a
religious meeting conducted in a private dwelling at which
more than four guests were present with the immediate family.
Likewise, I use "FC" for field conventicle (or field con-
venticler, depending on the context), defined as a religious
meeting conducted outside buildings, or in a house where
some of the attenders stood without at doors or windows.
In reference to the ministers involved I freely interchange
the terms "field preachers," "conventiclers," "Covenanters,"
and "hill men" for ease in style, which terms were synonymous
to the people of that period.

My gratitude compels me to say that wherever my quest
led I found only the most affable assistance from library
staffs, so efficiently expressed that my task was immeasur-
ably shortened and lightened. For this I am sincerely
thankful. Neither can I fail to express appreciation
for Professor W. S. Tindal for his expert guidance,
which was always more generous than expected; and to our
Reverend Principal Hugh Watt, who, with the soul of a historian, and the heart of a shepherd, has guided my steps into the proper paths, and enlarged his role as adviser to encompass nearly every part of my study. Let me also say how much I appreciate the "Martha" help of Miss Barrie on our library staff, and my own secretary, Miss J. C. Burns, without whose necessary help a two-year task would have taken at least three.

E. W. E.

New College, Edinburgh.

October, 1959.
CHAPTER I
A HISTORY OF CONVENTICLES

"...rid the Kingdom of such seditious Preachers, or pretended Ministers as have kept Conventicles...we look on such as perverters of the People."

from Charles II to the Privy Council
CHAPTER I
A HISTORY OF CONVENTICLES

The period before us is probably the most written about in all Scottish history. Hence, we must always keep in mind the limitations of our thesis, and shall examine this period year by year, with reference only to (1) field preachers, (2) field meetings, (3) legislation in reference to such men and meetings, and (4) other historical data which bear directly on them.

When reference is made to conventicles without sources being indicated, it is because such may be seen in the appendix at the end of the chapter.

PHASE I: The Rise of Conventicles, 1662-1667

The Year 1662. The Earl of Middleton's "Drunken Parliament" met the previous year, and passed the Act Rescissory, which made null and void all laws of the Scottish Parliament since 1633. The King responded with a letter restoring episcopal church government, 1 after having put to death two of the most zealous Presbyterians, James Guthrie, and the Marquis of Argyle. Charles had then nominated bishops and archbishops to be consecrated by bishops in the Church of England, and had forbidden presbyteries to meet without their presence. 2 Some leading clergymen had fled the country, while others were

1. Charles II, in this letter to the Privy Council, received on August 14, 1661, said the Act Rescissory of the Scottish Parliament had left the matter of settling the form of government in his hands. See PCi 28-29.
2. PCi 125-26.
uneasy in their charges. The people as a whole were aware that the battle between church and state had begun. Donald Cargill told his Barony Congregation the celebration of the Restoration of the Stuarts was more appropriately a day of mourning, and John Welsh of Irongray felt the heat of Knox's blood coursing through his veins, and drew the attention of the authorities to himself by his weekly denunciations of the "Drunken Parliament."

In May, 1662, the new Privy Council met at Glasgow to decide how they could best coerce Presbyterian ministers to conform to "the established religion." They agreed upon a threat of eviction from manse, glebe, and church for all who refused to conform, and that this measure would come into effect on November 1. Though some of the Council thought this measure too severe, Bishop Fairfoul lightly dismissed it with the prediction that there would not be ten ministers who would refuse episcopacy at such a cost.¹

The eviction date was yet several months away, and the Council saw opportunity to rid the church of ne'er-do-wells in the meantime. On September 16 they outed eight ministers from Edinburgh and Kilmarnock, and two weeks later they took action against Donald Cargill and Thomas Wylie.² In all, they proceeded to rid the church in Scotland of thirty-two ministers by a particular act of council or synod.³

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1. Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 92.
2. PCI 264, 269, 271.
3. This number is based on Wodrow's list of evicted ministers.
The first diocesan meeting was called at Edinburgh, October 14. The new bishops were humiliated when only fifty ministers appeared. So the Council met again with the intention of putting fear into the stubborn Presbyterians. They were too overcome by drink at that time to consider anything wisely, but still insisted on an uncompromising execution of the law. A proclamation was issued threatening force if compliance was refused. They had hardly a fortnight to wait to see whether Fairfoul's prophecy would come true.

November 1 came, and over one-third of the ministers left their charges! Wodrow said, "Scotland was never Witness to such a Sabbath as the last those Ministers preached." And Kirkton lamented, "I believe there was never such a sad Sabbath in Scotland, as when the poor persecuted ministers took leave of their people. It did not content the congregation to weep all of them, but they howled with a loud voice, weeping with the weeping of Jazer, as when a besieged city is sackt."

On this day between three hundred and four hundred ministers left their charges; six hundred others, who had been Presbyterians all their lives, decided to conform. In fact, seven presbyteries unanimously conformed. These were all in the north, whereas nonconformists were located mostly in the south and west.

1. Wi 123.
2. Wi 154.
3. Kirkton, 150.
4. How this figure is arrived at is fully treated in the appendix to Chapter III, "The Identity of the Field Preachers."
5. Wi 156.
Not all of the nonconformists vacated at once. Some, it was plain to the Privy Council, would have to be forced out. They passed a law, declaring any sermon without a licence after November 1 would be declared "a seditious conventicle," and then proceeded to force two hundred churches to close in one day:¹

There are many indications that several ministers who had no intention of conforming occupied their churches until the following year, and some for several years.² At any rate, the Privy Council was so disappointed and alarmed at what they had occasioned that they immediately issued a further period of clemency, postponing the eviction to February 1, 1663.³ They hoped to accomplish two things by this move: (1) to give the Presbyterians time to reconsider, and perhaps to change their minds and conform, and (2) to find episcopal ministers to take their places if they did not. A few took this convenience, but most recognized it for its true design, and remained aloof.⁴

One of the ministers evicted by force was John Welsh of Irongray. After his congregation had bid their beloved pastor

¹. Burnet i, 223.
². "Several of the nonconforming clergy contrived to resist the operation of the Act for some time. One of these was Mr. John Hardy of Gordon, who continued, under the protection of Pringle of Greenknow, the principal heritor in that parish, to occupy the pulpit there till July, 1663... Mordington... was still occupied by Mr. Ramsay, and this Covenanting minister retained the charge of Longformacus as well until the year 1668, when a curate was inducted to that remote parish. Langton was still served by Mr. Burne; Mr. John Veitch continued to preach in Westruther 'by connivance' till 1664; and Smailholm, with the parts of Berwickshire adjacent to it, was equally fortunate in the ministry of Mr. Donaldson, which continued till his death in 1673." Merse, 58.
³. PCi 313.
good-bye, they boarded up the doors and windows of the church. In Kirkcudbright and other places violence broke out. The people removed the tongues from the steeple bells, so they could not be called to church; and there are several instances of the new clergymen being stoned as they came to occupy.¹

What were these ministers to do? How were their congregations going to be instructed? How could they fulfill their sacred promise to God to preach the Gospel in season, and out of season? To Gabriel Semple the answer was simple: he would continue to preach outside the church building. He knew there had been a law against unlawful religious gatherings passed against the Quakers in 1660, as well as one making meetings for swearing the Covenant unlawful.² He further knew the Privy Council had recently made preaching without a licence from the bishop a "seditious conventicle," yet he must obey a higher authority.

There happened to be a large house belonging to Mr. John Neilson, a parishoner of considerable means. It was located in Corsock Woods, and was appropriately called "The Hall of Corsock." This house was in an advantageous location, approximately half-way between Semple's church at Kirkpatrick-Durham, and Welsh's at Irongray. The first sabbath following his eviction, Semple intimated he would conduct services at the Hall of Corsock.

¹. Kirkton, 162-63, Wi 158.
². Wi 8.
The first meeting was held in the great hall, on November 8, 1662. So blessed was this gathering that the minister announced a meeting for the next Sunday, which was held in the close because the attendance was so large. He preached the following Sunday as well, but to a much larger audience, for Mr. Welsh and many of his congregation attended, so that it was necessary for the meeting to be held in the garden. The following Lord's Day the great multitude which had come to sermon necessitated meeting in the open fields.

During these meetings Mr. Welsh did not preach, but an act from the Privy Council soon came out requiring that only one minister should be in each parish. Mr. Semple thought it wise to leave, and Welsh took his place as minister of the first regular meeting place for conventicles.¹

The origin of conventicles was as simple as that. The government had forced ministers out of their pulpits, but the ministers took their pulpits with them, and began wherever they could to continue the good work they had begun. Hence, it was actually the government which caused such meetings to begin. Johnston observes, "It was base in the government, in the first instance, to create 'conventicles' — to bring things to such a pass; it was calumnious to characterize them as 'seminaries of rebellion'."²

Field preaching began as early as the first Sunday after

¹ Varying accounts of this origin of conventicles may be read in: Will 175, Kirkton, 163-64, Merse, 72, Stewart, Covenanters of Teviotdale, 80, Aik 132, and Hewison ii, 205.
² Johnston, Alexander Peden, 68.
the outing. This is almost an uncontested date, except for Patrick Walker, who sets it as late as 1677. This tends more to reflect on Walker than it does to throw doubt on the date in question. Walker also mentions at this "first" meeting, held by Blackader and John Dickson, there were great visions to be seen. One constituted a vast multitude in the distance singing the 93rd Psalm. He tells of another of a white horse wearing a blood-red saddle, and people singing the 121st Psalm. And an even more elaborate one consisted of bonnets and swords raining down upon the people. In another a blazing star appeared in the heavens, and many empty graves appeared in the fields. The last he relates is one of a shower of bonnets, hats, guns, and swords covering the trees.¹ When Mr. Blackader was told of these visions, "...he concluded that it was of the Lord, and that the Gospel would go to the Fields, and be blest with Power and Success there."²

This late date of Walker, in the light of the proceedings of the Privy Council alone, must be discredited, and serves only to prove Walker's unreliability as a historian. Primary historians, preachers writing during that time, and legal proclamations against field meetings antedated his date by fifteen years! The Gospel did go into the fields in 1662; and like the Ark of God in the wilderness, it was destined to stay there for many years.

¹ Walker i, xxix-xxxii.
² Ibid. xxx.
In cities the wells of salvation were sealed,  
More brightly to burst on the moor and the field;  
And the Spirit that fled from the dwellings of men,  
Like a manna-cloud rained round the camp in the glen.¹

There were a few ministers who could not yet be legally  
outed because their ordination occurred before 1649. The  
four parishes of the Glenkens had such ministers. John Black-  
adер, who was destined to become one of the greatest of the  
"hill men," began his long and eventful ministry of irregular  
and unlawful preaching by accepting invitations to preach  
for these brethren. There is also indication in his Memoirs  
that he did some private lecturing during this year.²  

It is probable that Cargill began irregular preaching  
this year as well, but in houses only. Carslaw says he lurked  
around Glasgow for three years, preaching privately.³  
So, as the year comes to an end, and the history of conventicles  
is only two months old, we know of four ministers who were  
continuously active holding irregular meetings: Semple, Welsh,  
Blackader, and Cargill — all primary field preachers.

The Year 1662. Welsh continued the entire year unmolested  
at Corsock Wood, holding meetings alone, or with Semple.  
While the government was pursuing one on false rumours, the  
other was preaching elsewhere. During the month of January  
Blackader continued in the churches of fellow-ministers.

¹. Simpson, Life of Renwick, 32.  
². Wii 173.  
³. Life of Cargill, 30.
Peden, "the Prophet of the Covenant," began holding house meetings in February or March, as did George Campbell and Hugh Henderson, the two ministers of Dumfries, Archibald of Dunscore, Irvine of Kirkmahoe, Paton of Terregles, Thomas Thompson, and "many others." The preceding year had found four ministers holding irregular meetings; this year brings the total to eleven. But the same sources which name these men in particular, also say there were "many others." And, indeed, there must have been, for some were captured and exiled even before they had opportunity to become field preachers. In April, Livingstone of Ancrum found six living in Rotterdam.\(^1\) It is safe to say there were about fifteen men holding irregular meetings by the end of this year.

There would have been far more field and house conventicles at this time had it not been for the belief of many of the ministers that they could win out by refusing to vacate. Twenty-six ministers in Galloway alone were ordered out by the Privy Council by March 24, or suffer eviction by force.\(^2\)

Then, to convince the Presbyterians in Scotland they meant to enforce the laws they passed, the Privy Council proceeded to take action against the people who had caused riots in Irongray and Kirkcudbright.\(^3\)

Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, reported several meetings held in the south, and the Privy Council proceeded to pass its

1. Livingstone, A Brief Historical Relation, 44.
2. Wi 125, PCI 339.
first act against conventicles, in which they requested a full report be given of all irregularities.\(^1\) Church attendance dropped to zero in many churches where curates had been installed, whereas ministers who had been ordained before 1649 had record attendances. A committee was immediately appointed to consider what should be done with these ministers.\(^2\) The Council met in June with the intention of rectifying the situation of absenteeism. They made illegal ministries punishable as sedition, and imposed fines of twenty shillings Scots on any who abstained from church for three consecutive Sundays without reasonable excuse.\(^3\) In August the "Scots Mile Act" was passed, requiring all ousted ministers to remove at least twenty miles from their former parishes, six miles from Edinburgh and every Cathedral Church, and three miles from any royal burgh.\(^4\) By October it was made a law to read out the membership roll each Sunday in church, which practice was called "the bishop's dragnet."\(^5\) And the following month the Council sent out a letter requiring a report of any known nonconformist minister who had not yet vacated his church.\(^6\) Ten ministers who were suspected of irregularities were ordered to compear, but only three answered this order.\(^7\)

\(^{1}\) PCi 350.0.
\(^{2}\) Ibid. 393
\(^{3}\) Ibid. 461.
\(^{4}\) Ibid. 463-4
\(^{5}\) Ibid. 441-42
\(^{6}\) Ibid. 455.
\(^{7}\) Wi 183.
Gordon of Earlston confessed hearing several ministers at private conventicles, and was later fined for it. The ministers at these meetings were possibly John Guthrie, or Robert Fleming, who probably began irregular preaching this year.

The Year 1664. The conditions at the beginning of this year were very embarrassing for the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The manoeuvring of the Privy Council had not accomplished its purpose. So, alleging lack of cooperation from this body, Archbishop Sharp went to London. As a result of this visit Charles II restored the ancient Court of High Commission, and appointed Sharp as its chairman.¹ The Court had unlimited power to apply civil authority to all ecclesiastical matters, and Sharp saw to it that it functioned well. As a result of the actions of this Court many gentlemen were fined for attending conventicles, and many preachers were summoned to appear for their part in them.²

Because of the frequency of house conventicles in Edinburgh the Privy Council, on November 17, ordered all non-conformist ministers to remove from Edinburgh within forty-eight hours. Field preaching continued to increase in the west and south, and also in Fife. To the fifteen ministers preaching last year we may add Bruce and Crookshanks. The Privy Council first takes notice of them in October, when

¹. PCI 490.  
². Ibid. 624.
they probably arrived from Ireland as escaped fugitives. There are a few other ministers who began holding conventicles this year. It would be safe to say twenty were now resolved to preach regularly to their flocks, regardless of where, how, or what the consequences might prove to be.

The Year 1665. This year is one of the most silent regarding conventicles. That, of course, is not to say there were none, for the spirit in the ministers and their followers was still the same. The large audiences who came to hear the ministers who could still legally officiate became such an offence to the Privy Council that it evicted these preachers. We have record of only three meetings this year. John Law, destined to become a future Moderator of the Church of Scotland, took to the fields and held a conventicle at Kirkcaldy. Semple preached at Ochiltree, and a communion was held at Tulliallan, at which the Earl of Kincardine was present. This was especially offensive to Sharp because Kincardine was also a Privy Councillor! There was an angry exchange of letters between them over the matter.

Toward the end of the year, on December 7, the Council issued a proclamation against conventicles which said, "Conventicles and unwarrantable Meetings and Conventions, under Pretence and Colour of Religion, and the Exercises thereof,

2. Ibid. 307.
have been the ordinary Seminaries of Separation and Rebellion.\textsuperscript{1}

If this year was rather quiet, it was only the quiet before the storm. Toward the end of the year Wodrow comments on the bubonic plague in London, Venus being seen in the daytime, a globe of fire appearing over the place in Edinburgh where the Covenant was burned, and an exceptionally cold winter — all as suggesting trouble to come.\textsuperscript{2}

The Year 1666. On January 25 a proclamation was made by the King against eleven ministers who were most notorious during the past few years. They were cited for apprehension.\textsuperscript{3} This did not stop these men from preaching, nor did it stop the civil authorities from increasing persecution. Sir James Turner went throughout the south and west to suppress conventicles. The Convention of Estates met, and proposed to raise money from taxes to create a standing army, which was the result of the crafty manipulation of Archbishop Sharp.

The Privy Council passed a law requiring all students to take the Oath of Allegiance before receiving degrees.\textsuperscript{4} And on October 11 they decreed that all heads of families were made responsible for the church attendance of their entire households, that landlords and magistrates were also answerable for those under their authority.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1}Wi Appendix XLVI, 84.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid. 221.
\textsuperscript{3}Johnston, Alexander Peden, 66.
\textsuperscript{4}PCii 173.
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid. 202.
The persecution became so intense that a meeting was held by several ministers to see what could be done. Nothing was accomplished at this meeting, and the Pentland Uprising was the inevitable result. The Covenanters lost the battle, with a toll of more than forty casualties either on the field of battle, or on the hangman’s gibbet. The most notable losses were Crookshanks, the Irish preacher who fell in battle, and John Neilson of Corsock who was captured, tortured, and finally executed.

Conventicles were more numerous than they had been, but by no means as numerous as they were yet to be. We have discovered thirteen specific references to meetings in house and field, and two references indicating that both Welsh and Blackader preached every Sunday during the year. The most famous meeting was held on November 25, at Lanark, prior to the battle at Pentland. Though there were either fifteen or sixteen ministers present, we have record of only Crookshanks, Semple, and Guthrie preaching at this time. One stood on the Tolbooth steps, one spoke elsewhere to the foot soldiers, and the other addressed the mounted troops at the edge of town.

This year we see two new developments: night conventicles, and the beginning of armed conventicles. The nocturnal rendezvous were conducted by Peden at midnight under the weird

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1. Burnet i, 341.
2. Neilson was especially odious to the authorities because it was at his house where conventicles first began. He was tortured to extract from him the identity of his compatriots in the Uprising. See PCii 210, and Symson, Galloway ii, 172.
light of scores of flickering torches. Some of Welsh's parishioners began to carry arms to his meetings, though this is too early for a reference to the true armed conventicle. Heritors and nobility naturally wore arms as a part of their attire, but would leave them off when attending church. At this time they simply refrained from removing them.

The Year 1667. This is a silent year regarding conventicles. There are no historical records available of any conventicles, either in private houses, or in the fields. We have no justification for believing these meetings ceased, but those that were held did not come to the notice of any contemporary historian, or find their way into the official papers of the civil authorities. If conventicles did slacken it was probably because the Covenanters were disillusioned over their defeat at Pentland. To them it was more than a military defeat. They had taken God to the battlefield with them, and like the Israelites at Ai, they had lost the fight in spite of His presence. But these meetings — though they may have somewhat abated — certainly did not cease altogether. The reason we know nothing of them is possibly two-fold: either these men now took greater care to conceal their gatherings, or the Privy Council was too busy bringing last year's offenders to justice. Besides, Sharp and Rothes had trouble of their own, for the recent persecution and uprising
had brought them into disfavour with the King.

In May the Privy Council prohibited the carrying of arms in the western shires, and in June a letter came from the King repeating his command to suppress conventicles. October 8 brought the arrival of a letter from the King proclaiming an indemnity for all who had taken part in the Pentland Uprising, except certain leaders and ministers. This indemnity could only be enjoyed if the person would take a bond to live in peace. About ten ministers eventually took it.

PHASE II: The Zenith of Conventicles, 1668-1679

The Year 1668. The aftermath of Pentland was over. Most of the insurgents had been captured, fined, exiled, imprisoned, or executed. That the government meant to enforce its "Erastian" laws was no longer an open question. But one question was yet to be answered: would the Covenanters, in the face of the severest consequences, still keep to Presbyterianism-in-the-fields, or would they desist? In this year of decision that question was answered.

In February a letter arrived from the King denouncing conventicles and irregular preachers. These meetings were now first called "Rendezvouzes of Rebellion," a name they were

1. PCii 285.
2. Ibid. 344-49.
3. Of those ministers on Wodrow's list (see Chapter III) ten eventually took the bond, and one the test. It is interesting to note that not one of the new field preachers who became active after the outing in 1662 ever took either.
to be known by throughout the remainder of this period.¹
In the same letter the King ordered the apprehension of all
who were in the Pentland Uprising and had not taken his
proffered indemnity. On May 9 the Privy Council issued
orders to local magistrates to break-up all irregular meet-
tings, and to seize all ministers and chief men — especially
those wearing arms.² Hence, we see that the armed conventicle
was gradually coming to the fore. At this time such had not
become a distinct type of meeting, but those in authority
were beginning to fear the consequences of open-air meetings
attended by men in arms. And ten days after an attempt had
been made on the life of Archbishop Sharp, the King wrote
again, "...to rid the Kingdom of such seditious Preachers,
or pretended Ministers as have kept Conventicles, or gathered
People to the Fields, since January last; for we look on such
as the greatest Disturbers of the Peace, and perverters of
the People."³ The previous year the King had ordered a
militia to be organized, designating garrisons in strategic
locations. The Privy Council responded, and by September of
this year they were able to write His Majesty that all was
now in readiness.⁴

Conventicles were on the increase, which can be said for
every year to follow to 1679. The Council complained of

¹. Wi 287.
². PCii 451, 455.
³. Wi 289, PCii 500.
⁴. PCii 532.
"Frequent conventicles kept in several places." Some of those places were probably Glasgow and Edinburgh, for the magistrates of leading cities were required to take a bond, to be forfeited if conventicles were held in their cities;¹ and in December the magistrates in Edinburgh were forced to sign a promise to prevent house conventicles, and the residence of ousted ministers in the city.²

The most active man this year was probably Michael Bruce. Wodrow says of him, "He ventured into several Places of the Nation, where few other Presbyterian Ministers had preached to any Numbers for some Years."³ But he was captured in May, confined in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, and banished from Scotland.⁴ Blackader continued holding private meetings this year, and John Mc Gilligan, Thomas Hog, and Thomas Urquhart held meetings in Moray. As the year closes, Donald Cargill, resembling his Master, who set His face to go to Jerusalem to face trouble and final execution, also broke his confinement beyond the Tay, and turned to the south and the west with a voice that all the powers in Scotland would not be able to silence for the next thirteen years.

The Year 1669. The first half of this year continued in the same style as the previous year. From January to April

¹. This bond was destined to be paid many times, for the magistrates never seemed to be able to stop irregular meetings in the Capital. See the appendix at the end of the chapter.
². PCii 572.
³. Wi 290.
⁴. PCii 459, 471, 478.
the Privy Council was busy passing laws against absenteeism, and illegal marriages and baptisms.\textsuperscript{1} They appointed a bond to be taken by vassals and tenants to their landlords, who were responsible for their observance of laws against religious irregularities.\textsuperscript{2} Edinburgh was to be fined £50 sterling for every house conventicle, and a committee was appointed to discover means how they could be prevented.\textsuperscript{3} They proceeded to impose large fines for irregularities,\textsuperscript{4} and sent letters of instruction to affected areas in the west and south, to assist the magistrates in suppressing conventicles.\textsuperscript{5} Troops had also been increased in these places for enforcing laws the people seemed determined to ignore. We note many acts of violence on curates of local churches in these parts of the country.\textsuperscript{6}

But in June a letter from the King arrived, containing the grant of an indulgence for most of the ousted ministers. This was the first serious attempt of the government to undo the wrong it had done. The conditions were:

1. The appointment of ousted ministers to their former, or to a new charge, upon the approval of the bishop, with stipend, manse, and glebe.

2. The permission and requirement to hold presbyteries.

3. Those ministers who refused to comply must abide in the parishes where they formerly preached.

\textsuperscript{1} PCii 602.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. 609.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. 615.
\textsuperscript{4} For illegal baptisms the fines were: heritors, one-fourth the yearly rents; tenants: £100 Scots, and imprisonment for six weeks; cottars, £20 and imprisonment for six weeks; or one-half the yearly wage, and imprisonment for six weeks. Ibid. 616.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid. 620, 625.
\textsuperscript{6} FCIII 69-72, 156.
4. No sacraments or marriages could be performed without the permission of the abiding indulged minister.

By the end of the year thirty ministers had been indulged, and more were yet to receive this grace from the King the following year. By this, and the two succeeding indulgences, over one hundred and thirty were to be re-established in churches.

But Charles was not finished with decrees. He must have felt he had been unnecessarily kind to Scotland, and thought the time was now ripe to make a claim of supremacy in matters both civil and ecclesiastical, hence making himself greater than a pope.

This first indulgence and the Act of Supremacy made nobody happy. By the indulgence the bishops felt the King had betrayed them; and the Presbyterians considered it merely a device whereby the King could better control the church, and make it beholden to him. Both parties regarded the Act of Supremacy as nothing short of blasphemy.

However, there now seemed to be a slight relief, and many were feeling more optimistic about matters. The question was: would the indulgence stop irregularities? Would people now stop congregating in the fields, and in houses to hear the Word of God, and would they bring their children to be baptized by indulged ministers? The answer seemed to be yes, at first, for in the west conventicles died down. It was in the west where most of the indulged ministers pastored, and

1. PCiii 47ff.
2. PCiii 47, 62, 70, 77, 103, 106, 149.
3. Wi 302.
the ministers who still took to the fields agreed to stop preaching in their parishes. However, there was a rising of irregularities in the east. Blackader was found establishing a congregation at Bo'ness, where he frequently held field meetings. We note meetings in Edinburgh, Kinross, Livingston, and Hamilton.

The first field conventicle this year was held at Strathmiglo, the first of its kind to be held in Fife. Dickson, in company with Blackader, resorted frequently to the Lomond Hills. Brown says, "The field-conventicles, which had almost ceased in the west of Scotland since the indulgence, became common in the eastern borders, where they had been altogether unknown before." Wodrow observes, "Indeed this year, Conventicles were like the Palm-tree, the more Weights were hung upon them, the more they grew; and there were few Presbyterian Ministers in the West and South, but were preaching in their Houses, and some in Barns, and some in the Fields." And it is in this year we first read of the popular practice of carrying arms to meetings. Herkless says, "After the first Indulgence, extensive field-meetings were arranged, at which some of the worshippers appeared in arms for protection against military attack. The Government were alarmed lest the conventicles should lead to civil war, and 'the tale of

1. Aik 329.
2. Blk 148.
bricks was doubled!"\(^1\)

Perhaps the reason conventicles had an increase after the first indulgence is because the government was placing itself in a compromising position for the first time, which is always a sign of weakness. Then again, many ministers were not to be included in the indulgence; hence they spoke all the more against it, and some who could have come under its protection, chose rather to enjoy the tested loyalty of fellow outed ministers, than the new and untried protection of a capricious king.

The Year 1670. This year began like a lamb, and went out like a lion. Archbishop Leighton went to London to present to the King a compromise he and Burnet had formulated. This attempt at reconciliation proposed to make bishops only the titular heads of presbyteries, with the one prerogative of ordaining men. Other matters of business would be conducted in true presbyterian style. The King approved of this measure, and Leighton called a meeting of several leading Presbyterians at Holyrood House, but his plan was completely rejected. He resigned his position and retired to England with a broken heart.

This second attempt at a compromise was to the Presbyterians a further show of weakness; hence, conventicles increased all the more. The Privy Council found it useless to

issue summonses on irregular ministers, for they would not appear. On February 3 a letter arrived from the King, ordering soldiers to quarter on the houses of preachers who would not acknowledge summonses, and to bring them to the Council by force.\(^1\) April 7 disclosed an order from the Council for the arrest of all outed ministers yet dwelling in Edinburgh.\(^2\) The magistrates were constantly vexed with complaints from curates about violence being done to their persons and possessions.\(^3\) This show of force from the Covenanters came to a head on June 18, when one of the most famous conventicles was held. It was an all-day meeting conducted by Blackader and Dickson. When the ministers arrived they were perplexed to find many weapons stacked around the perimeter of the meeting. Thousands were in attendance, and in the afternoon soldiers discovered the location, and came to disperse the multitude. Their intentions were thwarted, however, by the presence of a considerable body of armed men who were prepared to give battle if necessary.\(^4\) Another armed meeting was held a few days later at Livingseat, by John Welsh, and yet another at Torwood in July.

In response to these three armed conventicles Parliament met in August and passed "The Black Act of 1670."\(^5\) This Act

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1. Wi Appendix XXXVII, 125, PCiii 130.
2. PCiii 161.
4. For a detailed description of this meeting consult Blk 144-48. This meeting was conducted at Beath Hill.
had three parts: (1) the imposition of a fine of 5,000 merks for attending any conventicle; or banishment as an alternative, (2) death and confiscation of goods for any minister who would preach at a conventicle in the fields, or in a house where some were standing at the windows or doors, and (3) a promise of indemnity to all who should kill such offenders in the process of apprehension.¹ "No bloodier law was ever proclaimed. During wars of extermination among savage hordes, it is no uncommon thing to offer a reward for every head of any enemy that shall be brought into the camp; but here a king and his parliament offer a reward for every minister of the gospel who shall be caught preaching the Word of God on some lonely hillside, to a congregation of peaceable people, who prefer their old Presbyterian pastors and their old Presbyterian ways to the new Episcopal ones."²

The Parliament also passed laws imposing fines, imprisonment, and even exile for having a child baptized by an outed minister. Men were also to be fined more severely than before for absenting themselves from church.³ And the indulged ministers began to taste the dregs of their sweet compromise, for this parliament forbade them the right to have lectures before their sermons.⁴

The Presbytery-in-the-field was indeed having a busy time

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¹ APviii 9-10.
² Cunningham ii 109.
³ APviii 11.
⁴ PCiii 123.
this year. Neither Edinburgh nor Glasgow could suppress irregular meetings within their bounds, and they were fined for this inability. Renfrew, Stirling, Linlithgow, Lanark, Fife, and Moray seemed to enjoy frequent meetings all year. In January and in December alike the Privy Council whined about the frequency and size of field meetings. In all, fifteen ministers are named as preaching at conventicles this year. But we must remember, most of the meetings we have record of are those also known to the government. Undoubtedly, there were many more preachers and many more meetings held than we will ever be able to discover.

The Year 1671. 1667 and this year are the most silent concerning conventicles. Perhaps the church in the wilderness exercised greater caution and secrecy in their meetings than before because they had dared to convene three large armed conventicles the previous year. Whatever the reason may be for this paucity of information, little information is available. Even the prolific Wodrow confessed, "This Year does not afford so much Matter for a History of the Sufferings, as many in this Period; and therefore I shall dispatch it the more quickly...."  

Sharp complained of the many vacancies in churches in the west. The Bass Rock was made a prison this year, and many of the outed ministers were standing in its awful shadow

1. PCiii 150, 160, 546.
2. Wi 328.
3. PCiii 302.
4. Ibid. 392.
by refusing to attend their own parish churches.\(^1\) The indulged brethren felt again the heavy bejewelled hand of their Royal Vicar, when they were threatened for not having observed his birthday; and were again told to stop lecturing.\(^2\)

The Privy Council reveals that five "old offenders" were still conducting irregular meetings this year, and we have evidence that Blackader and Hume brought that number to seven. Other than these few references the sources are silent regarding this year.

The Year 1672. The Parliament met again this year, and presented the King's second indulgence. Like the first, it was clogged with conditions which confined ministers to their own parishes, permitting them to preach in church buildings only, commanding them to celebrate communion on certain days, and requiring them to keep the King's anniversary as a religious celebration. Nevertheless, it was embraced by eighty ministers.\(^3\) All ministers were allowed to conduct worship privately with their families, providing no more than four guests were present.\(^4\) Any more in attendance would constitute a house conventicle; and if more than the house could contain were there, the meeting would be considered a field conventicle, now punishable by death and

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1. Ibid. 393.
2. FCIII 347.
3. Ibid. 587-88.
4. WI 250.
confiscation. Perhaps this leniency toward private meetings is the reason we have no action this year against house conventicles.

In July the Privy Council issued a warrant for the arrest of forty ministers and laymen accused of having "preached, prayed, or been present at conventicles." Many of these were captured, and imprisoned in the Edinburgh Tolbooth. This action would indicate much activity in the fields of which we know nothing more. Five specific references are made to places where field conventicles were held this year, and a few other general references. Archibald Riddell seems to have begun his ministry at this time.

The Year 1673. Although conventicles this year did not equal those in 1670 in size and frequency, yet we can see the tendency is toward an ever-increasing activity. Several new men enter the field at this time, the two most important of whom are Kirkton, and Fraser of Brea. When the Duke of Hamilton came down to Scotland this year he complained chiefly against Kirkton, Moncreif, Lockhart, George Campbell, and Robert Fleming, as conveners of conventicles. Alexander Peden is also apprehended, and sent to the new prison on the Bass Rock — a fate to be shared by many others in years to come. In 1669, when the First Indulgence was extended, conventicles took their centre in the east. Now they were

1. PCiii 559, 584.
2. Wi 346.
3. Aik 223.
concentrating again in the west and south. Heritors in these areas did not seem to know or care whether Presbyterian ministers were holding conventicles on their lands, and Charles sent a letter to the Privy Council in April, requiring heritors to inform against unlawful meetings on their lands.¹

This increase in frequency of conventicles brought no new development in them, however. We read of no communions, night meetings, or armed conventicles this year.

The Year 1674. To date, this is the most active year in the history of conventicles. If we are to assume the same ratio between reported and indicated meetings to be as extreme as in previous years, then the hills and moors were swarming with people night and day, and on every day of the week, bent on going to the "seminaries of sedition" and "rendezvouses of rebellion."

This intense activity can be seen in legal proceedings of King and Council, and in contemporary historians as well. In May a letter arrived from the King commanding the militia to concentrate exclusively on suppressing conventicles, leaving all other matters to the local magistrates; and with the same letter came a warrant for the arrest of twenty ministers, including Semple and Welsh, on whose heads was placed the handsome reward of £400 sterling.² The next month two laws

¹. PCiv 37.
². Wi 367, PCiv 192.
were passed, one again devolving responsibility on heritors for their tenants, and masters for their servants for regular church attendance; and, in addition, requiring a bond from these tenants and servants, to be forfeited to their superiors if they should keep conventicles. The other offered a reward for the apprehension of rebels attending field meetings. The Privy Council appointed a special committee which began a long journey through the rebel-infested areas, to investigate conventicles, and to promote methods for the better execution of laws against them.

In July a decree was made against forty ministers, who refused to report to the Privy Council to answer charges for conventicles. A few days later there were acts appointing garrisons in new places to suppress field conventicles more efficiently. Aikman, who also lists these men, says in regard to location of irregularities, "Few were held in the west where the indulged ministers were settled, but on the borders, in the Merse, Lothians, Stirlingshire, and Fife, they greatly abounded, in houses, fields, and vacant churches. The more private worshippers in houses were overlooked, the vast assemblages in the mountains, and mosses, and muirs were attracting the attention of the government." Wodrow said there were meetings as far north as Moray and Ross.

1. PCiv 197-200.
2. PCiv 263.
3. Aik 231, 235-36.
Three meetings that must have been extremely odious to the Privy Council, and above all to Archbishop Sharp, were openly and defiantly held at Wolmet Chapel by Welsh, where Sharp was an eye-witness, at Kinkel by Blackader, within hearing distance of Sharp's house, and in the church at Crail, where Sharp had once been a Presbyterian minister! Thomas Forrester, who had at first accepted episcopacy, was continuing to be a thorn in the Archbishop's side.

Pulpits were invaded at Corstorphine, Wolmet, Edmonston, Forgan, Magdalene Chapel, Cramond, Balmerino, Collessie, Moonzie, Campsie, and Auchtermuchty. Two large communions were also conducted at Eckford in Teviotdale, and at Obsdale in the north. House conventicles were held all year in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, for which these cities paid more heavily than ever before.

Early in the year the conventiclers had what they perhaps counted their greatest victory over "Erastian oppression" — a day of conventicles, in which four large meetings were held with a total attendance of eight thousand. There is little direct information for this year regarding night meetings or armed conventicles, though it would be safe to assume some of the meetings mentioned were conducted at night, and by men carrying arms.

The reason irregularities flared up so intensely at this time may have been the laxity of heritors and magistrates
in executing the law. Many, no doubt, had been embittered over large fines they had already paid. It was Kirkton's opinion that the Indemnity of March 24, which pardoned all previous offenders who kept conventicles, and were not at Pentland, tended to encourage irregularities, rather than discourage them. We might even imagine cooperation in high places, for Stephen draws attention to a common court rumour about Lauderdale, writing that it was "confidently talked" that he "did secretly encourage conventicles."*

The Year 1675. Last year the conventiclers, or "hill men" were on the offensive, keeping the militia running after their meetings, and making them afraid to act upon arrival with their large numbers, including armed men willing to do battle. But this year the tables are turned. The Privy Council realized it must act first. So it began by requiring all indulged ministers to produce a sworn certificate stating they had not attended or preached at conventicles for the past year, before they could collect their stipends. They then required all teachers and professors to take the Oath of Allegiance. Fines for all offences were raised, and in some cases doubled. Four companies of soldiers were quartered in Glasgow, and twelve large houses in the "disaffected districts" were converted into

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1. Kirkton, 343; Sharp, 452.
2. Sharp, 473.
3. PCIV 377.
4. Ibid. 550.
5. Ibid. 578.
barracks for the ever-increasing numbers of soldiers.\textsuperscript{1} The pre-Reformation cruelty of "intercommuning" was revived. This was a method of boycotting fugitives, hence forcing them into the open. To effect this boycott, people who offered any assistance to any intercommuned person, or even wrote to or spoke to such, were made legally guilty of his crimes. With the plague of reward-hungry spies infecting the people, hundreds of gentlemen and ladies were made liable for ruinous fines, and many had letters of intercommuning proclaimed against them.\textsuperscript{2}

Because of these severities the utmost secrecy was exercised this year in the publication of field meetings. Though we are told "field conventicles were more frequent than ever,"\textsuperscript{3} yet there is only a paucity of information about them. Also, the Privy Council was busy manoeuvring troops, and mulcting the people of rich fines for irregularities last year.

The few records of conventicles this year are from January to March, at which time also many new garrisons were established, and letters of intercommuning issued. After this there is silence. Wodrow states that this year gave rise to the developing of an affectation to be in the fields, even when it was not absolutely necessary.\textsuperscript{4} Nevertheless, of what nature and of where these field meetings might be, we have little knowledge.

\textsuperscript{1} Sharp, 478, PCiv 425, 428.
\textsuperscript{2} Cunningham ii, 112.
\textsuperscript{3} Sharp, 478.
\textsuperscript{4} WH 388-89.
The Year 1676. In 1674 the Covenanters took the initiative, in 1675 the government did the same. This year we observe the stormy contest for supremacy gradually mounting. The opposer was breathing out fire in letters of intercommuning, imprisonments, and devastating fines; and the opposed were meeting more secretly, better armed, and in more remote places — and more often. Burnet said, "The field conventicles increased mightily. Men came to them armed. And upon that great number were outlawed."¹ Wodrow observed, "...the Harvest and Winter was a Time of very hot Persecution through the Country, and an outed Minister scarce might venture to appear. Several Ministers who had preached in the South, retired to Northumberland."² Welsh, to date the most active preacher in the field presbytery, was one of these men.

Edinburgh was twice fined for private meetings, once for the all-time high of £200, and once for £50. The small towns of Durham and Largo were fined £1,200 Scots. In May, between fifty and sixty ministers secretly met in Edinburgh to discuss their future policy in the light of growing difficulties. Eight meetings were held in the fields at night, and several communions came to the attention of the Privy Council.

William Veitch, a new preacher, and a relative of Lauderdale, conducted a field meeting on Lauderdale's estate, at Blue Cairn. We are told that two large conventicles were held.

¹. Burnet II, 155-56.
². Wi 433.
one on Lilliesleaf Moor, and the other near Dumbarton. Thousands were in attendance, and at both meetings soldiers arrived and attempted to disperse the crowd, but fled before unarmed men and women. The Baillie-deputy of Glasgow was fined and dismissed for his inability to prevent field conventicles in the neighbourhood of that city.

On the whole, meetings were not located in any special area this year. They were conducted in all places where they had been held before, with the possible exception of Ayrshire. We can see the advent of several new ministers, not in the original list of those outing in 1662. Before several of them retired to England, there were around twenty preaching in the fields.

The Year 1677. Though field meetings are not so thoroughly noted in the records of the Privy Council this year as the year before, yet it is evident they were on the increase. In the Spring Welsh, seeing the temperament of the people was still to oppose the authorities, returned to Scotland, and his meetings continued as before. So popular were the meetings in Renfrew that soldiers had to be stationed at the gates of Glasgow to prevent the throngs from marching out on Sunday mornings to attend the presbytery in the fields. Wodrow said a good part of the nation wholly disowned the

1. The reports of this meeting seem to be in disagreement regarding the presence of armed men. SeeWi 433, and Stewart The Covenanters of Teviotdale, 95ff.
2. Wi 447, PCv 158, Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow, 260.
episcopal clergy and the church they represented.  

Two large communions were held at Roxford in Teviotdale, and at Maybole in Ayr. Many other specific references are made to conventicles, most of which centred in Galloway, Ayr, and Renfrew. There were at least twenty ministers who regularly preached in the fields.

The authorities were far from inactive at this time. In August heritors, who had long since been required to take bond for their tenants, were now forced to comppear with them before the Council, when offences were being made. In November a resolution was taken to make ready a force of Highlanders to prevent rebellion in the western shires. And in December a letter from the King arrived sanctioning this action.

The year 1678. This year begins with one of the greatest blunders of the King and Privy Council, the order for the coming of the Highland Host. The records of the Council stand as the greatest witness against them for this action, for they knew too well the character of these men because of their numerous offences in previous years. They were notorious for cattle raiding, warring among themselves, and robbing the lowlands. So pestilent had they become, and so little trusted

1. Wi 435.
2. Wi 449.
3. For a full account of this document Wi, Appendix LXXX, 174 may be consulted.
4. Ibid. 497.
by the authorities, that they were forbidden to travel on
the open roads with more than household servants.¹ Such men
were ordered upon the south and west to set aright the
weighty matters involved in church versus state! They were
an untrained, unpaid army of fierce north-country inhabi-
tants who, in many cases, did not even speak the English
language. They were to be paid by the inhabitants of the
land, and were given the right of free-quartering wherever
they chose. They enjoyed a plenary indemnity in all they
did; and had power to kill, wound, apprehend, and imprison
such as made opposition to the King's authority.² Such
merciless severity followed that the Duke of Hamilton, and
the Earls of Athole and Perth went to London to complain to
the King. But Charles would not be troubled, and sent them
away unsatisfied. And, to prevent further representation
from his Scottish nobility, he issued an Act preventing
noblemen from leaving Scotland without permission.³ So low
had jurisprudence sunk that even the aristocracy of the land
were denied recourse to justice!

The Highland Horde came! And in two brief months these seven
thousand men had abused seventeen thousand families. In Ayrshire
alone they did £137,499 damage.⁴ Full and detailed accounts of
their deeds have been recorded by historians, and need not

¹ E.g., PCiii 222, 277, 312, v, Introduction, xxi, and
v 36, 38, 87, 92-99, 235, 289, 361-64, etc.
² A good history on this brief period is by John R. Elder,
The Highland Host of 1678, Glasgow, 1914.
³ PCv 304.
⁴ Wi 453, 480ff, Herkless, Richard Cameron, 60, Aiton,
Drumlog and Bothwell Bridge, 32ff.
to be entered into here in any detail. It is surprising that they were not recalled before the end of February, when they actually did go home, many of them made rich by their looting of poor people. They disappeared into their deep, misty glens, leaving broken hearts, dead bodies, and the whole problem they had been sent to set aright exacerbated.

The government again turned its thoughts to the Bond, making it universal in an Act from the Privy Council, February 11.¹ By May a letter arrived from the King, expressing his great displeasure over the failure of the Highland Host, and stating his intention to establish a standing army in Scotland, to be paid for by a tax, or "cess" levied on the people.² On July 10 the Convention of Estates decreed that £180,000 over the period of five years was to be raised to maintain this army whose purpose was to destroy forever "these dangerous field-conventicles, declared by Law Rendez-vouses of Rebellion."³

We have little information about meetings in the fields during the Highland Plague, except for a few in remote places. However, in the spring the Covenanters gave their answer to the Host from the north in the form of a three-day communion conventicle, convened at Skeochhill in Irongray, where no less than fourteen thousand had assembled! A few days later the Privy Council

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1. W1 527.
2. Loc. cit.
retaliated by capturing James Learmont while he and Arnot were holding a conventicle opposite the Bass, and promptly executed him. But from every drop of his blood a new recalcitrant sprang up. In August Riddell convened a meeting in Ayr where between seven thousand and ten thousand waited for the Word of Life.

By this time many meetings were held at night, and nearly all were attended by armed men. But two new developments in the history of conventicles come to the fore this year: the building of conventicle houses, and the recording of messages preached in the fields. Actually, such houses had been erected the previous year in Ayr and Renfrew, but now they were spreading throughout the land. The Privy Council issued frequent orders for their demolition. Six of the scores of sermons delivered this year have been preserved, whereas we have only one from the previous year; and these in addition to two sermons preached in 1675 make up the total of printed messages to date.

The Year 1679. Archbishop Sharp had been personally responsible for the hanging of James Mitchell who had been suspected of making an attempt on his life. By this time Mitchell had been dead over a year, and the Primate's sense of personal safety was regained. He instigated an Act denouncing conventicles, making entry into all houses legal in search of outlawed ministers. Then, on May 1, he passed through
the Council an Act empowering the army to pursue to the death, both preachers and laymen. Just two days after this Act Sharp, the second-to-the-throne in Scotland, was murdered on Magus Moor, a few miles from his home. He died begging mercy from the men he had just condemned to be murdered by an Act of Council!

The Council, who were possibly glad to be rid of Sharp, took advantage of the affair to strengthen severities. They proclaimed an Act against travelling with arms, except for noblemen. This was indeed a strange combination of laws: the standing army which might kill at will, and men prevented from carrying arms to protect themselves! To this action the King agreed, and made arms-bearers punishable as traitors.

In response to these severities, a deputation of ministers and laymen published a declaration at Rutherglen, May 29, the anniversary of the King's restoration. Mac Gregor, in his History of Glasgow, felt this group had at first intended the more daring plan of affixing their declaration to the cross at Glasgow, but changed their minds because of the large garrison of soldiers stationed there. This Rutherglen Declaration condemned (1) the Act Rescissory, (2) the Act restoring prelacy, (3) the Act requiring office-bearers to abjure the Covenant, (4) the Act deposing Presbyterian clergy, (5) making

1. Immediately after Sharp's death the Council wrote the King, "We could not but acquaint your sacred majesty by this express, by which your majesty may easily consider whether we have been needlessly jealous of the cruelty of that sect, that is by our enemies said to be unnecessarily persecuted by us: and by which, and the many late murders committed upon your soldiers, and others, for doing your service...." Sharp, 606.
2. Wil 38.
3. P. 263.
the King's birthday a holy day, (6) the Act of Supremacy,
and (7) the Act establishing indulgences. It closed with a
hope that God would overthrow the Stuarts.

The publication of the Rutherglen Declaration was
especially odious, because it came so soon after the murder
of Sharp; and Claverhouse was sent to apprehend the offenders.
The encounter at Drumclog soon followed, with a defeat to
Claverhouse. With the sweet smell of success in the air the
Covenanters felt the time was ripe to realize their intentions
of giving Scotland "back to God." Their numbers multiplied,
and in June they encountered the Duke of Monmouth and his
English troops, only to be completely defeated.

There were eighteen ministers present for this "great
battle of the Lord," two of whom, Kid and King, were executed,
thus ending their brief ministries of nine years. John Wel-
wood met his untimely end from consumption at Perth, April 16.
He was spared the bitter disappointment that would have natur-
ally been his, for he was one of the "hottest" preachers, a
zealot who advocated violent overthrow of the government by
whatever means God should ordain. Cameron was in Holland at
the time, or he most certainly would have been in the fore-
front of the battle. Chief among the ministers present were
Cargill, Douglas, King, Kid, Welsh, and Hume. Within a few
days after the battle there appeared a list of men to be appre-
hended for being at Bothwell Bridge, thirteen of whom were

1. Wii 44.
ministers. Seven of these were new men, who began preaching well after the outing of 1662. Soon after a letter arrived from the King reiterating the "Black Act of 1670," making preaching in the fields punishable by death, and attendance at such meetings to be dealt with in ever-increasing fines. An Act of Indemnity for being present, or fighting at Bothwell Bridge was soon offered to all but a few of the hottest "trumpets of sedition." Ministers were now granted permission to preach if they would take the Bond to live peaceably, and to surrender themselves when called to appear before the Council on the penalty of 6,000 merks.

The activity in the fields this year paralleled these events. There were "twenty sabbaths of meetings" until the time of Sharp's death. They then increased during the following weeks like an avalanche. But after the defeat at Bothwell Bridge we have practically no meetings in the fields the remainder of the year. We have records of George Johnston, Donald Cargill, and two new and young preachers, James Riddell, and James Welsh each preaching once. Toward the end of the year Richard Cameron returned to "bloody Scotland," and found only Cargill and Thomas Douglas to welcome him.

1. PGvi 260.
2. Ibid. 264.
3. Ibid. 320.
4. Symson claims this year that, "...the ill-used Presbyterians found it necessary, for further security, to unite all their religious meetings into one great central conventicle, sometimes appointed to convene in one place, sometimes in another — all being resolved to defend themselves, if attacked." History of Galloway ii, 219-20. This is not the case for this year, but might well be said of 1678 instead.
a. "Bishop's Drag-net"
b. Court of High Commission restored
c. Pentland Uprising
d. First Indulgence
e. Death penalty for preaching at FC
f. Second Indulgence
g. Coming of the Highland Host
h. Death penalty for preaching at or attending FC
i. Death of Cameron
j. Execution of Cargill
k. The "Killing Time"
l. Death penalty for preaching at or attending either FC or HC
m. "The Blink"
n. The Revolution

CHART I
NUMBER OF PREACHERS IN THE FIELDS
PHASE III: The Eclipse of Conventicles, 1680-1688

The Year 1680. As early as 1672 Charles II had granted an unlimited indulgence to ousted ministers in England. Many of these could not find church buildings for their congregations, and built meeting-houses, or held services in unusual places. Since the advent of the indulgences some of the Scottish ministers who accepted them erected meeting-houses; and some who were not indulged also ventured to do the same. On May 14 the Privy Council ordered newly licensed ministers who had taken the Bond not to build such places of worship within a mile of "a regular kirk." Naturally, these meeting-houses were well attended (in contrast to the churches of the Episcopal Clergy), and the Council took every possible excuse to close these places of worship. In June George Johnston was evicted from his make-shift church, and it was demolished. The meeting-house at Berwick was also closed, as was the one at Preston. That same month all such buildings in Fife were to be destroyed.

On June 22 Cameron and twenty angry men, with drawn swords, advanced on Sanquhar with a manifesto which Cameron declared would "shake the throne of Britain." And truly it did, for it has the historic significance of being the first document in the drama of the Revolution Settlement. This

1. Such meetings were held in upper rooms, barns, malting floors, gardens, houses, buildings in orchards, halls belonging to the public companies, and even chambers in ruined monasteries and cellars in old castles. See J. Brown, From the Restoration to the Revolution, 108.
2. PCIV 470.
declaration said, "We do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper and all the men of his practices." Within days an order was issued for the arrest of these men, and a price of 5,000 merks was placed on the heads of Cargill and Cameron. On the 20th of July, Cameron and a band of sixty-three men were attacked at Ayrmoss, and Cameron was killed.

Conventicles this year were decidedly on the decline. There were about ten meeting-houses where meetings were being regularly held, all of which were to be closed before the end of the year. In March there was a large field conventicle at Berwick, which probably occasioned the closing of the meeting-house there in June. On the 28th of the month Blackader held his last field meeting in Livingston, before leaving for Holland. Until July Cameron was found more in the fields than any other; and after his death Cargill claimed the day. The most famous meeting held this year was by Cargill at Torwood in September, when he excommunicated the King, the Duke of York, and several of the nobles in the land. Besides Cameron and Cargill we find George Johnston still in the fields. We also note the advent of such new men as John Hepburn, Walter Denoon, and James Ker. William Bell, Donaldson, George Hamilton, and James Rymer also held conventicles this year. Though Cargill was not exactly alone in the fields after the death of Cameron, as is often said or implied, yet it is almost the case, for the other men held very few meetings at this time.
The Year 1681. Until July 10 we find thirteen conventicles listed, six of which were conducted by Cargill. Soon after he was apprehended and executed with two young aspirants to the ministry, Walter Smith and James Boig.

Cargill was dead, after holding meetings nearly every Sunday this year to the time of his execution. Welsh and Semple had retired to England, Cameron had been killed in battle, King and Kid were executed two years previous, Welwood had died before Bothwell Bridge, Fraser of Brea was in prison in London, Riddell was living in exile in New Jersey, and Bruce had been sent back to Ireland. If Fleming and Kirkton were preaching at all this year their meetings were so small that they escaped the attention of the authorities. Only Peden, among the loudest "trumpets of sedition," remained free to blow out the gospel tones over the moors and glens. Wodrow said that from the death of Cargill to the advent of Renwick there were only house meetings, though we have some evidence that Peden preached the following year.1

But before Cargill's capture and execution we find such men as John Law, Thomas Forrester, Alexander Hastie, Alexander Wedderburn, John Wardlaw, Robert Law, James Pringle, and "other ministers"2 still holding "rendezvouses of rebellion" in the fields.

In the government we find the heads of state resting more easily. The Duke of York had come to Scotland to take

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1. Wii 177.
2. PCvii 147.
the evicted Lauderdale's place on the Privy Council, and was as well received as if he had not been an "avowed Papist." One of the first acts of legislation his crafty mind forced on Parliament was the Test Act, requiring all who took it to recognize the supremacy of the monarch in matters civil and ecclesiastical, to promise to live by the episcopal form of church government, and to promise perpetual submission to the present form of government with no attempt to alter it in any way.¹ This Test was forced upon all persons in public offices, including ministers. All clergymen who refused to take it must be ousted by January 1, 1682.²

The most important event this year was the organization of the United Societies. These were cottage cell-groups of a maximum of ten to twelve persons. They used democratic rule, with double honour given to the ministers. They held gatherings once a week, and services lasted about four hours, involving prayer, spiritual conference, and psalm-singing. The meetings were to avoid all ostentation, yet not to be clandestine in nature. Active members should visit the negligent and expel the inactive. Prayers should include petitions for the lost house of Israel, the second coming of Christ, the enlightenment of the pagans, and those deceived by the Quakers, Arminians, and Popery. The first of these meetings was held on December 15.³

¹. APviii 243.
². PCvii 297.
³. See Walter Smith's Rules and Directions, in WKii 73ff.
The United Societies were formed after the death of Cargill because of the scarcity of preaching, and the comparative safety of meeting indoors. They were "hot" on the issues of the day, and would not hold fellowship with the indulged clergy, or anyone who would differ with them on this issue. For this reason they even refused so great a man as Peden.\textsuperscript{1} These societies sent representatives to a district meeting monthly, and quarterly to the general meeting.\textsuperscript{2}

The Year 1682. Another declaration was posted at Lanark in January by the "Cameronians," as they were now being called. The Test and Succession Acts were burned, the latter of which was the most recent "brain-child" of the Duke of York, which made it impossible for Charles' natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, to come to the throne, and at the same time, made succession irrespective of religious affiliation. Hence, York was the heir-apparent to the throne of Britain, and he was an "avowed papist." Within a very few days the Privy Council retaliated in a childish manner by also burning the Covenant, and the declarations published at Rutherglen, Sanquhar, and Lanark.\textsuperscript{3}

This is a year full of violence. Sir George Mackenzie and Graham of Claverhouse were especially active rooting out previous offenders. Fleming, Kirkton, and Peden were pursued day and night, but managed to avoid capture. On June 9

\textsuperscript{1} Carlaw, Letters of Renwick, 10.
\textsuperscript{2} Wodrow i 227.
the Council libelled seven ministers for house conventicles, though their activity may have been during previous years.\textsuperscript{1} It is interesting to note that only one of these men was on Wodrow's list of evicted ministers, six having come to the fore since 1662. It is plain that the policy of the Privy Council toward house meetings had changed, for Lauderdale had been of the opinion that the bishops should proceed moderately in prosecuting house conventicles, for if the people were permitted to meet within doors, they would stay out of the fields.\textsuperscript{2}

The first three months of this year were given to an outburst of field meetings in Perth, all conducted by zealous youths such as James Rymer, Robert Gillespie, Thomas Arnot, John Harroway, John Ferguson, and John Moncreif, two of whom were destined to be Presbyterian pastors in the Revolution Settlement Church. Three other older men, Henry Erskine from England, John Linlithgow, and John Mc Gilligen also dared to hold meetings in the fields. Patrick Walker tells us that this is the year in which Peden preached so often. His two published sermons were probably preached this year. We also find the United Societies held their four quarterly meetings as planned. There are no other references to meetings. House conventicles, except those conducted by the United Societies had either entirely ceased, or were kept so secret that nothing is known of them.

\textsuperscript{1} Will. 258. \textsuperscript{2} Burnet ii 323.
The Year 1683. This is the year of the Ryehouse Plot, which was an attempt to overthrow the Stuart Dynasty, and to send Charles and James to the same end as their father. Many Scottish noblemen were executed, and torture was used frequently. The government ironically announced after fourteen years of bloody persecution "that gentleness had failed, and that severity must be tried." ¹

Very few meetings were conducted in the fields. The four we have account of were by James Renwiek, lately come from Holland, where he had been ordained. Before his first meeting in October we have no account whatever of any meetings not sanctioned by law, except four general meetings of the United Societies.

The Year 1684. This year Anthony Schaw and Alexander Dunbar held one field conventicle each. The remainder of such meetings were all conducted by James Renwiek. He was so active that Shields says he baptized six hundred children throughout the year.² And on November 8, Renwiek and his followers published at several crosses their Apologetic Declaration, in which they denounced Charles II as their King, and declared him an enemy of Christ, and that he should be violently overthrown. In response to this the Council empowered soldiers to kill in the fields without process of the law all who hesitated to take the newly enacted Test Act.

¹. Cunningham ii 132.
². Life of Renwick, 52.
These soldiers had no limited instructions, and many met death at their hands. Hence, this brief period has been known as "the killing time." Simpson says, "the furnace was heated to a degree of intensity past endurance, and every man's life hung in doubt before his eyes."\(^1\) Walker shared a common opinion that this severity was adopted to provoke an open rebellion so that the Duke of York would have occasion to commit wholesale murder of the Protestants.\(^2\)

On the 27th of the month there appears an order in the register of the Council that all indulged ministers were to be put out because they refused to obey orders, and also would not take the bond.\(^3\)

**The Year 1685.** The Scottish Parliament met on April 3 because Charles II had died. Rumours had it that he was poisoned by his papist brother, who was now declared King. After acknowledging James in the most fawning way possible the Parliament turned its attention to conventicles. Desiring to please their new master they now made attendance as well as preaching at conventicles a capital offence.

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\(^1\) *Life of Renwick*, 130. Mac Gregor, in his *History of Glasgow*, said of that city during this time, "The Tolbooth was so much overcrowded that all the prisoners could not lie down at one time, but had to take turns." .268.

\(^2\) WKi 302.

\(^3\) Wii 354.
Parliament Doth Statue and Ordain That all such as shall hereafter preach at such fanatical house or field-conventicles As also such as shall be present as hearers at field Conventicles, shall be punished by Death and confiscation of their Goods.¹

It was also decided that failing to witness against relatives and friends for attending conventicles was an act of treason, punishable by death. Swearing covenants, or holding them as binding, was also a capital offence.² These laws were constituted the utmost degree of severity; nothing further could be legislated, and little more was attempted!

The fearless Renwick responded to this severity with unflinching bravery by posting for the second time in a few years, a declaration at Sanquhar. He rode into the town with no less than two hundred armed men, and there, after prayer, "he read and affixed to the Market Cross a Declaration similar to that of Richard Cameron about five years before."³ The declaration dealt largely with the attitude of the Cameronians toward James II. Their convictions were: (1) James as governor of Scotland had murdered Covenanters, (2) his religion was held as contrary to law, (3) he, not being covenanted, could not lawfully rule a covenanted country, (4) he was actually the representative of Antichrist.⁴ This document was in stronger language than that of Cameron, and it was published with far

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1. APviii 461.
2. Loc. cit.
more pomp; but the King was occupied with two far more serious threats to his authority, the plot of his natural nephew, the Duke of Monmouth in England, and the expedition of the Earl of Argyle in Scotland.\footnote{1}

Conventicles this year were largely in Renwick's hands. He preached every Sunday, and oftentimes during the week. Reading his letters, and his biography by Shields, his personal companion, one staggers at the number of sermons, baptisms, marriages, and Society meetings at which he officiated. But, unfortunately, we have very few specific references to locations of his meetings.

Besides Renwick, we find Peden holding two meetings, and Robert Duncanson, and Duncan Campbell holding meetings in Argyll, presumably rallying support for the invasion proposed by the Earl of Argyle. Besides Renwick, the Privy Council also named John Flint, Thomas Douglas, and George Barclay as active.\footnote{2} Thomas Forrester also held at least one meeting this year.

The Year 1686. This year begins with the death of a Titan. Alexander Peden, "Prophet of the Covenant," and undoubtedly the most colourful of the field preachers, was literally hunted to death on January 26. The dragoons had hotly pressed him for several days, but God had safely cast His cloak over "puir auld Sandy." When the soldiers did reach

\footnotesize{1. Carslaw, \textit{Letters of Renwick}, 117.}
\footnotesize{2. PCxi 232.}
their goal, they were disappointed to discover it was a new grave. Peden had quietly made his departure from this turbulent world in the home of his brother, near the place where he had been born exactly sixty years before. This year also marked the advent of another Alexander — Alexander Shields, who was to be called the "Philosopher of the Covenant."

After making his escape from the Bass Prison in the attire of a woman, Shields was received on December 22 as a Society preacher.

This is the period known as "The Blink," for James II, seeking shelter for his Roman Catholic subjects, was forced to tolerate the Presbyterians as well. House meetings were now made legal, but field conventicles were pursued with increased rigour and Renwick, the only person who dared to preach regularly in the fields, became the most hunted man in Scotland. The former price of £100 reward was raised to £300, dead or alive.

Meetings this year were conducted almost exclusively by Renwick. We read of Thomas Forrester holding a conventicle in a kiln, and Langlands and Alcorn, two supporters of the expedition of the Earl of Argyle, holding services either in house or field. Renwick refers to their activity, saying it was kept in a great measure obscure. The United Societies had seven general meetings throughout the year, the most they had had in any year to this time.

1. Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 150.
The Year 1687. James, failing to legislate through Parliament any further toleration for his fellow Roman Catholics, now decided to exercise his royal prerogative. He annulled all laws against Catholics, and declared them worthy of public office. In July the Privy Council granted a general toleration for all meetings by ordained ministers, regardless where they might be conducted, with the one exception of meetings in the fields. The Council also required that the location of such gatherings, the name of the minister to preach, and the duration of the services must be reported to them.\(^1\) Under this toleration we find nearly sixty ministers returning to activity this year and next, eighteen of which had been ordained after the outing in 1662.

We read of one field conventicle being conducted by Samuel Arnot, and another by David Houston. All other meetings reported this year were convened by James Renwick. The government increased its effort to capture him, but failed in each case.\(^2\) Literally, a whole army was hunting for one man, but without success.

The Year 1688. Our period comes to a close with the capture, trial, and execution of James Renwick, the last of Scottish martyrs, and one of the last to preach in the fields. He was executed February 17, three days after his twenty-sixth birthday.

1. Wii Appendix CXXVII, 186.
2. Simpson said fifteen desperate attempts had been made to capture him this year. See his *Life of Renwick*, 171.
birthday, for disowning James II as the legitimate King of Britain — something the entire country was to do within a few months.

Renwick must have held at least ten services in January of this year, the last of which was at Bo'ness, January 29. Alexander Shields, who loved Renwick as Jonathan loved David, held a memorial service for him on Crawford Moor, March 11. In November he returned to preach there again. Gabriel Semple had preached the first illegal conventicle November 8, 1662, at Corsock Hall, and now Shields, on November 9, 1688, twenty-six years and a day later, preaches the last. For the next two months all Britain breathlessly waited to see whether King William would prove to be that deliverer prophesied by voices now silent in death, or whether they must return again to the fields to defy the Erastian evils of the day.
APPENDIX I
A RECORD OF CONVENTICLES

The following list has been compiled from references to irregular, or unlawful religious meetings conducted by Presbyterian ministers during this entire period. Even a casual perusal will convince the reader this record is far from complete. However, it is as complete as possible, having been gleaned from all sources available. It must also be confessed that there are possibly errors, for the clandestine nature of many of these conventicles forces us to make allowance for the possibility of wrong information. But, on the whole, we trust the record which follows presents in general what it is unable to do in every specific reference. In every case we have listed all the vital information about each meeting, such as date, location, ministers present, and unique characteristics.

The following list of abbreviations will be used:

FC = Field Conventicle(s), or field conventicler.
HC = House Conventicle(s)
Mtg(s) = Meetings without a specific designation, being either a HC or a FC.
GMUS = General Meeting of the United Societies.
Merse = The Covenanters of the Merse..., by J. Wood Brown.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Reference</th>
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<td>Sharp</td>
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<td>Aik</td>
<td>Annals of the Persecution in Scotland..., by James Aikman.</td>
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<td>PCI to PCxiii</td>
<td>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.</td>
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<td>Ladies</td>
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<td>K</td>
<td>The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland..., by James Kirkton.</td>
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<td>VB</td>
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<tr>
<td>(SP)</td>
<td>Sermon preached at the indicated conventicle has been published.</td>
</tr>
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<td>WKi and WKii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>The biography of the minister named, together with the author.</td>
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(NOTE: All other references are either given in full, or in the case of well-known works, by author, abbreviated title, or both).
THE YEAR 1662

November 8--HC and FC by Welsh and Semple begin at John Neilson's home, the Hall of Corsock every Sunday for the remainder of the year. Merse 72, Aik 133, Wil 49-53, Hewison ii 205, Symson, Galloway ii 172.

Remainder of the year--Mtgs by Blackader in churches of ministers in the Glenkens for the remainder of the year. Blk 111.

THE YEAR 1663

January--Mtgs by Blackader in churches of ministers in the Glenkens. Blk 111.

March and after--Peden began holding HC. Johnston 80.

March, or before--Archbishop Fairfoul reports several mtgs held in the "west country, which tended to the disturbance of the peace." Sharp 271.

All year--FC by Welsh at the Hall of Corsock every Sunday, Merse 72.

FC by Semple at Corsock Wood, and two others at the woods of Airds. Aik 124, PCI 520.

Mtgs by George Campbell and Hugh Henderson both of Dumfries, Archibald of Dunsoore, Irvine of Kirkmahoe, Paton of Terregles, Thomas Thompson, and "many others." PCI 462, 475, Aik 124-5.

Mtgs at Paisley. Ladies 264.

THE YEAR 1664

February 23--HC reported as being frequent in Edinburgh. PCI 511, Aik 118.

FC by Cargill and Blackader in the neighbourhood of Glasgow; Cargill's text was Isa. 44:3.

Mtgs outside Oxnam, with former pastor, John Scott serving communion. T 53.
FC on the increase in the south and in Fife. Aik 124, Symson, Galloway ii 151.

HC by Alexander Smith in Leith, for which he is banished. Aik 115, Wi 199.

Crookshanks and Bruce begin preaching in Scotland in the fields. PCI 441-2, 551, 588.

George Hamilton and others hold the Lord's Supper in houses in Fife, Moderators 115.

**THE YEAR 1665**

November, or before--A communion at Tulliallan, at which the Earl of Kincardine was present, even though he was a Privy Councillor. Sharp 307.

FC by Semple at Ochiltree. Aik 145.

FC by John Law at Kirkcaldy. Moderators 60

**THE YEAR 1666**

All year--FC by Welsh once weekly in his former parish of Irongray. Some attended the meetings armed. A letter from the King, January 25, speaks against these meetings. Wi 235.

All year--FC by Blackader "every Lord's Day," in the parish of Glencairn. Wi 235.

Summer--Blackader held HC in Edinburgh. Blk 135.

July--FC by Welsh at Galston Moor, and another at Shirraland, in Fenwick on July 11, and November 1. Wi 235.

October 10--FC by Peden at Ralston, in Kilmarnock, and another at Castle Hill in Craigie Parish. Both meetings were held at night. Wi 235.

October--FC by Semple at Auchmannoch, and another at Labrock Hill. Wi 235.

November 25—FC by Crookshanks, Guthrie and Semple at Lanark, prior to the battle at Pentland. Semple's text was Prov. 24:11-12. Wi 245, T 81.

November, after Pentland—FC by Bruce at West Calder, (SP). Kerr, 305, 322.

FC by Semple at Tarbolton. T 81.

Crookshanks noted as a frequent keeper of conventicles. Wi 235.

First FC kept in Teviotdale this year, at Melrose. T 213.

THE YEAR 1667

(no historical references to meetings can be found for this year)

THE YEAR 1668

May, or before--HC at Anstruther, which was attended by Lady Collernie, elder. PCii 467, 478, Hewison ii 233. Bruce was the preacher. The meeting was interrupted, and the minister banished.

May, or before--"frequent conventicles kept in several places" PCii 444.

May 7--FC in Ayr. Crookshanks i 238.

June, or before--Mtg at Largo. PCii 491.

July, or before--FC in Moray by John Mc Gilligan, Thomas Hog, and Thomas Urquhart. PCii 504, iii 23.

September--Blackader baptized and preached privately at Dunlop and Eaglesham. Blk 147.

Michael Bruce (prior to his capture in May) preached to several gatherings in the fields. "He ventured into several Places of the Nation, where few other Presbyterian Ministers had preached to any Numbers for some Years." Wi 290.

FC by Thomas Hog, at Forres. Hog 108.

Cargill broke his confinement beyond the River Tay. PCii 578, 582.
THE YEAR 1669

January 28—FC by Blackader at Fenwick, where he holds his first FC since Pentland. Mathieson ii 264. Blk 147.

February—HC by David Hume in Edinburgh. Wi 296, PCii 615.

March—HC at Widow Paton's house in Edinburgh. PCii 621, 626, iii 2.

April, and before—FC frequented in Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew, and Kirkcudbright. PCiii 3.

April, and after—FC increasing everywhere throughout the west, not on Sundays only, but on every day of the week. Mathieson ii 234, PCii 620.

May or June—FC by Matthew M'Kail near Paisley, with nearly 1,000 present. His text was Isa. 32:5. Wi 296.

May 31—Mtg in the Saltmarket, Glasgow, and a FC near Castletown, Andrew Morton and James Hamilton were the preachers, PCiii 626, Wi 320.

June—Blackader establishes a congregation at Bo'ness. Blk 148.

June—FC at the Barn of Murdeston, in Hamilton. Several such meetings had been conducted here before. Preachers were James Curry and Gilbert Hamilton. PCiii 626.

October 19 through December—The Privy Council complains of numerous conventicles. PCiii 124, 130.

Communion by Blackader in houses at Livingston. Blk 149.

FC by Blackader at the home of Lady Balcanquhal, which turned into such a large gathering it had to be held in the fields. This constituted the first FC in Fife, and was at Strathmiglo. Mathieson ii 264, Aik 193.

FC by Blackader and Dickson several times on the Lomonds, and at Kinross. Blk 151.

FC at the Moor of Livingston, where four ministers preached. Aik 184.

THE YEAR 1670

January—"Numerous conventicles" especially in Renfrew, Ayr, Stirling, Linlithgow, Lanark, and Dumbarton. PCiii 150, 160.
February 10—Two large FC near Kirkintilloch, by James Mitchell and James Hamilton. PCiii 132, 199, CK i 267.

April 7—HC at Lady Hilderston's house in Edinburgh, with Crichton as the preacher. For this meeting the city was fined £50. PCiii 168, Moderators 49.

April or before—HC by George Johnston, in Edinburgh. PCiii 161.

April—HC at Mr. Gray's house in Edinburgh. PCiii 169.

May—Four gentlemen were fined for holding conventicles in their houses. WI 320.

June 18—The first armed FC by Blackader and Dickson at Beath Hill, in Dunfermline, Fife. Dickson used the text I Cor. 25:25, and Blackader I Cor. 9:16. Soldiers were captured and forced to stay for this meeting. WI 322, Blk 146, Sharp 418, Aik 198, Symson Galloway ii 195, Galloway and the Covenanters 142, PCiii 181, 186, 206, 217, 230, 660, 665, CKi 270.

June or before—FC at Annandale, where Mr. James Taylor preached. PCiii 185.

June—FC by Welsh at Livingseat, in Carnwath Parish; and another at Glendogick. These meetings were attended by armed men. WI 346, PCiii 181, 190, 197, CKi 271.

July—Armed FC at Torwood, in Stirlingshire. CKi 271, Cunningham ii 107, PCiii 188, 207, 228, 258.

October—Three FC by Blackader at Balcanquel, John Dickson at Glenvale and David Hume at Blk 150.

November and December—Several conventicles with numerous preachers present. PCiii 546.

FC at Nithsdale, not far from Drumlanrig Castle, where sixty armed men attended. De Foe 284.

FC by James Urquhart at Penick, near Auldearn; several meetings FC at Knockando and Croy, where Thomas Ross, Alexander Fraser, Mc Gilligan, Hugh Anderson and young Gillespie, as well as others frequently preached. Bain, Lord Brodie His Life and Times, 126-29.

HC by Andrew Morton at Carmunnock, for which he was imprisoned. WI 321.

HC by Welsh at James Duncan's house. WI 346.
HC by Andrew Boyd at Carmunnock, frequently with his former flock. Aik 194.

HC frequently in Glasgow, where many citizens were fined for same. Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow 280.

THE YEAR 1671

Spring--FC by Blackader at Hilderston House, 800 present. Borrowstounness 130.

June 29--FC by Blackader at the Black Dub in Livingston, and another at the same place later in the year. Hume also spoke there this year. Blk 170.

All year--Alexander Moncreif, Simpson, Gilbert Hall, George Johnston, and Robert Fleming were active conducting FC. PCiii 546.

FC by Hume at the Black Dub in Livingston. Blk 170.

THE YEAR 1672

January and February--"Diverse conventicles kept within the barony of Glasgow." PCiii 463.

June--FC at Boghall in Wigtown, with Anna, Countess of Wigtown present. PCiii 555, 560.

July, or before--FC at Glendinning. PCiii 550.

July, or before--FC at Bridge of Earn. PCiii 559-61.

September 24--Secret meeting of outed ministers in Edinburgh, in Thomas Hog's room. John Ingles was chosen moderator. CKi 291.

Close of the year--Several FC in Kinross. Ladies 292.

FC at Glendoick, for which several were fined. Wi 346.

FC by Riddell at Bathgate. T 64.

Alexander and Carmichael were banished for holding FC this year. Wi 346.
THE YEAR 1673

February--FC by Robert Gillespie at Falkland. Péiv 40.
March, or before--FC in Wigtown. Péiv 31.
May, and before--FC frequently in the west. Péiv 47.
May, or before--FC at Clackmannan. Péiv 59.
June--FC by Peden at Knockdow, in Carrick. Johnston 86.
June--FC at Sheilbrae, Carmuch, Chartoshall, and Stirling. Péiv 106.
June--Mtq at John Wood's barn at Frosh. Péiv 106.
June--FC by Dickson at Kirkinner. Péiv 106.
June and July--Numerous FC at Auchenbow. Péiv 106.
July, or before--FC by Nathaniel Martin at Old Deer, Peterhead, and in his barn at Peterhead. Péiv 87.
August--Numerous FC in Stirlingshire on one sabbath. Péiv 97.
August--FC by John Welwood at Kilsyth. Péiv 143.
FC by Peden, for which he was apprehended. Péiv 64.
FC kept frequently all year in Kinross. Ladies 292.
Robert Fleming very active in FC this year. Sharp 83, 86.

THE YEAR 1674

January 2--FC by Blackader at Kinkel, near St. Andrews. He lectured on Psalm 2, and preached on Jer. 3. He also held another meeting there later in the year. Aik 229.

Early in the year--FC by Dickson at Crail, where Archbishop Sharp had been a Presbyterian minister. Aik 229.

Early in the year--Four FC on one sabbath, having a total attendance of 8,000: Welsh at Darquhair, near Coupar; Lockhart at Fathhead, near Kirkealdy; Blackader at Dunfermline; Welwood on the Lomond Hills. Aik 231. Blk 183-89.
February 24—FC by Thomas Forrester at Stirling. PCiv 140.

March—Two FC at Inverkeithing. PCiv 615.

April, or May—FC by Kirkton and Johnston in Cramond Kirk. PCiv 193.

April, or May—Six FC at Pilmor Brae. Wi 367, PCiv 194.

April, or May—FC at Ormiston, Bonnitown, Todshauch. PCiv 194.

April and May—FC by Welsh at Dunfermline, Cleish, Orwell, Kinross, Falkland, Kettle, Strathmiglo, Coupar, Pitseottie, Muir, Moonzie, Kirkton, Lothones, Kinconquher, West Barnes, Kinkell, Pathhead of Kirkcaldy, Arlary, Dalgety, Kennoway. PCiv 229.

May 3—Mtg by Riddell, who invaded the pulpit at Corstorphine Church. PCiv 420-21, 180.

May—John Law and George Hamilton became active as a FC. **Moderators** 61, 115.

September 24—FC on the Pentland Hills, William Bell and Robert Dick preachers. The meeting was interrupted, and ministers taken captive. Wi 427, PCv 43, 50, 53, vi 12.

October and before—John Law preached regularly. **Moderators** 61.

October and before—Frequent FC in the borders near Berwick. PCv 45.

October, or before—FC at Dunbar. PCv 46.

October, or before—FC by John Law at Campsie, Baldernock, Kilpatrick and Kippen. PCv 73.

October—FC at Prestonpans. PCv 40.

October, or before—FC at Culross. Wi 425.

November, or before—FC in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, Woodside, Partick, Cessnock Hill, Carnythe. James Dunlop of Househill, bailie-deputy of Glasgow, was fined 1,000 merks for failing to suppress conventicles in Partick and Woodside, and was declared incapable of holding office. Mac Gregor, *History of Glasgow*, 260, Wi 371, PCv 53.

November—Large FC at Ancrum, Jedburgh, Lintalee. Troops were sent to suppress them. PCv 63.
November 26— Two large FC held at Lilliesleaf Moor, near Dumbarton. In both meetings soldiers fled before unarmed worshippers. Wi 433, T 93ff. There were 300-400 armed men present, according to T. Blackader was one of the preachers.

December 10—HC by James Dalrymple at Helen Inglis' house in Edinburgh. The city was fined £50. PCv 83.

October to December—Armed FC held at Hassendeanmure and Backriddellhill. Preachers: Welsh, Blackader, David Williamson, and Robert Trail. PCv 79, 80, 178.

All year—Many mtgs held in Magdalene Chapel, Edinburgh, and in other churches in Glasgow. Wi 371.

Communion at night at Arnbeg, near Kippen. Moderators 61.

FC by Thomas Urquhart "under the bishop's nose." Lord Brodie 133.

Communion by Hugh Smith and Jamieson in the House of Haggs, near Glasgow, at night. Wi 416, Aik 256.

FC at Auchterderran, in Fife. PCv 13.

Steidman, George Haliburton, and James Duncan were active until the end of this year. PCv 24.

HC by Patrick Anderson in Edinburgh. PCv 424.

All year—Mtgs conducted by Steidman, George Haliburton, and James Duncan. PCv 24.

All year—HC by Patrick Anderson in Edinburgh. PCiv 424.

HC in Edinburgh by Welsh "for half a year." Ladies 253. Perhaps one of these meetings was at the Countess of Crawford's residence, "Struthers House." See Ladies 254, Wi 371.

Mtgs all year in Kinross. Ladies 292.

Welsh preached extensively throughout Fife this year. Wi 367.

FC by Welsh at Falkland Wood. Blk 183.

FC by Blackader at Balcarres in Fife, Lilliesleaf Moor, and with David Williamson at Haughhead. Blk 183-89.

David Williamson became active as a FC this year. Moderators 143.

HC regularly at Lady Campbell's. Ladies 512.

Large Communion in Obisdale, in the house of Lady Dowager of Fowlis. Anderson preached from II Chron. 30:18-19, Mc Gilligan from Song 5:1, and Mr. Fraser from Eph. 5:16. Later in the day Mc Gilligan preached the Thanksgiving sermon from I Chron. 29:18. Wi 393, The Church in the Highlands, 145.

(Note: Many of these meetings appear several times in the records of the Privy Council. To represent more accurately the occurrence of conventicles this year we have endeavoured to remove all repetition. However, it must be borne in mind, this is a difficult task, for we have no way of telling whether more than one, or how many meetings occurred in the same place).

**THE YEAR 1675**

January--FC by John Dickson at Little Govan. (SP) Faithful Contendings, p. 105.

January--A large HC at the House of Kinkell, near St. Andrews. PCiv 345.

January to March--FC by John Law at Campsie, Baldernock, Kils-...
THE YEAR 1676


February 24—Edinburgh fined £200 for HC from June, 1675 to February, 1676. Meetings were held at four different locations. PCiv 541, Wi 421.

February—Durham and Largo fined £1,200 for FC conducted there by Welsh. Wi 421.

May 20—Convocation of 50-60 ministers secretly met in Edinburgh. PCv 106.

May 29—Communion at Knockdowie, with Thomas Hog, and Mc Gilli-gen preaching. Lord Brodie 133.

Summer—FC by William Veitch at Blue Cairn on Lauder Moor, Hewison ii 256.

June 4 and 11—Two large FC at Dovan Moor beside Kennoway, in Fife, Cargill and Fraser of Brea(? ) preachers. PCv 12.

June 18—FC by George Barclay at Mossfennan. PCv 12.

June, last days—FC at Braehead. PCv 13.


July—HC in Glasgow. PCv 9.

August and before—Mtgs at night at Inveresk, Edmonston Chapel, Wolmet Chapel, Corstorphine, Borthwick, Kirkliston, Gladsmuir, Torwood.

August 4—FC by Riddell in Carrick (SP). Between 7,000 and 10,000 were present. Wodrow, Select Biographies, 484. Welsh preached in the afternoon; and Warner, Morton, Barclay and Cameron were present. Kerr 643, PCv 495.

August 13—FC by Riddell at Renfrew. T 70.

August 22—FC by John King on a fast day at Kilmarnock. (SP) Faithful Contending, Appendix, p. 30.

August and before—Frequent and large FC near Glasgow at Woodside, Partick, Cessnock, Carntyne. PCv 493.
August—HC in Edinburgh at Allan Cameron's house. PCvi 11.

Summer—FC by Arnot near Renfrew. Wi 524. PCvi 10.

Summer—Warner and Welsh held frequent FC in Galloway and Carrick. Wi 249.

September, or before—FC at Corphin, Killintringan, Newkirk of Luce. Welsh and Arnot were the preachers. PCvi 3.

September, or before—FC at Lintaleemuir, Hassendean, Back-riddellhill. PCvi 11.

October—FC near Culteuchar Hill by Forgandenny. Hewison ii 277.

October to December—HC at Sir William Fleming's house at Ferm, where "no less than fifteen ministers had preached." PCvi 139.

November 3—FC by Cargill at Patrick-loan (SP). Kerr, 469.

December—FC by Cargill at Quarrel-holes (SP). Kerr, 483.

December—Orders for demolishing a conventicle-house "recently constructed" at Castlemilk, near Annandale. PCvi 85.

Communion by Blackader and Welsh at Dalscarity-hill, near Kirkcudbright.

Armed FC by Blackader in Divan, Fife. Aik 317.

FC by Blackader at Kirkmahoe; text used was Heb. 13:1.

FC at Tinto Moor. PCv 424.

FC at Cherretrees. Wodrow, Select Biographies, 484.

All year—HC by Patrick Anderson in Edinburgh. PCv 424.

All year—FC at Williamwood, Cathcart. PCv 471, 474.

All year—FC each sabbath at Glenvale, in Kinross, to which meetings the parishes of Coupar, Kirkcaldy, Saline, and Diollar sent many attenders. Wodrow MSS, vol. xxxiii, no. 143, Ladies 240.

April, and before—Mtgs at Cleish, Dowhill, Auchtermuchty, Reddie, Balvaird, Pitlochry, Mou, Kinnesswood, Culross, Ballingry Parish, Beath Parish, Balbedy, Orwell Parish, Tilliboil Parish, Brigend of Cairney, Kinnemont, Glenvalle. PCv 173.

April, or before—Large FC in the borders at Berwick and Roxburgh. PCv 147.

April 7—FC by Welwood at Bankhead in Loudon Parish, (SP). Kerr 356.

June, or before—FC at Glasgow, Cathcart, Carmunnock, Mearns, Eastwood, with Welsh, Morton, Cargill, John King, John Law, and James Drummond preaching. PCv 173.

July, and before—Diverse FC in Lanark. PCv 220.

August, or before—FC by John Murray at Queensferry, several times. PCv 210.

Summer—FC by Welsh and Warner, held frequently in Galloway and Carrick. Wi 249, Exiles 36.

Summer—Two communions at Eckford in Teviotdale, and at Maybole in Ayre. Preachers were Welsh, Archibald, Riddell, Morton, Warner, and Barclay. Lauderdale Papers iii 88, Wi 436.

September—FC on the increase in Ayrshire. PCv 270.

September and October—Welsh, Semple, and Arnot held many mtgs. Ibid.

October, or before—"Several conventickling houses" set up in Ayr and Renfrew. Elder, Highland Host 13.

November 5—Mtg by Welsh at a meeting-house erected in the Parish of Girvan. 7,000 were present, including several preachers: Dick Cunningham, Gilchrist, Gilbert, and Robert Kennedy. Elder, Highland Host 10.

November—Several HC in the house of James Row, and on Thomas Robertson's land. PCv 273, 278.

November—FC in Ayr and Renfrew so numerous it was impossible for the authorities to suppress them. PCv 280.

FC by Michael Potter and William Adam at Culross. Wi 436.
FC by Dickson and Blackader east of Glasgow, on the Clyde-side, and late at night. (This is Walker's account of the origin of conventicles). WK Intro., xxix.

Communion at East Nisbet. Preachers: Welsh, Blackader, Dickson, Riddell, Rae. Aik 282.

FC at Haughhead by David Williamson. Moderators 143.

FC by Samuel Arnot at Kirkcudbright. Symson, Galloway 11, 207.

FC by Welsh in "a mountainous part of Ayrshire." Sharp 510.

HC all year by Patrick Anderson in Edinburgh. PCv 424.

FC all year at Blackcastle and Lammermoor, with Welsh, Johnston, and Hamilton and Hopes as preachers. PCv 364.

All year—where meetings are being kept "in every parosh allmost every week."

THE YEAR 1678

February 7—Order sent to the Earl of Cassillis to demolish all meeting houses in Carrick. The same was sent to the Earl of Kirkcudbright. PCv 520, 522, 530, 540.

February—Welsh, Johnston, Hamilton, and Hope preached at Bolton, Blackcastle, and Lammermoor, etc. Wi 519.

February, or before—FC at Prestwick, and Ayr; HC at John Muir's. PCv 543.

March, or before—Large FC at Roxburgh, on the borders. PCv 572.

March 16, or 18—FC by Welwood at Caldercruix, (SP). Kerr, 343.

Spring—Communion at Skeochhill and Meiklewood in Irongray, with Welsh, Blackader, Dickson as preachers. Riddell and Rae also attended. This meeting lasted three days, and had a total attendance of 14,000. Aik 320, Blk 197-203, Exiles 43ff, Symson, Galloway 11 209-211, Wodrow, Select Biographies 484.

May 5—FC by James Learmont and Samuel Arnot on Whitekirk Hills, against the Bass. The meeting was interrupted by soldiers and Learmont was captured and executed. Wi 519, Hewison ii 276.
May 5 (the Sunday before)--Three FC kept within four miles of Dumfries. (This probably means three sermons preached) Elder, Highland Host, 123.

May 14--FC at Cathcart, which was interrupted by soldiers, and sixty persons were taken captive. PCv 457, Aik 322.


May 19--HC in Edinburgh at the house of James Campbell. John Campbell preached. PCv 470.

May 21--FC by Welsh in Ayrshire. Elder, Highland Host, 124.

July--Two FC by John Kid (SP). Faithful Contendings, Appendix, p.7.

June, or before--Mtgs at Wolmet Chapel by Welsh; with Sharp eyewitness. CKi 320.

June, or before--FC in Dundee. PCiv 202.

June, or before--FC at Ravensheugh, Balmerino, Falkland, Collessie. PCiv 206.

June, or before--FC at Laird of Stevenson's ginrellhouse. PCiv 209.

June, or before--Mtgs at Kirkmahoe, Enderash, Edmonston Chapel, and Forgan. PCiv 449.

June 11--FC by Kirkton and Johnston in Cramond Kirk Yard; which was Kirkton's first FC. Aik 232, CKi 320.

June 23--Mtgs by William Weir at Magdalene Chapel in Edinburgh, for which the city was fined £100. Wi 367, CKi 320, PCiv 204-05, 219.

June 25--FC at the following places: Pitscottie Moor, Ravensheugh Kinkell, Balmanoch, Strathmiglo, Abernethy, Auchtermuchty. PCiv 449.

July to December--HC at seven different places in Edinburgh, at one of which John Greg preached. The city fined £100. PCiv 232-33.

July, or before--FC at Inversak, Restalrig, Borthwick, Kirkliston, Gladsmuir. PCiv 239.

July--FC by Welsh, Semple, Arnot, and Rae at Torwood. Wi 371, PCiv 239. (this is probably one of the meetings for July 16).
The Year 1679

January—Notice of a "newly built" meeting-house at Monigaff. PCvi 95.


February 9—FC by Welsh at Langside. Wii 5, Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow 261, PCvi 139.

February 20—FC at Glenvale and other places in Fife. Wii 5.

February—Patrick Simson, indulged minister, begins holding FC. Moderators 75.
February—Several mtgs at Ferm. Wii 5, Moderators 62. One of these was conducted by John Law, at the house of Sir William Fleming. Ibid, 61.

February, and before—Mosman held HC in Edinburgh, and Leith, and FC on Thomas Robert's land. PCvi 138.

March 20—FC near Loudon Hill. Wii 24.

March 21—FC by Semple (SP) at Mill-house, Kilbride. Faithful Contendings, Appendix, p. 122, T 84.

March 30—FC at Cumberhead in Lesmahagow, near Lanark. Wii 24, PCvi 161, 173-75.

March—FC by Semple at Langside. T 84.

March—HC at James Fae's house in Edinburgh, with James Dalrymple as preacher. PCvi 138, Wii 5.

April and before—HC frequently in Edinburgh at Elizabeth Crawford's house. PCvi 159.

May and before—"Twenty Sabbaths of meetings." Wii 24.

May 4—HC at Margaret Moor's house; Edinburgh. fined £50. PCvi 202.

May 4—HC by William Hamilton at Mrs. Durham's house. Wii 35.

May 25—FC at Fishaw-burn, on Lambhill Moor. Aiton 50.

May—FC by Thomas Wilkie and Francis Irvine at Galashiels, at which the ministers were captured and sent to the Bass. Wii 40, PCvi 207.

May—FC by Blackader at Falomoor in Livingston. Aik 360.


May—FC by Riddell at Kippen, and Fintry Craigs. T 70-71.

May—FC at Glaister Law, or Hairlawhill, eight miles from Darvel. Hewison ii, 300.

June 1—FC by Douglas at Hairlaw, about a mile north-west of Loudon Hill. Aiton 51, Symson, Galloway ii 221, Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow, 263.

June 2-3—HC by Peter Kid, John Greg, William Violent at the house of Mauldaly. PCx 122.
June 8—FC by Kemp and Douglas at Rutherglen. VB 455.

June, or before—FC by Blackader at Torphichen, Bo'ness, Galawater, Dalscairth on a Saturday night, in the fields against the Bass. Blk 258.

June, or before—Brysson attended FC at Galawater "every sabbath all summer long." VB 280. (we doubt these meetings continued with any regularity, if at all, after Bothwell Bridge).

June, or before—FC by Welsh at a hill called Ruberslaw. VB 281.

June, or before—FC by Riddell at Lochleggan. VB 439.

June, or before—FC at Bribloch. VB 446.

June, or before—FC by Thomas Wilkie at Clovenfords. T 222.

June, or before—Vacant pulpits invaded by unlicenced ministers at Orwell, Ceres, Coats, Newburn, Stentown, Lathallan. PCvi 494.

(NOTE: the following meetings are all after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge).

June 29—FC by George Johnston. PCvi 324.

August 24—FC at James Wilson's barn, with James Riddell as preacher. PCviii 9.

August 31—FC at Carrington. PCviii 9.

September—FC by Cargill on Lam. 3:31-32. Wii 8.

November—Meeting-house closed in Linlithgow. PCvi 334.

November—Meeting-houses in Inverkeithing and Kirkcaldy to be closed. PCvi 341.

November 30—FC at Carrington, with James Welsh as preacher. PCviii 9.

September to December. Large FC kept in "the great teind barne" on the grounds of the Earl of Tweedale," at which seven ministers preached. The Earl was fined £50. PCvi 487, 493.

All year—HC at John Row's house. PCvii 134.
THE YEAR 1680

January—FC on the grounds of the Earl of Monteith. PCvi 431.

February 1—FC by George Johnston. PCviii 9.

March 14—FC by James Ker on The Grange in Roxburghshire. T 161, PCvi 436, 450, Wii 127.

March 28—FC by Blackader at New-house in Livingston. This meeting was his last public address, and was held at night. Wii 47.

March—FC in Pencaitland. Wii 127.

March, or before—Large FC at Berwick and Peebles. PCvi 430.

March, or before—FC by John Hepburn and Walter Denoon in Moray, Nairn, and Inverness. PCvi 431; also active in Ross, PCvi 417.

April—"Fellowship meetings" by Cameron and Cargill at Darmead, Cambusnethan. Hewison ii, 327.

May 20—FC by Cameron (SP). Kerr 403.

May 28—FC by Cameron (SP). Kerr 419.

May 30—FC by Cameron at Hindbottom or near Shawhead (SP). Kerr 426.

May—FC on a Fast Day by Cameron and Cargill at Auchintilloch, Lesmahagow. Hewison ii 327.

May, or before—Large FC at Inverkeithing. PCvi 447.

June 10—Meeting-house at Newbattle to be demolished, and George Johnston to be evicted. PCvi 463, 466.

June 17—Meeting-house at Berwick to be demolished where Luke Ogill is preaching. PCvi 471

June 17—Meeting-house at Preston to be demolished where Gilbert Rule is preaching. PCvi 471

June 17—All meeting-houses in Fife to be closed, viz., at Coats in Newburn, Stenton, on Lord Newark's ground, Lathallan in Kilconquhar. PCvi 471.

June, or before—FC by George Hamilton and James Rymer in Fife. Moderators 115.
July 8—FC by Cameron at Carluke (SP). Kerr 441.

July 18—FC by Cameron on Kype Water, Avondale (SP). Kerr 453. This was his last service.

July 25—FC by Cargill in the Parish of Shotts. This was a memorial service for Cameron. Logan, United Free Church 14.

July 1—Order to demolish the meeting-house at Prestonhaugh, in Haddington. PCvi 485.

August 1—FC by Cargill at Craigmad. Wii 10

Summer—FC by John Veitch in the parish of Greenlaw, at Dogden Moss. Merse 167.

September—FC by Cargill at Torwood (SP). Kerr 491, Carslaw, Life 101, PCvi 602, vii 35.

September—FC by Cargill (SP). Kerr 520, Carslaw, Life 101-02.

September, and before (possibly as far back as January)—Large FC kept in "the great Teind barne" on the grounds of the Earl of Tweedale, for which he was fined £50, at which seven ministers preached. PCvi 487, 493.

October 5 (before)—FC near the Bridge of Linlithgow. PCvi 553.

October—Two FC by Cargill. Carslaw, Life 104.

October—FC by Cargill at Holms Common, near the junction of the Biggar Water with the Tweed. Carslaw, Life 117.

October—FC by Donaldson at Ancrilow. PCviii 9.

October—FC in Westruther. PCvi 554.

November 15—FC at PCvi 601.

November—FC at Roxburgh or Selkirk. PCvii 583, Ladies 317.

November or December—HC by William Bell in Edinburgh. The minister was taken captive. PCvi 601.

December—HC in Aberdeen at the house of George Pyper. PCvi 601.

HC by Blackader at John Row's house. PCvi 601, vii 134.
THE YEAR 1681

January—Several FC in East Lothian. Wii 230.

Early in the year—HC by Thomas Wilkie at John Murray's house in Philiphaugh. PCvii 165.

Early in the year—HC by John Hepburn in the Kirkgate of Dumfries. PCix 372.

Early in the year—HC by John Hepburn at Neatherwood. PCix 372.

February or March—HC at the house of Agnes Carmichael. PCvii 138.


March 14—FC by John Law. PCviii 9.

April—HC by Thomas Forrester at Archibald E'monstone's house. PCvii 147.

April—FC by Thomas Forrester and other ministers at the Glen of Barnshogle and Ballakinrain. PCvii 147.

May 5—FC at Loudon Hill by Cargill. WK1 255, ii 30.

May 15—FC near the kirk of Forteviot. PCvii 139.

May, or before—FC by Alexander Hastie. PCvii 113.

June—FC by Cargill five miles from Tinto Hill. Wkii 35-36.

June—FC by Cargill at Bendry Bridge. Wkii 35-36.

June, or before—Wedderburn and Wardlaw active as FC. PCvii 124.

June, or before—FC in Wigtown where "seditious meetings daily increase." PCvii 144.

June, or before—Robert Law and James Pringle conduct a FC. PCvii 704.

July 10—FC by Cargill at Dunsyre-Common (SP). This is his last message before capture and execution. Kerr 527ff.

July—Cargill held FC in Fife at the Lomond Hills, Benty-rig in Cambusnethan, and Auchintilloch. Wkii 40-41.

July—FC by Cargill at Darmead Moor and at Darngavel. Wkii 34.
August--HC at Thomas Laurie's house in Leith. PCvii 178-79.


All year--HC at John Row's dwelling. PCvii 134.

THE YEAR 1682

March, or before--FC in Kinross, Fife. PCvii 84, 362.
FC beginning to break out near Perth. PCvii 268, 393.
FC in the regalities of Ogilface, Falkirk, and the lordship of Linlithgow. PCvii 273.
These meetings were conducted by James Rymer, Robert Gillespie, Thomas Arnot, John Harroway, John Ferguson, and John Moncreif. PCvii 472.

June, or before--FC in Roxburgh and Selkirk by Henry Erskine, and John Linlithgow. PCvii 451.

October to December--FC at Carrington where James Welsh preached. PCvii 49.

November, or before--FC in Ross by Mc Gilligen. PCvii 598.
Two FC by Peden at New Luce (SP). Hewat 76, Kerr 556ff.
FC by Peden at Douglas Town-head. WKii 93.
FC by Peden in Kyle. WKi 51.

June 15--GMUS at Talalinn, Tweed's-muir. Ibid. 21.
August 11--GMUS at Edinburgh. Ibid. 24.
October 11--GMUS at Edinburgh. Ibid. 42.

THE YEAR 1683

October 3--FC by Renwick on the Laird of Dundas' lands, near Glasgow. The meeting was armed. Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow 267.
October 5—FC by Renwick on the Laird of the Trades' land at Little Dumbuck, New Monkland. Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow 267, PCviii 272.

November 23—FC by Renwick at Darmead. Carslaw, Life 25.

November 29—FC by Renwick in a barn, which was interrupted by Soldiers. Carslaw, Life 29.

Thomas Hog and Thomas Wilkie held mtgs this year. PCviii 274-75.

HC at Lady Caldwell's house in Glasgow. Mac Gregor, History of Glasgow 267.


February 14—GMUS at Myres, Eaglesham Parish. Ibid. 49.

May 2—GMUS at Cairntable. Ibid. 65.

August 1—GMUS at Cairntable. Ibid. 78.

October 3—GMUS at Darmead. Ibid. 104.

November 28—GMUS at Woodside, near Glasgow. Ibid. 112.

THE YEAR 1684

January 7—FC by Anthony Schaw in the churchyard of Colmonel. Wii 351, PCviii 322.

January 7—HC by Renwick at Lady Holmes' house. PCx 230.

January—Mtgs reported at a conventicle-house at Blairmucks; the building to be demolished. PCviii 341-42.

June 1—FC at Carnhill, and another at Colstons-loup in Peebles. Wii 351, PCviii 322.

June 8—FC at Blackloch, interrupted by troops. PCix 2, 23, 29, 77, 89, 97.

June 8—FC at Coldstaineslope. PCix 47.

August—FC half a mile from Breenock by Renwick. PCix 131.

September, or October—Two FC by Renwick at Balmaclellan. PCx 594.
September, or October—FC by Renwick near Water of Urr. PCx 616.

October 10—FC by Renwick the Sunday before, at Huntlewood. PCx 220.

October 10—FC the Saturday before at the Water of Urr. PCx 230.

October, or before—Mtgs at New House of Minnigaff on "several Sabbath days," at Tindergies House, Little Parkes House—all conducted by William M'Millan. PCx 230.

October, or before—FC at Tulliallan. PCix 253, 284, 356.

October, or before—FC at Gortown. PCx 11.

December—Dumbarton and Renfrew "having much irregularity from outed ministers residing therein." PCx 51-52.

FC at Milntown, with Alexander Dunbar preaching, and another at Aslisk. PCx 427.

March 20—GMUS at Panbreck. Faithful Contendings 129.

October 15—GMUS at ________ Ibid. 155.

THE YEAR 1685

January, or before—Mtgs in Argyll by Robert Duncanson and Duncan Campbell. PCx 124.

February 4—FC held by Peden in Ireland. WKi 56.

February 12, before—Mtg at Cambusnethan. PCx 139.

April 21—FC at Forfar. PCxi 18, 281.

April 27—HC by Peden. Nisbet, Private Life 102.

April—FC at Little Blackwood. Hewison ii 469.

April—FC by Renwick at Loudon Hill, and another at Cairntable. Hewison ii 469.

April—FC (probably) by Renwick at Racemuir, and another at Minihive. Hewison ii 470.

May 5—Magistrates of Dundee to compear for mtgs in their town. PCxi 282.
May 86, about—Armed FC near Carluke. PCxi Introduction, ix, 58, 114.

August 26—FC by Renwick, near Greenock. Wii 363.

August—HC at Humphery Stevenson's house in Killearn, Stirling, conducted by Thomas Forrester. PCxii 110.


October 29—Two FC by Renwick in the Cambusnethan Parish. PCxi 206, 209, 364.

November 21, before—Armed FC at Cunninghamhead, at which Nisbet of Hardhill was captured, and papers of the United Societies were confiscated. PCxi 229.

December 10, before—FC by Renwick reported in Renfrewshire. PCxi 253, 373.

Peden preached in a sheepcote. WKi 64.

Peden preached in a barn near Carrick. WKi 77.

Renwick preached at Darmead. WKii 54.

January 8—GMUS at Auchengilloch. Faithful Contendings 163.

February 12—GMUS at Auchengilloch. Ibid. 163.

May 28—GMUS at Blackgannoch. Ibid. 165.

July 24—GMUS at Kneyps. Ibid. 167.

October 21—GMUS at Polbaith. Ibid. 169.

THE YEAR 1686


February 21—FC by Thomas Forrester in a kiln at Kippen. PCxii 86, 110-13.

March 20, before—Mtg at Stirling. PCxii 163.

March—FC at Cumerhead, between Lesmahagow and Kyle. PCxii 190, 205-06, 325.
May—FC by Renwick at Muirkirk. PCxii 342, xiii 22.

June—HC at Helen Caruth’s house in Dalry. PCxii 355, 376-77.

July—Two FC by Renwick at Elliot’s Well, and at Greencleuch. Merse 226-30, PCxii 367-68.

July—FC by Renwick in Berwickshire. Carlaw, Life 171.

July—Mtg near Glasgow. PCxii 372.

August 15—FC by Renwick at night with fifteen or sixteen torches at Gavin, or Polgavin Muir. PCxii 403-06.

August—FC on the borders of Annandale. PCxii 406.

October—FC at the Water of Emnock near Lambrughton. PCxiii 125.

December 5—FC at the Wood of Earlston, Galloway, by a gathering of the United Societies. Faithful Contendings 282. This meeting was probably conducted by Renwick. Carlaw, Life 177.

December 23—FC by Renwick and Shields on the border of Muirkirk and Douglas (SP). See A Choice Collection 233.

FC by Renwick on "a desolate moor." Nisbet, Private Life 113.

FC by Renwick in the fields between Cree and Dee. Carlaw, Life 76.

Armed FC of 100 men at Brunswark Hill near Ecclefechan. PCxiii 101.

FC by Langlands and Alcorn in Kyle and Carrick; also in Galloway and Clydesdale, but "their preachings were kept, in a great measure, obscure." Carlaw, Letters 171.


April 7—GMUS at Blackgannochoch. Ibid. 242.

May 5—GMUS at Auchengilloch. Ibid. 244.

June 24—GMUS at Auchengilloch. Ibid. 246.

August 18—GMUS at Blackgannochoch. Ibid. 254.

September 22—GMUS at _______. Ibid. 255.

December 22—GMUS at Wanlockhead. Ibid. 278.
January 16—Armed FC at Polbaith, with 300 in attendance, twenty of whom were armed. PCxiii 130.

January—HC in Renfrew by Alexander Shields. PCxiii 113.

January—FC at Woolfholdcraigs. PCxiii 114.

January—FC at night on Grougar Muir "in the head of Kilmarnock Parish," conducted possibly by Thomas Hog, but more probably by David Houston, who joined Renwick about the same time as Shields. Simpson, Life of Renwick 127-29.

January, and November—Renwick held FC on the Braids, near Edinburgh. Carslaw, Life 78.

February 16—FC at Burnock Hill, six miles east of Mauchline, with sixty armed men present; total attendance was 300-400. PCxiii 128.

February—FC at night by Renwick at Dreghorn. 100 attended, some of whom were armed. PCxiii 127.

March 10—FC by David Houston at Polbaith Burn; conducted at night with 100-300 present, forty of whom were armed. PCxiii 128-30.

September—FC by Renwick near Lochwinnoch. Carslaw, Life 77.

FC by Renwick at Lintoch Steps, Parish of Stenos, Clydesdale. PCxiii 277.

FC by Samuel Arnot a mile from Glasgow, which was interrupted by soldiers, who took many prisoners. Carslaw, Letters 288.

James Ure built a conventicle-house at Glentirran where George Barclay preached. VB 449.

March 2—GMUS at Frierminion. Faithful Contendings 287.

August 3—GMUS at Cairntable. Ibid. 313.

October 5—GMUS at Auchengilloch. Ibid. 318.

December 7—GMUS at Frierminion. Ibid. 319.
THE YEAR 1688

January—FC by Renwick in several places in Fife. Carslaw, Life 78.

January 22—FC by Renwick and Shields. Carslaw, Life 78.

January 24—FC by Renwick in Fife (SP). A Choice Collection 533.

January 27—FC by Renwick in Fife (SP). Ibid. 542.

January 29—FC by Renwick at Bo'ness (SP). This was his last meeting before his capture. Ibid. 550.

March 11—FC by Shields at Lowthers on Crawford Moor (SP). Kerr 593.

October 15, before—FC at Cathcart. PCxiii 329.

November 8, before—FC by Shields at Upper Dalveen. PCxiii 343.

November 9, before—FC at Crawford Moor. PCxiii 346. This may be the same meeting conducted by Shields on March 11; but probably it is not, or it would have sooner come to the attention of the Privy Council.

March 7—GMUS at Blackgannoch. Faithful Contendings 322.

UNDATED REFERENCES TO CONVENTICLES IN WHICH MINISTERS ARE NAMED

Arnot, Samuel—PCix 381.

Barclay, George—PCix 381

Blackader, John—Hewison ii 234.

Bruce, Michael—See Soul Confirmation, by Bruce, for account of a sermon preached in Clydesdale.

Cameron, Richard—WKi 193, Herkless 111, Kerr 383.

Cunningham, Gabriel—PCx 513.

Dalrymple, James—PCvi 137.

Erskine, Henry—T 219.

Fraser, James of Brea—Wodrow, Select Biographies ii 326.
Hall, Henry—WKi 295.

Hepburn, John—PCx 428-29.

Hutchison, John—Moderators 60.

Johnston, George—K 182, T 133.

Kid, John— WKi 292.

Kyle, William. PCx 513.

Law, John—Moderators 60.

Peden, Alexander—WKi 106, 111, 113, i1 95, Johnston, Life 118, 196.


Ross, Alexander—PCx 423.

Semple, John—WKi 162.

Semple, Gabriel—Aik 133.

Shields, Alexander—WKi 282.

Veitch, William—T 171.

Welsh, John—K 380, A Sermon Preached in Clydesdale, by Welsh, Faithful Contendings, Appendix, 45, T 111, VB 466.

Welwood, John—WKi 180-83, Kerr 360.

References not indicating minister— PCvi 12, 22, 54, 64, 95, 137, ix 391, x 422, 432, 475, T 133.
CHAPTER II
A DESCRIPTION OF CONVENTICLES

"It is dangerous indeed to go to the fields in the night time — Folks may stumble, and fall over some stone or other...."

— Richard Cameron
CHAPTER II
A DESCRIPTION OF CONVENTICLES

Not all conventicles were held in the open fields. Indeed, the majority of "irregular meetings" were conducted in private dwellings. Such places ranged in size from the great halls in heritors' mansions to the common rooms of farmers' cottages. Meetings were held also in unoccupied churches, crude conventicle-houses, barns, sheepcotes, gardens, graveyards, as well as in the fields.

However, these meetings will all be considered as one in this chapter, for we have no evidence that location had much influence on their manner of being conducted, except it be in the number of attenders. Naturally, meetings conducted in small dwellings, and in secret circumstances, would be attended by fewer people than well-advertised field conventicles.

1. Location of Conventicles

Public Meetings. It was occasionally the practice of the field preachers openly to defy the government by announcing meetings in conspicuous places. They probably did this to assert in as convincing a way as possible their disapproval of the government's laws against their right to assemble, and because they strongly believed that the providence of God would protect them from all harm. Such a meeting
was held at Wolmet Chapel, near St. Andrews, within view and hearing of Archbishop Sharp.\textsuperscript{1} Cargill made no secret of his excommunication of the King and certain Scottish nobles at Torwood.\textsuperscript{2} Veitch publicly announced a meeting at Blue Cairn in Lauder Moor, on the estate of Lauderdale, boasting that he would "beard the lion in his den."\textsuperscript{3} Another such meeting was held on the flat at Whitekirk, opposite the Bass Rock by Learmont and Arnot.\textsuperscript{4} Just before the encounter at Pentland John Guthrie preached before the troops on the Tolbooth steps at Lanark, while Crookshanks and Semple addressed those on horseback at the edge of the town.\textsuperscript{5}

But such meetings as these became rare after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, when conventicles meant death to both preacher and worshipper.\textsuperscript{6} In fact, after that time there were practically no meetings in the fields at all.\textsuperscript{7} If men were to meet in the fields for public worship, they were forced to meet in secret.

**Secret Meetings.** Most conventicles were secret, and were conducted in secluded places on the moors. A far-away place, practically inaccessible by horsemen because of the

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Wi 346. This meeting was conducted by Welsh. This same year Blackader held two conventicles at Kinkel, near St. Andrews, which showed equal daring.
  \item Sermons by Martyrs, edited by James Kerr, 491, PCvi 602, vii 35.
  \item Carslaw, Life of Cargill, 62.
  \item James Aikman, Annals of the Persecution in Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution, 314, Wi 519.
  \item James Kirkton, The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, 238, Wi 245.
  \item Wi 432, 521.
  \item Ibid. 177, Aikman, op. cit. 497.
\end{enumerate}
marshy ground, was considered ideal for such meetings. They were almost always held on high ground for security reasons; such conventicles would naturally be chosen so as to favour escape. At the famous communion held at Meicklewood, in Nithsdale, about seven miles above Dumfries, we have a detailed description of the location given by Crichton:

Here they had a commanding view of the whole country, and could not be taken by surprise. On the one hand, the hills of Dalswinton, and all the higher ground of Kirkmahoe, lay within reach of the eye, as far as the braes of Tinwald and Thorwald. The range of the Galloway hills lay on the west, all the passes of which could be distinctly seen. No sudden danger could surprise them from the south, as the flat holms of the Nith were visible for many miles.1

The biographies of the leading field preachers reveal the frequency of secret meetings. For example, in Simpson's Life of Renwick, we find fifteen specific references to locations where the last of the field preachers held his meetings. All but two of them, conducted at Greenock and Bo'ness, were in obscure places on the moors.2 Walker reveals that nearly all of Peden's meetings were conducted in secret,3 and Cameron was never known to preach under a roof, or in the common haunts of men during his brief ministry in Scotland. Kirkton's brief list of irregular meetings note only those held in distant places, with the exceptions of the Lanark sermons before Pentland, and the meetings he and Johnston

2. Simpson, Life of Renwick, 73.
held in Cramond kirkyard. 1 Though men like John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, John Blackader, and John Guthrie were known to hold many meetings in houses and vacant churches, yet they, too, were frequently found in the "back of beyond." Crichton speaks thus of such men and their followers:

Maddened by oppression, they seized the fastnesses and natural defences of the country, and boldly unfurled the standard of religious liberty on their native mountains. They retired with their flocks to the wilderness and the solitary place, carrying their ark along with them, there to worship God in peace, according to the custom of their fathers, and far apart from human habitation. Necessity prompted the use of defensive armour, and prudence taught them to select the most sequestered and inaccessible retreats. . . . Denied the privilege of worshipping in temples made with hands, they made the lonely hills their pulpits, their sanctuary the high places on the field. They sought the mist and the cloud to hide them from the vigilance and fury of their pursuers. 2

Secret meetings were held in very unusual places in many instances, as would naturally be the case in impromptu meetings. We find Welsh preaching on the Tweed River in winter, when it was frozen over. 3 Times were when ministers could not gain entrance to unoccupied churches, so they would speak in the church yard, using gravestones for their pulpits. Crookshanks and Semple preached on horseback, and Blackader once spoke from a "highchair" because of the depth of snow on the ground. On several occasions barns were used for meetings, and we read of Peden holding a gathering in a

2. Crichton, op. cit. 194-95.
sheepcote. Cargill and Renwick were known to preach on river banks on several occasions. \(^1\)

In the most popular of these obscure places the people dared to erect "conventicle houses." Wodrow tells of one constructed at Inverkeithing in Fife after the first indulgence was granted, which was soon closed because it was too small to accommodate the audiences, and many listened at the windows. Because this technically constituted a field conventicle it was permanently closed. \(^3\) This is an example of such a building constructed in a well-known place; but there are other instances where they were erected in places unknown to the authorities. \(^4\) Aikman speaks of an order coming to the Earl of Cassilis "to demolish all the meeting-houses in Carrick." \(^5\) He also describes their construction:

The meeting-houses were not in common very costly fabricks. Like the temple at Jerusalem, no mason's iron was heard in their building, being generally framed rough unhewn stones, covered with turf; and the people were thankful when the government did not interfere with their cheap church-extension scheme. \(^6\)

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1. Walker, op. cit. 1, 64, 77, Carslaw, Life of Renwick, 29, PCiv 487, 495, xii 86, 110-13, and Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch, and George Brysson, Written by Themselves, 449.
3. Wi1 127. James Ure had a conventicle-house built at Clentirran, where George Barclay preached, Veitch and Brysson, op. cit. 449; and John Law built one in 1678, at Campsie, Warrick, The Moderators of the Church of Scotland, 62.
5. Aikman, op. cit. 295.
We have no way of knowing how many of these meeting-houses were erected. We know of only a few, but can be certain there were many more. We do know that some were built in secret, and never had the sanction of the government from the start. In Ayr it was required of heritors to "summon their tenants, &c. to answer for building, or being present at the building, of any preaching-house — the fine imposed to be arbitrary."¹

At times secret conventicles were held in places where the people could deceive the secular arm regarding the nature of their journey. That is, they would plan meetings at places popular for other reasons than irregular meetings. Such a place is mentioned by Brown, in Covenanters of the Merse, as being a well with a reputation of having healing waters. It is called Elliot's Well, at Greencleuch, where many field sermons were preached. It was there Renwick officiated at the last field service ever held in the Merse.² During the "killing times," when soldiers were empowered to kill at will whom they suspected of attending conventicles, a trip to Elliot's Well for healing waters afforded a life-saving excuse more than once.

2. Security Measures at Conventicles

Field meetings, whether held in secret, or in open defiance of the law, almost always involved security measures to protect the worshippers. Security took the form of

1. Ibid. 297.
2. Ibid. 226-30.
(1) careful and discriminating advertisement of the meetings,
(2) the posting of sentries to give alarm at the approach of
troops, so that the attenders could have time to escape, and—
later in the period—(3) the carrying of arms with the
intention of fighting should need arise.

Advertisement of Meetings. Usually one man was chosen
to announce conventicles secretly. His qualifications were
an intimate knowledge of both the surrounding terrain and
the religious temperament of every individual in the area,
and to have the confidence of both preacher and people.

Wodrow speaks of Robert Dick, a minister, who was used for
this purpose at a conventicle held by William Bell in the
Pentland Hills. The forementioned meeting at Elliot's Well
was proclaimed in the following manner:

To prepare for the intended meeting at the
Greenleuch, James Baxter, a smith in the
Calton of Edinburgh, travelled out on Satur-
day night to the parishes of Bara, and Garvald
in East Lothian. He had formerly lived there,
and knowing the people well, was a very fit per-
son to spread the news of what was on foot.

There seemed to be a current custom, but by no means common,
of passing out "tokens" to those who were given the "security
check" to attend a forthcoming meeting. Crichton said about
a meeting held by Blackader, "None were admitted without tokens,
as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to

1. Both Bell and Dick were sent to the Bass Prison for this
meeting, on October 12, 1676, Wi 437. Aikman mentions John
Osburn, who was also employed thus for a meeting at Keir, op. cit.
133.

such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals.\textsuperscript{1}

**Sentries.** We do not know when conventiclers began using sentries to form a security perimeter at their gatherings. But it is safe to presume such was an early practice, for we note in 1670 — eight years after conventicles began — sentries were a common sight at meetings.\textsuperscript{2} These sentries served mainly to give alarm in case of discovery by the enemy. They also took custody of any passer-by who should be drawn by the crowd. When Renwick was preaching at Greencleuch we read that "two shepherds belonging to Byrecleuch and Gala Water were brought in prisoners, probably by the vigilance of the scouts, who had observed them spying on the meeting, and in case they should spread intelligence of what was going on, they were detained until the service was over."\textsuperscript{3}

By Renwick's time, these sentries were dispatched as scouts as well, so that nothing would be left to chance during the "killing times." Crichton says,

Picquets of twelve or sixteen men were appointed to reconnoitre and ride towards the suspected parts. Single horsemen were dispatched to greater distances, to view the country, and give warning in case of attack. The remainder of the horse were drawn round to be a defence at such distance as they might hear sermon, and be ready to act if need be.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Crichton, op. cit. 205.
\item[2.] Aikman, op. cit. 197.
\item[3.] Carslaw, Life of Renwick, 51.
\item[4.] Crichton, op. cit. 200.
\end{itemize}
Peden was known to use disguises, wigs, masks, and to ride up and down the country in grey clothes and pistols.\(^1\) This also became the practice of other of the preachers on occasions; but — at least during services — most wore the customary clerical clothes.\(^2\) Simpson says as much for Renwick:

There was no small danger attending this experiment to the man who should assume Mr. Renwick's dress, as a person in clerical habiliments would, in these times, be easily distinguishable from the rest of the people. Laing, however, was ready to incur all the risk attending the project, and he generously offered to substitute himself in Mr. Renwick's place.\(^3\)

This practice of ministers dressing in accordance to their calling obviously necessitated a protective guard for them when the alarm was sounded. A great man of valor who served in this capacity was John Nisbet. "...he and a select company, such as he was, came always well armed, as well to defend themselves as to protect their ministers and brethren from violence during the worship of God, as occasion should present."\(^4\) When the cry of approaching troops was given, Nisbet and his men would form a security ring about the minister, and assist him to escape.

We have seen that the duties of sentries were to prevent

\(^{1}\) Lauderdale Papers, i 236, indicates Welsh, Blackader, Arnot, Douglas, Reid, Wilkie, and Crookshanks also used such protective measures. On one occasion Blackader dressed for sermon in a plaid.

\(^{2}\) Simpson, Life of Renwick, 83.

\(^{3}\) "Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet...", in Wodrow's Select Biographies, ii, 381.
surprise from the enemy, to assist the minister in escaping, to fight when necessary, and to prevent passers-by from leaving before the meetings were ended. In fact, no one was permitted to leave before the benediction was pronounced, for these people had learned by painful experience that often-times there were spies in their midst who intended to leave before the service was over to alert the military.¹

Defensive arms. We do not know when sentries began carrying arms, or when scouts defended themselves against surprise attack; but we are certain arms were always present at conventicles when the gentry or nobility attended, for it was their custom to go armed as a part of their attire. Aikman says, "...as people of that class [gentry] generally went armed, they did not lay them aside when their attendance on gospel ordinances was threatened to be interrupted by violence."²

The first we hear of the practice of all men to carry arms to hear sermon was in the borders, in 1675.

The Episcopalian myrmidons in Linlithgowshire, and even in Fife, had repeatedly drawn blood, while the patient hearers of the gospel had only fled before them. The rough borderers were not equally submissive. At Lilliesleaf, and throughout some of these districts, they had stood upon

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2. Aikman, op. cit. 197.
the defensive and beaten off their assailants; and affairs were in this situation during the greater part of this year.1

By 1676 the practice of carrying defensive arms spread to meetings everywhere.2 This precaution was, at first, largely designed to prevent capture; but after the murder of Archbishop Sharp the brutality of the soldiers had changed it to a preservation of life. Wodrow reveals the practice of soldiers firing at blank range on gatherings, regardless of the presence of women and children.3 Fraser of Brea tells of one encounter in which no less than thirty soldiers were killed, although he leaves us to guess how many unfortunate worshippers also met their death.4

It was a common sight, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge to see stacked arms at field meetings.

Mr Blackader, invited again to Fife, lodged at Inchdarnie.... On Sabbath morning he was escorted to Divan, eight miles off. When he came, he observed a number of arms piled in order on the ground, guns and fowling-pieces, about the number of fifty, which, when he saw he asked, "What meant all this preparation? Trust rather in Jehovah, and the shield of omnipotence."5

We will not enter here into a discussion of whether this practice was justified, having reserved the matter for another

2. Burnet, History of his own time, ii, 155-56.
3. Wii 40.
4. Wodrow, Select Biographies, ii, 326.
5. Aikman, op. cit. 317.
place in this thesis.\textsuperscript{1} It is sufficient to say that not all ministers approved of this measure, and that its practice brought many men to their death who might have otherwise lived. But, contrariwise, many lived because of their arms, who might have otherwise died. This was a practice peculiar to Scotland, for we never find defensive arms at conventicles held in England at this time.\textsuperscript{2}

3. **Attenders at Conventicles**

The size of conventicles during this period parallels their frequency — generally, the more frequently these meetings were held, the larger they were. The years 1674 and 1678 were the times when conventicles were most frequent, and consequently largest. In 1674 we read of four meetings being held on one Sunday, with a total of eight thousand in attendance.\textsuperscript{3} Defoe (who may have been given to exaggeration) said, "...it was very frequent to have 7, 8 to 10000 People at a Time at those Meetings."\textsuperscript{4} It is significant to note that eight thousand was the exact number of the Highland Host sent to plunder these people. We read of episcopal curates standing at the doors of their churches watching the people streaming out of town to hear their former pastors. And so frequently did this happen in Glasgow, that in 1677 soldiers were stationed at

\textsuperscript{1} See Chapter VIII.
\textsuperscript{2} See the pamphlet about conventicles in England, by Carruthers, Conventicles and Conventiclers, n.p.
\textsuperscript{3} Welsh preached at Daraquhair, Robert Lockhart at Pathhead, Blackader at Dunfermline, and Welwood on the Lomond Hills, Aikman, \textit{op. cit.}, 221.
\textsuperscript{4} Defoe, \textit{Memoirs of the Church of Scotland}, 273.
the gates on Sunday mornings to prevent the citizens from leaving the city. 1 The largest meetings of all were in the form of communion services, at which several ministers officiated. Crichton cites such a meeting in Teviotdale in 1674 at which three thousand, two hundred were present.2 Aikman speaks of "the last and largest out-door communion that ever had been in Scotland," celebrated at Colmonel, in Ayrshire, though no figures are given.3 Blaikie records one Sunday of preaching in three different places having a grand total of sixteen thousand attenders.4

After the battle of Bothwell Bridge conventicles decreased in size as well as number. We read of Cargill holding a meeting to "a great gathering at Torwood" in 1680.5 But this is the only reference to size after Bothwell Bridge. In 1685 we read in the minutes of the United Societies that a meeting scheduled for May 6 had to be postponed because so few were in attendance.6 The following year, Renwick, speaking of the ministries of Langlands and Alcorn, said "their preachings were kept, in a great measure, obscure."7 Though Cargill, Cameron, Peden, and Renwick still spoke in the fields

1. Wi 447.
2. Crichton, op. cit. 206.
4. William Garden Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century, 167-68.
after 1679, yet they could not command the audiences they once had. They made indirect reference to this many times in their preaching.

What kind of people usually attended conventicles? The majority of them were of the poorer classes, but in the early history of this period we read of numerous gentry attending the meetings. Welsh led Lady Lindsay, afterwards Countess of Crawford, to a conversion experience at one of his meetings. And whenever meetings were sought in houses, usually those of lairds were offered, which buildings were especially advantageous because of their size. A reading of *The Ladies of the Covenant* will reveal that many noblewomen of means and influence frequented conventicles.

Oftentimes members of the opposition came to these meetings. A personal servant of Archbishop Sharp was found in attendance dressed in his livery. On more than one occasion officers of the militia came by chance upon a gathering, and "stayed for sermon." An amusing incident is recorded by Aikman, which reveals that even soldiers in great numbers attended:

...Mr Blackader had another meeting at Kinkel where vast numbers from St. Andrews attended as hearers, and even some of the militia. Sharp, who was that Sabbath day at home, hearing it,

sent for the provost and commanded him to order out the military, disperse the conventicle, and apprehend the minister. "My lord," replied the provost, to the prelate's dismay, "the militia are gone there already to hear the preaching, and we have none to send." 

Meetings of this nature could not be without the element of adventure and curiosity. Hence, some of the attenders were "not influenced by gospel principles, nor could be considered godly men, any more than that able disputers and fierce contenders for the pure faith, are always themselves believers." 

Also, there were spies frequently present, who were attracted by the large rewards offered for the apprehension of field preachers.

4. **Equipment used at Conventicles**

Most field sermons were delivered from tents, or canopies. Cameron's first sermon after ordination was from a tent pitched in the fields of Annandale. Walker said Peden spoke one Sabbath day in Carrick from a tent. Crichton speaks of the tent as being a customary thing. He says, "For the purpose of escape or concealment, they often pitched their tents within the shelter of woods, — in the neighbourhood of morasses, or in the deep and silent glens embosomed within the green inclosure of the mountains."

It is Simpson alone who describes the construction of this

1. Aikman, op. cit. 230.
2. Aikman, op. cit. 230; see also Simpson, Life of Renwick, 96.
5. Ibid. ii, 95.
tent. It was usually more like a canopy in form. Several stakes were driven in the ground, or limbs of young trees were bent in an arch. After the framework was made, plaids of shepherds were placed over it, and a little table served as a podium, from which slight elevation the minister spoke to the people. One occasion a man gave a false alarm so he could collect the items the people left in their haste to escape, and the tent was pushed over on Mr. Renwick and several near him.

Tents were not always used because the meetings were too hotly pursued. In addition to this temporary accommodation for the minister little else was used in the way of furniture. People mostly stood, or sat on the ground. There are instances of them sitting in the snow, or standing in the rain to hear the gospel.

For general services this, or less, was all the field preachers required to conduct worship under the heavens. However, at communion services, large tables with chairs were necessary. For the communion in Teviotdale sixteen tables were used, capable of seating one hundred persons at one sitting. Although most of such meetings were not so large, or so well provided for, yet we can see the intense zeal of the people.

2. Ibid. 98-99
3. Ibid. 117.
4. Loc. cit.
5. See Andrew Symson, The History of Galloway, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, ii, 208, for an excellent description of the communion at Skeoch Hill where two tables seating sixty each were used (the stones used for seats remain to this day). See also Duncan Stewart, The Covenanters of Teviotdale, 65-66.
who were willing to bring such furniture from great distances.

5. Time of Meeting

Most conventicles in the fields were held in the daytime, usually between eight o'clock in the morning and four o'clock in the afternoon. Specific mention of day meetings are rarely made — the reader being left to presume that such meetings were naturally conducted then. It is only in case of night meetings that clear indication of the time is given. On June 18, 1670, a service is recorded beginning at eight o'clock in the morning, and finishing three hours later. In the afternoon another message was brought, presumably of the same duration.¹ It is not unlikely that services commonly lasted a full four hours.² In the listing of published field sermons in Chapter V we note several bear the sub-title of "morning sermon," or "afternoon sermon." Daytime assemblies were most common during the early part of this period, and almost always — regardless of date — when there was to be a convocation at which several ministers were to preach. Aikman lists a meeting lasting two full days, with the mornings and afternoons divided among four preachers.³ Communion services were likewise held in the daytime, usually in the afternoons; mornings were often given to "preparation sermons."

¹ Aikman, op. cit. 198ff.
² There seems to have been a current religious idiom used to describe the hypocrite, which is occasionally found in print in the field sermons. The term is: "four-hour professors." The meaning seems plain, namely, that a hypocrite professed only four hours a week, the four he spent in church. See William Thompson's sermon The Churches Comfort, 11.
³ Aikman, op. cit. 320.
As persecution waxed more intense it was inevitable that the practice of night preaching became necessary. In 1676 such meetings were common.\(^1\) Renwick held one at Newton Stewart,\(^2\) Peden held at least two,\(^3\) and Walker lists one by John Dickson, during which the attenders saw strange visions.\(^4\) Regarding the reason for night meetings Crichton says, "...they have been known to choose the darkest and most tempestuous nights, when the enemy durst not venture to prowl abroad. To them the terror of the elements was less appalling than the cruelties of their inhuman oppressors, and the wildest scenery in nature wore a more friendly aspect than the face of man."\(^5\)

Regarding the time of week, most field meetings occurred on Sunday, or whole weekends. In Kerr's edition of Howie's collection of field sermons, we note that those which were fully dated were usually preached on a Sunday. Only two of them, both preached by Cameron, occurred during the week.

Wodrow mentions "twenty Sabbaths of preaching" in the fields, concluding in May, 1679,\(^6\) and has Blackader preaching "every Lord's Day" in the parish of Glencairn.\(^7\) Of course, there were occasional meetings that stood by the calendar, rather than the day of the week. For example, the anniversary of the Restoration,

\(^{1}\) Aikman, \textit{op. cit.} 246.
\(^{2}\) Simpson, \textit{Life of Renwick,} 159.
\(^{3}\) One of these was held as early as October 10, 1665, \textit{Wi} 236.
\(^{4}\) Walker, \textit{op. cit.} 1, xxix-xxxii.
\(^{5}\) Crichton, \textit{op. cit.} 194-95.
\(^{6}\) \textit{Wi} 24.
\(^{7}\) \textit{Ibid.} i, 236.
and Charles II's birthday, on which day the fields were full of preachers doing anything but celebrating!

Regarding the time of year, it is interesting to note that there can be no accusation laid at the door of these men and their audiences for being "fair-weather Christians." Indeed, we find an equal distribution of meetings throughout each season of the year. In Wodrow's extensive work we find thirty-two specific references to dates of meetings. Of these sixteen occurred between October and March, and the remaining half took place in the warmer part of the year. Also from the list of conventicles compiled at the end of Chapter I we find the same pattern borne out. Hence, we conclude the weather was no factor regarding the frequency of conventicles.

6. **Order of Worship at Conventicles**

We have very little direct information regarding the order of worship at conventicles, indoors or out of doors, but since we have adequate information about church services in seventeenth century Scotland, we can arrive at a fair estimate of how these services were conducted. We have no reason to believe the ministers deviated much from their customary ways, even though their sanctuary was now the open moors instead of comfortable parish churches. To add to our paucity of information we have incidental references in sermons and historical accounts of conventicles to parts of the order of
service. For example, we read of Renwick arriving late for an appointment, so the singing had already begun. Walker recalls Alexander Shields calling for the same Psalm to be sung at a meeting celebrating the Revolution Settlement, as Robert Bruce sang exactly one hundred years before at the cross of Edinburgh when the Spanish Armada was defeated.\(^1\) It seemed to be usual for the first hour of a meeting to be taken up in reading Scripture and singing. Then came the prayer, followed by a lecture and a sermon.

Quite frequently during the early part of this period several ministers preached in a day's meeting. We have an account of one held at East Nisbet, in 1677, in which Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, and Messrs. Blackader, Dickson, Riddell, and Rae "exhorted the rest in their turn."\(^2\) Probably Mr. Welsh brought the "key-note" address, and each minister gave a brief impromptu exhortation. There is a record of a two-day meeting in which several ministers participated. Blackader preached in the morning, and Welsh in the afternoon. The next day (Sunday), after the location had been changed for security measures, Mr. Arnot lectured, and Welsh preached again. Communion was celebrated in the afternoon.\(^3\) Sometimes two sermons were given in one meeting. Wodrow records Cargill and Andrew Morton holding a joint meeting near Glasgow.\(^4\)

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3. Ibid. 320.
4. WT 71.
Kirkton and Johnston held several in the Cramond kirkyard.\(^1\) Howie indicates that Renwick and Shields held a meeting at which both preached, on December 28, 1686.\(^2\) We have already noted the meeting prior to the battle at Pentland in which both Crookshanks and Semple preached at Lanark; and we have instances in which one minister brought the lecture, and another the sermon.

The full field service also included a preface (the nature of which is treated elsewhere in the thesis).\(^3\) In short, we can conclude the general trend of meetings for short services conducted by one minister was as follows:

1. Psalms
2. Scripture
3. Prayer
4. Lecture
5. Preface and Sermon

A large meeting such as the famous communions at Teviotdale and Colmonel occupied the better part of two full days, and was probably conducted in the following manner:

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3. See Chapter VI.
Saturday Morning
1. Psalms
2. Scripture reading
3. Prayer
4. Lecture
5. Preface and sermon
6. Exhortations by other ministers

Saturday Afternoon
1. Psalms
2. Scripture reading
3. Prayer
4. Lecture
5. Preparation sermon
6. Exhortations by other ministers

Sunday Morning
1. Psalms
2. Scripture reading
3. Prayer
4. Lecture
5. Action sermon
6. Exhortations by other ministers

Sunday Afternoon
1. Psalms
2. Scripture reading
3. Prayer
4. Brief communion sermon
5. Communion (with brief sermons given before each serving)
6. Thanksgiving sermon
7. Exhortations by other ministers

It must be borne in mind by the reader that the foregoing list is only an approximation, not a certainty. Unfortunately no historian, or biographer has preserved any information describing the order of worship. The descriptions we do have are devoted to landscape, and the people attending. Not even in Walter Smith's pamphlet on the
conducting of meetings of the United Societies do we find any definite information beyond what we could logically deduce from other sources.¹

7. Special kinds of Services

Communion at irregular meetings began in private dwellings at least as early as 1664.² Soon, however, it was being dispensed in the open fields. The meeting at Teviotdale had no less than sixteen sittings capable of accommodating one hundred persons at a time.³ In Kerr's edition of Sermons by Martyrs we have the sermon preached by Welsh at Maybole. To this sermon are appended two brief passages entitled "Table V," and "Table VI." Apparently just before the elements were dispensed at each sitting, the minister gave a brief talk.

Ministers who dared to preach in the fields would not hesitate to perform marriages and baptisms. Indeed, the sources are full of instances of this nature. However, except for a record of irregular marriages and baptisms we know nothing about such services.⁴

As previously noted, there were special services during this period. Frequently the "hill men" called fast days. Howie's collection of sermons, and the records of the United

2. George Hamilton and others held the Lord's Supper in Fife this year, Warrick, Moderators of the Church of Scotland, 115.
4. See page 287 for a baptismal address by Cargill.
Societies indicate this to be a frequent practice. Two of Cameron's occasional sermons, both preached on week days, are in Kerr's edition of Howie. Cargill's service of excommunication is also occasional in nature, as would also be his sermon on the martyrdom of Richard Cameron.

8. Summary

There were two kinds of conventicles, those held in buildings, and those held in the open fields. For the purpose of this chapter we can consider them as one because they were usually conducted by the same men, and conducted in the same way. These meetings were either openly announced in defiance of the law, or were concealed with utmost secrecy to avoid bodily harm. As the persecution became worse toward the close of this period, secret meetings became the rule.

Most conventicles were held in uninhabited areas because they would be inaccessible to mounted troops. Some of these places became very popular, and many meetings were held there. Sometimes crude buildings were erected in which to hold services.

For the secret meetings great security measures were taken. Sentries were posted, and scouts rounded up outsiders who strayed too near. Special tokens were sometimes

1. Kerr, op. cit. 403ff, 441ff.
2. See this sermon printed separately, and also in Kerr, op. cit. 491ff.
issued for admittance, and only the most trustworthy men were sent to announce services. Finally, the attenders came armed to meetings, and were willing to do battle with government forces, if attacked.

Those who attended conventicles were a healthy cross-section of the contemporary culture. Heritors and noblemen were known to participate in these meetings, as well as the poor tenant farmers. Attendance varied, but audiences were frequently in the hundreds, and occasionally in the thousands. Some of the attenders were only curiosity seekers, and spies also came hoping to gain reward for their information. Military men are known to have been present on several occasions.

Besides a crude tent for the minister, and crudely made communion tables for the Lord's Supper, little other equipment was used. These meetings were mostly conducted in daytime, and on Sunday, yet there are numerous instances when they were convened on week days, and some meetings were announced for midnight. They were conducted in the cold and warm months with equal frequency.

Little detail is known about the order of service for conventicles, but we know there were Psalms, Scripture reading, lectures, prayers, and sermons in almost every case. Many times more than one minister was present and helped in the preaching, but there were many occasions when only one was present. These meetings took the form of general preaching services, communions, baptisms, marriages, and occasional meetings.
CHAPTER III
THE IDENTITY OF THE FIELD PREACHERS

"...he is said to use disguises, and rides up and down throughout the country in grey clothes, wearing pistols."

—from Charles II to the Privy Council
CHAPTER III
THE IDENTITY OF THE FIELD PREACHERS

The purpose of this chapter is to determine who the men were who refused to conform to the form of church polity required by law, and at the same time refused to cease functioning as ministers. At the outset let it be said that these conventiclers, nicknamed "trumpets of sedition" by the law-makers of the day, were more numerous, and played a more important part in making the history of this period than the casual reader of Scottish history might presume.

To accomplish our purpose we will acquaint ourselves with the lives of the more important of these men, and will also establish their approximate number from the primary sources available. The biographical sketches which follow are not intended to be more than vignettes. The lives of the men we shall treat have, in most cases, been written fully, and find their place here solely for the purpose of giving a sense of completeness to the body of the thesis. Hence these uncontested, well known facts in the life-histories before us need no documentation. All biographical sources available are clearly listed in the Bibliography, and in the two appendices at the end of the chapter.
1. The Criteria used for locating these men in their respective places of importance

In locating each field preacher in his proper place of importance we are faced with a search for a proper criterion. We cannot place a man in a primary position because of the volume of his publications, for many important men published little, or nothing. We cannot use length of ministry as a yard-stick, for such men as Richard Cameron and James Renwick were active for very brief periods, and others who rarely preached, outlived this troubled time. Furthermore, we must remember that several men who figured intimately in the happenings of the times through their writings, did little or no preaching in the fields; Alexander Shields, Brown, and M'Ward are such men.

A further consideration would be the amount of biographical material in existence. This is unsatisfactory when we examine the life of John Welsh of Irongray who was undoubtedly one of the foremost of the conventiclers, yet we know very little about his life. Contrariwise, we know a good deal about men like Thomas Hog, Fraser of Brea, William Veitch, and John Hepburn. Facing this problem Johnston confesses, "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the labours of these men, or overestimate the service which, in so doing, they rendered their country. Nor is it possible at this hour, even though it might be advisable, to allow
to each his own particular place on the roll of heroes. "\(^1\)

The only criterion which seems fair and possible is two-fold: (1) intensity of ministry, and (2) historical impact. With these two things uppermost in mind let us look at the lives of the seven men we designate as "primary field preachers."

2. Biographical Sketches of the Seven Primary Field Preachers

Gabriel Semple. Regarding the lives of these seven worthies, we have less about Gabriel Semple (Sempill) than about any other. He wrote a brief autobiography, but is more in the style of the Memoirs of Fraser of Brea, which contain an introspective personality analysis, but very little biographical data. Semple was the son of Sir Bryce Semple of Cathcart. The time and place of his birth are unknown. He was ordained to the church of Kirkpatrick-Durham in Galloway about the time of the Restoration, and was ousted by the Act of Glasgow. He has the singular distinction of being the first to preach in the fields.

The general location of Semple's ministry in the fields is not accurately known because we have so few accounts of places where he preached. But, nevertheless, the records of the Privy Council and the witness of primary historians reveal his constant presence in the fields for many years.

He is known to have been at Pentland, and in 1674 he was denounced as a rebel, and cited for apprehension. He assisted Welsh, his favourite co-labourer, in the licensing of Richard Cameron. His field ministry came to an end in 1681 when he was captured; but he, surprisingly enough, was soon released, at which time he retired to England to live at Ford, near Berwick. After the Revolution he was settled at Jedburgh, where he preached until his death in 1706.

Besides his one published field sermon and a few paragraphs in Simpson's *A Voice From the Desert*, we have little more information about him. Because Gabriel Semple was a field preacher with a continuous record of activity for nearly twenty years, and because it was he who first began conventions among the evicted Presbyterians in 1662, we readily assign him a rightful place as a primary field preacher.

**John Welsh of Irongray.** John Welsh was the son of Joseph (or Josias) W. Welsh, and the grandson of John Welsh of Ayr — hence the great-grandson of the famous John Knox. He graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1647 and was ordained to the parish church of Irongray six years later, from which he was evicted in 1662.

For eighteen years John Welsh preached in Clydesdale, Fife, and Perthshire, speaking at least once weekly, and frequently during the week. He was known to ride for two
days without sleep to keep an appointment, and then preach upon arrival. Toward the end of his ministry he took residence on Tweedside, and spoke on the frozen river in winter, where he might avoid the legal jurisdiction of both England and Scotland.

Welsh often preached alone, but was occasionally found with Semple or Blackader. He addressed several of the famous out-door communions, but was careful never to preach "to the times." Only once, in a preface, do we find him speaking about conventicles, and his legal right to hold them. However, he manifestly approved resistance by force, for he was present at the battles of Pentland, Drumclog, and Bothwell Bridge. The government issued several warrants against him, and eventually proclaimed him a traitor with 9,000 merks on his head.

In 1680 Welsh gave up his residence on the banks of the Tweed and went to London. He resided at the house of Mrs. James Fraser of Brea, where he died on January 9, 1681, twenty-eight years after his ordination.

Welsh has an undisputed place among the foremost field preachers. He was second only to Semple in taking to the fields, and his was one of the longest, and probably the most fruitful ministries of this group of ministers. His name is mentioned by Wodrow and the Privy Council an overwhelming number of times. Next to Renwick, one might suppose
he was the most hunted man in all Scotland.

There are no complete biographies of Welsh. In the light of his notoriety during this period that is a fact difficult to believe. Like other unheralded men of worth, he probably has always stood too deeply in the shadow of his illustrious grandfather, John Welsh of Ayr. His published works include a long pamphlet, *Fifty and Two Directions...to his Parish at Irongray in Galloway*, five sermons published singly, and one printed in Howie's collection. As a preacher Welsh is most noted for his emphasis on conversion, and his care to avoid political issues.

John Blackader. This distinguished field preacher and martyr of the Covenant was born to the noble family of Tulliallan in the year 1615. He took a degree at the University of Glasgow, and was ordained to the parish church at Troqueer. Like many of his brethren, he was outings in 1662, and preached his farewell sermon on the last Sunday of October. He did not at once begin preaching in the fields, but did so soon enough to be classed with Welsh and Semple as one of the first three field preachers.

He spoke in the open fields for sixteen years, chiefly in Galloway and Perthshire, but occasionally elsewhere. He expressed the wish that, if he knew the language, he would preach in the Highlands. We are fortunate to have many
references to specific places where he preached. In June of 1674 the authorities could no longer afford to remain silent about this notorious keeper of conventicles, and outlawed him. He went to Holland for a brief time, but was captured upon his return. On April 6, 1681 he was sent to the Bass, where he died in 1685, the day before his release was due. His remains were buried nearby at North Berwick.

Blackader did much of his preaching alone, but was occasionally with Welsh and others. He was present at many of the field communions, and, like Welsh, avoided controversial topics in his preaching. He was against the burning of the Act of Council at Rutherglen, and spoke openly against carrying arms to conventicles. This occasioned the disapproval of many in his audiences. He called Robert Hamilton rash and inconsiderate, and was against raising an army to defend the Covenant, which God Himself had promised to defend.

John Blackader was noted for the frequency of Old Testament references in his sermons. One of his three sermons extant today contains no reference to the New Testament whatever. He was never known to speak on a text from that testament but on three occasions. This extreme is noted by nearly all who have had occasion to write about him. He frequently spoke of the church living in a state of backsliding, but specific instances of it in the government or the established church are never dwelt upon.
There is only one biography of this primary field preacher, Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader, by Andrew Crichton. This work is the compilation of passages from Blackader's diary and material he wrote while a prisoner on the Bass. Additional information about him can be found in the published diary and letters of his son Colonel John Blackader.

This eminent preacher belongs among the primary preachers of the period because of his active participation in irregular forms of worship, and the decided influence he exerted on his times. To him also belongs the distinction of preaching to the largest audiences in the open fields.

Alexander Peden. Peden was born at Auchincloich, north of Sorn, Ayrshire, in 1626. He studied at the University of Glasgow, and became a schoolmaster, sometimes acting as precentor and session clerk for Mr. John Guthrie at Tarbolton. He was ordained as the second minister at New Luce in 1659, but soon after suffered eviction for nonconformity.

When he actually took to the fields we do not know, but it must have been shortly after the "first three worthies." His ministry under the heavens was the longest of the field preachers. Excepting four year's imprisonment on the Bass, he spent twenty-four years in the fields. His preaching was largely in Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, and Galloway, but he is also found active in Edinburgh, in England, and Ireland.

1. The first reference to a field conventicle by Peden is at Ralston, near Kilmarnock, as late as October, 1666; but we note him holding services privately in houses as early as 1663. See Johnston, op. cit. 80, and Wi 235.
Peden was a solitary preacher. We have little indication that he ever attended a convocation of ministers, or held meetings with other outing ministers. He was absent from the field communions, and, though he planned to attend the Pentland Uprising, he withdrew because he believed the expedition was doomed to failure. In 1666 he was "put to the horn," but continued in the fields until 1670, when he went to Ireland. Three years later he returned to resume his troubled ministry, but was soon captured and sent to the Bass. Upon his release in December, 1678, he was banished, but with other religious prisoners, was released at London by the ship's captain.

Peden preached his way north again in time to join the insurgents on the way to Bothwell Bridge, but withdrew before the actual encounter. He made two more trips to Ireland, upon returning from which, he was hunted to death by soldiers. He died weary of life in his brother's house on January 26, 1686. His friends buried him hastily and secretly, but the soldiers who had worked so feverishly for his capture, would not so easily be satisfied. They exhumed and desecrated his remains, but then allowed them to be interred again, this time at Old Cummock.

Alexander Peden is noted as "the Prophet of the Covenant," and not without cause, for there were more miracles attributed
to him than to Christ! Most of these more-than-a-hundred examples consist largely of prognostications, calling down bad weather, exorcism of witches, reading minds, and pronouncing judgments which always seemed to know swift and unerringly fulfillment. Even his corpse was said to have defied putrefaction. Dodds reflects thusly about Peden’s prophetic ability:

His memory has been overlaid by the very doatingness of martyrology, by the very rankness and luxuriant foliage of tradition. Wonder-tales crop, and cluster, and twine all around him as the ivy does around some majestic old tower. Love, and awe, and primitive simplicity, working on an extraordinary subject, have well-nigh changed into a wizard this brave, wise, kindly old spirit, whose marvellous insight and intensity of feeling and expression were all taken for sorcery.¹

We can assign no place to Peden as a sermonizer, for we lack material. There are but two sermons preserved, published separately, and also in Howie’s collection as The Lord’s Trumpet Sounding an Alarm Against Scotland.

Peden’s chief biographer is Patrick Walker, who is largely discredited by Hewat and Johnston, who have also written his life. If we are to remove the miraculous from Walker’s account, we have little else on which to build a biography. Other works, and many pamphlets include sketches of his life, but the material is taken from Walker.

Peden most certainly deserves a place as a primary field

¹ James Dodds, The Fifty Years’ Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters, 328.
preacher. His ministry was long and eventful, and was attended with unbounded popularity among the common people. He was not above preaching to the times. He despised the Stuart kings, and did not hesitate to say so. He was bitter toward those ministers who had fled to Ireland, England, and Holland, but would have fellowship with the indulged clergy on the one hand, and with the Cameronians on the other.

Donald Cargill. Donald (baptized Daniel) Cargill was born at Hatton, in Perthshire. Though he studied at both St. Andrews and Aberdeen yet, for some unknown reason, he never graduated from either. He was licensed April 13, 1653, at St. Andrews, but was soon called to the Barony Congregation, at St. Mungo’s Cathedral, Glasgow.

After he was outed in 1662 Walker said he soon took to the fields, but other sources seem to suggest he was a little later. But it is certain that he was active for eighteen years (1663-1681) at least. He preached mostly in the regions of Clydesdale and Lothian, although he was known to preach on the Tweed, in England, and Holland. He was outlawed in 1674 with the price of 6,000 merks on his head. Cargill was wounded at Bothwell Bridge, and left for dead, but recovered only to be captured, and finally executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

Regarding his published material we are more fortunate than in most cases. There are ten pieces printed in Howie
in the form of sermons and lectures. There are three others separately published, two sermons and one lecture — making thirteen pieces in all. His first biography was done by Walker, who said he had many of Cargill's sermons in hand, but did not think it wise to publish them then. Other biographies have been written by Carslaw, Jean L. Watson, and G. M. Bell. Carslaw includes hitherto unpublished material from six additional sermons.

Cargill is noted as being the first political preacher among the field men. He was co-author of the Queensferry Paper, and went so far as to denounce and excommunicate the King and several noblemen at Torwood. His sermons reveal a clarity of style, achieved by his "sententious" speech, and epigrammatic sayings. He belongs among the primary field preachers because of the length and eventfulness of his ministry, as well as his impact on his times. He is a forerunner of the later political development which flourished in field preaching not long after his execution.

Richard Cameron. This "Lion of the Covenant" as Cameron was often called, was born in Falkland, toward the end of the reign of Charles I, possibly in 1648. His father Allan, and his brother Michael were also reputed conventiclers. In 1665 he graduated from St. Andrews as Master of Arts. Though he grew up in the episcopal church, he was awakened to the wrongs
in it at a conventicle he attended conducted by John Welsh. After serving as a school teacher he became a domestic chaplain to a noble family, but was discharged when he refused to accompany his lady to church to hear the curate. He cast his lot with Welsh, and was eventually licensed by Welsh and Semple in 1678. They sent him to preach in Annandale. His ministry there was soon interrupted by a summons to appear before ministers to answer a charge of preaching against indulged clergymen. He remained impenitent and unconvinced, but at a meeting held shortly thereafter he consented to be silent on the issue.

Cameron grieved so much over this promise that he left Scotland, and preached in Holland until after Bothwell Bridge, when the lamentable state of affairs challenged him to return. But now he felt justified in breaking his silence, and not only denounced the indulged ministers, but proceeded to attack the King, the nobility, the episcopal ministers, and the cess. On June 30, 1680, eight days after he published his Sanquhar Declaration, a warrant was issued for his arrest, with 5,000 merks reward offered for his capture. He was killed at Ayrmoss, July 20, 1680, where he and his men met with a company of soldiers in battle. His grave is a common plot he shared with his brother and others who fell in battle, located at the place of the encounter.

The ministry of Richard Cameron was the briefest of the
primary field preachers. There are naturally only a few instances in history of places where he preached. Six sermons and two lectures appear in Howie's collection. Besides these, his Sanquhar Declaration, and one small tract, we have nothing more to assist us in establishing his place as a preacher. But these are enough to reveal the high quality of his style, and the contents of his message. These sermons abound in denunciations of the evils of his times, and convince us of his inability to escape the contemporary scene. His biographers are Patrick Walker, G. M. Bell, John Herkless, and Jean L. Watson.

Cameron not only deserves to be placed as a primary field preacher because of his ability as a preacher — for he is an exceptional preacher in spite of his political emphasis — but especially because of his historic impact. It is with him the fascinating drama of the Revolution Settlement begins, for he was the first Briton openly to accuse the King of treason, and advocate his overthrow by force. He first did what Cargill was to do at Torwood less than a year after, what Renwick was to do several times, what Shields and others were also to do, and what all Britain was to do only eight years from his death.

James Renwick. James Renwick was born soon after the Restoration, on February 15, 1662, in Minihive, Dumfries. As
a child he was notably precocious, and read the Bible with ease at the age of six. After completing his course of study at the University of Edinburgh he was refused graduation because he would not take the Oath of Allegiance.

His spiritual awakening came when he witnessed Cargill's execution. He joined the United Societies, and declared his call to preach. The Societies sent him to Holland, where he was ordained by the Dutch Reformed Church, but according to the discipline of the Church of Scotland. He returned in 1683, and began preaching in the fields, opposing all Cameron and Cargill had also opposed, and dangerously advocated the use of defensive arms. His preaching and publications soon drew the government into action, and a price was put on his head, dead or alive, for £300 sterling. No less than fifteen desperate attempts were made to capture him in 1687 alone. He was the only frequent field preacher after Cargill's death, and because of his extreme measures he became the most hunted man in the nation. Several of the biographers of these Covenanters seem to focus their attention on Renwick, attributing to him the distinction of being the only field preacher during this time. This is not exactly true. The following appendices will show that many men were active after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, including some who preached in the fields at a time when such activity meant death and confiscation of goods to both preacher and hearer, possibly even without due
process of the law. But this must be said for Renwick: probably all the meetings conducted by other men in the fields at this time would fit into one month of his busy schedule!

Renwick was finally captured in Edinburgh, and was executed February 17, 1688, only ten months before the Revolution Settlement. His remains were buried in Greyfriars Churchyard.

Though Renwick's brief ministry lasted only four years, it was as busy as it was brief. He generally preached alone, but on occasions Shields and Houston assisted him. In spite of his physical weakness, he is reputed to have had the heaviest itinerary of any of the field preachers. Within a few months he baptized over six hundred children.

He is said by some to have been the most extreme of the primary field preachers in his convictions about the political and ecclesiastical conditions of this period. He rejected the Stuart Dynasty, but did not disown monarchy as a valid form of government. He refused the cess, and disowned the indulged clergy as well as those who had cast their lot with the established church. He maintained the doctrine of defensive arms, and the overthrow of the existing government by force. But it must be said in all fairness to him, that his messages were not as full of preaching to the times as were those of Cameron.

Renwick's sermons in print are many times the number of any
CHART II
LEADING CONVENTICLERS' PERIODS OF GREATEST ACTIVITY

| Year | 1662 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 |
|------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|  | Semple |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Welsh |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Blackader |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Cargill |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Peden |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Guthrie |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Fleming |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mitchell |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Bruce |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Kid, King |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Riddell |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Kirkton |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Fraser |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Welwood |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Cameron |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Renwick |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Shields |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

- (England)
- (Holland and Bass)
- (Ireland and Bass)
- (New Jersey)
- (Bass and Newgate Prison)
other field preacher. A volume of his messages were published, containing forty-three sermons, thirty-one prefaces, and eight lectures. There are four other sermons published separately. He has four biographers: Carslaw, Shields, Simpson, and Watson. For every reason possible James Renwick deserves his place as a primary field preacher. His sermons are of the best in quality; his activity, popularity, and strategic position in, and impact on history are most noteworthy; his teaching was representative of the thought of the Cameronians — to one aspect of which all Britain, soon after his death, was to say amen.

3. Biographical Sketches of Twelve Secondary Field Preachers

There were many men who held irregular meetings in houses and fields but, for some reason or other, did not enjoy an intense enough ministry, or were not active during a time when they could have had an important enough historical place, to class them as primary field preachers. It must be borne in mind that this group of secondary field preachers is not an inferior group, but, to the contrary, they did some of the best preaching of the period, and were among the most educated men of the day.

Many of these men had active ministries in the fields, but were suddenly stopped by death, execution, exile, imprisonment, or by accepting one of the indulgences (hence removing
themselves from the scope of this thesis). Some of them came from Ireland and England, and ministered in Scotland for only a brief time. Others came of age too late, or died too soon to be active enough for classification as primary men. Still others may have been worthy of a higher place, but we have no way of telling so, for little is known of their lives.

Alexander Shields, like Brown and M'Ward, made a significant impact on the times, but not as a field preacher. His ministry as a nonconformist lasted only a little more than a year. Renwick said he held house conventicles after his ordination, and we know that he probably did not deliver more than four sermons in the fields. Because he preached so little, and came on the Scottish scene so late in the period, we must think of him only as a secondary field preacher.

Shields, the son of a tenant farmer, was born in 1660. He graduated from the University of Edinburgh, and became a private secretary to John Owen at Oxford. He was arrested in London in 1685 for irregular preaching, and was sent to Newgate Prison, where he was a fellow-prisoner of James Fraser of Brea. The authorities sent him back to Scotland to the Bass, from which he escaped in the attire of a woman. He was ordained December 22, 1686, by the United Societies, and became a frequent helper of Renwick. After the Revolution he

became one of the ministers at St. Andrews, but in 1699 he became chaplain to a Scottish expedition, only to die far from misty isles, at Port Royal, Jamaica, in 1700.

Shields was a representative Cameronian thinker and writer. He wrote an axe-to-grind biography of Renwick, and several other pieces, all of which were charged with an apologetic approach to the distinctive tenets of the Cameronians. Hector Macpherson calls him, "The Cameronian Philosopher."

James Kirkton might well be among the primary field preachers, if we could discover data about his life which seem to be lost forever. We know nothing of his early life, he left no memoir, and none has ventured to write his biography. He was born in Edinburgh in 1628. His name appears on the Covenant sworn to when he was just a boy. As a covenanted minister Kirkton was ordained to the church at Merton, in the Merse, but suffered ejection in 1662. We next hear of him when he and George Johnston held conventicles in Cramond Kirk in 1674. Aikman says he was one of the five most active field preachers up to the year 1674, but does not give the source of this information.1

Kirkton went to Holland, and returned after the battle of Bothwell Bridge. We can presume he preached irregularly from time to time, but the authorities took no note of him. The bishops, who always found it a problem to secure enough ministers

for their churches, offered Kirkton the church at Newbattle in 1687 if he would accept the indulgence. He refused, but was settled after the Revolution in Edinburgh.

Kirkton published two works, a history of the Church of Scotland, and a brief pamphlet-biography of John Welsh of Ayr. None of his field sermons have been published separately, but he includes two in his history, one of which was his last sermon, preached just before his death in 1699.

James Fraser of Brea was born July 29, 1639 to parents of noble birth. We do not know of his activity before the Restoration, but we can be certain he was not ordained until after the Revolution. Fraser enjoyed much popularity before 1674, and claimed he preached twice on Sunday, once during the week, and often more frequently, almost without exception. He was cited for apprehension in 1674, but was not captured until 1677. The Bass and Blackness Castle served as his places of confinement until he was permitted freedom to retire to England. The English apprehended him and others at a non-conformist meeting in London at the time of the Ryehouse Plot, and sent him to Newgate Prison. At the Revolution he was released, and settled at Culross until his death in 1698. He left three printed works, a memoir, a tract on faith, and one field sermon.

1. See his Memoirs in Robert Wodrow’s Select Biographies, ii, 328. See also Duncan Fraser, James Fraser of Brea 1639-1699, Ph.D. thesis, New College, Edinburgh.
John Guthrie was the youngest brother of William, "the Fool of Fenwick." We have little information about his life; perhaps his is the fate of Welsh of Irongray, who dwelt too deeply in the shadow of a famous relative. We know nothing of his time and place of birth. He pastored the church at Tarbolton until the ejection of 1662; however, Wodrow tells us he persisted at his church until July of the following year along with nine other ministers in that area.¹ After his outing he and some of his congregation attended a meeting in the fields held by Semple, and perhaps it was then he began preaching at conventicles. Prior to the battle at Pentland he, Semple, and Crookshanks spoke to the troops of the Covenanted Army at Lanark. Because he had been present at that battle he was cited for apprehension. Burnet calls him "the chief of their preachers."² This seems to be somewhat exaggerated, for there is no evidence to warrant such a position to him. Guthrie escaped capture, but at the cost of his life, for he died of exposure the following year. This is the Guthrie for whom Peden served as schoolteacher, precentor, and session clerk during his early years. This would lead us to believe he was at an advanced age when he began his field ministry. There is but one sermon of his in print, preached in 1663, which may not have been a field sermon.

¹. Wi 183.
John Welwood was one of the three well-known sons of James Welwood, the evicted minister of Tundergarth. He was born in 1640. Walker claims he was such a wonderful preacher that he accomplished more in six sermons in the fields near his father's church than his father did during his entire ministry.¹ These sermons were preached in 1677. Of the next two years we know nothing of John Welwood's activity, but on February 20, 1679 he was denounced as a rebel for conventicles. It was probably then he retired to Fife where he spent the last three months of his life before dying of consumption. We have four of his published sermons. The most famous of these was preached at Boulterhall, in Fife, not far from St. Andrews. On this occasion he publicly delivered to a servant of Archbishop Sharp the prophecy that the Primate would soon die a violent death; which, of course, came to pass in a very short time. Patrick Walker gives a brief biography of him.

Archibald Riddell is mentioned by Wodrow, Aikman, Johnston, Blackader, and Walker, but does not appear in Johnston's Treasury, neither do we know any of the particulars about his life. He was not ordained before the eviction in 1662, and is not listed as having been at any of the major battles. He was active in 1672, and in 1674 orders for his arrest were issued. Riddell spoke at the famous Maybole meeting with some of the

¹. Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana, 1, 180.
most famous preachers in his audience, in 1678. Two years later he was captured in the south, and sent to Jedburgh Prison. He was later moved to Edinburgh Tolbooth, and finally to the Bass Prison. The authorities banished him to New Jersey, from which place he attempted a return but was captured by the French, who later exchanged him for two French priests held captive in England. He has no biographer, and there are no known sermons by him in print.

Robert Fleming was born in Yester, East Lothian, in 1630. He studied at Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities. In 1653 he was ordained to the church at Cambuslang, only to be ejected in 1662. He left Scotland after a brief ministry in the fields to pastor the Scots church at Rotterdam. Upon returning for his family he was arrested and sent to the Edinburgh Tolbooth. We have ten essays of his in print, but no field sermons. He died abroad in 1694.

John Kid and John King were active approximately for nine years prior to their public execution at Edinburgh, 1679, for having been at Bothwell Bridge. They are mentioned by Walker, Aiton, Wodrow, and Howie in his Scots Worthies. Howie also published two field sermons by Kid, and a preface and sermon by King, in the Faithful Contendings.

Hugh M'Kail lived from 1640 to 1666. After being licensed he had occasion to preach in St. Giles, at which time he attacked Archbishop Sharp in the guise of "Judas," for which he
was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh. He possessed an oratorical brilliance that cannot be ignored, and perhaps would have been the greatest preacher of his time, had he not died at the age of twenty-six. Nearly all the primary historians speak of him. He is best known for his "Seraphic Song on the Scaffold," — his dying words. His father was Matthew M'Kail, also a field preacher.

Like Kid, King, and M'Kail, Walter Smith was a youth who died on the scaffold. He was a close companion of Donald Cargill, helping him to conduct public worship. He studied abroad at Utrecht, and was said to be the most brilliant student his professor ever had. He published two pamphlets, one concerning the sins of the times, and the other a list of rules to govern the United Societies. He died with whom he often laboured, Cargill, at the Cross of Edinburgh, in 1681.

Our role of secondary conventicle-martyrs closes with James Mitchell, who was a licenced preacher who did irregular preaching after the eviction of 1662. He made an attempt on the life of Archbishop Sharp, was later captured, imprisoned, and eventually executed.

Henry Erskine, 1624-1696, was an outed minister from England, who came to Scotland to preach, only to be captured and imprisoned on the Bass. Upon his release he lived in the north of England, in a place where he could conveniently cross
the border and hold field meetings in Scotland. Erskine is the father of Ebenezer and Ralph, founders of the Secession Church. There is a brief memoir of him in print.

Like Henry Erskine, Michael Bruce ministered in Scotland, but began his ministry in another country, Ireland. He was outlawed there in 1664, and fled to Scotland, where he was not long out of prison. After his capture he was exiled to Africa, but persuaded the judge to send him to Ireland instead. There are three of Bruce's sermons in print.

William Veitch is a minister about whom we know a great deal, for both he and his wife wrote memoirs. He was the son of the ousted minister from Lanark, John Veitch, and was one of the field preachers of noble birth, a close relative to Lauderdale, the Lord High Commissioner during several years of this period.

4. Other Important Conventiclers

It would be almost an impossible task to condense interesting facts about the four hundred ministers Wodrow lists as ousted after the Restoration into the proportionate place they should have in this thesis. It would also be very difficult to do as much even for those two hundred and eighty men who dared to conduct irregular meetings during this period. Such a venture must be left for others who will be writing on
this phase of Scottish history in the future. We will have to content ourselves with only a brief remark about each of those who, for some reason or other, led lives that tease us into conversation.

For example, it is interesting to note that five of these men who were outed in 1662, and who also held field conventicles, were among the first nine Moderators of the Church of Scotland after the Revolution; still another, Thomas Wilkie, a young conventicler who was not ordained until after the outing, also became a Moderator. Two men, John Macgill, and Gilbert Rule, became doctors of medicine; Rule served a sentence of imprisonment in the Bass Prison for breaking his confinement, but neither was known as a conventicler. Rule was later made Principal of the Edinburgh University.

Such men as Samuel Arnot of Tongland, George Campbell of Dumfries, Thomas Hog of Kiltearn, John Hutchison of Maybole, Francis Irvine of Kirkmahoe, George Johnston of Newbattle, John Law of Campsie, Robert Lockhart of Dunsyre, Alexander Moncreif of Scoonie, John Rae in Biggar, James Veitch of Mauchline, George Wauch of Kirkinner, William Weir of Linlithgow, and David Williamson of Edinburgh will always stand out in the memories of those who know the history of this period as noteworthy keepers of conventicles. These names appear frequently in the records of the Privy Council as "trumpets of
CHART III

HAPPENINGS TO MINISTERS ON WODROW'S LIST

WHO WERE OUTED IN 1662
CHART IV

HAPPENINGS TO LATER CONVENTICLERS

AFTER 1690
seditious" that would not hold their peace.

Among the one hundred and seventeen new men who entered the ministry during these twenty-six troubled years we must note such as Thomas Arnot, George Barclay, John Crookshanks, Thomas Forrester, Robert Gillespie, John Hepburn, and Patrick Warner. The two who should be singled out from the others are Thomas Forrester and John Hepburn. After the battle of Bothwell Bridge, next to Renwick and Cargill, these two men seem to be the most active in the fields. Forrester stands alone as the only Presbyterian minister to accept conformity only later to reject it and to become a field preacher. If he had wronged his brethren by a willingness so easily to switch presbyterianism for episcopacy, he certainly more than paid his restitution by becoming one of the most hunted conventicleers after Bothwell Bridge.

5. An Evaluation of Robert Wodrow and other Sources

The two works that form the foundation for establishing the identity and number of the nonconformist ministers are The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution..., by Robert Wodrow, and the Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, by Hew Scott. A comparison of these two works gives rise to uncertainty, because they do not agree in their tabulations. An analysis of the Fasti has been done by Logan, in which he lists by presbyteries the

numbers of those ministers who were evicted in 1662, and those who conformed to episcopacy. In every presbytery, with only one exception, the following pattern is unbroken: Wodrow lists more ministers who separated, and fewer who conformed, than the Fasti. The only exception is in the Presbytery of Moray, for which each source gives five who separated. For example, for Lothian and Tweeddale the ratio between those who separated and those who adhered is 60 : 15, respectively, while in the Fasti it is 46 : 63. For Glasgow and Ayr the contrast is also quite distinct: Wodrow, 114 : 10, Fasti, 97 : 23. The total of evicted ministers given by the Fasti is three hundred and twenty-nine, while Wodrow gives it as four hundred and four. Mathieson says Wodrow also includes ministers who were outed before the re-establishment of episcopacy, by a particular Act of Parliament or Privy Council.¹ Wodrow, himself makes this point clear, and lists twenty-nine such men. However, this would only reduce his figure of outed men to three hundred and seventy-five, leaving a gap between his list and the Fasti of forty-six. A further reduction of Wodrow's total may be made by subtracting seventeen names of men he seemingly correctly doubted as nonconformists (with the inclusion of two names of men who conformed according to other sources). This gives us a difference of only twenty-nine men. Therefore, if we are to confine ourselves exclusively to these two sources, we may conclude

the number of ministers ousted after the restoration of episcopacy and later to be between three hundred and twenty-nine and three hundred and fifty-eight.

Mathieson concludes the number of ousted ministers between 1660-66 to be only two hundred and seventy-one, exclusive of those evicted by a particular Act of Parliament, Council or Synod. Adding the twenty-nine men mentioned above, and including the three who were ousted by a Synod, Mathieson's figure at three hundred and three is still considerably less than that given by the Fasti. Hewison draws attention to the fact that there were only two hundred and three manses emptied up till the end of 1662. But it must be borne in mind that twenty-six men were summoned for not vacating, and (as Appendix II will bear out) many ministers occupied for several years after that time, some of whom escaped the notice of the authorities.

Wodrow confesses his list is "not necessarily complete," and that some of the ministers may be listed in the wrong category. Symson and Kirkton set the figure at "nearly three hundred and fifty," and Crookshank says "near four hundred." Stephen, the biographer of Sharp, goes to the opposite extreme claiming the evictions were confined to Galloway, Wigtown, Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark, remarking all the while that this is not an eighth part of the Kingdom! He must surely mean in square miles, not in

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3. Wi 155; See also 3. Duncan Stewart, The Covenanters of Teviotdale and Neighbouring Districts, 233.
5. William Crookshank, The History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland...; 1, 138.
population. He further claimed that none refused the indulgence, except a few fanatical Covenanters; and that after the Revolution Settlement there were no more than fifty Presbyterian ministers to be found in all Scotland. He apparently was attacking the figure of four hundred, for he says, "It is impossible that three hundred and fifty could have been removed by death, in the short period which elapsed...." In the light of the minutes of the meeting of the General Assembly in 1690, which lists of the one hundred and sixteen present, fifty-seven ousted ministers, and sixteen new ones from the presbytery-in-the field, we can see how flagrantly wrong Stephen is.

Without amplifying these fluctuating totals any further we can roughly conclude the number of ousted ministers to be between three hundred and twenty-five and three hundred and fifty.

But a listing of the nonconformists is not all the information Wodrow gives us. We will not add to the complexity of this section by repeating in sentences what is already charted at the end of Appendix II; but a reading of this chart will help us to conclude that Wodrow delivered no more than he promised. He did not claim to be accurate in every case, and reminds his readers that his list is not even complete (for he does not attempt listing the conformist ministers where entire presbyteries conformed); hence, we must accept his record for what it is, and regard him as a reliable historian.2

6. Summary

The only criteria for determining the position of a man as a field preacher must be a consideration of his intensity of activity in the fields, and his historical impact. Though other considerations may be important, yet they cannot in themselves be determinative.

There are seven men who seem to warrant positions as primary field preachers, five of whom were outed by the Act of Glasgow, 1662, and Renwick and Cameron who were ordained at a later time. In addition to these there are at least thirty-five others who were outstanding in their work as field preachers.

Most historians agree that the number of ministers outed after the re-establishment of episcopacy in 1662 was between three hundred and twenty-five and three hundred and fifty. Of these men over one hundred and fifty held irregular meetings of some description. Hence, over one-third of the ministers evicted from their charges refused to take their nonconformity in a passive way, but defied a government they were convinced, by the tenets of a higher Law, was in the grossest of error.

To these one hundred and fifty ministers was added from time to time during this period certain new ministers coming of age, who chose the Presbyterian form of polity, and preached in the fields. This number stands at one hundred and seventeen, making the total of ministers who conducted irregular meetings about two hundred and eighty between the years 1662-1668.
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN

APPENDICES II and III

C = Confined to parish, according to Wodrow.
G = Evicted by the Act of Glasgow, according to W.
R = Alive at the Revolution Settlement, according to W.
P = Evicted by a particular Act of Parliament or Privy Council, according to W.
S = Evicted by an Act of Synod, according to W.
Idg = The minister involved accepted one of the three indulgences.
HI = The History of the Indulgence, by John Brown.
Incmd = The minister involved was intercommuned.
GAXC and GAXCII = The Proceedings of the General Assembly of Church of Scotland, 1690 and 1692 respectively.
(?)Name = Wodrow doubts the nonconformity of the minister involved.
Name = The minister involved was known to conduct either HC or FC. Those who held irregular marriages, or other services are not included.
Name(?) = The minister involved probably conducted conventicles.
(primary/secondary field preacher) = The life of the minister involved is treated in more complete detail elsewhere in this chapter.

(NOTE: The symbols above do not apply to Appendix III, in reference to the listing of the name of the minister, for all men included in it did undoubtedly hold conventicles. All other abbreviations are defined in the list of such for Appendix I).
APPENDIX II

ROBERT WODROW'S ROLL OF MINISTERS EVICTED FROM THEIR CHARGES AFTER THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY

Adair, William, of Ayr. C.
Adamson, Colin, of Anstruther Easter. C.
Ainsley, James, of Minto. G. R. Settled at same church, 1690. T 47.
Aird, Robert, of Comrie.
Alexander, James of Kilmacolm. C. G. Wi 298, PCiii 3.
Alexander, John, of Creich. G.
Alexander, William, in Kincardine.
Alison, Adam, of Balmaghie. Idg. PCI 349, iii 587, HI 180, Galloway Covenanters 108; summond for not vacating.
Anderson, John, of Auchtergaven. Active after Bothwell Bridge, imprisoned, banished, but settled in either Perth or Kirkcaldy. Wi 176, PCv 266, vi 487, vii 219, xi 251, GAXC 7, 10, GAXCII 2.
Archbald, Hugh, of Strathaven. Active after Bothwell Bridge, largely north of the Tay, imprisoned. Wi 298, Aik 244, PCiii 552, 581, vi 487.

Arnot, Thomas, of Cupar. G. Wi 5, 258.

Austin, Samuel(?), of Penpont. Banished for seditious preaching. PCI 302, 311.

Bailie, William, of Annan. Idg. PCiii 588, HI 179.


Belfrage, George, of Carnock. C.

Bell, James, of Kirkcolm. R. Idg, but later imprisoned. PCiii 587, iv 104, v 257, vi 602, HI 180.

Bell, John (younger), of Ardrossan. R. Idg, but broke confinement. Wi 305, PCiii 47, iv 71, x 109, xi 38, HI 180.

Bell, John (elder), of Stevenston.

Bell, Robert, of Dalry.

Bennet, Robert, of Kilrenny. C.

Birnie, Robert, of Lanark.

(? )Black, Hugh, in Ayr.

Black, Thomas, of Leslie. C. Idg, broke confinement, and imprisoned. Wi 307, PCiii 147, 285, viii 357, x 37, 538.

Blackader, John, of Troqueer. G. (primary field preacher) See also PCI 192, v 79, 178, vi 11.

Blackie, Nicholas, of Robertson. G. R.


Blair, James(?), of Cathcart. G. Accused of seditious conduct. Wi 183, PCI 397.

Blair, John, of Bothkennar.

Blair, Robert, of St. Andrews. P. CKi 188.


(?) Boyd, Thomas, in Irvine.

Boyd, William, of Dalton.

Brotherstones, James, of Glencairn. Idg. HI 180, PCIii 588.


Brown, John, of Wamphray. He was banished to Holland before the beginning of FC. He and M’Ward were two of the most prolific writers during this period expressing the views of the non-conformists. Aik 24, PCI 278, 305.

(?) Brown, Richard, of Drummelzier. R. Settled in Biggar. (possibly the same man.)

Brown, Robert, in Biggar

(?) Brown, Robert, of Lyne.

Brown, William, of Carnwath. G.

Bruce, James, in Biggar.

(?) Bruce, James, in St. Andrews.

Bugloss, James, of Crossmichael. Galloway Covenanters 108.

Burn, John, of Langton, in Dunse.

Burnet, John, of Kilbride. Idg. PCiii 587, iv 104, HI 179.

Calderwood, William, of Legerwood. G. Settled in Earlston. GAXCII 1.

Cameron, Hugh, in Dunoon.

Cameron, John, of Kilfinan. Idg, died in 1680. PCI 311, ii 68, iii 62, 440, 588, vi 606, HI 181.
(?)Cameron, Neil, in Dunoon.

Campbell, David, of St. Cyrus.

Campbell, Dugal, of Knapdale North. Idg, but later conformed to prelacy, only to later change affiliation again, and was settled at Kilmartin in Inverary. PCiii 588, HI 181, Church in the Highlands 170, GAXC 13, GAXCII 3.

Campbell, Duncan, of Knapdale South. R. Idg, broke confinement, and later imprisoned. Wii 354, HI 181, PCiii 588, x 124, 184, xiii 196.

Campbell, George, of Dumfries. G. R. Among the earliest of the FC, and one of the most active. Idg, broke confinement, exiled, settled in Dumfries, later became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh. Wii 249, Aik 235-36, HI 179, PCiii 587, iv 104, 229, xiii 2, 5, 12, 275-76, 483, GAXC 10, GAXCII 2.

Campbell, Hugh, of Riccarton. G. R. Idg. Wi 398, PCiii 3, 587-88, iv 71, HI 180.

Campbell, Hugh, of Muirkirk. G. R. Seems to have begun irregular preaching as late as June, 1676. PCiv 590, vi 499.

Campbell, John, of Sorn. Idg, but later broke confinement. Wii 351, PCiii 587, iv 104.


Campbell, John, of Tealing.

Campbell, Patrick, of Inverary. R. Idg. Wi 307, PCiii 62, x 187.

Campbell, Patrick, possibly of Killin, but more probably of Kenmore. The men from Killin died in 1659, and the one from Kenmore in 1674. See Fasti iv 59, 182.

Campbell, Robert, in Dunkeld.

Campbell, Robert, of Moulin.

Campbell, William, in St. Andrews.

Cant, Alexander, in Kincardine. Idg. HI 180.

Cant, Andrew (elder), of Aberdeen. Idg. PCiii 376, vi 300.
Cant, John, of Kells. R. Idg. Galloway 129, 190, PCiii 587, iv 73, x 53, 56, 110, 228, 231, 593-95, 598.


(?), Carmichael, Fredrick, of Markinch.

Carmichael, John, of Kirkconnel and Sanquhar. Idg. HI 180, PCiii 588, CKi 283. This is the brother of Alexander Carmichael, who was a FC, but was not ordained at this time (see following Appendix III).


(?), Cassie, Thomas, of Little Dunkeld.

Castlelaw, William, of Stewarton. C. Idg. HI 179, PCiii 345, vi 65.

(?), Chalmers, John, in Kirkcaldy.

Chartes, John, of Currie.

(?), Clelland, John, of Stow. C. Idg. Wi 307.

Cockburn, William, of Kirkmichael. C.

Colvil, Patrick, of Beith.

Crawford, Alexander, in Middlebie.

Crawford, Hugh, of New Cumnock. G. R. Idg. HI 180, PCiv 104, viii 79.

Crawford, John, in Biggar. Idg. HI 180, PCiii 104, 587-88, iv 71.

Crawford, Thomas, of Edinburgh.

Crichton, William, of Bathgate. R. Idg, became Moderator after the settlement (1692, 1697), broke confinement, settled in Linlithgow. HI 180, PCiii 587, iv 34, 108, Moderators 47, 49ff, GAXC 9.
Crookshanks, John, of Redgorton. See Fasti iv 241. This man is not to be confused with the J. C. who was an outed minister from Ireland, and was slain at Pentland. See also Galloway Covenanters 114.

Cunison, John, of Kilbride in Arran. R. Idg. Settled at Campbeltown. HI 180, PCiii 588, Church in the Highlands 170.

Cunningham, Alexander, of Ettrick.

Cunningham, Gabriel, of Dunlop. R. Idg, incmd, settled in Irvine. Aik 234, HI 179, PCiii 587, iv 104, 192, viii 87, x 513, xiii Introduction xvi, GAXC 12.

Cunningham, James, of Lasswade. G. This man seemed to be a conformist, for he served as curate at Lasswade until 1663. PCI 459.

Cunningham, John, of Cumnock. C. Possibly the J. C. of Bedland, prisoner with other ministers in Stirling, and was sent later to Dumbarton. Went to Ireland. PCIi 552, 581, v 32, 161, 209, vi 283, 526, 657, viii 87, CKI 286.

Cunningham, Robert(?), of Ashkirk. G. R. Idg, took Bond. PCIi 360.

Cunningham, William, of Kilbride.

Curry, James, of Shotts. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned. Wi 354, PCiii 562, 587, iv 71, v 229, ix 23, x 15, 180, 221-23, HI 180.

Dalgleish, William, of Cramond.

Dalrymple, Andrew, of Auchinleck. G. Idg, and perhaps referred to in one instance as "James Dalrymple." PCIi 3, 70, 587, iv 71, v 83, HI 180.


Davidson, John, of Southdean. C.

(?)Dick, John, in Stranraer. An early agitator who was executed in 1664 (it is difficult to imagine how Wodrow can seemingly doubt the place of this man among the nonconformists).

Dickson, David, Professor of Theology at Edinburgh. P. PCI 446.

Dickson, John, of Rutherglen. P. R. Wi 5, 126-27, Aik 234, PCiv 106, 192, v 228, vi 559, 139, APvii Appendix 60. Settled in Glasgow. GAXCII 3.
Dickson, William, in Biggar.

Dishington, George, of Cults. G. Imprisoned. PCiii 551.


Donaldson, Thomas, of Smailholm. C. Occupied his own pulpit until his death in 1673. Merse 58.


Duncan, John, of Rerwick and Dundrennan. Summoned for not vacating. PCI 339.

Duncanson, John, in Inverary. R. Idg. HI 181, PCiii 588, x 187.


Dunkison, Andrew, of Maxton. C. Idg. Wi 307, PCiii 149.

Dunlop, Alexander, of Paisley. P. PCI 293, 302.


Edmonston, Robert, of Culross.

Elliot, Gavin, of Kirkton. G.

Elliot, Robert, of Linton. R. Idg, broke confinement, settled in Biggar. HI 180, PCiii 588, viii 357, ix 125, GAXC 9.

Elphinston, David, of Dumbarton. C.


Fergusson, Alexander, of Mochrum.

Fergusson, James, of Kelton.

Fergusson, James, of Kilwinning. C. "...yet connived at his church at Kilwinning." K 200.

Fergusson, Robert, of Buittle. Summoned for not vacating, imprisoned. PCI 339, 468, xiii Introduction x.


Fleming, Matthew, of Culross. C. It seems he later conformed, for in 1672 he is minister at his same church, yet was seemingly not indulged. PCiv 48.

(?)Fleming, Patrick, of Stobo.

Fleming, Robert, of Cambuslang. R. (a secondary field preacher) Idg., settled in 1690. See also HI 179, PCiii 546, 551, 587, vi 266, viii 112, 293, 425, 456, x 459.

Fletcher, James, of Nenthorn. G. Idg. Wi 307, Merse 202, PCiii 70, iv 83, ix 429.

Forbes, Duncan, in Deer. Ladies 409, PCI 390, 407, 423.

Forrest, John (younger), in Dunblane. Idg., broke confinement, settled in Dunblane, and later in St. Andrews. Wi 307, PCIii 77, iv 427, GAXC 10, GAXCII 3.

Forrester, Alexander, of Castlemilk. C. Served as secretary of the secret Edinburgh meeting of ministers May 24, 1676, imprisoned. PCv 21, 106.

Forret, David, of Kilconquhar. C.

Forsyth, Henry, of Kirkintilloch. Aik 234, PCiv 192.

Frazer, Alexander, of Daviot. R. Aik 244, Ladies 408, PCI 390, 421, 423, 424, 429, 431, 439, Church in the Highlands 148; seems he preached after Bothwell Bridge.


Garvan, Thomas, of Edinburgh. P.


Gillespie, Patrick, Principal of the college of Glasgow. P. Imprisoned for collaboration with Cromwell. WI 10, PCI 39, 46, 63, iv 238, CKI 105.

Gillon, James, of Cavers. G. Possibly the "Neil Gillies" who was idg, and took the Bond. PCIi 361, T 47, 132.

Gladstone, George, of Urr. C.

Glenndon, James, in Dumbarton. He apparently conformed to prelacy, and served as curate in Row until 1663. He was past eighty years of age at that time, and died soon after. PCI 468, ii 133.

Gordon, Alexander, of Inverary. P. R. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned, settled in either Inverary, or Wigtown. The proceedings of the General Assembly of 1690 list two A. Gs. HI 179, PCIii 587, iv 104, 590, GAXC 1, 13.

Gottie, Adam, of Roseneath. G.

Grant, John, of Irvine. G. Idg. PCIii 47.


Greg, Walter, of Balmerino. C.

Guthrie, David, of Anstruther Wester. C.

Guthrie, John, of Tarbolton. G. (a secondary field preacher). Died during the period.
Guthrie, James, of Stirling, executed. Not a FC, but among the most famous preachers of his day.

Guthrie, William, of Fenwick. S. Not a FC, but among the most famous preachers of his day, died 1663.

Hall, Gilbert, of Kirkliston. P. Summoned for not vacating. K 325, PCi 439, iii 546, 551.

Halliburton, George (younger), of Dupplin. PCv 23-24, 229.


Hamilton, George, of Pittenweem. G.

Hamilton, Gilbert, of Crawford, or Crawford-moor. G. Idg, died 1673. HI 179, PCi1 567, 626, iv 99.

Hamilton, James, of Blantyre. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned. Wi 307, HI 180, PCi1 30, 204, 624, 626, iv 34 (?) 364, vi 31, CK1 276.


Hamilton, James, of Eaglesham. C. Idg. Wi 183, HI 179, PCi1 77, 132.

Hamilton, John, of Carmichael. G. Idg. HI 179, PCi1 588, iv 71, 419-20.

(?)Hamilton, John, of Inverkip. Later conformed to prelacy, though imprisoned. PCvi 300, x 27, xiii 525.


Hardy, John, of Gordon. G. R. Summoned for not vacating. He was apparently idg, for he was summoned October 20, 1687 as a "nonconformist minister, who meddled with matters of state in his sermons." Settled in Dunbar. Wi 183, PCI 397, 397, xiii Introduction xix, GAXCII 1, and GAXC 8.
Hay, John, of Peebles. Ladies 408, PCx 390. Active after Bothwell Bridge.


Henderson, Hugh, of Dumfries. P. See Blk.


Hog, John, of South Leith. He may be the J. H. who was banished in December, 1685. PCxi 242.


Hogg, Thomas, of Larbert and Dunipace. PCiv 238, 449, vi 646. Incm'd.

Houston, William, of Erskine. G.

Huison, Richard, of Alva. R. Spelled on occasion "Howison." Idg, and took Bond. PCvi 360.

Hume, David, of Coldingham. Frequently called "Home." Present at the battles of Bothwell Bridge, and Drumclog, incm'd, convicted of treason. He was considered one of the most active FC in 1674. Wodrow, Correspondence i 292-93, WII 396, Aiton 62-63, Aik 182, 235-36, PCiv 192, 203, 238, 541, v 12, 18, 488, vi 52, 260, 646, vii 159, 390, ix 136, x 75, 121, xiii Introduction, xvi.

Hume, John, of Edinburgh. There is strong evidence this man conformed to prelacy; he seems to be the man who reported the FC held at Gavin Muir. See PCxii 404, xiii 156.

Hunter, Robert, of Corstorphine. Idg. WI 307, HI 180, PCiii 77, 404, 588.


Hutchison, Andrew, of Stewarton. G. Idg. HI 179, PCiii 587.

Hutchison, James of Killallan. R. Idg, imprisoned when he broke his confinement, settled in Glasgow. Wi 354, HI 179, PCIi 587, iv 71, x 221, 223, xiii 196, GAXCII 3. See GAXC 12 for his earlier settlement in Paisley.

Hutchison, John, of Maybole. G. R. Idg, broke confinement, pronounced excommunications against certain persons, and settled in same church. HI 180, Wi 296, ii 176, PCIi 587, iv 71, vii 240, 287, 472, xi 36, xiii 417, GAXC 11.

(? )Inglis, Archibald, of Moffat. Probably later conformed to prelacy, or was not actually ever among the nonconformists (Wodrow).

Inglis, James of Dailly. C. Settled in Perth. GAXC 10.

Inglis, John, of Hamilton. G. R. Idg. HI 180, PCIi 588, iv 104.


Jack, William, of Carluke. G.

Jamieson, Alexander, of Govan. G. Idg. HI 179, PCIi 587, iv 34, 104.

Jamieson, Edward, of Swinton. Active after Bothwell Bridge, incmd, settled in St. Andrews. Aik 235-36, Merse 102, PCIv 238, v 18, 544, vi 646, ix 126, x 75, 121, xiii 210, GAXCII 3.

Johnston, George, of New Battle. G. R. A ringleader in holding FC. Summoned for not vacating, incmd, settled in Edinburgh. See note of William Veitch in Appendix III.

Johnston, William, in Chirnside.
Kay, Adam, of Borgue. Summoned for not vacating. PCi 349.

Keith, Edward, of Lochend. Idg, possibly the George K. who was summoned to answer for attending PC. HI 181, PCiii 588, vi 89.

Keith, Robert, in Deer. This man remains unmentioned during the entire period until June of 1688 when he is summoned six times to answer a complaint against him. Perhaps the Privy Council is confusing him with the Edward Keith above. PCxiii 212, 241, 262-63, 272-74.

Kennedy, Gilbert, of Girvan. G. Wii 5, PCvi 139.


Kennedy, Thomas, of Kirkmaiden, or Leswalt. R. Summoned for not vacating, and seems to have gone to Ireland. PCI 354, Galloway Covenanters 217. See also Fasti vii 531.

Ker, James, of Abbotsrule. G. Wii 127, PCvi 450, 538, T 51, 161.

Ker, Robert, of Haddington. Idg. HI 180.


Kirkaldy, Thomas, of Tranent. Idg. HI 180, PCiii 588.

Kirkpatrick, James, of Carrington. G. R. Settled in Dalkeith. GAXC 8.

Kirkton, James, of Merton. G. R. (secondary field preacher). Incomd, settled in Edinburgh. See PCiii 588, iv 34, 108, 193, 203, 236, v 2, 10-12, 18, 34, 72, vi 646, ix 136, x 75-76, 121, GAXC 9, GAXCII 2.

Knox, James, of North Leith. More frequently called "John K." Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned. HI 180, PCiii 588, iv 101, 164, x 27, 171, xi 2, 27, 38, 280.

Langlands, John, of Wilton. C. Most noted for his support of the expedition of Argyle, and for his opposition to James Renwick, against whom he wrote a libel. Simpson, Life of Renwick 106-07, T 51. He was obviously active after Bothwell Bridge.

Law, John, of Campsie. G. R. Incmd, idg, broke confinement, imprisoned, became Moderator (1694), active after Bothwell Bridge, settled in Edinburgh. Highland Host 98, Moderators 58, Wi 5, 14, 98, 427, Aik 234, HI 179, PCii 587, iv 34, 104, 192, 252, v 75, 173, 488, vi 33, 52, 139, 285, 361, 470, xii 194, 196, 417, GAXC 11, GAXCII 2. He also took the Bond.

Law, Robert, in Middlebie. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned, took Bond and idg again, settled in the same church. HI 179, PCii 588, iv 104, 192, 232, 253, vi 327, vii 704, T 237, GAXC 11, GAXCII 2.

Law, Robert, of New or Easter Kilpatrick. G. Settled in Biggar. GAXC 9, GAXCII 2.

Lawie, Thomas, of Lesmahagow. Later conformed to prelacy. PCii 588.

Lawrie, James, of Stoneykirk. R. Summoned for not vacating, idg, at Bothwell Bridge, settled in Middleby. PHI 180, PCii 587, vi 3, 95, viii 115, GAXCII 3.

(?)Lawrie, John, in Lochmaben. One list has him a conformist (Wodrow). However, he was summoned for not vacating, and settled in Penpont. PCi 339, GAXC 11, GAXCII 2.


Lindsay, John, of Carstairs. Imprisoned. PCii 536.


Livingstone, Alexander(?), of Biggar. P. idg. Wi 183, HI 180, PCi 389, 408, ili 588.

Livingstone, John, of Ancrum, banished. (secondary field preacher). See also PCi 292, 302, T 45.

Lowes, Thomas, of Galashiels. G. R.

Mac Broom, John, of Portpatrick. Summoned for not vacating. PCI 339.

Mac George, William of Carlaverock. C.

Macghie, John, of Dirleton.

Macgill, James, of Largo. C. R.

Macgill, John, of Coupar-Angus. G. Confined beyond Tay; applied for licence to leave the country; returned later as a doctor of medicine. PCI 328, 364. The Fasti does not list this man at either Cupar-Fife, or Coupar-Angus.

Maclean, Andrew, in Inverary. Idg. Wi 307, HI 181, PCIii 70, 149, x 187.

Maclean, Archibald, of Killin. R. Idg. broke confinement, sent to prison. HI 181, Wi 96, PCIii 588, vi 266.

Macmichan, John, of Dalry. Summoned twice for not vacating, idg. Wi 307, HI 180, PCI 339, 349, 587, iv, 73, x 53, 56, 110, 228.


M'Alexander, Fergus of Kirkdominae, or Barr. G. R.

Martin, Nathaneal, in Deer. Aik 235-36, PCiv 87, 238.

Martin, Robert, of Eckford. C.


Maxwell, James (or Thomas), of Kirkgunzeon. C.

Maxwell, Robert, of Monkton. C. Incmd, idg. Wi 37, Aik 235-36, HI 180, PCIii 587, iv 34, 104, 238, 449, 646.

Maxwell, William, of Monygaff.

M'Callum, Archibald, in Inverary.


M'Culloch, John, of Dornoch.

Mean, John, of Anwoth.


Meldrum, George, of Glass. R. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned settled at the same church, and later at Irvine, and Edinburgh. Wii 354, Ladies 408, PCi 293, x 165, 404, 474, xiii 279-80, Church in the Highlands 170, GAXC 12, GAXCII 3, 172.

Melvill, Thomas, of Cadder. G. (one of these men was (idg. PCiii 588, iv 104, (109.

Melvill, Thomas, of Kinglassie. C.

Menzies, John, of Johnston. Later made Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews. PCI 293, i ii 271, x 323, xiii Introduction xii, 102, 115, 210.

Mercer, John, of Kilellar, or Mitchell.

M'Gowan, Alexander, of Mouswald. C.

Miller, Andrew, of Dailly. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned. Wii 354, HI 179, PCiii 587, x 180, 221, 223.


Minniman, John, of Abernyte. PCiv 236.


M'Kail, Matthew, of Bothwell. C. Summoned for not vacating, idg, broke confinement, father of Hugh M'Kail, the martyr. Wi 183, Aik 234-35, HI 180, PCI 389, 408, iv 34, 104, 127.

Moncreif, Alexander, of Scoonie. P. R. Incmd, considered one of the most active men in 1674, and is listed in *The Scots Worthies*; 549-54, PCI 159, 636, iii 546, 551, iv 238, 247, 449, v 12, 23, 173, 229, vi 137, 646, ix 136, CKi 100, APvi 46, 367.

(?)Morrison, Donald, in Dunoon. Idg. Wi 307, PCIii 70.


Morton, William, of Wiston.

Mowat, Matthew, of Kilmarnock. P.


Murray, Anthony, of Kirkbean. G. Summoned for not vacating, idg, broke confinement, imprisoned, settled at Paisley. Wi 183, PCv 218, x 10, 43, xiii 499.

Murray, Arthur, in Kirkwall.

Murray, George, in Auchterarder.


M'Ward, Robert, of Glasgow, banished. Prolific writer of the day. He and Brown wrote many pamphlets in the Cameronian vein of thought, though he was exiled before the beginning of field preaching.

Nairn, George, of Burntisland. G. APvi 57.

Nasmith, James, of Hamilton. P. Idg. HI 180, PCI 264, 293, 311, iii 587.

Nevoy, John, of Newmilns, or Loudon. P. Sometimes spelled "Nave," who had served as Chaplain to General Leslie, and frequently preached in the fields. He insisted in the Old Testament practice of killing all captives on one occasion; exiled to Holland. Steven 75, Aiton 59, PCI 311, 321.
Nisbet, Alexander, of Irvine. C.

Oliphant, John, of Stonehouse. R. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned, settled at Hamilton, then at Lanark. Wi 305, HI 180, PCiv 71, xii 30, 38, 71, 111, 161, 221, 223, xi 34, GAXC 13, GAXCII 3.

Oliphant, William, of Dunfermline. G.

Orum,(Orme), David, of Graham, or Forgandenny.

Osburn, John, of Kirkoswald. G. Idg, served on occasion to announce meetings, and was called "the Mountain Beadle." HI 180, Wi 284, PCiii 587, iv 104, viii 80, Hewison ii 187.

Park, James, in Elgin. PCxi 429-30.


Paterson, Thomas, of Borthwick. G. Imprisoned, banished, but sentence was probably not carried out, for he still seems to be in Scotland in 1687. PCxi 139-40.

Paton, Robert, of Terregles. G. R. Counted among the earliest FC, present at Pentland. Aik 124, PCIi 520, ii 345, K 264-65.

Peacock, Patrick, of Kirkmabreck. R. Idg, escaped to Ireland, idg, broke confinement, summoned for not vacating, settled in Kirkcudbright. Carslaw, Exiles 88, HI 180, PCIi 339, iii 587, GAXC 11.

Peden, Alexander, of New Glenluce (primary field preacher). See also PCiv 64, 67, 659, v 266, vi 61, 62, 76, ix 136, Galloway Covenanters 319ff.

Peebles, Hugh, of Lochwinnoch. G. R. PCIi 208, 255, 383.

Pitcairn, Alexander, of Dron. P. R. Exiled. Wi 249, PCvii 349-61. He may be the A. P. who was summoned to answer an accusation of doing violence to a curate.

Pitcairn, Henry, of Logie. G.

Porteous, Archibald, in Biggar. Idg. HI 179, PCIi 587.
Primrose, John, of Queensferry. Idg. Wi 307, PCiii 104.

Pringle, James, of Westerkirk. Idg. took bond, broke confinement, PCvi 359, vii 704, xi 27, T 234.

Purdie, Patrick, of Newlands.

Rae, John, in Biggar. Incmd. imprisoned, summoned for not vacating, idg. Wi 5, 352, Aik 234-36, HI 179, PCi 339, 552, 587, iv 104, 192, 237, 238, v 18, 488, 544, vi 52, 133, 137, 260, 646, vii 503, ix 136, x 75, 121.

Ramsay, George, of Kilmaurs. G. Idg. Wi 307, HI 179, Ladies 137, PCiii 587, iv 71, 497, 663, vi 69.

Ramsay, Matthew, of Old Wester Kilpatrick. C. Idg, but broke confinement. Wi 307, PCi 409, iii 70.

Ramsay, Thomas, of Mordington and Lamberton. C. R. Settled at the same church. PCxiii 525, GAXC 12.


(?)Reid, John, of Muirkirk. Hewison ii 187, PCvi 18.

Rind, Andrew, in Dunblane.

(?)Ritchie, Robert, of Sorbie. Symson ii, Galloway 129.

Ritchison, Robert, at Mochrum. Summoned for not vacating. PCi 339, Galloway Covenanters 98.

Robertson, Alexander, in Meigle. K 234ff, Napthali 192.

Robertson, John, in Meigle.


Ross, Alexander, of Kirkcowan. Summoned for not vacating. PCi 339, x 168, 221.

Ross, Andrew, in Tain. Church in the Highlands 144.

Ross, John, of Coyalton. G. Incmd. idg. HI 180, Wi 297, PCiv 390, 403, 449, vi 646, vii 23.

Ross, Thomas, in Dingwall. At Bothwell Bridge, settled in Glasgow. Wi 393, Ladies 409, PCx 390, 407, Church in the Highlands 144, GAXC 12.
Row, Robert, in Linlithgow. Idg, took Bond. PCvi 327.

Row, Samuel, of Sprouston. S.

Row, William, of Ceres. Incmd, settled at same church, and later at Linlithgow. Aik 235, PCiv 228, 519, vi 494, GAXC 9, 10.

Rowat, James, of Kilmarnock. P. R. Idg, broke confinement. HI 179, PCI 264, iii 587, iv 104.

Russel, William, of Kilbirnie. Settled in Biggar. GAXC 9, GAXCII 2.


Schaw, William, of Garan. G.

Scot, Hugh, of Bedrule. G. Idg, settled the Prebytery of E...htoun. PCIii 588, GAXC 7.

Scot, Hugh, of Middlebie. He died in 1680. T 233.

Scot, John, of Hawick. Idg, broke confinement, sympathized with the Argyle expedition, and fled to the north of England. Wi 307, HI 180, PCIii 62, T 47.

Scot, John, of Oxnam. C. Idg, died in 1681. PCI 96, iv 83, T 52-53.

Scot, William, in Deer.

Semple, John, of Carsphairn. Idg, died in 1677. HI 180, PCiii 587, iv 73.

Semple, John(?), in Dundee. This man is probably the J. S. who was hunted by the soldiers to answer for being at Pentland. Semple of Carsphairn was mistakenly arrested as being him. See PCii 231, 238.

Semple, Robert, in Linlithgow.

Shiels, Patrick, of West Calder. (one of these was idg, and called "William.")

Shiels, Thomas of Kirkbride. Settled at Melrose. GAXC 8.

Simpson, David, of Southrud. Idg, broke confinement, exiled to Jersey in 1685. HI 179, PCiii 588, xi 149, 187.

Simpson, James, of Airth. P. Exiled. Livingstone 33, APvii 56.

Simpson, James, of Kirkealdy. C.

Simpson, Patrick, of Renfrew. G. R. Idg, broke confinement, settled at Paisley, then at Glasgow as the Dean of the University, and later became Moderator of the church. Wii 4, 39, HI 179, PCiii 546, 551, Moderators 71ff, PCiii 546, 551, iv 104, vi 54, 126, 197, x 187, GAXC 12, GAXCII 3, 170.

Sinclair, Adam, of Morton. PCii 142.

(?)Sinclair, Hugh, in Kirkwall.

Sinclair, John(?), of Ormiston. G. Lived in exile in Holland, and was given to preaching seditious sermons. PCii 47, viii 503.

Smith, Alexander, of Colvend. G. Banished to Shetland Islands. Aik 115-16, Napthali 120, PCii 377, 495.

Smith, Hugh, of Eastwood. G. Wi 183, PCI 397, 409.

Smith, John, of Edinburgh. P. PCI 264, APvii 391.

Sommerwell, John, of Ednam. S.

Sommerwell, Ludowick, of New Monkland.

(Somerwell, William, of Crawford-john. C.) One of these men was (Somerwell, William, of Pittenweem. G.) Idg, broke confinement, active after Bothwell Bridge, and banished. HI 180, PCiii 588, vi 487, xi 254.

Spence, Andrew, of Aberbrothock, of Brechin.

Steedman, Robert, of Carriden. R. PCv 24.

Stevenson, Alexander, of Dalmellington. C. R.

Stirling, James, of Paisley. G. Possibly the Stirling who was arrested for circulating seditious pamphlets printed in Holland, and possibly the "James Stirline" who was settled in Glasgow. GAXCII 2.


Stirling, John, of Kilbarchan. Idg, died 1684. PCiv 71, v 51, ix 71.

Strachan, James, in Dunkeld.


Stuart, Thomas, of Cumbernauld, or Easter Lenzie.

Telfer, George, in Garioch.

(?)Thomson, David, of Dawyck. (Wodrow has it "Dask"—see Fasti i 292).

Thomson, George, of Kilmany. G. Settled at Bervie, but imprisoned for praying for the restoration of King James; released, but deprived of his charge. PCxiii 503, 560

(?)Thomson, Thomas, in Lochmaben. He may have conformed, for one list said he did (Wodrow).

Thomson, Thomas, of Parton. Summoned for not vacating, idg, settled in Glasgow, then in Deer. HI 180, PCI 339, 520, iii 587, GAXC 12, GAXCII 4.
Thomson, William, of Edinburgh. Idg, broke confinement. He published two sermons together in a pamphlet, one of which may have been preached in the fields. Hi 179, Wi 416, PCiv 34, 104.

Thomson, William, of Houston. G.

Thomson, William, of Mearns.


Tweeddy, William, of Edinburgh.

Urquhart, James, in Kinloss. Idg, broke confinement, imprisoned, banished, preached after Bothwell Bridge, settled at same church. Wi 354, Ladies 408, Church in the Highlands 148, PCx 165, 404, 407, 429, 390, 472, xiii 41, 42, 61, GAXC 15.

Urquhart, Thomas, in Elgin. Imprisoned, settled at Essil. PCIi 504, v 488, vi 87, Aik 235-36, Church in the Highlands 148.


Walker, Hugh, of Neilston. G.

Walkinshaw, James, of Baldernoch. G. Indulged, took Bond. Hi 179, Wi 183, PCI 397, 409, iii 587, iv 34, 104, vi 327, 659.

(?W)Wallace, James, in Dumfries. PCiv 238.
Wallace, James, of Inchinnan. C. R. Idg. HI 179, Wii 5, PCiii 587, iv 34, 104, vi 139.


Wedderburn, Alexander, of Forgan. C. R. Idg, published three volumes of sermons preached while indulged, which may contain some sermons preached in the fields. Died 1673. Wi 307, HI 179, PCiv 98, 105, 145, 173, vi 535, vii 124.

Wedderburn, Andrew, of Liff and Benvie (see Fasti v 347). PCxiii 288 has a notice of him holding legal house meetings in Dundee; hence he must have been alive at the Revolution, or died between July 1688 and 1690.

Wedderburn, James, of Monzie. G. Incmd. PCiv 238, v 18, 488, vi 52, 646.

Weems, Patrick, of Abbotshall. G.

Weems, Robert, of Elie. G.

Weir, Hugh, of Old Monkland.

Weir, William, of Linlithgow. R. Idg, broke confinement, lived in exile, settled in same church. Carslaw Exiles 87, HI 180, Wi 367, PCiii 588, iv 34, iv 98, 100, 205, GAXCII 2.

Welwood, James, of Tundergarth. Father of John W., died in 1673. Blaikie 179, PCiv 143.

Wilkie, John, of Twynholm. Summoned for not vacating, imprisoned. PCI 339, 349, ii 536, Aik 235-36.

Wilkie, Robert, of St. Monans. C.

Wilkie, William, of Lilliesleaf. C.


Wilson, James, of Inch of Kirk-Maiden. Summoned for not vacating. Aik 235-36, PCI 339, iv 238.

Wilson, James, in Kirkcaldy.


Young, John, in Kincardine. APvii 281. Occupied his manse until evicted.

Young, Robert, in Perth. Idg, broke confinement, settled in Glasgow. HI 180, PCIiii 587, iv 34, 445, xii 135-36, GAXC 12.
**SUMMARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maximum number of ministers ousted, according to Wodrow</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers whose nonconformity is doubted by Wodrow, in which he seems to be correct</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers whose nonconformity is doubted by Wodrow, in which he does not seem to be correct</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers who conformed, but were not so designated by Wodrow</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers who later conformed, but not so indicated by Wodrow (including one who became a Roman Catholic)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers of whom we read nothing after their eviction</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those ousted by the Act of Glasgow</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those confined to their parish after eviction (three of these are not noted by Wodrow)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those evicted by a particular Act of Parliament, or Privy Council</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those evicted by an act of Synod</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were summoned for not vacating</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who kept either HC or FC, or both</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who probably kept conventicles</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were indulged</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those indulged after Bothwell Bridge, and took the Bond</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who took the Test</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventiclers who were indulged</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The indulged who broke confinement</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventiclers still active after Bothwell Bridge</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those intercommuned</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who endured periods of imprisonment</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those who were banished, exiled, or fled the country ... 36
Those executed, or died as direct result of persecution... 6
Those alive at the time of the Revolution Settlement,
   according to Wodrow ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 87
Those alive at the time of the Revolution Settlement,
   but not according to Wodrow ... ... ... ... ... ... 28
Those settled in churches who were alive at the time of
   the Revolution Settlement ... ... ... ... ... ... 80
Those alive, but not settled ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 35
Those evicted ministers who were silent during the
   period, but became active later ... ... ... ... ... 15

(NOTE: It must be borne in mind the number of ministers
indulged includes only those who accepted the indulgences offered. Some of these men were indulged without their consent, or consultation, e.g., Kirkton and Cargill).
APPENDIX III

LIST OF MEN WHO PREACHED AT CONVENTICLES,
BUT WHO WERE NOT PASTORING CHURCHES
BEFORE THE EVICTION OF 1662


Anderson, Frazer. _Very active in the summer of 1674._ Wii 384.

Arch, Thomas. Executed August 21, 1685 because he had been a chaplain on the expedition of the Earl of Argyle. Wii 553-54.

Arnott, Thomas. Son of Archibald Arnott of Abernethy. Though he seems to have been a layman, yet he held FC in 1674, and was incmd. Settled as minister in St. Andrews, or Cupar. PCiv 206, vi 133, vii 472, xiii 210, GAXC 13.

Barclay, George. _An opponent of Renwick who preached in favour of Argyle's expedition._ Simpson, _Life of Renwick_, 106-07, Wodrow, Correspondence i 440, PCv 13, 171, vi 33, 64, 260, 649, viii 356, ix 136, 381, xi 232, 243, xiii Introduction, xix. He was also at Bothwell Bridge, was convicted of treason, had treason remitted, and was settled at Linlithgow. GAXC 9, GAXCII 2. (possibly "David" B., PCvii 159, 390).

Bell, William. He was present at Pentland, imprisoned in the Bass, and is called "outed and unlicensed," yet does not appear on Wodrow's list. He held legal meetings in a malt barn in February, 1688. Wii 247, ii 98, PCv 44, 47, vi 285, 487, 658, xiii 206.

Binning, Hugh. PCIii 219, xi 431.

Boig, James. A divinity student of unusual spiritual reputation, who probably held FC with Cargill. He was executed with him in 1681. Aik 433.


Cameron, Allan. Father of Richard, Andrew and Michael. Held FC in 1675. Wodrow MSS xxxiii, 142, PCvii 122.

Cameron, Andrew. A young Society preacher who held HC. He lived for a while in Holland, where he was ordained; settled at Kirkcudbright. Carslaw, Letters, 52, 84-85, PCviii 272, GAXCII 3.

Cameron, Richard. (primary field preacher) See PCvi 179, 260, 455, 481-82, 485, 504, 506, 511, 524, vii 159, 390, ix 136, x 75, 121, T 252.

Carmichael, Alexander. Called "late minister at Pittenain," and was sentenced to be banished in 1672; however, he does not appear on Wodrow's list of ousted ministers. Crookshanks also makes note of him as an evicted minister. He died in 1677. PCiii 464, CKi 283.

Cathcart. An associate of Barclay, Alcorn, and Langlands, who went throughout the land preaching the cause of Argyle's expedition. He was counted as Renwick's most bitter enemy, and wrote a scandalous libel against him. Simpson, Life of Renwick, 106-07.

Christison, John. PCiv 238, vi 43.


Crichton, John. He was active until 1674 at least. Aik 235-36.

Crookshanks, John. A fugitive preacher who came from Ireland with Michael Bruce; slain at Pentland. Wi 350, Aik 154.


Denoon, Walter. Also called "Mc Dennon;" active with John Hepburn in Ross in 1680. Settled in Golspie. PCvi 417, 431, Church in the Highlands 179, 188, GAXC 16.
Dick, Robert. He is chiefly noted as one who published meetings; apprehended and imprisoned in the Bass. Blk 375-82.


Drummond, James. Incmd; active in 1677, and probably after Bothwell Bridge; held legal meetings in a malt barn, 1688; settled at Coupar. Wi 384, ii 5, PCv 173, 182, 257, vi 139, x 284, xiii 206, GAXCII 3.

Drysdale, John. Banished. PCvii 219, Wi 327, returned to Ireland, Fasti iii 167.


Duncan, James. He was called "factor to the Laird of Bousie." Wi 425, PCv 23, 24.

Dury, David. Incmd. PCvi 64, 133, 137.


Farrie, David. "One of the dourest Cameronian preachers," Smellie 287.

Fergusson, John. Active in 1682. Wii 258, PCvii 472.

Flint, John. He went with Richard Cameron to Holland to study; became a Society preacher; very active in 1685. Carslaw, Letters 20, 84-85, PCxi 232, 242, 386. Settled at Lasswade, Fasti 1 143.

Forrester, Thomas, of Alva. He left the Episcopal communion in 1670, though he had conformed in 1662. He continued active throughout the entire period; present at Bothwell, and was convicted of treason; settled as minister at Dumbarton, and later became a professor of divinity. Aik 234, Hewison ii 246, VB 436, PCiv 140, 148, 163, 192, vi 52, vii 147, 159, 390, xi 305, 307, 428, 538, xii 87, 110-12, 165, 404, xiii Introduction, xix, CKi 305, GAXC 12.


Gilbert, . Preached with Welsh in 1677. Elder, Highland Host, 10.

Gillchrist, William. PCix 136, x 247, Elder, Highland Host, 10.


Glass Patrick. Called "a vagrant preacher" in connection with John Mosman; imprisoned. PCv 266.

Hall, Henry. He was very faithful as a lay-attender at FC, but Walker says he also conducted conventicles. WKi 295.

Hamilton, Robert, of Preston. Noted especially for his fighting ability as an officer at Bothwell Bridge, but also preached. PCvi 260. He was incmd, and fled to Holland where he became a great friend of Renwick's, and exchanged many letters with him.


Harley, Andrew. WKi Index.

Harley, John. WKi, Index.

Harroway, John. He is called "outed and unlicenced," though he is not on Wodrow's list; active in 1682. Wii 258, PCvi 487, vii 472.

Hastie, Alexander. He is called an "outed minister," though he is not on Wodrow's list; involved in Argyle's expedition; settled in Linlithgow. Wii 5, 249, PCvi 139, vii 113, 134, xi 305, 428, GAXC 9.


Hop(e). He seemed to have preached with Welsh and Johnston in 1677. He possibly may be "James Hog" who settled at Hamilton. PCv 346, Wi 519; see also GAXCII 3.

Houston, David. He joined Renwick about the same time as Shields. He was a Society preacher for sometime, but eventually fell into disrepute. Simpson Life of Renwick, 127-29, 271, 274, 282, 286, 291, 293, 359.


Kennedy, James. Wii 5, PCvi 139.

Kennedy, Robert. Active with Welsh in 1677. Elder, Highland Host, 10.

Kid, John. Companion of John King; at Bothwell Bridge, and later executed. He is not to be confused with the outset, and later indulged minister, "Peter Kid." PCvi 64, 179, 258, 277-79, 380.

King, John. The Privy Council is probably wrong in calling him an "outed minister," but, at any event, he is not so listed by Wodrow; a companion of John Kid, at Bothwell Bridge with him, and executed with him. Wii 5, PCiv 233, 253, 407, 413, 422-23, 451, 461, v 171, 173, 228, vi 33, 139, 210, 260, 277, 291, 296, 380, 387, 647.

Knox, Alexander. PViv 209.


Macgill, Thomas. Wii 297. Incmd, PCiv 238, vi 646.

Maxwell, Robert (younger). Incmd; settled at Dumbarton; not to be confused with his father, of the same name, whom Wodrow has dead by the time of the Settlement in 1688. PCvi 647, x 53, 276, CKi 179, GAXC 12.
M'Cormack, Andrew. An outed minister from Ireland; a companion of Crookshanks, who was also slain at Pentland. Wi 250, Aik 154.

Mitchell, James. Supposedly the man who attempted an assassination of Archbishop Sharp; imprisoned, and later executed. PCv 104, 198, 308, vi 181.

M'Kail, Hugh. Son of Matthew, an outed conventicler, who preached at St. Giles in Edinburgh, at which time he called Archbishop Sharp "Judas," for which he was later captured and executed. PCI 277, ii 231, CKi 206.


M'Millan, William, of Caldow. Active in 1684; settled in Dumfries. WKi Index, PCx 230, GAXC 10, GAXCII 2, Galloway Covenanters, 347ff.


Morton, David. Active early in the period, shortly after Pentland Uprising; "who never was, nor is a minister." PCii 504, iii 13, 265.

Mosman, John. "A vagrant preacher," who "never was in orders." Active until Bothwell Bridge; apprehended and confined in Edinburgh Tolbooth; released and finally settled in Dalkeith. Aik 234, PCiv 140, vi 11, 266, GAXCII 2.


Ogill, Luke. Granted licence to preach by the PC; took the Bond, erected a meeting-house too near his parish church at Langton, and was evicted. PCvi 326, 471. Probably settled at Berwick, Fasti vii 461.

Osburn, James. Settled as Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen. PCvii 582, T 106.

Paterson, Peter. Imprisoned for many HC in Restalrig. Wi 448.


Potter, Michael. A school teacher who taught his students "seditious principles;" but took to holding FC, and was later settled as minister in Linlithgow. Blk 275-82, PCvi 43, 181, viii 5, GAXCII 2.

Renwick, James. (primary field preacher). PCviii 272-73, ix 107, 277, x 230, 323, 594, 615-17, xi Index, ix xv, 58, 206, 232, 242, 373, 386, 431, 494, 507, 556, xii 190, 324, 342, 368-69, 405-07, 432-34, 475, 477, xiii 3, 19, 22, 127, 129.

Riddell, Archibald. Called a "pretended preacher," incmd for being at Bothwell Bridge; imprisoned, and exiled to New Jersey, later settled in Kirkcaldy. PCiv 180, 192, 420-21, 442, vi 11, 33, 64, 553, 602, vii 90, 128, 134, 583, viii 400, x 225, GAXCII 4, T 61.

Riddell, James. PCviii 9.

Ross, Robert. Active until 1674, when he was apprehended and sent to the Bass. Aik 234, Wii 98, PCvi 285, vii 276. Settled in Glasgow, Fasti iii 454.

Russell, James. Mentioned by Renwick as a preacher with "a fiery spirit." Carslaw, Letters, 32. May be minister settled at St. Andrews in 1718, Fasti v 204.

Rymer, James. Active in Fife in 1680 and after; was former Professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews. Wii 258, PCvi 494, vii 472.

Schaw, Alexander. Active in 1679; incmd. Wii 5, PCvi 133. Settled in Dunblane, Fasti vi 419.

Scott, George. PCv 105, 257.
Selkirk, Matthew. A "vagrant preacher" active in the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk from 1679 to 1681. Ladies 316, PCvii 582, xiii 196. Settled in Dalkeith. GAXC 9.

Shields, Alexander. (secondary field preacher). PCxi 281, xiii Introduction vi, 39, 113, 289, 343. He was settled for a short time, but went to Central America as chaplain to the Darien Expedition.

Shields, Michael. He acted as secretary of the GMUS from 1681-1688; his minutes are published under the title, Faithful Contendings. PCviii 272.

Smith, James. Denounced as a minister having been at Pentland. Wi 267, PCviii 356.

Smith, John. One of the young Society preachers who was not chosen to go to Holland with Cameron to study. Carslaw, Letters, 84-85. Settled in Livingston, Fasti i 220.

Smith, Walter. The young licenced minister who wrote the rules for the United Societies; was executed with Cargill in 1681.

Spreul, John. Either an apothecary or writer in Glasgow who was imprisoned as a FC. Wi 287, PCiii 582, vi 202, 298, 317, 327, 574, vii 159, 181, x 75, 121.


Trail, Robert (younger). Active as a soldier at Pentland, incmd; son of the deceased Robert Sr.; captured and sent to the Bass. PCv 190, 287, 272, vi 11, 64.

Urie, David. Active in 1679. Wii 5.

Veitch, William. Fought at Pentland, active in 1676; for a brief time assumed the alias of the notorious "George Johnston," the frequent companion of Kirkton, hence there is much confusion in determining what references refer to which man, for both were active during the same period, and were alive and settled in churches after the Settlement. This man was settled at Biggar. Hewison ii 256, PCii 234, vi 134, 144, 156-58, 290, 297, T 167, GAXC 9.

Wallace, Joseph. CKi 323.

Wardroper, William, Wii 5, PCvi 139, 644, xiii 106, 226.
Warner, Patrick. Licensed by ousted Presbyterian ministers, and was ordained in London; preached frequently with Welsh in Galloway and Carrick. Wii 249, Exiles 39; imprisoned in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, and later exiled but settled as minister at Irvine. PCvii 457, xiii 417, GAXC 12, GAXCII 3.


Welwood, John. Incmd; called a pretended preacher; died in 1679. PCiv 143, 238, v 18, 275, 543, vi 64, 133, 646.


Widow, James. PCvi 139.

Wilkie, Thomas. Imprisoned in the Bass; later became a Moderator for the Revolution Settlement Church (1701 and 1704); settled at Edinburgh at the Canongate Church. Moderators 132ff, Wii 40, 96, PCvi 207, 266, 661, vii 165-66, viii 275, xiii 196, T 222.

Wishart, George. A preacher with Argyle's expedition, and brother to the captain of Argyle's ship. PCxi 305, 428.


### SUMMARY

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tr>
<td>Number of ministers</td>
<td>117</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those who possibly should have been on Wodrow's list</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those active after Bothwell Bridge</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those intercommuned</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who served periods of imprisonment</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those who were banished, exiled, or fled the country</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those executed, or died as a direct result of persecution</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those who were settled in churches after the Revolution</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>Those who died before the Revolution Settlement</td>
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### Comparative Summary of Appendices II and III

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<th>Category</th>
<th>Appendix II</th>
<th>Appendix III</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ministers who conducted irregular meetings, including those who probably did so</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers active after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers who were inter-communed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers imprisoned</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministers banished, exiled, or fled the country</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those executed, or died as a direct result of persecution</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Those settled in churches after the Revolution Settlement, either in 1690, or after</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV

SUBJECT MATTER OF THE FIELD SERMON: POLITICAL ISSUES

"The devil rides King Charles and his Council through moss and muir, and over crags and rocks."

— Richard Cameron
CHAPTER IV

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE FIELD SERMON

PART I: POLITICS, PROPHECY, AND ESCHATOLOGY

In the following two chapters we will make reference to published field sermons, quotations from field sermons found in biographies and histories, and quotations from the writings of field preachers that bear directly on their beliefs. This is necessary because if we confined ourselves exclusively to the sermons we would omit valuable material required to complete the picture. Nevertheless, we will use this rather large body of material only as it directly indicates what was preached, for we are presently concerned with what was preached in the fields, and not a description of the entire body of divinity embraced by the Covenanters of this period.

For a more elaborate picture of field preaching we refer the reader to Appendix VI, which contains many of the best and most typical passages from the one hundred sermons and lectures we have in print.

The discussion following has been divided into two chapters because of its length. The treatment of prophecy and eschatology has been purposely included in this chapter because they largely involved political issues.

1. The King

The field preachers were never against monarchy as a form
of government, and the early men, for the most part, were not against the reigning king. In fact, many of them were against the Commonwealth, and suffered for it. Only in the case of the Gibbites do we find an instance of the overthrow of the prevailing system, in favour of a theocracy. But their beliefs were so preposterous that none of the field preachers gave approval to them, and we can, in all fairness, exclude them from our consideration.

By 1679 many of the conventiclers were beginning to speak more severely against Charles II than their predecessors had ever done, but none had yet advocated his violent overthrow. They had done only what had been done before them, and that was to criticize the King as much as they pleased. This was a precedent set by John Knox when he openly opposed Mary Queen of Scots. The first two Stuart kings were often the subject of sermons during the first half of the seventeenth century. So, when James Guthrie spoke against the new King, Charles II, for breaking the Covenant he had sworn, it was no new thing. Guthrie paid for this boldness with his life. Other voices also were bold against Charles, chief of which was that of Donald Cargill. In his

1. For an example of this loyalty see Robert Douglas' coronation sermon, "The Duty of King and People, II Kings 11:12, 17," Sermons on the Covenant, 437ff.
2. About this same time Cargill began denouncing Charles II, but not monarchy as a form of government. Some feel Cameron also favoured a theocracy, but this conclusion is unwarranted, for he spoke of a theocratic rule in reference to the government of the church, not the state.
last sermon to the Barony congregation he thundered through the crypt of St. Mungo's Cathedral, "Wo, wo, wo to him; his Name shall stink while the World stands, for Treachery, Tyranny and Leachery."

It is difficult to number the "warm" preachers who eventually advocated tyrannicide, and overthrow of the government. But there are four voices which trumpeted this form of sedition louder and clearer than the others, Cargill, Cameron, Renwick, and Shields. Unmistakably they gave King Charles over to the devil, and all the young Society preachers agreed with them. Many of these young men, who had not been able to fight at Pentland or Bothwell Bridge, cast their lot with the Earl of Argyle, preaching seditious sermons, conscripting soldiers, and acting as chaplains.

But regardless of how many so opposed the King, these four men contributed most to an extreme view of the Stuarts, both in writing and preaching. We shall consider each separately.

Donald Cargill. It is amazing to note how a man of such strong convictions about the Stuarts was so silent about them in his sermons. Only twice in his messages do we find reference to the King. One of these asserts that nations have a right to excommunicate their monarchs.

2. See Appendix III.
Will not GOD Judge Kings? And should not the Ministers of the Gospel Excommunicate Kings? But the Scripture that says, Kings ought to be Excommunicat: says, put him away. But the Ministers of Scotland has wofully perverted the Power which GOD has given them; For they have Excommunicat Godly and Holy Men; and the Excommunication of Godly, and Worthy, and Valiant Strachan, is lying upon the Church of Scotland and they have neglected the Excommunication of the most Vile and Profligate Persons.1

This sermon (of which we have no date) indicates the germination of a plan in Cargill's mind to excommunicate the King publicly, which he did in September, 1680, at Torwood, in Stirlingshire. In his "Action of Excommunication"2 he lists seven reasons why he excommunicates Charles II:

1. Because he perjured himself by renouncing his confession of guilt when he was crowned King of Scotland,
2. Because he perjured himself in renouncing the Covenant he swore,
3. Because he rescinded the laws he swore to uphold,
4. Because he quartered an army to defeat the work of God,
5. Because he proved himself a friend of Papists, and a sworn enemy of the true servants of God,
6. Because he unlawfully extended his prerogatives in pardoning murderers,
7. And because of his wicked life.

Richard Cameron. This "Lion of the Covenant" spoke more frequently against the King in his printed sermons than any

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2. Kerr prints the entire service at Torwood in his edition of Howie's The Scots Worthies, Sermon by Martyrs, 491ff.
other of these men. We have six sermons he preached; the first five contain hardly a paragraph without some mention of the King, but the last — and by far his best — is devoted exclusively to the timeless truths of the Gospel.

Cameron spared no words in his colourful vocabulary to denounce Charles II. He says, "that enemy of God that now sits upon the throne is one of the most vile adulterers that live, and from him it descends to nobles, gentlemen, burgesses, and commons of all sorts, so that every one is, as it were, neighing after his neighbour's wife. Oh, dreadful! What think ye of these things?"1 Apparently part of his Good News To Scotland is that Charles was a traitor. "...we have often said in the fields, that our king hath been a traitor to God...."2 He does not hesitate to call him a liar as well as a traitor: "We are not beholden to him for anything, neither will we trust anything he says. For my part, I would not believe him to speak the truth in one word. And our Lord hath a greater controversy with him and his family than with any in our land."3 He further says, "The king hath dealt treacherously, hath falsified his word, and proved as great a liar as in the nation."4

Cameron's main quarrel with Charles Stuart was that he had broken the Covenant. In that the Covenant was burned by

1. "Sermon on Hosea 13," Kerr, op. cit. 409
2. Cameron, Good News To Scotland, 11.
the King, then the King ought to be burned; in that he had taken estates away from honourable men, his estate likewise was forfeited. Cameron admitted the probability of coercion in Charles' signing of the Covenant; nevertheless that did not excuse him for failing to keep it. "It was but a dreadful mocking of God to require such oaths of him who could be bound by no oaths." Perhaps the following is the most bitter resentment he ever expressed toward the King, in which he likens him to a horse ridden by the devil into deep boggy ground.

Hence we may observe that all men by nature are but brutish fools. What is the king, and what is the council, and what are all our persecutors but fools and fanatics? But I say they are nothing different from these horses, if not madder; for we make them ride through moss and muir, and sometimes we ride them so deep that we cannot get them out again. The devil rides and drives King Charles II. and his Council through moss and muir, and over crags and rocks. And, mark ye this, when will he leave them again? nay, he will keep them till he takes them to hell, and keep them in torments to all eternity.

James Renwick. Renwick seemed to speak less against the King than Cameron, but with a more convincing use of reason — though with none the less spirit. One of his common epithets for both Charles and James was "tyrant," which he used continuously. There are three points which form the basis for his

1. Loc. cit.
rejection of James II: (1) his tyranny, (2) his claim of ecclesiastical supremacy, (3) his failure to be the choice of the people, required by a nation with a limited monarchy.

Renwick trenchantly and logically reminded his hearers that because the King is king de facto, he ought not necessarily to be owned; for he is also a tyrant de facto, and ought, therefore to be rejected.\(^1\) He sees an inconsistency between the claims of the King, and the conduct of his personal life. He reasons that it is sad enough to have a king who is cruel, immoral, and even anti-religious; but the situation is unspeakably worsened when that same king claims ecclesiastical supremacy. He further complains, "And does he not act in all things by virtue of his own blasphemous supremacy? The owning of him, in less or in more, is the owning thereof, because the supremacy is made the essential of the crown; and it is but one supremacy that he arrogantly hath both in matters civil and ecclesiastical, which is clear from the Explanatory Act of the Supremacy: so that it is essential to the crown, is the same with the crown, and that which is one cannot be divided."\(^2\) Regarding his doctrine of a limited monarchy, which was more fully treated by Shields in his later writings, he says,

For magistrates have no power but what is derived from the people, and magistrates have nothing actually, but what the people have

\(^1\) The Churches Choice, 27.
\(^2\) A letter to Mr. Henry Jenkinson, October 3, 1682, Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 23.
virtually; yea, and more than virtually, for they may actually confer it upon whom they think most fit, — for the power of government is natural and radical to them, being unitedly in the whole, and singularly in every one. So whatever magistrates may do the people may do the same, either when they want magistrates or when the magistrates fail or refuse to do their duty.1

Alexander Shields. This man is called "The Cameronian Philosopher,"2 and would be expected to have much to write about the nature of monarchy. He does not disappoint our expectations, and mighty wields the pen of a ready writer shortly after this period closes. A clear explanation of his complete argument can be found in Macpherson's book, but we will confine our discussion to his few field sermons and his Life of Renwick.

Shields often spoke and wrote about the idea of a limited monarchy, a doctrine common not only with Renwick, but also with the earlier Covenanters. They taught a type of government based on Old Testament example, a monarchy limited first by God, and secondly by the will of the people. Shields reminds us that every monarchy in the world has had its limitations; and if a king goes beyond these he is no longer king, but becomes a tyrant instead. "There must be a conditional reciprocally obliging Covenant between Sovereign and Subjects, without which, there is no such Relation to be owned.... When this Compact is broken in all, or its chief Conditions by the

1. Ibid. 22.  
2. Hector Macpherson has written a book about Shields bearing that title.
Sovereign, the Peoples Obligation ceases."1 He further adds that it is false loyalty to insist ministers must not speak against the King. He argues that ministers are for the people's good, and when the King destroys that good, he should be reproved. This he proceeds to do in high style by calling James II "a monster of tyranny and perfidy, and a vassal of Antichrist."2

Shields is an apologist. He defends his position well on Romans 13:1, "Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers; the Powers that be, are ordained of God," by reminding us the word here for "power" is Εὐγονσταντινήμισ, hence higher in dignity and authority, not in natural force. Rulers should be a "terror to evil," and "ministers of God for good," and "bear the sword of justice." He asserts that James II did not do this, so biblical loyalty to him is unthinkable. Even as the early martyrs resisted the Roman Emperor in matters of religion, so the people had a right to resist James II. He sums up his stand rather patently in his Life of Renwick, a précis of which follows. James II should be deposed for the following reasons:

1. A fortiori argument that previous monarchs had been deposed for doing lesser crimes than he.

2. He is in league with the Jesuits to convert all Britain to the Roman Catholic Faith.

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1. Life of Renwick, 189.
3. His previous conduct as governor of Scotland made him ineligible to take the oath of office.

4. Romans 13 admits only such powers to rule as are ordained of God.

5. God does not ordain evil men to be in power over a covenanted nation.

6. If men in power had acted in accordance to divine rule, they would not have chosen a sworn vassal of Antichrist; hence he is a usurper, not a king.

7. The choice and consent of the people is also necessary, which James II did not have.

8. James II never took the Covenant, and Charles II broke it; and, in that Scotland is a covenanted nation, she is obliged to overthrow her uncovenanted monarch.¹

We have seen that when the field preachers criticized the King they did no new thing, but merely continued in a precedent established by Knox, the Father of the Scottish Reformation.² But these four men went further than any had gone before when they advocated tyrannicide, and a violent overthrow of the government. They agreed as one voice that the last two Stuarts were tyrants, for they took more authority to themselves than the nation allowed them. These four angry men were grieved at the licentious life of Charles, and considered him a liar who had perjured himself and was no longer fit to be King. They rejected him because he had rejected the Covenant to which he had once sworn; and they rejected

¹. See Shields, Life of Renwick, 181-96.
². Wodrow lists twenty-nine of these men who were outed by a particular act of Parliament or Council before the re-establishment of episcopacy who had, for one reason or another, meddled too much in matters concerning the King and his government.
James because he had never taken it at all, but openly held to the Roman Catholic faith. Because all Scots were covenanted to God, the dilemma of a divided loyalty could only be solved by driving the Stuarts, like Nebuchadnezzar of old, far from the presence of men.

The content of field sermons about the Stuarts is comparatively small, and, in its severest expression, confined to the period after Bothwell Bridge. Cameron spoke most frequently, Renwick occasionally, Cargill only on two occasions and Shields least of all. However, Shields wrote much on the subject; his paucity of words is largely due to lack of opportunity, rather than to his inclination. Regarding treatment of material, Shields is the most recondite, and Cameron the most forceful; but Cargill and Renwick do not fall behind Shields in the logical quality of their arguments.

2. **Taxation**

The "Cess" was a tax levied to support a standing army in Scotland, whose main task was to suppress conventicles. These troops, or "dragoons," during the "killing time," were given to more than suppressing conventicles. We have many accounts of unnecessary brutality, pillage, and murder at their hands. So, in that this tax paid their wages and purchased their weapons, it seemed only logical to these later conventiclers that those who paid it became accessory before the fact, and even approved of these brutalities. Cameron
blatantly declared, "they who have paid the cess can scarcely purge themselves of this killing."\(^1\) Renwick unflinchingly agreed with him on this stand:

...and so many have payed the wicked Cess expressly and declaredly imposed for Maintainance of Ruffians to bear down the Gospel of Christ, whereby ye have become greatly accessorie to the bringing the work of God thus low, and to the crueltie used to his People; ye may as well buy Swords, Picks, Muskets and put them in the Hands of the Soldiers and Dragoons, and bid them use them against God & his People, as pay that Cess unto them Manie have payed the Curats Stipends which practice is contrarie to the Bond of our Covenant, obliging us in our places & stations to the outmost of our power to extirpat Prelacy.\(^2\)

Shields is also of the same persuasion. He says, "I must tell you from the LORD, that ye are Guilty of the Murder of the LORD's People, and of this Martyr's Blood amongst the rest, which Testified against it, and Sealed it with his Blood: nay, let me tell you more, ye are Guilty of the Shedding of the Blood of JESUS CHRIST, and Crucifying of Him afresh...."\(^3\) Cameron and Renwick said that when a man paid the cess he complied with the enemy, he "yielded to an Erastian Government."\(^4\) "And now are ye ready to take Christ for your king...? If ye be come to this, then ye shall be free of the cess. And where ye come to this, then

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2. Renwick, A Sermon preached in Eyfe, 8.
4. Herkless, Life of Cameron, 61 and Cameron, Good News to Scotland, 12.
I doubt not but the Lord would make you prosper."¹ "For the present Cess, exacted for the present Usurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppressive to the Subjects, for the Maintenance of Tyranny; and because it is imposed for suppressing the Gospel.... And how can it be lawful, either to oppress poor People, for not bowing to the Idols the King sets up; Or, for their Brethren to contribute what may help forward their Oppression upon that Account?"² Shields sees no compromise possible:

Can we then give them that which they require, and by which they are enabled to murder our Brethren, when we are under such indispensible Obligations to counteract them? Sure, we cannot both obey these cursed Commands of Men, calling upon us to maintain and encourage the Murderers; and also obey these blessed Commands of God, calling upon us to maintain and preserve the Murdered, at the same time.³

In his apologetic on the life of Renwick Shields treated the problem of cess-paying at laboured length, searching out with a fine-tooth comb the minute end of every possible argument. He claimed that paying this tax made a man automatically in agreement with what it paid for — the suppressing of the Gospel. Former cesses were used, it is true, for the purpose of stopping the Gospel, but the people were ignorant of why they were paying, but this cess was expressly declared for the prevention of conventicles. He clinched his argument by reminding his readers that such a taxation was condemned by the

² Shields, Life of Renwick, 160.
³ Ibid. 216-17.
Scripture, and could not help but be inconsistent with the Covenant in that it tended to suppress a testimony of the covenanted Reformation.

No doubt these men who advocated a refusal to pay the cess were convinced that if it was rejected by the entire nation there would be no money to support a standing army. This conviction seems far astray, for if the cess failed, then other measures to procure revenue were available. It seems almost heartless for these few men to put their hearers upon such dangerous ground. Refusal to pay taxes was treated as treason, and treason meant forfeiture of possessions and capital punishment. But on they preached, all the while fomented by Brown and M'Ward who safely wrote their pamphlets across the sea. The three mountain men were bachelors, they had no sure dwelling-place, and their lives were already forfeited. What had they to lose by refusing the cess? But peaceful farmers with hard-gained property, and families to support, could be reduced to nothing in a day by obeying these preachers. When a person refused to pay the cess he was considered to be in sympathy with the other extreme measures advocated by Cameron, Renwick and Shields. The cess actually served a double purpose: to provide revenue for maintaining the army, and to test a man's loyalty to the Monarch and the established religion.

1. Shields used the passages Isa. 65:11; Jer. 23:14; Exek. 16:33-34; Hos. 8:9-10; II Chron. 19:2 as proof-texts.
2. See his complete argument in his Life of Renwick, 198-220.
These three field preachers stood alone on the issue of cess-paying. It is probable that few or none of the older men would have gone to this extreme, had they been alive.

3. The Holy War.

The term "holy war" is generally associated with the followers of Mohammed, or even perhaps with Judaism. This term best suits our purpose here, yet must be somewhat modified to be fair to the teachings of the field preachers. As any preacher will admit, it is easier to say a thing than to do it. On the whole, the "saying" of war was about as far as these preachers went. The Cameron brothers died with weapons in their hands, and prayers on their lips, Kid and King were executed for being at Bothwell Bridge, and a few other minor converticlers made war with the enemy; but most of the mountain men were content with a war of words. Indeed, they were more like "sheep led to the slaughter" than the warriors of Allah, or Jewish soldiers bent on genocide.

There were more than fifteen ministers at the Pentland Uprising, egging the men on to the battle with the assurance that all heaven was on their side; there were eighteen at the battle of Bothwell Bridge proclaiming the same thing. These preachers, in the words of the barrister, were accessory before, during, and after the fact — culpable, but not participant. Nevertheless, regardless of the passive nature of their
convictions, these preachers advocated the battles, and identified them with the will of God. Hence, we consider them "holy wars."

Peden said, "Then in 66. at Pentland, he bad so manie go to the Fields and die for him, and so manie to Scaffolds and lay down their lives for him, they sought no more but his Commission and went, and he carried them well throw. And then in the 79. at Bothwell, he bad so manie go to the Fields and Scaffolds and die for him, they sought no more but his Commission and went. And then in the Year 80. at Airdsmoss, he bad so manie go to the Fields and Scaffolds for him they sought no more but his Commission and went."¹

About the year 1678, a year before Bothwell Bridge, the men in the borders began to carry arms occasionally to field meetings, but after the battle it became normal practice. Not all the ministers approved of this measure, amongst whom were Fraser of Brea and John Blackader. Fraser said, "...but I opposed rising in arms all I could, and preached against it, and exhorted them to patience and courageous using of the sword of the Spirit."²

Alexander Shields was as much for defensive arms as Fraser and Blackader were against them. He maintained that non-resistance to evil pertained to personal revenge, not to the defending of a religious cause. When Jesus said, "My kingdom

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¹ Peden, The Lords Trumpet, 22-23.
² Fraser, Memoirs, in Wodrow, Select Biographies, ii, 325-26.
is not of this world, else would my servants fight," Shields maintained Jesus meant his religion was not to be propagated by force, though it could be defended by force. Christ's admonition to Peter, "They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword," is interpreted to mean that Peter was actually told to punish those soldiers who were opposing him! Shields asserted that defensive arms was in keeping with the law of self-preservation. Such was approved by the General Assembly; and this is only just, for if we fight Turks, Papists and strangers, then why not a home-bred tyrant? If we are allowed prayer-resistance, then forcible-resistance of violence by the use of defensive arms must also be lawful. 

When Renwick was on trial for his life he spoke of carrying weapons in the fields for defence. He justified the practice by saying, "It were inconsistent with Reason and Religion both, to do otherwise; your selves would do it in the like Circumstances: I own, that I taught them to carry Arms to defend themselves, and to resist your 'unjust Violence'."

Men do not carry weapons long until they do one of two things: put them down, or use them — whether they be intended for defence, or for offence. So, we are not surprised to read how Patrick Walker killed a dragoon in self-defence, exclaiming he wished the blood of all God's enemies were in the soldier's veins! Renwick comments on the rescue of a youth

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1. Shields' argument for defensive arms may be found in his Life of Renwick, 222ff.
2. Ibid. 161.
named Alexander Smith, whom the soldiers were taking to Edinburgh to be executed. Recalling that one of the soldiers was killed at the time he joyfully wrote, "The Lord be thanked, that He is stirring up any to vex the Midianites, and to account their brother's case to be their own." When Renwick was being pursued through the streets of Edinburgh he fired a pistol at a soldier, and "puir auld Sandy" Peden was known to wear wigs, masks, and to "ride up and down throughout the country in grey clothes, wearing pistols." War was eventually declared in the fields. Cameron's Sanquhar Declaration was the initial incident. In it he said, "We do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper and all men of his practices." From these words we see what kind of a war it was to be — a war of words, a quarrel between several preachers and their King. Renwick felt James II should be executed for his crimes. He assured his listeners that, "if the Law of God, and the Laws of the Land were put in Execution, he would not live long." Cameron said he hoped someone would kill Charles II, and that he would call the person blessed who did.

I know not if this generation will be honoured to cast off these rulers, but those that the Lord makes instruments to bring back Christ, and to recover our liberties civil and ecclesiastic,

1. Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 60; see also 95.
2. Shields, op. cit. 149.
shall be such as shall disown this king and these inferiors under him, and against whom our Lord is denouncing war. Let them take heed unto themselves, for though they should take us to scaffolds, or kill us in the fields, the Lord will yet raise up a party who will be avenged upon them. And are there none to execute justice and judgment upon 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 women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be. She put her hand to the nail, and her right hand to the workman's hammer: and with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples."  

About this passage Herkless comments, "There is a suspicion, and perhaps a stronger word should be used, that Cameron was not simply preaching civil war, but was justifying anyone who should repeat the part of Jael. If this suspicion be correct then, if judged by the usual moral and religious standards of the present day, he should be condemned for inciting to murder."  

There is a report, which may not be true, of a man who said Cameron was secretly making plans to assassinate the King and the Duke of York. Money was collected at the field meetings to buy ammunition, and Cameron went to Holland for the purpose of making a purchase. Hackston said he would kill York, and sent Michael Cameron to check on existing security.  

David Farrie was a devotee of Cameron, and openly asserted, in that it was lawful

2. Herkless, Richard Cameron, 108.  
3. Ibid. 113-14.
to kill murderers, that the King was a murderer, and ought to die.¹

The idea of the holy war came to the fore at this time in Scottish preaching. When Charles I was put to death the Scots were strictly opposed to such an extreme measure, though certain late field preachers used his death as a reason for killing his son as well. Very little of the bulk of printed sermons deals with this subject, and Cameron, the most extreme on the subject, died by the sword he preached. Renwick, Shields, and Peden agreed with Cameron, but confined their fighting to words. And we must not forget at least twenty other ministers, including Welsh and Semple, whose influence was cast on the side of armed protestation, though we have no explanation of their presence at Pentland or Bothwell Bridge in their sermons.²

4. Prophecy and Eschatology

The seventeenth century was a time when there was no discrimination between the interpretation of the two testaments of the Bible. The Gospel was virtually new wine in old bottles. One might say these men, their predecessors, and some of their successors, preached the Word with a New Testament theology, but with an Old Testament style. As we shall more fully note in Chapter VI, this fault had a decided

¹ Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 287.
² While a captive of the covenanters Sir James Turner observed "On the two and twentieth day of the month, we marched to Ochilltree, where Master Johne Welsh met us with his armie... Neere one hundred ill armed foot, and some fifteene or sixteene horse." Memoirs, 163.
influence on these field preachers. Their lives found them in the wildernesses and desert places, and their messages were forced to be national in scope, and political in impact, if not in content. What more could possibly be added to the context of their professional lives to create an identity with the Hebrew prophets of millennia ago? Hence, it would be strange indeed not to find a prophetic element in their sermons.

Men as early as John Davidson, Welsh of Ayr, and "The Fool of Fenwick" had prognostic elements in their sermons. Johnston has this to say:

Clearly, the people, two centuries ago, believed in a supernatural gift of prophecy, and this gift was believed to be possessed by Peden in an extraordinary degree. But the foresight mistakenly supposed to be the prophet's distinction, was, in all probability, the result of his insight. It was because Peden had so profound an insight into Character, into the real significance of the facts of life, and of the signs of the times, that he was able to foretell what inevitably would come to pass, and unfold to some extent the events of history and Providence.

Peden was in verity the "Prophet of the Covenant."

There are more than one hundred prognostications attributed to him. Some took the form of reading people's minds, but most of them referred to specific incidents in the immediate

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2. Ibid. 60-61.
future. Johnston calls these predictions into serious
doubt, and not without good cause, for most of them
appear first in print toward the end of the eighteenth
century.

Whether the biographers of the conventicleers were
completely fair to them is yet an open question, but we do
have instances of supernatural clairvoyance in their sermons.
The miracles in the lives of these men must hold their
validity solely in the mind of each individual who would
judge them; for, even as there is no explanation for a
miracle, so there is often no proof of its existence. These
prophets, born out of due time, may, or may not have called
down bad weather, exorcized witches, pronounced swift doom
upon the heads of luckless enemies, seen astounding visions
in the sky, or had bodies that defied corruption; but they
did speak of future events, immediate and eventual, politi-
cal and social.

We have instances of Cargill divining the violent ends
of several leaders of the nation, and Welwood forecasting the
bloody death of Archbishop Sharp — even telling the name
of the youth who would first bear news of it. Walker
believed both of these forebodings were satisfactorily ful-
filled.

1. Johnston, op. cit. 60.
2. For example, Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and
Death of Alexander Peden, 1734, Remarkable Predictions and Pro-
phesies..., 1769, Passages of that great Elijah in his Day..., 1788.
3. Walker affirms this was the case with Peden's body. See
Biographia Presbyteriania, i, 84.
The prognostications of the field preachers fall roughly into three subjects, each of which we shall treat separately.

Invasion from the French. None of the field preachers feared the coming of the French and their Roman Catholic religion as much as Peden. Walker observes one time when he was overheard praying in an upper chamber:

...and when he was off his Knees, walking up and down the Chamber, crying out, Oh the Monzies, the French Monzies, see how they run, how long will they run? Lord cut their Houghs, and stay their Running. Where he continued all Night, sometimes on his Knees, and sometimes walking. In the Morning, they enquired what he meant by the Monzies; he said, Oh Sirs, ye'll have a dreadful Day by the French Monzies, and a Sett of wicked Men in these Lands, who will take Part with them, the West of Scotland will pay dear for it....1

Again, Walker quotes him preaching about the same subject: "The Lord has letten me see the Frenches marching with their Armies, thorow the Breadth and Length of the Land, marching to their Bridle-reins in the Blood of all Ranks, and that for a broken, burnt and buried Covenant; but neither ye nor I will live to see it."2

Cargill agreed with Peden about a French invasion. "He and Mr. Donald Cargil saw as it had been with one Eye, and spake with one Breath; and frequently, when they prest him to preach, he had the same Expression in his Answers."3

1. Ibid. i, 79. By "Monzies" Peden apparently meant "monsieurs."
2. Ibid. i, 80.
3. Loc. cit.
Walker quotes him as saying in a sermon:

If I be not under a Delusion, (for that was his ordinar also, when he spake of Things to come) the French and other Foreigners, with wicked unhappy Men in this Land, will be your Stroke; and it will come in such a Nick of Time, when one of these Nations will not be in a Capacity to help one another; for me, I am to die shortly by the Hand of these Murderers, and will not see it.¹

In his forecasting, Cargill was somewhat more modest than Peden, and perhaps more sure as well; for he was given frequently to say after a prophecy that he was setting no time for fulfilment, because a thousand years with men are but a day with God. One one occasion he said, regarding the delayed fulfilment of the invasion of the French, "A delayed Thing was neither forgotten nor forgiven; and the longer it was delayed, the sorer when it came...what has not yet been, may yet be."²

Cameron was also persuaded the French were coming. In a Preface he said, "...The Rod that the Lord will make Use of, shall be the French and other Foreigners, together with a wicked Party in this Land joining with them..."³

We must remember the entire account of this aspect of prognostication comes from Patrick Walker, who is justly mistrusted on many accounts. The sole redeeming consideration of his accuracy on this point may well be that he possibly

¹ Walker, op. cit. i, 79.
² Ibid. i, Introduction, vi-vii.
³ Ibid. i, 200-01.
had field sermons at his disposal which have been lost to succeeding generations. If Walker is correct, Hewat suggests these prophecies possibly had a liberal fulfilment in the fact that France did back both Charles II and James II with its gold, and with the sanction of its king.¹

These three men seemed certain that the French, with the assistance of other Roman Catholic nations, were to invade Great Britain. They felt it would be helped by a party of traitors now in the land, that it would come suddenly, that it would involve great bloodshed, but that it would come in the indeterminable future, when none of them would be alive.

Imminent cataclysm on Great Britain. The field preachers could see nothing ahead of Britain but gloom. This conclusion was only natural for men steeped in Old Testament ideas. They read in their Bible how Israel was a covenanted nation, and when she was true to her covenant all was well; but when she went against it great wrath was her due. They could not forget the Covenant had been burned in open contempt, and they sat back in smug apprehension while the Great Fire burned London Town. But they did not stop here. There was more to come — much more. The lap of Jehovah was not yet empty for a man-fearing, covenant-breaking, Erastian nation of "bloody Doegs."

¹ Kirkwood Hewat, Peden The Prophet, 100.
These men saw impending doom, and, generally, the vision was the same. Renwick saw plagues, and great fear upon the people. Peden augured plagues, war, and great devastation from supernatural sources, while Welwood and Bruce divined all three coming thick and heavy. Renwick said, "...many Lands may look for strange Plagues, tho' Britain and Ireland shall be made the Center of God's Judgements; yet his Indignation shall not be contained within their Limits. O Judgements! sudden and sore wasting Judgements are coming on Britain and Ireland." In his Sermon on Isaiah 8:17 he portended:

Seven times has Scotland been Sworn away to the LORD, in little more nor the space of an Hundred Years. Wherein I grant these Covenants has been broken, for which the LORD has Plagued these Lands: And as there has been no breach of Covenant formerly like this; so I think no Plague has come like that which we may expect yet: Seeing there is a Party in the Land who adheres to that Covenant, and has given Testimony for it: and that Party is counted of GOD for a Generation of holy Seed and substance of the Land: Then GOD and these will not shed yet, if they abide by these Covenants.2

Cargill predicted, "...you will see Cleanness of Teeth, and mony a black pale Face, which shall put mony Thousands to their Graves in Scotland, with unheard-of Natures of Fluxes and Fevers, and otherwise; and there shall be great distress in the Land, and Wrath upon this People."3 Peden waxes quite

2. Published separately, n.p., n.d.
graphic as he describes a nightmare of dank contagion
when God promises to have His own "killing time:"

There is another Thing that I have to tell you, and that is this, I would have you to get Preservatives, for ye walk in a Pestellentious Air, and are nearer unto Hazard nor ye are aware of. If any of you were going throw a Citie where the Plague were hot, ye would seek something to be a Preservative to put in your Mouths and Noses to keep you from being infected with the smell. There will be need of this in Scotland err long Sirs. I know ye think me but a Fool for saying these Things, but I may tell you this in the name of the LORD who sent me this day to tell you these Things, that err it be long, the Living shall not be able to bury the Dead in thee, O Scotland, and manie a Myle shall ye Go and Ride, and shall not see a Fire-house, but ruinous wastes for the Quarrel of a broken Covenant, and Wrongs done to the Son of GOD in Scotland; and then the Testimonie of a Good Conscience will be a Good feast in that day.¹

In that the field preachers foresaw the invasion of the French in collusion with traitors at home, they were naturally persuaded the great cataclysms to come in the not-too-distant future would take the form of war. This war would consist of invasion and civil contest. We cannot help but quote Peden here at length, for in this passage we have one of the best examples in the manner of an Old Testament prophet:

There is Three or Four Things that I have to tell you this day; And the First is this, A Bloody Sword, a Bloody Sword, a Bloody Sword for thee O Scotland, that shall reach the most part of you to the very heart. And the Second

¹. Peden, The Lords Trumpet, 28.
is this, Many a Myle shall ye travel in thee O Scotland! and shall see nothing but waste places. The Third is this, The ferte"est places in thee O Scotland! shall be a waste as the Mountain Tops. And Fourthly, The Women with Child in thee O Scotland! shall be dashed in pieces. And Fifthly, There hath been many Conventicles in thee O Scotland! but err it be long, GOD shall have a Conventicle in thee, that shall make thee Scotland tremble. Many a Preaching hath GOD wared on thee, O Scotland! but err it be long, GODs Judgements shall be as frequent in Scotland as these precious Meetings, wherein he sent forth His Faithfull Servants to give Faithful Warning in His Name of their Hazard in Apostatizing from GOD and in Breaking all His Noble Vows...err long GOD shall preach to thee by a Bloody Sword.¹

In an epistle to the prisoners in Dunrothar Castle, a letter filled with paroxysms of anticipation and disaster, Peden said the people slain in battle would be so many that "the followers of the Lamb shall be forced to tread on the dead Corps of wicked Men, ere all the Play be played; the whole earth shall have enough ado to shovel them into the Earth; Christ will kill faster with his own Hand, than the Kingdom will be able to bury."² Later, in a sermon, he borrows the style of Isaiah and the visions of John on Patmos, to portray a coming Armageddon. Britain, he said, would be called Aceldama, a Field of Blood. Cargill becomes a Moses on another occasion, announcing a Passover to his host, coming that very night. With nigh paralysing conviction he ordered the door and windows of the cottage to be securely

¹. Ibid. The Preface, 3-4.
². Walker, op. cit. i, 97-98.
sealed against the contagion abroad. John Welwood was captivated by this same spirit, and added a vision of Egyptian darkness, which would be so thick that none of the heavenly bodies would be visible.¹

Michael Bruce also had the third eye of the prophet, but the holocaust to come was only spoken of in a general way.² Renwick, too, was indefinite about the part war would play in the judgment to come. He predicted, "O happy is the man or the woman that is removed from hearing the very report of what is coming on this land! Yea, the earth shall be made to tremble, ears to tingle, hearts to melt, bowels to sound, and knees to smite one upon another, at the report of Scotland's judgments."³

By the time of Cameron much had already been said about coming calamity, and none were more anxious for it than the Gibbites, who gathered on a hill near Edinburgh to watch the fire come down to destroy this "sink of abominations." But the judgment tarried! The spirit of the times was to augur into every disaster some spiritual fulfilment of these predictions. It had been more than ten years since the fire in London, and, like John, many were willing to call down the fire again. Cameron said about this delay, ¹ ² ³

¹Ibid. ¹²².
²See Bruce, "Lecture on Jeremiah 45:1-5," in Good News in Evil Times, ¹⁷.
³Renwick's letter to the prisoners in the Canongate Tolbooth, Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, ¹⁵³.
"What! would ye have them destroyed before ye know what they are? He knows them well enough at first, but He would have His people know them too, that they may see that He is a righteous Judge."¹ Later, he frowned even upon his hearers and declared, "...ye have destroyed yourselves. This is a sad charge. I know not whether we shall get it sent or thrust in within the doors of your consciences — doors that are so strongly shut and bolted."²

**Overthrow of the Stuart Dynasty.** Some of these conventiclers not only wished for, and incited the overthrow of the Stuarts, but certified it with the promises of God. The end of the Stuart kings of Britain was not an early prediction among them, however. Cargill, who showed an early resentment against Charles II, did not prophesy the fall of that family until the end of his ministry. Cameron, Renwick, Shields, and Fraser of Brea all foretold how God would be "...coming to be avenged on that cursed throne."³

**Other prognostications.** It is only natural for people who foretell the doom of their king to descend the ladder of importance, and include everything that opposed them. Next in line was Catholicism, Prelacy, and the indulged ministry. As we will see in the following chapter, there was a divided opinion among these outed ministers about the proper relationship to the indulged clergy, but most of them certainly had

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¹ Cameron, "Sermon on Psalm 92," Kerr, op. cit. 424.
nothing favourable to say for those who had gone down
"the slippery brae of backsliding," We will cite two
representative examples:

For that Popery, these bishops, supporters
of Popery, Prelacy, and Indulgences, if they
were once away, they shall never return again
upon the earth any more.... I am not afraid
of them. They will away, it is true; they
may take and shoot us in the fields, and take
us to prisons and scaffolds, but they cannot
do that without orders and permission.... But
this we are sure of, they will away. They shall
go away with stink, and the people that are ad-
hering to this way, to our Covenants, to the Con-
fession of Faith, our Larger and Shorter Cata-
chisms, shall be the people that shall be de-
ivered.1

I warrant you there are many poor Bodies say-
ing now a Days, When will we see an end of
all the 14 Prelats, and of all the Workers of
Iniquity; never trouble your Heads with them,
every one of them has their own Murderer in
their busom, their Iniquity and Evil will hunt
them to dead, their Iniquity will ay hunt them
till it rive the Throat out of them; they must
run to the hieght of their Iniquity, and there
ye will see all the Throats rugged out of them;
ye let them run to the end of their Rope, and
there ye will see them all worried in their own
Ban. Iniquity is now running in throw them, and
but it will rug the Throat out of them ere they and
it shed.2

In a letter to Mrs. Jean Hamilton, Renwick sums up his
opinions about the future. He claims no inspiration, thus
standing in contrasting relief to the other seers of this
period. He believed (1) the worst of the persecution was yet

1. From Cameron; see Kerr, op. cit. 423.
2. From Michael Bruce, "Sermon on Psalm 140:12-13,"
Good News in Evil Times, 69.
to come, (2) safety would only come to the most spiritual, (3) Scotland would become a wasteland; all the wealth of the nobility would be devastated, (4) the wrath to come would be more by direct Providence than by "instruments," and (5) there would be a heaven on earth after God caused the persecution to cease, to be enjoyed only by those who had been faithful through the trial.¹

In addition to foretelling the fate of Charles II, Cameron gave several other predictions about the future. He said in the heat of delivery that the Reformation would not be complete until all the old Covenanters were dead, or killed, and that foreign powers would help the Reformation. If we tolerate a liberal interpretation of these forecasts, then the heat of his delivery was not "fox-fire," but burning light from the source of Eternal Truth. Like John Welwood, he seemed to be almost clairvoyant as he neared the hour of his untimely end.²

Eschatology. On first consideration it might give the reader cause to wonder at the paucity of eschatological material to be found in the field sermons. But again, we must remember that these men were only running true-to-form in their Old Testament emphasis. When the Old Testament "field preachers" (including John the Baptist) spoke of

¹. Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 134.
². We remind the reader that John Welwood died of consumption within a few months after predicting the death of Archbishop Sharp.
future events, they were national or world-wide in scope, and socio-political in emphasis. God, in an anthropomorphic way, would some day visit the earth, and heaven and hell were described in a supermundane vocabulary. This also was the style and the emphasis of the field preachers. They were not so much concerned with "sinners in the hands of an angry God" as they were with Bloody Scotland about to receive the seven vials of God's wrath. Gog and Magog would certainly rise in war; smokeless chimneys, cleanness of teeth, scabs and boils on astonished faces, funeral pyres on every hill, rivers of blood in every valley were the hell to come; but a new political "messiah" king would also come from across the seas, and glory would burst upon the land!

In one of his two printed sermons William Thomson has a passage that leaves us without doubt regarding his amillennialism,¹ and Walker quotes a sermon of Peden, now lost to us, in which "Puir Auld Sandy" draws us a horrendous picture of the final day on earth: "O the Yelling and Skreeching that will be among all his [Satan's] cursed Seed, clapping their Hands, and crying to Hills and Mountains to cover them...."²

Other than an occasional reference to the coming judgment, the field preachers had little else to say about eschatology. The parousia was an accepted fact, and heaven was waiting for the faithful; but few sermons are devoted to these themes,

². Walker, op. cit. i, 51.
and no distinctive elaboration exists to provoke us into further consideration. Even the gloom of hell to these all-too-gloomy prophets seemed obscured by its own shadow. Hell was to come, it was certain; but it was the hell on earth that chiefly occupied their thoughts.

Other issues. Of the many religio-political manoeuvres instigated by the government, the indulgences and the cess were those most frequently denounced. However, there were other issues that were damaging to the cause of the field preachers. These issues are seldom decried in the fields because many of them were enacted during the period before the "hot young men" dared to preach freely against the government. Among these early conventiclers Cargill and Peden alone seemed to speak their minds freely. Of course, men like Brown and M'Ward were never silent from their eviction to their death; but they were safe in Holland where King Charles could not reach them. And Patrick Walker was free to rant as loud and as long as he pleased because the battle was now over, and he was safe in a new Presbyterian Scotland.

So, from this period, we have much pamphleteering against the Oath of Supremacy, the Test Act, the Indemnity, the Oath of Abjuration, and the Toleration; but there is actually little preaching against these things. Peden spoke of "that Cursed Supremacy," and Walker wrote of "that Heaven-daring Act Rescissory." But it is Renwick who preached against the

Indemnity and the Toleration. He felt the Indemnity offered by James II was in a ridiculous position. No Presbyterian could accept it, for, doing so, he would acknowledge the authority of the "Usurper" in ecclesiastical matters; and he would automatically call himself a rebel, for needing an indemnity. Those who accepted such would break the Covenant, and sin against those excluded from it. He maintained it was not an indemnity, but a compliance with evil. He felt the Toleration, which most men recognized as a subtle device of James to gain favour for his Roman Catholic subjects, was to be rejected because it implied Presbyterianism was objectionable in that it needed to be "tolerated." Toleration connotated a reproach, an evil to be suffered.

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2. Renwick, The Testimony of Some Persecuted Presbyterian Ministers, 16, 22.
"Though I had ten thousand times ten thousand years, yea, the faculty of angels, I could in no ways lay out mine obligations to free grace, but behoved, when I had babbled my fill, to seal up all with this \textit{CHRIST IS MATCHLESS}"

— James Renwick
CHAPTER V

SUBJECT MATTER OF THE FIELD SERMON

PART II: ECCLESIASTICAL AND OTHER ISSUES

1. The Covenant

Toward the end of this period a serious question was coming to the minds of the people as to whether the Covenants were still binding. Charles II had burned them, and published declarations against their validity, even to the prosecution of those who held them yet valid. Extensive and long-lasting persecution gave the people cause to examine again their relationship to Jesus, "the Angel of the Covenant."¹

Was the Old Testament practice of covenant-making held binding to a New Testament Saviour? The "hot" preachers held the affirmative stand to the very last. Toward the close of this period many younger laymen had not had occasion to swear the Covenant, and felt no obligation to it. But the field preachers would not excuse such people, but maintained those who had first taken it in 1638 did so as representative of Scotland en masse and in perpetuum. "For our Fathers did not only Marry and Covenant us, they did not only Marry us, but all our Posterity to the end of the World, for it was an everlasting Covenant never to be forgotten, but that our land was a Married Land for ever, and that from Generation to

¹ A common expression in these days. See Cameron, "Lecture on Matthew 18:1-17," Sermons By Martyrs, edited by James Kerr, 389.
Generation, he should have a People therein to serve him, and God did subscribe that Marriage Contract as everlasting... so it is not in the power of any to disannul or make void that Covenant or Contract when so perfected."¹ Scotland was married to God forever; she was different from all other nations in the world, and had the high privilege of being the modern Israel of God.²

The Covenant was an oath as well as a marriage contract, and hence inviolable. What was the position of the King, then, since he was a Scot, and had also personally sworn it? John Guthrie maintained Charles II was all the more bound to the Covenant after declaring his supremacy in matters both civil and ecclesiastical. "And it is more the Covenant of the Lord, when the King is Religious, and the thing commanded of the Lord which we are bound to obey, though we had never sworn it."³ Guthrie also advanced the idea that the King is representative of the entire nation when he swears an oath, even as the princes of Israel swore to do the Gibeonites no harm, and that oath was binding on all the people.⁴

It was commonly admitted by many of the Covenanters that Charles was coerced into signing the Covenant. Even James Guthrie accused the King of insincerity after being so

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2. Ibid. 16.
4. Ibid. 12.
instrumental in forcing him to swear it. Whether he was coerced or not, these convecitlers insisted the promise to God still held binding.

Suppose that he was not free, which I will never grant, and suppose he was forced to the Oath, yet Scripture makes it out, that a Man's Swearing, though he was not free, must stand to it; Though it was not a spontaneous Act, yet it was a most voluntary Act. Again, Consider this in Zedekiah, he was a Captive to whom? To a Heathen: (now no Man will say a Captive is a free Man, and a Liberate Man) yet he swearing to the King of Babylon a Heathen, and breaking his Oath afterwards, God's Vengeance came upon him, for there is no dallying with God in these Matters; for all Casuists say, If a Man swear to a Robber to give him so much to spare his Life, he must keep his Oath, if it be in his power, though it be to his Hurt.1

Guthrie cites another biblical example of Jephthah offering his daughter as a sacrifice; if he was bound to keep his promise at such a dear price, so is King Charles, though the price might be even dearer.

When Renwick preached virtually alone in the fields nearly everybody had broken the Covenant, even in its most liberal interpretation. He knew persecution had bullied the once zealous Presbyterians into compliance, yet he insisted that suffering did not lessen the obligation people owed to God because of the Covenant. "When the Sea of Trouble is from Bank to Brae, it doth no more dissolve a Covenant Tie

1. John Guthrie, op. cit. 9.
than the least Yimme of Trouble doth."¹ In fact, he held that suffering is, in itself, the proof that God holds the Covenant still binding. "...we shall never ken better that God is our covenanted God that by this, that we are brought into Captivity."² When Israel broke her covenant she went into Captivity; and what was true with Israel is also true with Scotland.

These men elevated the Covenant to the place of Scripture itself. So dear was it to James Guthrie that, before the hangman put the napkin over his face, he said, "The Covenants, the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"³ And Renwick, in a letter, holds that every Christian in Scotland, including the ministers, is to be judged by the Scripture, and the Covenants.⁴ Both Cameron and Shields held the same view as Renwick.⁵ This practice of covenant-making was a biblical practice — an Old Testament custom, but biblical nevertheless.⁶ Here we have a disturbing paradox — the combination of a national Jehovah with a personal Christ. Indeed, as we shall see, the field preachers frequently presented Christ as a personal saviour, yet could not escape the apparition of Him as a tribal Deity as well.

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2. Ibid. 27-28.
3. Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 79.
5. See Cameron's Good News to Scotland, 13, and Shield's Life of Renwick, 189-90 for good examples.
6. The proof-texts for covenant-making which were popular were all taken from the Old Testament. E.g. II Chron. 15:12-14; Deut. 29:14-25; Neh. 9:38; Ju. 11:16-11; II Sam. 5:3; I Chron. 11:3; II Kings 11:17; II Chron. 23:11-16, etc.
2. **Intolerance**

This was an age of intolerance. The spirit of the Reformation, the spiritual Renaissance, gave to all who were moved by it, the thrill of discovering long-buried treasure coupled with the insistence that none would take it away. Hence, men were far more aware of their willingness to fight for what they believed than they are to-day. The seventeenth century was filled with libels and counter-libels, replies to libels, libellous language, name-calling, and bigotry of all descriptions. This was a time when it was treason to one's conscience to be moderate in any dogma, a time when it was a rule for survival that all moot matters must be answered finally, firmly, and in a superlative way.

To be sure, the conventiclers were in keeping with their times, and captured by this spirit. Alexander Shields called James Renwick "Antipas," a Greek word meaning "against all." Renwick did not deserve this epithet as much as Cameron; nevertheless he, and most of the field preachers, were very negative in their preaching at times, considering it no unnatural crudity to call their oppressors bastards, whores, pimps, and devils. With almost Miltonic language Shields hurls this thunderbolt at the previous decade:

IN THE YEAR 1687, the Cockatrice-Egg was laid; which, if the Lord crush it not, threatens the Production of the Basilisk of Popery itself; and that Sleep-drink of this Antichristian intoxicating Toleration was then brewed in Hell,
blinked in Rome, and propined to Scotland, as a Preservative for the Cup of the Whore's Fornications; Which did more bewitch and intoxicate the Bulk and Body of the Protestants and Presbyterians of all Ranks and Capacities, into a stupid Submission to Antichrist's Encroachments; a secure Compliance with his Designs to introduce Popery and Slavery; Or a senseless Surcease from all Opposition to, or Testimony against them, than any former Attempt of Babylon's Policy, or Effort of her Power, could ever effectuate in Scotland.1

John Welwood, who longed for the day when all Scotland would be in flames, spoke with equal zeal against her magistrates, "As for our Rulers, what are they? Incarnate Devils...I think Professors in Scotland turn incarnate Devils...who would have believed that Scotland would have turned so naughty?"2 And one of the "steps of defection" another green youth, Walter Smith, lays at the Covenanters' door-step was that they saved their captives from execution in such a manner as Saul kept Agag from his just desserts. He unblushingly says:

After the Lord gave us the Victory over Clavers and his Party at Drumclog, Anno 1679, we behaved not as Persons that were fighting the Lord's Battles; but, instead of pursuing the Victory that God wonderfully put in our Hands, and sanctifying the Lord of Hosts in our Hearts, and before the People, by giving him the Praise, did greedily run upon the Spoil, and took some of the Enemy Prisoners, and gave them Quarters, tho' guilty of Death, and so brought ourselves under that Curse of doing the Work of the Lord deceitfully by withholding our Sword from shedding of their Blood; and yet we refused to be convinced, that

our sparing of the Lives of these whom God has appointed to utter Destruction, is one of the Causes why our Lives go for theirs.¹

Though Walter Smith was hardly more than a boy when he wrote this, he must have been pushed to such lengths by older zealots. In any event, Smith did not regret these words, though they proved to be his death warrant. Not at all behind him in zeal is Michael Bruce who saw Archbishop Sharp in the guise of Haman. "Haman Sir, ye shall get all your will, but all your Will shall be your dead, ye shall get your will Haman, ye shall get the Kings Letters for making Dispatch of the Jews, ye shall get the Kings Signet, and the Kings Posts to run fast, and what would ye have more Haman?"² He carries this biblical conceit still further by promising "Haman" a place on the gallows he had erected for his enemies!

Cameron spoke against a greater variety of persons, legislations, and beliefs more than any other field preacher. He denounced prelacy, indulgences, and cess-paying. He ranted against indulged clergy as having the "badge of the beast," and considered them "worse than curates." He sums up his hatred for the King by saying that "if the Devil had a vicegerent on earth, it must be Charles II."³ While he was safely in Holland the battle of Bothwell Bridge was

¹. See Walter Smith, "The Steps of Defection" in Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteria:Ma, ii, 67.
fought. Later, upon Scottish soil, he maintained that many of the ministers at that battle were not worthy to be called ministers.\(^1\) Had they not allowed the Covenanted Army to keep captives alive? Had not many of them refused to disown the indulged clergy? The Quakers and Arminians did not escape his caustic ire. He accused them of great errors, and dismissed their theology as "salvation by works."\(^2\) He attacked the Church of England and the churches of Holland for the use of organs.\(^3\) Then he goes to the opposite extreme by complaining that Quakers used no psalter, or written songs in their worship. And when he reflects on the subject of a possible union between the factions among the Presbyterians he declared, "I would think it good wisdom to run away from the union, it would be a black mark, he will not give his glory to another...."\(^4\)

Alexander Peden was addicted to the use of strong language, which abounds in his two printed sermons. He speaks of the "Cursed Curats," and claims the sin of listening to them should be as much repented of as the sins of whoredom, adultery, murder, and stealing.\(^5\) A short time before the climate in Scotland became too hot for him, and he decided to preach in Ireland, he unfairly accused those in present

\(^1\) Cameron, "Sermon on Psalm 92," Ibid. 423.
\(^2\) Cameron, "Sermon on John 5:40," Ibid. 435.
\(^3\) Cameron, "Sermon on Psalm 92," Ibid. 421.
\(^4\) Richard Cameron, Good News to Scotland, 15.
\(^5\) Alexander Peden, The Lords Trumpet, 10-11.
exile who have "fled and left their Dying Mother, they have fled to other Places for shelter, and fled in under Indulgence, and fled to other Nations under a Pretence to Preach the Gospel: But the Truth is, I am afraid that it be said by GOD at length, that it was for the Back and the Bellie that manie of them hath done so...."¹

Peden was a strange mixture of wrath and sympathy. He attacked the indulged ministers as though they were selfish, time-serving cowards, yet he refused to disassociate himself from their company. For this reason he was rejected by the Cameronians, and they by him. His worst language, however, was reserved for hypocrites whom, we strongly suspect, constituted for him the majority of the nation. He said, "O the manie Vile Hypocrites the Church of Scotland hath brought forth; They are Mother-Bairns, but not Father-Bairns, Vile Bastards as they are, now Tearing their Mothers Flesh with their Hands, and O but that is Unnatural-like."² Reflecting on the leaders of the land, Michael Bruce expressed the same spirit as Peden: "If it had been Heathens, or Pagans, or profest Papists that had so persecuted us, we would have known better what to have done, but its our Brethren, Bastards as they are, it is not Strangers or Foreigners...."³ And Fraser of Brea

¹. Ibid. 26.
³. Michael Bruce, "A Sermon on Psalm 140. Verses 12, 13," op. cit. 43.
pushes his intolerance beyond all reason when he claims that children baptized by the Curates are counted by God as "Children of Whoredom."

It is obvious that, in the heat of delivery, under the pressure of civil violence that might bring death at any moment, and in the company of men and women whose very lives were forfeited by their presence — in short, in the most unusual of circumstances, these field preachers were given to extremes which, even they, upon reflection in a better day, would hardly have countenanced. Moreover, to the man who is tempted to dismiss them as narrow bigots, we must say that they lived in an age of bigotry, and used the vocabulary of their age. Perhaps our milder use of language would have been as distasteful to them as theirs is now to us.

It remains to be said that we have cited the most extreme passages from the extant field sermons as illustrations. Nothing more primitive (by our standards) could be found. Hence, the obscene quotations in Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd, supposedly based on sermonic material from these men, probably lie in hearsay rather than in truth. Further, we must remember that many of the best conventicle-preachers have given us no material for this section, men such as Welsh, Blackader, Cargill, Renwick, and Semple.

1. James Fraser of Brea, Prelacy an Idol, and Prelates Idolaters, 25.
3. Prelacy

Curates and their ecclesiastical superiors were frequently known among the field preachers as "the King's dowties," or "time-serving ministers." Cargill spares no sarcasm when he called them "Maiden Midwives, who stifled the Children in the Birth..." And Walker reflects with satisfaction about the time when the prelates brought the service books to Edinburgh "where Women threw their Kirk-stools at their Faces, and made them begone in Haste."

There was a divided opinion among the field men as to whether the indulged ministers should be countenanced, but there was no such latitude tolerated about the conformists. "The duty is to come out from among them," said Cargill. And Renwick reminded his listeners that such men could not dispense the elements because they "have no commission from Christ, in his orderlie and appointed way." Welsh refused to attend their services because he was persuaded their polity was but one big step back toward Catholicism. He told his former parishioners at Irongray not to attend the church any longer, for if they did they would only blur the argument between the two parties. If such men are not attended, their cause will soon die. Their preaching is inferior, and they, not the ousted men, are the intruders.

1. Peden, op. cit. 34.
2. Walker, op. cit. i, xv.
3. Ibid. i, 133.
6. John Welsh, Fifty and Two Directions, 43ff.
stressed the empirical argument. He testified that he left
the services of the curates feeling dead and heartless.
He finally became convinced they were not sent from God,
and that the Scripture revealed he should separate from them.¹

Actually, there is surprisingly little place given to
the denunciation of prelacy in the field sermons. The most
outstanding example is a sermon by Fraser of Brea, his only
published field sermon, which is more of a lecture against
prelacy, than a proper sermon. In it he enumerates the
causes of the episcopal polity, which arguments are quite
popular in the twentieth century as well:

1. Men want to be like their neighbours.
2. Prelacy helps men to forward their carnal ambitions.
3. Men wish to choose convenient ways.
4. It helps men to vent their own egotism.
5. God's rule is too simple.²

He then proceeds to show why Charles II was so bent on
restoring prelacy in Scotland. It was organized as a hierarchy,
with the King at the top, hence making ministers dependent
on him for their stipends. The bishops (fourteen in Scotland),
who had voices in Parliament, would be always persuaded to
give their vote in support of their master's legislation.³

¹. James Fraser of Brea, Memoirs, Wodrow's Select Bio-
graphics, ii, 193.
². A précis of his sermon Prelacy an Idol, published
separately.
³. Ibid. 9-10.
Contrary to popular belief, there is little material in the field sermons about church polity, either against one form, or in support of another. The cheap satire, Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd, would lead us to believe otherwise, however. The pamphleteers were busy against "the King's dowitzes," it is true, but those ministers with a more negative bent to their personalities, were far less concerned with a denunciation of the conformist clergy than they were with those who had accepted the "cursed indulgences," as we shall now see.

4. The Indulged Clergy

Cameron was the champion voice against the indulgences and those who accepted them. His vilifications were so numerous, intractable, and caustic that he was twice brought before the clergy who licensed him, on the accusation that he was causing unrest among the brethren. At the first meeting he told them he was destined to be a "bone of contention among them, for if ever he preached against a national Sin in Scotland, it should be against the Indulgence, and [for] Separation from the Indulged."¹ The ministers were unable to force Cameron to stop preaching along this line. But at their second meeting with him they threatened to revoke his licence, which brought forth their long-awaited promise from him to be silent. About this promise Bell says

¹ Walker, op. cit. i, 192, and Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 268.
Cameron "no sooner retired from the presbytery, and coolly reflected on what had passed, than he immediately saw cause to repent the promise he had given." Cameron retired to Holland, where he enjoyed an eventful ministry among the Scots in exile, but when he heard of the frightening state of affairs in Scotland following the defeat at Bothwell Bridge, he was determined to return. He had fulfilled his promise not to harangue about the indulged ministers; now he was going to make up for lost time! He could see no difference between the indulged clergy and the curates, both of which were "creatures of the Government." They were to be condemned as betraying Christ, and for acknowledging the King's authority in the church. "...it was held by Cameron and his associates that this compromise meant a withdrawal of the Church's claim to autonomy, a claim to be asserted whatever the King might do, and however long Episcopacy might continue." In his lecture on Matthew 18:1-17 he said that indulged ministers were a vitiating disgrace as well as a danger to the church. If there be no other way, the people should pray earnestly that God would remove such. He cites two passages as proof of his position: the account of Joshua's dealings with Achan, and Jesus' public denunciation of the Pharisees. Their sins and offences were public;

1. G. M. Bell, The Scottish Martyr; or, the Life of the Rev. Richard Cameron, 54.
2. John Merkless, Richard Cameron, 84.
3. Ibid. 82.
and therefore their sins should be publicly denounced with a "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees." \(^1\) "We must speak against ministers, and we must cry against the sins of ministers of Scotland, that have betrayed the work of reformation, and even gone beyond curates and bishops in betraying and destroying of it." \(^2\)

Next to Cameron, Shields was the most given to denunciation of the indulgence, but his axe was laid to the root mostly in his writings, rather than in his preaching. Renwick, though as fervent as Shields and Cameron, said little about the indulgence, and less about indulged clergy. He saw the indulgences as "seeming favours" given by the hands of Papists "whose principles lead them neither to give faith to, nor keep faith with heretics, as they term us." \(^3\)

Alexander Peden, whose "bark often proved to be worse than his bite," seemed to agree with these three men on every point. "Take heed Sirs, do not mock GOD, these Indulgences will lead you away from CHRIST as well as the Curats." \(^4\) He could see the clergy leaving Christ in the hour of need, and fleeing to the indulgences "under the enemy's wings for shelter." \(^5\) He recognizes their attempt to justify their stand biblically, but claims they twist the Scripture to their own purpose:

\(^{1}\) Ibid. 391.
\(^{2}\) Ibid. 410.
\(^{3}\) Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 158.
\(^{4}\) Peden, The Lords Trumpet, 33.
\(^{5}\) Ibid. 19-26.
Worthy David played a sad sport one morning with his Ease. It had been good for David that he had been in the Fields that night; he not only committed Adultery that morning and also Murder, but he thought to have Fathered his Ill-Gotten Bastard upon Worthy Uriah; an Ill-Turn makes ay way for another: It is so with our Great Clergie-Folk the day, Vile Apostats as they are. I warrand many of our Great Clergie-Folk all the Ill-Turns that they do, they Father them ay all upon the Bible, and make ay the Bible their Warrand, the Council and Clergie all does this, even when they condemn the Saints of GOD, and takes their Lives for Owning the Cause & Covenant of JESUS CHRIST, and for Owning his KINGLY Government in Scotland, which these Miserable Apostats hath taken from Him, and consented that it should be taken from Him this Day in these Lands. I say they will cast up the Bible in so doing, and will say they have their Warrand from it, both Council and Prelats and Indulged: but they Deceive themselves and Mocks the LORD in so doing; For which he shall be avenged on them err long: But Ille tell you how they do with the Bible, even as a Ship-Master or a Ship-Carpenter does with the great Planks when they build a Ship, they put them in the fire and bows them to the use they would have them.

Cargill must have been in complete agreement with these men, but never did he speak about the condition of the clergy except to say it was backslidden. Welsh, Semple, and Blackader, the remaining primary field preachers, would not accept the indulgences, even if they were allowed to do so. Though they had been excluded from the King's favour, they had no ire to vent against those outed preachers who could so enlarge their consciences as to accept it. Welsh "never tampered with the Indulgence... dear as were the memories of the kirk of Irongray, he would not wound the conscience by re-entering it

1. Ibid. 25-26.
through the favour and patronage of Government."\(^1\) He prophesied a time of division, which came to its ugliest expression just prior to the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and warned his beloved congregation not to be confused or discouraged:

My next advice to you is, and I pray you take it in love, if you shall see at this time a difference in opinions and practices among us who are ministers of the gospel, some standing and sticking at things that others can digest, be not offended at this, it has been always since the beginning, it is no new thing, if there be some that leave off preaching when others do continue to preach though against the law, I say offend not at either when both keep right in the main thing.\(^2\)

Walter Scott, in his *Old Mortality*, and the writer of *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd*, and other writings about this phase of Scottish History seemed more bent on provoking mirth than in evincing truth, for the portion of field sermons against the indulgences was negligible. Indeed, over one hundred ousted ministers accepted the indulgences at one time or another — some of whom had been notorious field preachers. Some, however, learned to rue their choice, for they were soon to feel the smart of a second eviction! But only a few totally rejected the indulgence, and ostracized those who embraced it. These were all "Cameronian," or "Society" preachers, whose opposition was based on the

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1. Smellie, op. cit. 247.
conviction that all who accepted the indulgences had, like the curates, become creatures of the King, and acknowledged his authority in ecclesiastical matters in preference to Christ's.

5. Roman Catholicism

It was rare among the field preachers to denounce one wrong at a time. Indeed, they were always given to cataloguing crimes and criminals: King and court, Popery and Papists, prelacy and prelates, indulgences and the indulged were groups of words with an alliterative fascination to them; and the conventiclers rarely attacked these matters with isolated consideration.

Already we have frequently come across denunciations of Catholicism as one wrong among others, but now we turn our thoughts to a consideration of the few passages that give us specific convictions against this hated church. Renwick best satisfies us in this regard:

These Blasphemous Papists lead People unto a Abnegation of the Kingly Office of Christ; for they set up the Pope whose Name is Blasphemy as the Head of the Church; They reject the Doctrine of Christ, and obtrude their own Antichristian and Heretick Traditions: They reject Christ's Institution of his Sacraments, turning his Baptism unto the vilest of Superstition; and his Supper unto the grossest of Idolatrie, obtruding for it their Mass and asserting the Bread and Wine to be really Transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ...they reject the worship of Christ and obtrude their own Idolatries,
Superstitions, and Insignificant teaching humane Ceremonies. They reject the Discipline of Christ, and obtrude their own Popish Penances, and Blasphemous Pardons: They reject the Government of Christ and obtrude their own Tyrannical Hierarchy with Monstrous number of Antichristian Orders. 1

The field preachers did not need to be reminded that episcopacy was the form of polity used by Rome herself. For this reason Cameron said, "It will be very easy, Sirs, to introduce Popery into Scotland." 2 As Renwick looked toward the throne he saw a more alarming sight than Cameron — an "avowed Papist" in the person of the late King's brother, James, which sight would have cause poor Cameron's headless body to tremble beneath the sod at Ayrsmoss. Renwick became angry at the ease with which James was restoring the "ancient religion" to the land through the "ass-like stupidity of this generation." 3

Peden, the Prophet, cried above the moaning winds on some desolate moor, "I fear black Popery err long: The Pope is coming back to seek his Pawn [Charles II] that he left in Scotland long ago, and ye are helping him well." 4 "The Pope and Papists at Rome is rejoicing and burning Bon-fires; They are rejoicing that Britain and Ireland is coming Home again to their Antient Mother-Church as they call themselves." 5

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4. Peden, op. cit. 8-9
5. Ibid. 31.
Most of the material in field sermons directly against Catholicism was that which either included it as one among many evils, or that which foreboded its return. These men did not speak against Catholicism as apologists, possibly because that had already been done so well by Knox, Luther, and other early reformers, or perhaps they considered their hearers already well enough fortified against the "Popish Plague."

6. Persecution

There were times when the field preachers spoke of the persecution through which they and their followers were going. On rare occasions they would be bitter and sarcastic, or choked with pathos, or determined to edge their sufferings with the glory of a better day. John Welsh once accused the rulers of the land of breaking a historical precedent by treating their own kind with brutality that would make "even the Turks to blush." He knew that Archbishop Patterson had invented the double thumbscrew, that Sharp was the moving spirit in the Privy Council, and that the local curates provided most of the information about absentee parishioners and about conventicles in their parishes. Reflecting on these he said, "the like was never done to Protestant Ministers by Protestant Ministers before." He also recounted to his hearers the now immortal suffering of the aged Alexander Smith, a

minister who refused to call Archbishop Sharp "my Lord," and was cast into a dungeon with mad men, and refused help from his friends and relatives.¹

In his doleful eulogy on the death of his "Jonathan" a few days before, Shields, seized by the spectre of Jeremiah, spoke with bated breath to a gathering on a little hill on Crawford Moor. All were sad that Renwick had been executed, but Shields was nigh beside himself with grief as he said in his preface:

From the Death of Mr. James Guthrie, till Mr. James Renwick suffered, all the Faithfull and Zealous Ministers of Christ were Reproached: Was not Mr. James Guthrie called a Fool? Was not Mr. Kid and Mr. King called Jesuites? And was not Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron called the same? And what Reproaches and Calumnies that could be broached out of Hell was not cast on Mr. James Renwick? He was seen at Masses and in League with the Enemies, and they would not stir nor trouble him; wa, I cannot rehearse the one half of them: but the Lorh hath vindicated His Servant of them all, though dear to us.²

Cameron occasionally spoke of the sufferings through which the ministers in the fields had gone,³ and several times he made mention of the practice of boycotting — the purpose of the letters of intercommuning. His preaching reveals how attendance at conventicles often meant being turned out of livelihood by the laird.⁴ "These that are free to buy and sell, and to go to kirk and market at this time

¹. Loc. cit.
have their freedom at a dear rate...we must not take it with this, you see there hath no strange thing happened us but what hath befallen men, such things have happened to the church before, and the Lord hath warned us of it."

Peden saw purpose in the present calamity, and promised what many had promised before in similar circumstances: "O the Blood of the Saints will be the Seed of the Church after Ages in Scotland."  

We consider it a credit to the field preachers, who were hunted like partridges on the moors, to have said no more than they did of the sufferings through which they were going. Like their Master, they left it for others after them to say. Dungeons, unfit as cages for wild beasts, records of the Privy Council, and the research of faithful historians give us the story they did not take time to tell. They were too busy with other far more important things, which things we are yet to consider in this chapter.

7. Optimism

When the persecution was highest it seemed the optimism of the conventiclers was higher still, casting an obscuring shadow over every engine of war below them. With Jehovah they sat in the heavens and laughed, and had their enemies

1. Cameron, Good News to Scotland, 21.
in derision. Cameron and Renwick had more sunshine in their sermons and letters than the cloudy day would allow.

Renwick wrote to a friend, "...though the world thinketh my case most miserable, yet, I think it is so happy that I know not a man this day, upon the face of the earth, with whom I would exchange my Lot. 0! it is more sweet and pleasant to be swimming in the swellings of Jordan for Christ and with Christ, than to swatter in the pleasures of sin, and delights of the flesh."¹ In a sermon he exhorts people to "see thro' their crosses." Most people look at them, but cannot see through them. "But are there any of you admitted to see thro' your Trouble and thro' your Cross? Have ye seen the brave Enjoyments [which] lies at the far Side of the Church's Trouble, to be enjoyed by all the poor wearied and drouked Followers of the Lamb?"² On another occasion he referred to the persecution during the "killing time," testifying that it caused his work to increase. "I have observed that my Work to be now in some Shires threefold, and in some fourfold more than it was."³ Exulting over his enemies he mirthfully observes, "O poor fools! what can they do? The greatest wrong that they can do to us is, to be instruments in bringing a chariot to carry us to that higher house; and should we not think this the greatest favour?⁴

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¹. Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 130.
Cameron, like Renwick, often shifted his thoughts above the battlefield, to see the glorious victory. "If we saw the good days that are coming upon the back of these troubles, we would not get men and women kepted from singing and dancing for joy, we would all go home with gladness and rejoicing; yea, distracted as it were for joy." Again: "Ye would all read the Lord's mind, but it were not good that ye knew and saw the good that is in the Lord's power and purpose to do for these lands, for Scotland, England, and Ireland. If we knew it we would be apt to turn delirious and lightheaded. Our weak heads would not bear the new wine of heaven. No we could not bear it." 

Blackader saw the deliverance coming to Scotland. "For I believe no man can tell what way, or by whom our delivery shall come; but when it does come, it will be in such a manner, as shall stop the mouth and boasting of all wise heads in the world, that he alone may have the glory." Even Cargill in his heavy business of excommunication, predicted deliverance coming by one man in the foreseeable future. Had he lived to see King William march to Whitehall, and James Stuart flee like a shadow before the dawn, he would have marvelled at his own perspicacity, even as we do now.

1. Cameron, Good News to Scotland, 4.
What did the Hebrew prophets see for Israel in the future? The salvation of a remnant, the uncontested triumph of Jehovah over all wickedness, a glorious peace, a revival of spiritual truth. This is also what the "Men of the Moss Hags" saw for their own covenanted nation. When the bread of persecution was bitter to eat, and the dregs of the cup had set their teeth on edge, they comforted themselves in knowing that the Lord was preparing a table before them, and a cup too small for its wine, even though for the present they could not see it for an awful cross set squarely before them.

8. Sin

Any history of this period will reveal it was an age of sin-consciousness. The Covenanters were continually drawing up papers listing sins and "defections," and whole days were set aside as "days of humiliation," in which the long hours were given to rehearsing the shortcomings of the people. Before Charles II could be crowned King in Scotland he was forced to put his name to a list of sins that "would have made his mother blush." Renwick refused to dismiss the early duplicity of Alexander Shields, and drew up a list of no less than forty-two transgressions Shields was forced to own publicly before he could become a Society preacher. It was no uncommon thing to see the stools of repentance beneath the pulpit where penitents would sit for several Sundays.

in acknowledgment of their transgressions; and some were sentenced to be cuffed by iron manacles chained to the church gate. Denunciations from the pulpits, including the names of transgressors and a pointed description of their crimes were often a part of the Sunday intimations.¹

As we have seen, Charles II was probably considered the most wicked man alive by these preachers; and after his death his brother James earned that reputation. They considered much of the wrath of God upon the people was attributed to their tolerance of these ungodly monarchs. In a sermon preached in 1650, Patrick Gillespie, later to become a field preacher, likened Charles II to Ahaz and Manasseh, for whose wickedness the nation suffered. "...God may be many times angry, and his anger kindle and burn hot and long against a people for the sins of their King...remediless wrath goes out against the Land, because the Kingdom was not free of the Kings sin, therefore they might be the more justly judged."²

To these men the King’s sins were numberless. But they did not stop with him in their denunciations. The court and the established clergy, and even many of the Presbyterian ministers and elders were also to smart under their denunciations. Peden said, "O my heart trembles within me to think what is coming on the backsliding Soul-Murdering Ministers

1. We refer the reader to Bygone Church Life in Scotland, and Religious Life in the Seventeenth-Century Scotland, both published in England, and are somewhat exaggerated in their treatment on several counts. See also Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana, 11, 62-72.
of Scotland.\(^1\) Cameron, turning on the laity who dared to venture forth to hear him, declared they were "a shame and a disgrace unto religion."\(^2\) Cameron was no doubt vexed by the comparative inactivity in the fields after Bothwell Bridge. Michael Bruce, writing even earlier, found cause to complain against five great sins in the land: Popery, Prelacy, cruel Acts and Laws, persecution of the godly, and backsliding and defection in the ministers and people.\(^3\) Cameron essentially agreed with him,\(^4\) and ventured to marvel that the earth did not cave in for the weight of the sins of the land. "We know well enough that it is a wonder that the earth bears us. This generation hath exceeded Tyre and Sidon. The wickedness done in Scotland is come to such a pitch that they contend who shall swear the greatest oaths, and go the greatest length in villainy."\(^5\) He sums up all the sins of Scotland in one telling sentence: "We may say that there never was a generation wherein there was more of the fear of men, and less of the fear of God, than in this age."\(^6\) And Shields felt "there was never a land more guilty of compliance with His enemies than this land, that hath assisted, concurred with, and upheld these workers of iniquity in all their sinful course."\(^7\)

5. Cameron, Preface to Good News to Scotland, Ibid. 442.
Michael Bruce was sure that human weakness had led
the people in his audiences to rationalize their sinful
practices by minimizing them, or by pleading ignorance:
"It is not for want of Light that ye go to Hell; and it is
not for want of Light, that ye make many Balks in GODs Good
Beer-land... but ye bring not your Practice the length of
your Light... we let the great things of Christ gang, and
begins to diminish Sin; we make great Sins little Sins,
and little Sins no Sins at all: thir things, Sirs, comes
in our way, and we cannot win them." 1  Peden saw the people
apathetic over their sins, claiming that "...the weight of
the broken Kirk of GOD in Scotland never troubles you, the
Loss of a Cow or two-three of your Beasts, or an Ill
Market-day goes nearer your Hearts nor all the Troubles of
the Kirk of GOD in Scotland." 2 He particularized by shaming
the youth dancing "with Graceless Wanton Mirth and your
Lusts burning strong within you." 3

The conventiclers gave very little room to a theological
treatment of sin. Cargill spoke of total depravity on three
occasions in the fields, 4 and Cameron and Shields spoke
negatively on the same doctrine by denouncing the belief in
impacted holiness advanced by the "blasphemous Quakers." 5
And Renwick, in a very beautiful passage 6 maintained that because

1. See Michael Bruce, "A Lecture on Jer. 45:1-5," in Good
2. Peden, op. cit. 19.
3. Ibid. 8.
4. See Cargill in Kerr, op. cit. 473, 484, 524.
5. Shields, "Sermon on John 3:3-5," Ibid. 593ff, and
published separately.
6. The passage is printed in Appendix VI.
the Christian does not sin wilfully, nor affectionately, he does not sin unto death.

The mountain men, who saw Scotland as the "Good Beer Land," naturally emphasized the national expression of sin, when they spoke at all on the subject. The form that sin usually took was compliance with the enemy. It is evident from our studies that the dragoons were helpless in discovering the places where preachings were held. This was so because the people would not cooperate with the authorities. Would not the same helplessness have faced the hierarchy of Charles II if these same people would openly refuse as a body to hear the curates? But that is human weakness: to have enough loyalty to clear the conscience, but not enough to overthrow completely the evils that beset them. Their tolerance of "the high places of Judah" made for a running sore, whereas a united stand against all elements of the Erastian government would have brought blueness to a wound that would quickly heal. This the field preachers knew too well. If the whole of Scotland would refuse to hear the curates, or even the indulged clergy, then what could the King and his Privy Council do without committing genocide? Truly, if all Scotland would have taken to the fields, then these happy men would see again the victory Knox knew when he stood before his popish Queen.
9. Christ and Evangelism

We now enter into a discussion of what occupied the bulk of the field sermons. All that has gone before in these two chapters is like skin to the body—something slightly concealing by its conspicuous position, but confessedly only a minor part of the bulk that lies beneath it. If the reader misses this point he has failed to learn what the conventiclers preached most about. We have delineated at length these comparatively minor issues that precede this section only because they are distinctively characteristic of the times, and because we are duty-bound to clarify the wrong conceptions about the importance the field preachers placed on them. Men like Walter Scott, and others who enjoy the cheap mirth of taunting these men, are somewhat like insects that feast on the skin, but leave the body untouched.

The reader will remember the continual stress we have placed in each previous section about the paucity of material available. Let there be no mistake about it: the field preachers, in the tradition of John the Baptist, spoke mostly about One who was greater than they, Whose shoe latchet they were unworthy to unloose.

We write of "Christ and evangelism." In our consideration of these messages before us it is impossible to do otherwise. They do not treat the one without the other. Christ
was never presented in a theological way. The recondite minutiae of Christology may have occupied the time and subject matter of the first seven Ecumenical Councils, or of the mediaeval preachers, but not of these men. They essentially had two things to say about Jesus: (1) Behold how lovely He is! hence all should come to him for salvation! (2) But if a man comes, he must take Christ in all "three offices" — as prophet, priest, and king. So then, it becomes clear that we cannot consider Christ and evangelism separately, for one was the other to these men.

Therefore, we will divide our consideration of this section into two parts, the kingship of Christ, and the excellency of Christ. We designate the former in preference to a discussion of all three offices of Christ because, though these men often spoke of them, yet it was naturally His kingship they stressed, for they knew only too well that Charles II had taken the crown off Jesus' head, and attempted to rule the church as an antichrist.

The kingship of Christ. "Treason, Treason, Treason, against King Christ in Scotland: They would have him a King without a Kingdom, and a King without Subjects: There is not a clean Pulpit in all Scotland this Day, Curate nor indulged..."1 — thus spoke John Kid, who died for treason against King Charles, not only for being in battle at Bothwell Bridge, but

1. Quoted by Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana, i, 292.
for such fiery words as these. Cameron mourned the following year, "O that there were personal entering into covenant, and that there were general and national vowing to God; that they would have none to be the head of the church but Christ." 1 Because Cameron stressed the kingship of Christ more than any other field preacher we would like to quote in full his best passage:

Our Lord Jesus is and must be King upon His holy hill of Zion. There is no king in the Church beside Him. The Lord has given Him to be King to rule in you and over you. What say ye to this? Our Lord is now dethroned, and that tyrant is entered into His place. After he had got the civil power into his hand that would not satisfy him, but it hoved him to have the crown and sceptre of Christ also. But if it sets him well let the world see and judge. Now, are ye content to let the King of Glory—the Lord of Hosts—enter into your hearts and souls? And what say ye in Galloway and Nithsdale? Will you take Christ to be your King, and to be the anointed King of the Church? Will ye acknowledge no lord over God's heritage but the Lord Jesus Christ Himself? And what say ye of Clydesdale and Lothian? Are there any of you here content to cast yourselves at His feet, and to enter your names in His list amongst His subjects? There are few followers of the Lamb this day in our land. Come, and set down your names and submit unto Him, and give away yourselves unto Him. There were hope in Israel concerning our case, if there were any this day crying, "I am content to take Him for my King, my Lord, and Saviour." 2

Here is the sin: Charles Stuart usurping the prerogatives of Christ. Peden was convinced that the clergy were largely responsible for leading Charles to believe he could

1. Richard Cameron, Good News to Scotland, 14.
2. Cameron, "Sermon on Hosea 13," Kerr, op. cit. 413.
accomplish the feat. He complains of "these Ministers that is fallen silent at this sinfull Blast of the sinfull command of these sinfull Magistrates, tell them people of GOD, that they have consented fully to Take CHRISTs Crown off his Head, and set it upon the Head of a Prophane Man; Put them to it either to own their Ministry, or to renunce it, now when it is come to this push in Scotland."¹ In another mood of tender pathos he woos his hearers with these reassuring words:

It were better for us all Sirs, to go to the Fields in Frost and Snow untill we were wet to the skin on our Knees, err we bow to one of them, King or Council or anie of them; For I know that the LORD will never bless the Labours of anie that hath their Libertie from them, whether Minister or Professor, but such Ministers & Professors shall be blasted & their labours blasted & fruitless, if their Souls be not in Hazard, I sadlie fear & am mistaken. This being the Main Head that CHRIST our LORD is Head of the Church, and King in Zion, and this they Denie on the Matter, and if that be not Dangerous and S.a.d, Judge ye, to Consent to let CHRIST's Crown go on the Head of anie King in the World, and this is the Sin that shall Ruine these three Lands.²

James Renwick was the field preacher who made most of taking Christ "in all three offices" — as prophet, priest, and king. This was a common expression among the pamphleteers of the period, but, as we have said before, Christ as King was the main emphasis in regard to the offices of Christ.

"But woe unto them that would divide Him, and not take Him in all His offices, for they have not learned Him...many would have

¹. Peden, The Lords Trumpet, 29.
². Ibid. 17.
Him their Priest, they would be content to be Saved by the price He hath Payed; yet they will not have Him their Prophet, far-less their King...but I tell you if ye would have any interest in Him, ye must take Him as he Offers himself, and that is in his threefold Office. O what say ye to it!"¹ We do not know what others may have said to it, but his last words on earth were about the "crown prerogatives of Christ."

I leave my Testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. Against all Profanity, and every Thing contrary to sound Doctrine; particularly, against all Usurpations made upon Christ's Rights, Who is the PRINCE OF THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, who alone must bear the Glory of ruling His own Kingdom, the Church: And in particular, against the Absolute Power usurped by this Usurper, that belongs to no Mortal, but is the incommunicable Prerogative of JEHOVAH: and against this Toleration flowing from that Absolute Power. Here Renwick was interrupted and told to prepare to die.²

The excellency of Christ. The two men who best elevated Christ far above doctrines, political issues, and the sins of the people were Cameron and Renwick. And, though it seem almost contradictory to say it in the light of the fact that these were the "hottest" controversialists among the primary field preachers, yet it was they who spoke best and most about the beauty of Christ. Cameron must have felt he was too negative at times, hence his indirect confession through the

¹. See Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 173, and Renwick, The Church's Choice, 8, 12.
². Shields, Life of Renwick, 175, 300.
advice given to others: "I tell you, there is much talk about religion and religious matters, but little talk of Christ — much talk of other men's faults and failings... when ye are met together, let not your discourses about the indulgences, &c., justle out your speaking of Christ and love to Him. Let not the esteem of His worth and excellency go down amongst you."¹ Note, in the following two passages, how this "Lion of the Covenant" glorifies the "Lion of the Tribe of Judah" in the dulcet style which combines a simple vocabulary with a high elevation of thought. These are perhaps Cameron's two best examples.

But oh, who can describe Him, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot! Tongue cannot express; all the mathematicians cannot calculate, all the rhetoric in the world cannot investigate what He really is. There is no spot in Him at all, and the poorest man or woman here may have their souls washed and saved by him.²

Sometimes He will slip away, as it were, from the Church, and withdraw and hide His face from her. Therefore seek Him, and long to get a sight of Him. I trow many may say "Since I saw Him it is now a long time." Can ye tell what He said to you, and what ye said to Him; what passed betwixt Him and your souls; whether saw ye Him in the public ordinances, or saw ye Him in private, or saw ye Him in secret exercises when alone, or saw ye Him when reading or meditating upon His word? But I think ye that never had a view of Him should be saying, "O where shall I get a sight of Him?" I will tell you, if ye saw Him indeed aright it would overload your hearts. There was never one that saw Him aright

¹. Cameron, "Sermon on Song 3:3," Kerr, op. cit. 401.
but his heart was drawn out after Him. There is no such lovely object as He, neither in heaven nor upon the earth besides Him. Oh, what a lovely, excellent, beautiful one is He! O Sirs, how little can we speak of Him! Time would fail us to tell how excellent a one He is. He is far more glorious than the "mountain of prey." I will tell you, He is as well worth the seeking after as ever he was, notwithstanding all the things that seekers and followers of Him have met with in this dark and cloudy day.

It is difficult to evaluate the language of love, and so it will be difficult to say whether Cameron or Renwick performed the task better. That will have to be left for the reader to judge. However, one will find more Christology in Renwick's works, for the bulk of his printed sermons alone is ten times that of Cameron. Following are his best passages, and we also judge, among the best the world has ever seen:

...though I had ten thousand times ten thousand years, yea, the faculty of angels, I could in no ways lay out mine obligations to free grace, but behoved, when I had babbled my fill, to seal up all with this CHRIST IS MATCHLESS! O He is the wonder of the higher house! and will He not be your wonder and my wonder throughout the ages of lasting eternities? Come away then, let us labour to keep up that work now, wherein eternity will not weary us. We cannot now think rightly of Him, but we will get eternity to the work. His beauty and excellency is so ravishing, that a poor weak, daft-fond soul will be made to turn its dazzled eyes away from Him, when yet the heart will be melting in love's hand. O! but we be narrow vessels that can receive nothing; but hereafter we shall see Him as He is. O what is He? Angels

cannot define Him, and we must be silent; yet this I must say, He is matchless: all perfection meets in Him, He is glorious, and He is the only best of choices. O! He is glorious in Himself, and manifests that in all His actings. His doings are like Himself, and carry large characters of all His attributes engraven upon them,  

O! what a blessed Enjoyment is this, which each of his Saints doth enjoy without envying or wringing one another! What a blessed Choice is Christ! what a lovely Choice is He! O! he is lovely, he is lovely, and all that choose him will say, he is lovely, and that they have made a brave Bargain. What was said of a Heathen Socrates, all that knew him loved him; and if they did not love him, it was because they did not know him. Indeed they that love not Christ, it is because they do not know him. If he were known what a great, gracious, powerful, loving, beautiful and excellent One he is, the Heart would be filled with Love unto him. If he were known, the Soul's Out-cry would be, He is altogether matchless! who is like unto him? Love thinketh the Beloved hath no Parallel; and Love loveth all that is the Beloved's: Hence, as Christ is lovely to his own, so his Cause is precious, it is precious, it is precious, it is his declarative Glory; it is that whereby he maketh his Name known. How honourable is it to be an Owner of the same!  

When we win to his House above, and see him as he is, we will be ashamed of all our Babblings about him; they that have been most ravished with his Love, and most eloquent to speak forth the Praise of his Comeliness and Properties, will see that they have been but, at best, Babes learning to speak. 0! What shall I say? He is the wonderful, matchless, and glorious, inestimable Jewel, and incomparable Pearl of Price. O who would not choose him! who would not give away themselves unto him! Let Man look through Heaven and Earth, and seek a Portion where he will, he shall not find the like  

2. Shields, Life of Renwick, 261.
of Christ. O then! let us be altogether his and nothing of our own. Our Time let it be his, our Understanding and Will let them be his, our Affections let them be his, our Names, Lives, and Enjoyments let them all be his; let us be fully surrendered, and entirely consecrated unto him.

We feel that Cameron and Renwick provide sufficient examples of the exaltation of Christ in all his loveliness. But the question might rightly be asked, why outstanding men such as Cargill, Blackader, and Welsh have been excluded from our consideration? This has been so because the treatment of Christ and His evangel by these preachers differs from the preaching of all ages only in quantity and quality, not in thought. In that Cameron and Renwick have done this work best, reference to others is unnecessary. These men said nothing new about Christ — it had all been said before them; but they did preach Christ as frequently, and as well as any preacher before or after them. We judge, after a careful reading of all the field sermons in print, that some sixty per cent of their contents is devoted to Christ and His evangel. It is difficult to say who preached more often about Christ, for of all the nearly three hundred conventiclers, Renwick is the only one who has left us a rather complete recording of his addresses. But from what we do have we conclude that Cameron and Renwick preached Christ best.

1. Ibid. 271.
10. Other Points of Emphasis

Providence. It is only natural that the field preachers spoke often of the Providence of God; circumstances demanded it! The two who spoke most beautifully and most frequently were the two most frequently and most intensely pursued, Peden and Renwick. The uncertainty that tortured them for months without rest, that hounded Peden to an untimely grave, and caused every soldier in all Scotland to be hunting for Renwick for nearly two years, was the crushing of the rose that brought the fragrance forth. Besides these two men, we note Richard Cameron's letters. The three that remain reveal his continual reference to his trust in Providence. Perhaps the most popular of all Peden's sayings is the crude, but lovely passage from the first of his two remaining sermons:

O Sir! Will ye lippen to GOD, and give him credit, and he will help you at all your Word; And ye Would once Covenant with him (Frends) and make him your own; Ille tell you what he would do for you, he would plow your Land, sow your Corn, and shear your Corn, and sell your Corn, and bring home your Money: Ille tell you what he will do (Friends) as it were to rock the Creddel, if it were needful for you: He will condescend as low as ye desire him, but ye man once close with him, and that upon his own Terms, and make a surrender of your hearts to him.1

1. Peden, op. cit. 8.
Renwick shows the same quality of excellence, yet in slightly different language, when he says, "I think we are like unto a poor, dispicable, helpless, dead-like company, lying depressed in a valley; and He, as it were, by His word and works discovering Himself upon a hill-top in our view, stretching out His arms, and all fluttering to be at us, — calling unto us that we would join our hearts and voices together, and cry Him down unto us, offering that His power and love meeting together shall tred down and dissipate unto nothing our dreaded obstructions of one sort or another."

Peden and Renwick always insisted on trial as a proof of God's care, rather than a denial of it. Peden, writing in prison on the Bass Rock, saw the age-old story of "no cross, no crown" playing itself out in his life. To Renwick all the trial through which his colleagues and sympathizers were going was only Christ making a whip of "Taws to whip his own to himself; and he never lays on a Blow, but he is still provoked to it; and when he lays it on, the Tears are in his Eyes, because he must do it."

Reading such lovely passages as these one cannot help but marvel at their opponents who said they had no elegance, and could preach nothing but political issues of the day!

Fortitude and futurity. Two days before he was captured Donald Cargill said, "Oh, it does not become a minister of the

gospel to be moved with fear!"  
A few hours later we see him paraded through the streets of Edinburgh, cuff ed, and with his feet tied beneath the horse's belly, and all the while the object of mirth and scorn to all the passers-by! Cameron said, with his own violent end in view, "Those who have gone to the scaffold for Christ have done it cheerfully; so that their dying day has been the best that ever they saw in their life."  
And, in the same portentous manner, Renwick beautifully said, "For, there are no mo Christians than there are Martyrs in Resolution and Affection."  

It must have taken much courage to refuse to pay the cess and take the Test, or to uphold the Covenant. But that is what many of the field preachers required of their hearers. The trouble which accrued from this recalcitrance is an often-told story of a time when Scots' greatest enemies were Scots, when Protestants' greatest persecutors were Protestants, and when Presbyterians were dragged away to prison on the information given oftentimes by "the King's dowties," who themselves had once been Presbyterians! What a baneeful state of affairs! But those who dared to hear preachers in the fields, especially after Bothwell Bridge, oftentimes were refreshed by encouraging words that spoke of the crown as well as the cross, of the possession as well

as price, of a heaven and a glorious future "on the back of these present troubles."

Conventicles. Field preachers usually ignored the uniqueness of their gatherings in the fields. When they stood before hundreds, and thousands, many in arms, and oftentimes in winter, on wild moors, and by the flickering light of scores of torches at midnight, it would seem the most natural thing for the hearer to expect the minister to preface his preaching with remarks pertinent to these strange circumstances. This they rarely did. Perhaps they were being subtle, knowing that golden silence oftentimes speaks better than a silver tongue. Welsh, in fact, was notorious for not speaking about any of the current issues. He would not speak about making war on the King, yet had a front row seat at every battle. He never meddled with the conformists or the indulged clergy in his sermons, yet his example spoke quite trenchantly against them. He would not denounce the cess, and the various Acts others spoke so frequently about, but neither would he give way to them. Hence it is quite amazing to read his Preface to one of his best sermons,

1. Principal Hugh Watt makes the following observation on the anticipation of future bliss in the writings of Andrew Welwood, a brother of John Welwood: "The most detailed and enthusiastic description of that future glory, coming from these years, is Andrew Welwood’s Meditations, representing a Glimpse of Glory. And if Andrew’s health did not allow him to take his place with his brother at field conventicles, some of this material may well have been first delivered at house conventicles."
The Great Gospel Summonds:

If it be asked at us, as some will be ready to ask, by what Authority do ye these things? Who gave you this Authority? Ye have no Warrand neither from the King nor the Rulers for what ye have done: Wa, they have straitly charged us to speak no more in this Name. We Answer, we do it by the Authority of JESUS CHRIST, The Great Shepherd of the Flock, He has commanded us to Preach in Season and out of Season; He has given us Commandment to go and Preach and Baptize all Nations; and therefore they have forbidden us that are in Power: But we must Answer as the Apostle did, Is it fit in the Sight of GOD to Obey you or GOD, Judge ye: He who is King of kings, it is by Vertue of His Orders, Who is the Mighty GOD, the Judge of the whole World, before Whom we must all appear, He has comanded, and it is by Vertue of His Command that we come to Preach, and it is by Vertue of His Command that ye come to Hear, and we will rather bide the Glooms of our Rulers, or we bide the Glooms of our GOD; We will rather take His Approbation, Well done thou Good and Faithful Servant, than we will study to be called Unloyal, and yet we are very Loyal, Loyal we are, and Loyal we are commanded to be, but in Subordination to God, we must first "Fear God, and then Honor the King; but when the Command of the King justles with the Command of GOD, then we are at a Point what is our present duty. 1

This is perhaps the best apologetic for conventicles given in the field sermons. On one occasion Cameron preached on Song 3:3, in which sermon he likens the search of the Shunammite for her lover to the people going into the fields in search of Christ. Complaining about the diminishing audiences after Bothwell Bridge, he sarcastically says, "Well, what did she? She sought Him in her bed in the house quietly. She had

no will to be heard without doors. 'It is dangerous indeed,' say many, 'to go to the fields in the night time. Folk may stumble, and fall over some stone or other'.

There are a few other passing remarks about conventicles in the field sermons, but they are very brief, and quite rare. Anyone who would dare attend a conventicle, or presume to preach at one, knew only too well why he was there, long before he came. Perhaps this is the reason so little needed to be said.

11. Idiosyncrasies

In speaking of the "fads" or whims of the conventiclers we intend to speak of oddities in idea, not in style. In our attempt to redeem these men from the ill-repute of fame-seeking critics we find, in this case, that they follow true to pattern: they are not as "fad-mad" as we have been led to believe. Indeed, there seem to be only three instances we can cite, each of which is personal to an individual preacher, and not to these men as a group.

The first of these is a harmless, and somewhat logical identity with John the Baptist found in the sermons of Richard Cameron. And perhaps we even strain the point at that, for only on two occasions does he make that allusion; but it may well be that he used it much more, for we only have six of his sermons.

1. See Kerr, op. cit. 393.
2. Cf. Ibid. 384, 426.
Another more striking idiosyncrasy of pyromania is expressed occasionally by John Welwood whose sermons, said Walker, accomplished more in six months than those of his father in a life-long ministry! Can the reader see his macabre delight in the following passage?

I would not care though he should burn Glasgow and Edinburgh and all, if they will not Act for God. Many thought it strange to see the stately piece of Glasgow burning, but I thought nothing of it, why? They have burnt the Covenant and work of Reformation, they have laid waste our pleasant things. What though Glasgow and Edinburgh both be burnt? A great business, if God be Honoured. Let never man care whether or not People and Houses should be in the bottom of the Sea...I tell you there is a day coming when God shall burn Britain, and until that time his Prisoners shall never be all free, but he will cause that fire loose them when he shall inclose the wicked in the fire eternally.  

The third idiosyncrasy we may find is Peden's constant use of the adjective "bloody." In his two sermons in print, as well as in quotations from Walker, we have a very sanguine account of the popularity of this word with him. He almost always spoke of Scotland as "the bloody land;" his visions of Scotland's Armageddon and people drowning in blood because God's wrath had come via a "bloody sword."  

12. Summary and Conclusion to Chapters IV and V

In reference to political issues we can see that many of the field preachers eagerly entered into the Scottish

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tradition of freely speaking against the Monarch whenever they felt it was necessary. This tendency naturally was intensified after Charles II inspired legislation that drove over three hundred of them from their churches and glebes, and made functioning in their rightful profession illegal. As the government gradually strengthened its laws with ever-increasing penalties, these men became even bolder until, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, some of them advocated tyrannicide and violent overthrow of the government. Their quarrel was not with monarchy as a form of government, but with the Stuart Kings for failing to meet the conditions of a limited monarchy — limited by the teaching of the Bible, and by the Covenant. The Stuarts illegally occupied the throne because they exceeded the limitations of their monarchy, and were denounced as tyrants and usurpers. Some of these ministers went to such lengths as refusing to pay the tax levied for raising troops to enforce unjust laws against conventicles. Partly as a result of this kind of preaching, and partly because of the recalcitrance of the people themselves, several minor wars broke out, which some of the preachers recognized as justified by God.

In this century there was no hermeneutical distinction between the testaments of the Bible; and a recognition of the similarity between the political problems of Scotland and ancient Israel led some of these men to assume the role of
Hebrew prophets. Their numerous prognostications divined great civil wars, invasions from France, great cataclysms in nature, the overthrow of the Stuart Dynasty, and the eventual defeat of episcopal polity. Though they were orthodox in their eschatology, yet it was these matters that occupied most of their preaching about the future.

In reference to church matters the conventiclers who have had sermons published seemed to agree with one voice that the Covenant was binding on Scotland *en masse* and *in perpetuum*, and anyone who rejected it occasioned the wrath of God upon himself. They did not stop with denouncing covenant-breakers, but showed a spirit of intolerance against all of differing beliefs. This included such groups as the Quakers, Catholics, and Episcopalians; but the indulged clergy fell heir to the severest attacks. The fact that many of the field preachers eventually accepted an indulgence only intensified the convictions of those who did not.

In this sin-conscious age considerable stress was made on the transgressions of the land. The conventiclers did very little particularizing when they spoke of sin. The sins they did decry were usually national in scope, and can be considered as expressions of the one great sin of Scotland, compliance with the enemy.

Political and ecclesiastical issues have been traditionally regarded as characteristic of the field preachers, but this
material actually occupies only a small part of the bulk of their sermons. The man who is deceived by the popular tradition about these men has not come to the knowledge of the main contents of their sermons. The controlling purpose of the field sermons, with very rare exceptions, was to persuade men to "close with Christ" — to be converted.

During the twenty-six years under consideration many young men grew up without any religious education, and probably without ever attending church. It was always a problem for the Episcopalians to find enough ministers to fill the churches, and many parishes were without pastors for decades at a time. The field preachers recognized this situation, and preached Christ as Saviour.

The use of proof-texts was a constant device in the style of the conventiclers, but only in the case of political or church issues. They did not present a proof-text plan of salvation to their hearers; they presented a Person. The Christ was revealed in their sermons always clothed in ineffable glory, seated upon His throne of authority, from which position He not only freely saved all who sought Him, but also defied King Charles and all the princes of the earth who dared to occupy His place as Head of the church in a covenanted land.

Indeed, the bulk of the field sermons was devoted to a Christ-centred evangelism. Other points of emphasis were the
Providence of God, fortitude, and the future bliss. The uniqueness of these meetings rarely found place in the sermons, and, for the most part, the preachers were free from personal idiosyncrasies.

In conclusion, we must make it clear that the contents of the field sermons were not predominantly political in flavour. Many of these men never preached on political issues that we know; and certainly their field sermons indicate they never did. The men who still preached after the battle of Bothwell Bridge were more inclined to be controversial, for the death penalty for religious freedom demanded that they take a stand, and instruct their followers what the will of God was in these matters.

These men were not given to expounding recondite theological arguments. This would have been foreign to their circumstances, and useless for satisfying the needs at hand. Ethics and morals had a place in what they had to say, but these meetings in the fields were too rare to deviate from the cardinal truths of the gospel for any length of time; and social problems only came into their sermons when they involved a political implication.

In the extant field sermons we find no emphasis on punishment in hell; these men seemed to see a punishment on this earth as more frightening, and more real. However, they did believe in eternal damnation, as well as eternal bliss.
for the elect. The conventiclers were orthodox to the marrow. We can find no "heresy" regarding the essential doctrines of the Christian Faith, or the Calvinistic interpretation of theology. Neither is there apparent any silly treatment of doctrines dripping with sentimentality and laced with melodrama, or any of the sensual crudeness claimed by their contemporary critics. If there were such things they never found their way into print.

Field preachers attempted to draw men close to God through the miracle of conversion. They did, however, feel that certain people ought to be severely reproved in the hope that this would bring them to repentance. They recognized the times were more troublesome than the soul could bear; hence much of their preaching was to encourage as well as to convert. Christ, in the middle of a dazzling heaven, stood before the eyes of the rain-drenched, cold, and weary throng of men and women through the efforts of these preachers. They presented Christ with [such] a matchless ability that few have ever equalled, and none have surpassed. Neither Chrysostom with his epic sweep of language, Bernard of Clairvaux in the language of devotion, nor Spurgeon, "the Prince of Preachers" could out-preach these men when they spoke of Christ.

To convert and to encourage were the chief objects of the conventiclers, even though digressions occasionally found them far astray. These men must have felt as we feel now, that good
preaching with some digression is infinitely better than no preaching at all! And little did they realize how these digressions, like the crude denunciations of the Baptist, were wilderness sermons, coming from an obscure corner of the world, but destined to shake thrones, and confound men in high places.
APPENDIX IV
A LIST OF EXTANT FIELD SERMONS

Most of the sermons listed in Section 1 are contained in one of the three volumes, which we will abbreviate as follows: K = Sermons Delivered in Times of Persecution in Scotland, edited by John Howie, 1779, and James Kerr, 1880; FC = Faithful Contendings Displayed, by Michael Shields, and edited by John Howie; CC = A Choice Collection of...Sermons, by James Renwick, and edited by John Howie. In other instances where sermons appear in volumes, the title for the book involved will also be given. When a sermon, lecture, or preface appears in pamphlet form, the title only will be given, for the complete listing may be seen in the Bibliography. The designation (PS) — "published separately" — will be used in instances in which sermons appear in volumes as well as in pamphlet form.

1. Field Sermons in Print

John Blackader


"Two Sermons on Isaiah 53:11," FC, 72; see also Duncan Stewart, The Covenanters of Teviotdale, 95-9, for outlines of these sermons.

Michael Bruce


Soul-Confirmation, or a Sermon Preached in Clydsdail.  
The Rattling of the Dry Bones.

Richard Cameron


"Sermon on Song 3:3," K, 392.


"Preface and Sermon on Isaiah 49:24-26," K, 441, (PS) as *Good News to Scotland*.


Donald Cargill

"Lecture on II Corinthians 5:4-11," and "Sermon on John 8:34," K, 469.

"Sermon on John 8:36," K, 483; and in *The Scots Worthies*, 709.


A Lecture and Sermon Preached at Different Times.

A Sermon on Isaiah 62:2.

(See several "hitherto unpublished" sermon outlines in Carslaw, Life of Cargill).

John Dixon


James Fraser of Brea

Prelacy and Idol, and Prelates Idolaters.

John Guthrie


John Kid

"Two Sermons on Galatians 5:1," FC 7.

John King


John Mosman

The Christian's Companion Under Soul-Exercise.

Alexander Peden


James Renwick


"Nine Prefaces and Sermons on Zechariah 2:8," CC 94-197.


"Sermon on Jeremiah 30:7," CC, 212.


"Sermon on Hosea 9:3," CC, 270.


"A Preface and Sermon on Song 1:7," CC, 424, (PS), as The Church's Choice or a Sermon on Canticles Ch. 1. V. 7.

"A Preface and Sermon on Song 5:16," CC, 496.


"Sermon on Revelation 12:1," CC, 521, (PS) as Some Notes or Heads of a Sermon preached in Fyfe.

"Sermon on Psalm 45:10," CC, 533.


Man's Greatest Concernment Movingly Press'd...

Archibald Riddell
Part of a sermon on Psalm 81:10, in Duncan Stewart, The Covenanters of Teviotdale, 68-70.

Gabriel Semple

Alexander Shields
"Sermon on II Corinthians 5:11," K, 581

"A Preface and Lecture on Revelation 2:12-13," K, 593, (PS), as Some Notes...Preached at Lothers.

James Simpson
The Building the Tower of Salvation. (possibly not a field sermon).

William Thomson
"Sermon on Exodus 48:35," together with another sermon on the same text. One of these was preached at the Old Kirk in Edinburgh, not in the fields. Such is probably the case with the other too. The pamphlet containing both is The Churches Comfort.

John Welsh
A Sermon Preached at Nemptherbrae.

An Alarm to the Backsliding Generation in the West of Scotland.

The Great Gospel Sumonds to close with Christ.

The Churches Paradox.

"Sermon on II Corinthians 5:10," FC, 45.
"Sermon on II Corinthians 5:11," FC, 50.

John Welwood

"Sermon on Song 5:8," K, 352.

2. Field Sermons in Manuscript

A. Manuscripts in the National Scottish Library, Edinburgh.

Anonymous

Sermons Preached Mostly at Kippen, MS. 1038, is a very exciting document. The title gives an incorrect description of the contents, for they are not sermons, but one lengthy lecture on Hosea 2:19-20, a favourite text of the times on the Covenants. This work of over one thousand pages is uninterrupted in thought, though divided by dates and comments. Undoubtedly this is not the original recording, for it presents too much unity. Probably the author polished it for eventual publication, and a later redactor who was present for the meetings added the dates and comments. The preacher is not named; however, 1662, when these sermons were delivered, is a time when the authorities were very successful in discovering irregular meetings, especially those conducted in one particular area with any degree of regularity. In March of this year the Privy Council took note of "field conventicles beginning to break out near Perth." The offending ministers named were: James Rymer, Robert Gillespie, Thomas Arnot, John Harroway, John Ferguson, and John Moncreif. See PCvii 368-69, 472. Some of these discourses are said by the
redactor to have been preached in houses, but we strongly suspect this was also the case with the remainder. The contents reveal the scholastic mind of a mature minister, hence we suggest the author was James Rymer, who was settled as a university professor after the Revolution.

"...or 12th mon. 19th day. 1682 Kipping."
"12th mon. 26th 1683 Kipping.
"Kipping Moneth lst 8f of day 5th, Constable & churchwarders &c. came this day to Break us up."
"12th of the lst mon: 1682"
"19th of lst mon: 1683"
"26th day ye lst moneth — 1682."
"Apill (or 2 mon:) 9th day: 1682."
"April or 2 mon: 1682."
"April 22 (or 2 mon: 23) 1682."
"2: mon: or April 30th 1682 — Indicated at Sessions before the weke At Kipp:...morning."
"May or 3 mon: 7th Day 1682 At Allerton — Morning."
"May, or mon:3 20th day: 1682 Allerton; morn: early."
"28th of May; or 3 mon: 1682 in ye dark of night. we are watched."
"June or 4 mon: 11th day. Kipping in ye night."
"June or 3 mon: 16th day. (22. Allerton, midnight at Br B.)"
"June, or 3 mon: 25th day: 1682 In ye night. 3 warrants out agst us; Capias's & churchward's warrants — constable and 2 men diliget search of infonn."
"July, or 5th mon: 2: day. 1682. Allerto — night, C- ward & Bailifs with 3 warrts agst us."
"July: or mon: 4th: 9th day at Br Ws Horton Lords Day Early morn: at 12 a clock."
"July, or 5th mon: 16th day 1682 at Br Ls Allerton at 10 = night."
"July, or mon: 5th 1682 Kipping at 2 in ye morning."
"Aug: or mon: 6th day 13th 1682 at Br Ls Allerton at 3 at night."
"Aug: or 6th mon: 27th day: 1682: Kipping at 9 at night."
"Septembr: ye 3d: 1682 Kipping at 1l — fforenoon.
"Septembr 17th 1682 Kipping, 7 at night."
"24th 7ber (82. Kipping at 7 at night).
"Sber 1st (82 Allerton at 7 at night."
"8th 8ber (82 Kipping — 7 at night."
"Octbr 15th (82) at Kipping 6 at night."
"22th October (82. at Kipping 5 at night."
"29: 8ber 82."
"Nov: 12th 1682 Kipp: 6 in ye morning."
"Decemby 3: 1682. Allerton past 6 at night in K & Capias8 out.
"10ber 10th 1682 Kipping 6 at night"
"10ber 17th 1682: Kipping 6 at night"1

1. The date here is probably a mistake; 1682 is more likely.
Thomas Hog

Notes of Certain Sermons and Discourses, MS. 3010. The following listed notes are undoubtedly accounts of sermons Mr. Hog of Kiltearn preached either in houses or in the fields. Most of these addresses are between two thousand and three thousand words long, but four of them have over eight thousand words. There is no hint given to reveal which were preached in the fields, for they contain little reference to historical incidents.

March 12, 1671, Isaiah 62:6.
August 20, 1671, Acts 1:9-11, "A Word for Bolspretoun."
November, 1672, Psalms 73:25, "A Word for Bolspretoun."
November 19, 1671, I Corinthians 15:55-56, "Some little Idea of those things at Hatley after the renewing of Finrasie yesternight at 9 at night."
May 26, 1672, Jeremiah 2:1-2, "A Word for Brodie."
Matthew 28:4-5.
Isaiah 42:8 (two sermons).
I Corinthians 7:29-31.
Hebrews 10:21-22 (this "sermon" is nearly twenty thousand words long)
Isaiah 45:22.
Isaiah 11:21-22.
October 15, 1668, Revelation 22:12.
Leviticus 1:3.
Jeremiah 17:13.
August 4, 1669, Psalm 71:3.
I Corinthians 15:58.
II Timothy 1:6.
Psalms 36:7-8.
Isaiah 60:22, "Att Pitkerie."
Hosea 9:12.
November 8, 1668, Isaiah 51:12, "Some notes of a Discourse at Knockandie."
Hosea 14:8.
November 22, 1668, Isaiah 53:3.
January 27, 1668, Matthew 26:31-32, "A Word for some in the paroch of Aldern at Insheith."
Psalms 82:5-7, "Att Pittkerie."
August 8, 1669, Psalms 119:56-57, "Att Budzet."
August 15, 1669, Hebrews 10:19-20, "Budel" (two sermons)
Jeremiah 12:7, "Att Leathen."
September 5, 1669, I John 3:3, "For Inshigh."
September, 1669, Job 9:1-6, 11-12.
October 2, 1669, James 5:13.
October 2, 1669, Isaiah 59:14ff.
October 9, 1669, Isaiah 59:10 "forenoon."
Hebrews 13:20, "afternoon."
October 30, 1669, Psalms 110:11.
Matthew 15:21.

November 13, 1669, "Being at Dunrobin the Lords day was eight days a little spoken yesternight."

October 13, Job 17:1.
March 20, Psalms 132:1-11, "forenoon."
Proverbs 1:20, "afternoon."
December 11, 1669, Jeremiah 15:5, "forenoon."
Psalms 8:1-5, "afternoon."
December 8, 1669, Isaiah 12:13.
December 16, 1669, Matthew 26:45.
December 25, 1669, Isaiah 55:3.
Exodus 10:24.
Hosea 12:3.
January 8, 1665, Hosea 14:4ff.
Song 2:14.
January 15, 1665, Hosea 13:9, "forenoon."
John 20:19, "afternoon."
January 22, 1665, Isaiah 65:1, "forenoon."
Psalms 97:8, "afternoon."
January 29, 1665, Song 5:9-16.
Exodus 6:5-8.
February 5, Jeremiah 29:11-14.
Philippians 4:19.
August 2, 1667, Isaiah 46:10, "A Word at Home."
February 9, 1668, Psalms 97:19.
Revelation 7:17.
March 15, 1668, Isaiah 45:8-9.
Amos 9:6-11, "Lecture."
Matthew 7:13-14.
Proverbs 13:12.
Revelation 3:20.
Jeremiah 2:19.
January 22, 1660, "Att Kiltern."
January 29, 1660, "Att Kiltern."
February 5, 1660, "Kiltern."
Deuteronomy 4:9-10.
John 6:47.
Psalms 118:9.
August 5, I Corinthians 11:28.
August 5, 1660, I Corinthians 11:28.
I Corinthians 5:8.
Hebrews 3:12-14.
Robert Trail


MS. 3580. No date or place for these sermons is given, neither do we know whether they were preached by Robert Trail, or his son, both of whom were field preachers. If they were delivered at irregular services, then it was probably at house conventicles. They deal with distinguishing between the law of works and the law of grace, but no hint is given regarding the circumstances of their delivery.

Patrick Warner

Sermons preached at Irvin January 8 to October 1688.

MS. 2788. This volume consists of six lectures on the Psalms and thirty brief sermon extracts on a variety of texts. It is possible that some of these may have been preached in the fields, but it is more likely to presume they were given in a private dwelling, conventicle-house, or vacant church.

Donald Cargill

Mr. D. Cargils preface to a sermon, against ye Indulgence, Apr:1679. Wodrow MSS. 4to XXXVI, No. 15. This is undoubtedly a preface given in the fields, and is unusual in its contents in that it speaks very pointedly against the Indulgence and indulged clergy—something Cargill seldom did. A note on the back of one of the sheets says, "14 April. 79. Quarellhole Mr Do: Cargill. Thursday." Other sources give us no indication of such a meeting at that time.

Richard Cameron

Notes of Mr. Camerons Sermon on Math 26:49. Wodrow MSS. 4to XXXVI, No. 14. This MS. contains a fragment of a lecture on Psalms 78:40, and a sermon on Matthew 26:49. The stated date of these discourses is "Sunday 11 April, 1679," which is obviously a mistake, for Cameron was in Holland until April of the following year. The MS. is in very poor condition, and in the margin of the first page of the lecture appears the date 1680 with a line drawn through it, followed by illegible writing. Hewison makes mention of "fellowship meetings" by Cargill and Cameron at Darmead during the month of April, 1680. See Hewison ii, 327. Besides being nearly illegible the sermon is very incomplete. The main divisions Cameron was always so careful to make
are missing, though the contents and style unmistakably identify him as the author. Because this fragment of a lecture is probably the first recorded address by that famous field preacher, and has never appeared in print, we would like to reproduce it here. Because of the very poor spelling, abbreviations, and obliterated words, we will use modern punctuation and spelling throughout.

"Psal 78. v. 40  nott. of Mr Richard Cameron...."

The next sin we shall make mention of is idolatry provoking the Lord in the wilderness, a sin of the children of Israel making a calf. It was provoking to God and to Moses. But you will say, "Is there any guilty of such a sin among the professors in Scotland?" Indeed, if we look at that idolatry we can see a breaking of the tables of the commandments, so to the extent of it there is no question. But many of the hearts of us are exceedingly guilty; not only guilty of setting up many things in our own way, and in that place belonging only to Jesus Christ, but, 0, how guilty are professors who have gone after indulgences, and are for worshipping God in another manner than taught by His Word! Indeed, we question not but the bulk of professors who consent to do this have to acknowledge that those who go into the prelate's and curate's kirks worship God not according to His own way, but in another manner. They set up calves and begin to speak in the name of the Lord to the people, and in the name of the people to the Lord, but God has not sent them.

As to that other reference to the calf that was made in the wilderness, for my part I desire to speak but sparingly about it, for it has been so clearly and fully spoken to already. Only shall I say that the Indulgence has a resemblance to that calf made in the wilderness. The people of God, the children of Israel, had no command out of the mount to make it. And there was no warrant at all from the Scripture, and from the constitutions and laws of the land, nor from the acts of the General Assemblies, or the covenants for this indulgence. And these things are all founded on the Word of God in the old and new testaments.

The children of Israel all sang the song of those who had been delivered from bondage, praising the God who brought them out of the land of Egypt. So, even now, how sad it is that so many of the professors of Scotland have these same words in their mouths. 0 that Indulgence is a door opened to Egypt! but it is also the means whereby God shall restore to us all our privileges, and whereby we shall have all our ministers brought in, and have all our wanted enjoyments. It is proven so by the same Lord who prevented the children of Israel from returning to bondage.
These false ministers of the Word would not take one part of the guilt of this sin, but, like Aaron, would cast it far from themselves, and lay it upon the people. Those who have accepted the indulgence exterminate their guilt and cast it off themselves and upon the King and Council, as if the King and Council were guilty of forcing the indulgence upon them. But we have reason to thank the Lord that there are some who are angry with them, and are telling them of their sins, even as Moses told Aaron when he said, "What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?" No question like this need be asked to the people of God in Scotland. But they have been done a right black turn right in the parishes where they are. But in good time the Lord will discover all these things.

Lastly, we shall conclude with the sin of complying with this sin. O, how sad is it that all should keep quiet about these wrongs! You should take shame to yourselves! Another sin is associating with the enemies of the people of God. It was a sin provoking to the Lord when they joined themselves to Baal-peor, and again when they joined themselves to those of Moab. And, O, what sort of guilt lies on us! What evil associations are the people guilty of! O, what a desire there was for associating with the Hamiltonian Faction and party last year. We have reason to bless the Lord because he put a stop to it Himself. But you will say, "Where did we fail?" What made the people of the Lord in the wilderness miscarry?...

James Wodrow

Sermons of 1674. MS. 2123. This document contains parts of four field sermons preached by the father of the historian, Robert Wodrow. The writing is very poor, and in such fine script that reading is difficult. It is quite possible these come from the hand of the preacher, for there are added points in the margin which deal directly with the subject involved. The contents are:

(a fragment with the title page missing)
"At Manihlem on 11 July: — 1674: Galloway."
"Psal. 73 v. 25: ibid sabbath...." 
"Matthew 11 v. 28 thr:"

B. Manuscripts in the Glasgow University Library

John Spreull

John Spreull MS. M3.1-e.12, is written in the hand of this lay preacher, who was notorious for holding house
conventicles in Glasgow. His nickname was "Bass John" which he acquired as the result of his imprisonment for irregular meetings. The MS., very legibly written in red ink, contains four brief messages, heavily charged with Scripture references, and a brief attempt at a "topical" Bible, with sixteen listings. It is quite possible that Spreull preached from this very book.

No. 1. "The Afflictions of the Afflicted."
No. 2. "Concerning Faith."
No. 3. "Of Those That Are Blessed."
No. 4. "Personall Covenanting."
NOS. 5-20. Scripture quotations by topic.

Thomas Kennedy, John Gray, John Christison, George Meldrum, Alexander Hastie, John Spalding, Patrick Warner and Matthew Crawford

"Sermons," Wodrow MSS. BE7-£.20, were all preached between 1696-99, at the Glasgow Cathedral. However, we include them here because some of these are the only existing specimens from noted conventiclers that remain. The sermons appear in this order:

"Thomas Kennedy, II Thes 3:6-10."
"Alexander Hasty, Eph. 1:3."
"John Gray, I Thes. 2:3-4."
"Thomas Kennedy, Pet. 5:2."
"John Christy, Rom 8:32."
"George Meldum, Job 11:8. in the back common Hall before going to America July 20:99."
"Alexander Hasty, I Cor. 3:6. in the High Church."
"Alexander Hasty, Ps. 51:13."
"John Spaldy, Mt. 11:30."
"John Spaldy, Rev. 3:11."
"Patrick Vernor, Mal. 2:4."
"Matthew Crawford, Mk. 9:29."
"Hos. 4:1."
"Hos. 4:1."
"Hos. 4:1-2."
"Hos. 4:2."

Donald Cargill

"Sermons" by Donald Cargill and Others, John Howie MS. MS5-y.3, also contains the dying speeches of early martyrs, sermons by William Guthrie and Samuel Rutherford, and three anonymous sermons, which are
probably by Cargill in that they immediately follow those attributed to him. This MS., in the form of a notebook, was procured by W. H. Carslaw from the Lochgoin Farm, and, with other MSS., was gifted to the Glasgow University Library by his estate. The sermons attributed to Cargill, and those bearing no name are as follows:

"Some Notes of a Lecture by Mr Donald Cargill 5 May 1681 Math:19,27,28,29,30v," No. 1.
"D. C. luck 23 ch: from 27v to 32v," No. 3.
"I Samuell 28 ch: 3,4,5,6 &c," Anonymous, No. 4.
"Revel:3 19b to the last words of the verse," Anonymous, No. 5.

James Wodrow, Donald Cargill and John Carstairs

"Sermons" by James Wodrow and Others, Wodrow MSS. BE7-g.26, is a volume containing several anonymous sermons which are probably from the hand of James Wodrow, one ascribed to him, a few to Donald Cargill, and one to "J. C." who is probably John Carstairs. This last sermon is dated 1658, but we include it here as a sample of the preaching of this well-known conventicler. The sermons are listed thus:

"Mr D. Cargill Joh 15 18"
"Donald C. 10 luk v 2"
"Genesis 37," Anonymous.
"John 1:5 Jas. Wodrow"
"89 Psal 46," Anonymous.
"Hos 12:10 Mr D C"
"John 17:15 Mr. J. C. February 7, 1658"

John Law

Notebook of John Law, MS. MS2-b.21. This MS. contains much irrelevant material, and one sermon, followed by numerous sermon outlines. The date designated is 1702. Perhaps some of these outlines were used at field meetings, or perhaps not; but we include them here as examples of Law's preaching:

"The Heads of an Exegesis"
"Of Divine Provi II Cron 16:9"
Ten outlines of sermons, mostly on New Testament passages.
James Renwick and Thomas Wylie

"Sermons" Wodrow MSS. BE7-g.13 contains several sermons from various authors, most of whom preached much later than the period involved, with the two following exceptions:

No. 2. "Sermon on Rev. 2:7 Mr Ja Rîmek."
No. 3. "Sermon on Job 17:17 Mr T Wyllie."

Anonymous

Two volumes: Wodrow MSS. BE7-d.l5 and BE7-f.24. Possibly James Wodrow may be the author of some of the sermons, but they are undoubtedly from covenanting times. The first of these contains three sermons, and the latter seven — all taking Old Testament texts.

C. Manuscripts in the Trinity College Library, Glasgow

Donald Cargill and Michael Bruce

MS. Notes, by Contemporary 17th Century Listeners of Sermons by Wm Guthrie of Fenwick, Donald Cargill (most noble of Barony ministers) and Michael Bruce, MS. unnumbered. This is a unique MS. on two counts: it contains Cargill's excommunication sermon at Torwood, and gives the place and circumstances involved in the delivery of Bruce's two sermons on Psalm 140:12-13, which were given in the Edinburgh Tolbooth. They also appear in pamphlet form with two other pieces entitled, Good News in Evil Times. The contents of this MS. are as follows:

A Sermon (the first seven pages are missing, but according to the title, it was probably preached by William Guthrie).

"A Sermon of excommunication preached by Mr William Guthrie. Text Mathew 16 chap 26." (The copyist is obviously wrong about the author, for this sermon is undisputedly by Cargill)

"A Discourse hade befor the excommunication of these persons following viz: Charles the 2d: James Duke of York: James Duke of Monmouth: John Duke of Lauderdale: John Duke of Rothes, Sr George Mc Kinzie King's advocate: also Danzell: Gonevall etc."

"Sermon by Mr Michael Bruce preached in the Tolbooth of Edr: in the Sab: fornoon. The 140 psall: 12 v."

"Follows the Afternoon Sermon by the same Author: Text The 140 psall: 12v."
Donald Cargill

Notes of Sermons by Donald Cargill, MS. Chest I, No. xvii is probably the most valuable manuscript yet discovered in our quest for field sermons. It contains no less than fifty-eight addresses, only four of which have yet been published. Though these pieces are only of two thousand to four thousand words each, yet sermon-for-sermon, they bring the total of existing field sermons from Cargill to over sixty—a greater number than those of Renwick, if MSS. are included in the count. In places the MS. is in very poor condition, yet is more legibly written than many we have examined. This MS. is also valuable because it gives us the only known address before an irregular baptism. We shall give here three things: (1) the preface by the redactor, (2) a list of the addresses, and (3) a transcription of the address before baptism:

1. The Preface. "The following Lectures and Sermons of this worthy are not here sett down in order as they were preached, but were collected, and gathered out of several Hands Copied as they were attained, and theirfor, the day of the moneth and year of God was not sett down throu omission of the persons that wrote severall of the sermons. The coppie that this is transcribed from gives an account of several Letters, and words that was not known throu the worseness and dimness of the writing in some places where there is a word missing. Their is a Little Blank left out which if ye Reader can procure another copyy...."

2. The contents.

Part of a sermon on John 3:3 (the first few pages are missing).
"Jer. 4:14 Dece 1677 a Sermon by Mr. Do Cargill."
"Jer. 4:14 a Sermon by Mr. D. C."
"Phil. 3.3"
"Mal. 3:123456 quarell holls sabbath day Dece 1 1678. Lecture by Mr. D. C."
"Easter Craigs Aprile 13 1697 a sermon by Mr. D. C. Psal xxv. 8 verse."
"Last of January 1679 sabbath day quarell holles A Lecture by Mr. D. C. Zek 21 v. 6. to ye 18."
"Isa 28. chap. 22 v. A sermon by Mr. D. C."
"A Sermon, Rev. 20 chap 11. v. to ye end of ye chapter Sept 18 1661 by Mr. D. C. of worthy memory." (published)
"A Sermon on Isa 30.27 by Mr D. C. May 28 1680. Auchengillouch before he read ye text he chapped three times with his bible in his hand and said, Sirs Sirs Sirs meike good use of this — qu you have it, for ye days is coming yt ye shall be buyth it — ye can gett ys Lift you in ye back of a dyke."

"July, 1680 A Sermon by Mr. D. C. Psa 146."

"A Sermon by Mr. D. C. Isa 10.3."

"Hosea 10. v. 9 Mr. D. C."

"A Sermon by Mr. D. C. Isa. 62.v."

"A Lecture upon the 24 of Ezekiel by Mr. D. C."

"A for noone sermon upon Amos 4.12 or rather some notes, by Mr. D. C."

"A Lecture on Zeachary 3 ch. by Mr. D. C."

"Mounkland July 8. 1680. a Lecture by Mr. D. C. on Ester 4.16"

"A Lecture on Rev 2 and 5 by Mr. D. C."

"A Lecture on Gene 32.9.10.11.12 by Mr. D. C."

"A Lecture on John 10.10 by Mr. D. C."

"Psa 94.11.12.12 Mr. D. C."

"A Lecture on the 14 of Hosea to ye end by Mr. D. C."

"A lecture on Malla 3.4 upon ye 29 of Decr. 1676 by Mr. D. C."

"A Sermon on Luke 10.41 by Mr. D. C."

"A Baptism by Mr. D. C."

"The Causes of a fast"

"The Causes of a fast at monkland by Mr. D. C. A Preface."

"A Lecture on I Sam 6.6. by Mr. D. C."

"A Sermon on ye Epistle of John 3.8 by Mr. D. C."

"A Lecture on the first of Kings 21 ch. 17 v By Mr. D. C."

"A Sermon one Jonah 1.6 by Mr. D. C."

"A sermon by Mr. Don Cargill upon John 3.3"
"forenoone sermon upon ye 12. of Zeach lo by Mr. D. C."
"A Sermon one Luke 18.7 by Mr. D. C."
"A Lecture on Jere. 13 from verse 12 to ye 17 by Mr. D. C."
"A Sermon on Isaiah 63. v. 9 by Mr. D. C."
"May 12, 1678 A Lecture on Zek 9 from ye beginning to ye end by Mr. D. C." At the end of the sermon is this interesting note: "This 12 of May. 1678 many are taken prisoners and sent to sea, and was delivered and set free at London."
"A Sermon on Psa 45. v. 3.4 by Mr. D. C."

3. The Baptismal Address: 1

You present these children, deserving that they may be, to be engrafted into Christ's mystical body. It is sure that there is no creature but it has wants, and is without supply in all things. We are born needy and destitute, and as sinful as the body is naked at birth. This nakedness is an emblem of the extent of man's sin, even as the first crying and weeping are fore-runners of the miseries that follow. There is none of mankind but he will have needs, and there is none of mankind but that one thing will serve them all. We make out that all of Christ's counsels, strength, sanctification and redemption can make a man complete. If he shall have these he is a perfect man. It is true while he is here he needs other things, but they are not needful in this degree. Though poor we are, yet he who bestows the means will also bestow the substance as well. He is mindful of our needs, and search as we might, we have never yet seen a

1. Modern spelling and punctuation is used throughout.
man who has been faithful and serious in seeking the Kingdom of Heaven who was anxious and fearful about his daily bread. Your faith puts away your fear.

It is a great fault in man to suffer carefulness of earthly things, which is a fault common to most of us. We take up all our time for these, and there is no time for caring for the things of the Lord, for the Holy Ghost, or the Word. God compares the married life with the unmarried. He makes the one happier than the other, for the one has nothing to do but to wait on the Son, but the other must wait on the pleasing of her husband. Most people have this tendency, and if religion temper it not, it will be an ill. But if all the things of the soul be seen to, Christ becomes a supply of all, and Christ offers Himself. You never see a baptism but there is an offer of a new covenant, and an offer of Christ Himself through God's mercy, and for your happiness. Yet here he makes an offer of Himself, as God has said, and as is declared also by the Law: "They shall inherit all things, for God Himself shall be their God." This is a rich portion. You would think yourself obliged to a man if he should give a child his name, and if he should take the child and bring it up, and portion it. But God offers, if you will rightly name your child by the God of Jacob, to give you his name and portion. If you will bring them up and instruct them, and make them meet for your inheritance, and lead them to the Kingdom of God in all humility of soul and earnestness of affection, should not Christ fulfil his offer?

O but one thing that you are called to consider particularly is the misery of your children without Him. It is a great mercy God is giving you, that is yet to be made up. But the misery of the children will be great, and it will not know its height until their souls be in hell if you prove to be insincere. You make a libel to God, and He cannot suspend his judgment, for the debts you make for breaking the Law. The justice of God cannot be suspended. He may call for the debts of the infants, and punish them for your guilt, though they were new-born out of the womb. But He sends his Son to mediate peace, and not to mediate it, but to procure it, and to make an offer of it; so He is called the Mediator between God and man. So he mediates peace, and procures it, and again, he offers it here in the sacrament as a sign of it. As surely as we offer it to you, and administrate the sacrament in His name, he as surely offers Himself. Trusting in His blood we are conquerors; and enter into a covenant with the Mediator.

But they have not entered into the inheritance, any more than we. There is yet many a back and a blank in successions if the child is to enter into it. And, if he does, it is not by your good guiding, but of God only. So, look to yourselves as Christ offers Himself. He seeks you and your children to engage you with Him in a renewal of your covenant with Him for yourself
and for your children — we in the sight of God require you to renew covenant with God for yourselves and your children, and, in that you seek their baptism, that you instruct them, and bring them up in the knowledge of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost — in the knowledge of the Mediator Christ, and of the work of redemption and in the duties that they owe God, and in the promise that you shall give them an example of holiness, and command them to serve God according to His Word, and according to the covenants that are lying on you and His.

S. Manuscripts in the University Library, Edinburgh

John Murray, William Veitch and Robert Paton

Sermons, MS. Dc 8.19, contains addresses by John Murray, William Veitch, and Robert Paton, all well-known conventiclers. But these sermons, while giving us a rare example of the preaching of these men, were delivered between 1710-12, and are listed here only to better acquaint us with them. There are other authors included who must not be confused with field preachers. We refer especially to an "Alexander Robertson," who was not the noted field preacher executed for participation in the Pentland Uprising as early as 1666, and "Jno Sumervall" who is possibly the John Somerwell of Ednam, who was outed in 1662, yet never drew attention from the authorities for conventicles.

Donald Cargill

Some notes of a sermon preached at Torwood the 12 of Setem 1689, Laing MS. III 106, is interesting because it affords an example of what might be a second independent recording of this famous sermon. See MS Notes, by Contemporary Listeners of Sermons..., unnumbered MS. Trinity College Library, Glasgow.

James Kirkton

Eight Sermons upon Job Chapter 19th: verse 25th, MS. Dc 8.25, was written and signed by the author's own hand. They are beautifully written, and are in a state of excellent preservation, but preached at Edinburgh in 1692.
E. Manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh

James Kirkton

Eight Sermons on Job 19:25. MS TR U/11. See Section D.

George Meldrum

Sermons, MS TR U/11, contains seven hundred pages of addresses given between 1700-29. Meldrum was a noteworthy field preacher, but has left us no sermons preached during the period at irregular meetings. These are listed here only for reference.

F. Other Institutions

The following institutions have indicated possession of no MSS. of field sermons:

The University of Aberdeen
St. Andrews University
The Mitchell Library, Glasgow
Baillie's Institution, Glasgow
The Dick Institute, Kilmarnock
John Howie's Library, Lochgoin Farm
CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE OF THE FIELD SERMON

"Too many particular points loads memorie, and too few is flat."

— John Livingstone
CHAPTER VI
THE NATURE OF THE FIELD SERMON

A thorough study of any group of ministers must necessarily include an evaluation of their public addresses. We have already observed what subjects the conventiclers of this period brought into their sermons, and now we shall consider how well they handled them from the standpoint of the rules of public speaking as applied to religion.

The preaching of the seventeenth century is generally considered to be good. This was so with Scottish divines mostly because of native ability, not because they could be guided by adequate manuals on homiletics. The full development of homiletics belongs to a later century, and an evaluation of these men by standards not known to them might seem anachronistic. But good preaching, like any other work of art, derives its criteria from principles common to all ages, which criteria largely constitute the rules of homiletics.

Most great preachers of the past two centuries have ventured to write something about the art of preaching, but such a practice was rare in this century, and very rare among the men we are studying. Of them all, John Livingstone alone has given us his rules for good preaching, which, it will be observed, were seldom heeded by his colleagues in the fields.¹

In this chapter we are forced to break our previously

¹. "Moreover, these faults would be shunned:
stated rule of assigning each field preacher his place exclusive of the amount of his published sermonic material. Of the two hundred and seventy-five ministers who conducted irregular meetings we have published field sermons from only twenty! Half of these come from Renwick; and many important men like Semple, give us only one sermon, and some have left none at all. Hence, the nature of the enquiry before us now necessitates our taking advantage of all the material available. Renwick alone has left us enough in print to make a fair homiletical evaluation. When Patrick Walker wrote of Cargill he claimed to have some of Cargill’s sermons at hand, and intended to publish them, which he never did. Had it not been for John Howie, whose single volume, The Scots Worthies, contains many field sermons never printed separately, our

1. Too many particular points reckoned, as 8, 10, &c., loads memorie, and too few is flat.
2. Too exquisit methode, and none almost at all.
3. Too much would not be left to assistance in the time, and yet not all premeditated.
4. Ordinarily goe not beyond the hour.
5. Not too much Scripture cited, nor too little.
6. Not to insist long in proveing cleare doctrines.
7. Not too few doctrines, nor too many.
8. Not to insist on points that may be spake to on any text.
9. Neither too many similitudes, nor none at all.”


3. The sermons, lectures, and miscellaneous pieces in the MS. Notes of sermons by Donald Cargill, MSS. Chest I, No. xvii, Trinity College Library, Glasgow, are probably the ones to which Walker makes reference. There are fifty-eight pieces, only four of which have been published, viz., sermons on Jer. 1:1-10; 13:12-17; Hos. 2:6; and Rev. 20:11-12. See the Bibliography and Appendix IV.
knowledge of these addresses would be practically confined to hearsay.

Not only must we keep in mind the dearth of material, but we must consider the accuracy of the final printed form. How were field sermons recorded? None seems to have been delivered from manuscript,¹ so if the minister himself provided sermons for print, they were probably composed after they were preached. This is obviously the case with some of high unbelievable length. Since we have several preached at large, well-publicized meetings we may presume the presence of shorthand stenographers. Whether some of these scribes were professional is an open question. But Alexander Shields, reflecting on a pamphlet of Renwick's sermons, complained about the stenographers who took them down, saying the sermons were "not so accurately written, as he [Renwick] would have done, nor so correctly printed as they should have been...."² Hewat holds that most of the field sermons were orally preserved at first, and written later, thus taking on the style of the reporters. Of the attenders at conventicles he says, "They would repeat them on their homeward journeys from the conventicles, and tell them over again to their children and children's children. Then someone would write them down, and someone else would edit and expand them, and in this form they

¹. See Appendix IV for a listing of addresses by James Wodrow, whose sermons seem to have been written in his own hand, though we cannot tell whether they were read at conventicles.
have come down to us. The Doric of the hearers would be more marked than that of the preachers, and any homely expression of the latter would become still more homely in the telling.\(^1\) This, of course, is speculation on Hewat's part, though Herkless agrees with him in the main.\(^2\) About Cameron's sermons he feels this method of preservation distorted the original message.\(^3\) However, in Bonar's edition of *The Scots Worthies*, we find an interesting comparison between two independent shorthand recordings of the same message preached by Cameron. Bonar marvels that both are essentially the same, using "more or less exactly the language of the speaker."\(^4\)

It is impossible for us to determine the accuracy of these reporters. So, with blank periods and unreliable records to haunt us, we must approach the task of evaluating the sermons of these men. It is best that we tread softly when we see imperfections. And, if our meagre information forces us to ground conclusions on what may be considered supposition, it is better that we give these brave preachers of another age the benefit of our doubt.

1. **The Preface**

Nearly forty prefaces have been preserved. But from these

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3. Ibid., 109.
4. See Bonar's edition of *The Scots Worthies*, Appendix, 715, and two independent recordings of Cargill's sermon of excommunication, which also bear a striking similarity to each other, in MS. *Some Notes of a sermon preached at Torwood*, Laing MS. III 106, *University Library, Edinburgh*, and *MS Notes By Contemporary Listeners*, unnumbered MS, Trinity College Library, Glasgow.
there emerges no clear indication regarding their purpose. They rarely were longer than one thousand words, and always preceded the sermon. Sometimes they occurred with both lectures and sermons, sometimes with sermons only, and at other times they were omitted. Some prefaces occur as separate publications, which give no hint about the relationship they bore to the sermons they preceded. And though contemporary historians speak of the lecture, yet none has mentioned the preface.

Usually the minister who brought the sermon also gave his own preface, but this is not always the case. And an examination of prefaces printed with their corresponding sermons indicates no connection in thought between the two.

Cameron probably best justifies the meaning of the word "preface" by his usage. He frequently asked the people if they knew why they had gathered in the fields. He called them "stupid hearers" on one occasion, and candidly said on another, "Now, know ye wherefore ye are come here to day? I trow many of you cannot tell more than these horses beside you." If Cameron used the preface to gain the attention of his hearers it is obvious from these words that he must have succeeded at once.

Shields made the preface something entirely different.

1. Preface to Good News to Scotland, published separately, and also in Kerr, Sermons By Martyrs, 441.
His are somewhat longer than usual, for he did not also preach
the sermon on the occasion of their delivery. They have the
emotional tone of little sermons. He devoted himself to
giving a commentary on the lamentable state of affairs.
Likewise Welsh, as we have seen, on one occasion devoted an
entire preface to a justification of conventicles, and in
another makes one of the most pitiful laments to be found in
any sermonic piece coming from this period.¹

Peden's one printed preface would indicate an almost
Quaker-like manner of prophesying. He lists by number the
thunderbolts God is now preparing to send on Scotland. His
poetical repetition of motifs must have had a hypnotic effect
on the hearers. Renwick usually treats the preface without
emotional tone, putting in it no more than a few introductory
remarks. But in one preface we would think the spectre of
Peden had returned from the grave and seized him. He seemed
to be in a mystical trance when he spoke:

1. The Cup shall go round; round, round shall
the Cup go! it hath begun at the House called
by his Name, but it shall go round! some there
are that have refus'd it; but they shall drink
it! The nearer the Brim the sweeter, the nearer
the Bottom the bitterer. Unmix'd! unmix'd! shall
many of this Generation drink of it! all Ranks
shall taste of it! yea, that Abominable Tyrant
on the Throne shall taste of it! and that Chancellor
shall taste of it! prelats shall taste of it! and

¹. Welsh, Preface to An Alarm to the Backsliding Genera-
tion in the West of Scotland, n. p.
our own Town Folk shall taste of it! 2ndly, The Land shall be laid Desolate, Desolate, Desolate shall these Lands be. 3rdly, There shall be no Airth to Fly to, neither Hills, nor Mountains nor Armies! 4thly, His Cause shall be Rightly Stated; but ye may say, if the Cup must go round, if the Land must be laid Desolate, if no Airth be to fly to, by whom shall his Cause be stated? I answer, It shall be by a Remnant, whom he will spare, whom he will honour to state his Cause aright.]

In fine, the preface to the sermon could embody an introduction, a few predictions about the future, a commentary on current events, or the occasion for the particular meeting involved; or other material totally irrelevant to either the lecture or the sermon.

2. The Lecture

We have fifteen lectures delivered in the fields that have found their way into print, as well as a few others in manuscript. As with the preface, so with the lecture — we are unable to determine the relationship between it and the sermon. These men did not choose to lecture from one testament, and then to preach from the other; and neither were the truths treated always cognate or supplemental to the sermon. On occasions, the lecture was delivered by one minister, and the sermon by another.

Regarding content, we note a high incidence of "preaching to the times." Cargill's Lecture Before Excommunication is devoted wholly to applying the curse of Ezekiel on the King

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of Israel to Charles II. He frequently repeats the words, "Remove the diadem, and take off the crown." Ez. 21:26. He closes by telling the people another prince will soon come to take the throne away from the Stuarts.\(^1\) His reasoning is plainly that what Ezekiel did he may also do, even as a New Testament minister.

Perhaps this hermeneutical fault is somewhat lessened by Cargill's Lecture on Jeremiah 13:12-17,\(^2\) in which he does not make Israel a type of Scotland, but only shows the remarkable similarity between the two. The text gives opportunity to one tempted to preach to the times, but this Cargill does only in a general way. Jeremiah says God will bring great tribulation on kings, prophets, and priests in Jerusalem, and his hearers were left to make the application for themselves.

A "lecture" on a passage of Scripture would lead one to expect some exposition, but Alexander Shields disappoints such expectations from the start in his Lecture at Lothers,\(^3\) using Rev. 2:12-18, the letter of John to the Church at Pergamos, in which we have more of a loyalty to the times than to the Scripture. He is bogged-down in what he personally wanted to say, and searched for a text to help him give his mind to the people. The general idea is that the Church of

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1. Kerr, op. cit. 491ff.
3. Ibid. 593; also published separately.
Scotland is worse than the Church of Pergamos. Toward the end of the lecture he gives a roll-call of honour for all the martyrs of the period from James Guthrie to Renwick, closing with the three-fold reason for Renwick's execution.

Some of the lectures were good, edifying expositions, or at least explanations of the passages treated. Cargill has left us with a good example of his treatment of II Cor. 4:11. He praises the desire for death and eternal life, reminding his hearers that they should put three things above all else: adequate preparation for death and eternity, a mortification of earthly life, and the assurance of having eternal life. Staying close to his text he concludes that we should not only (1) wish to be unclothed with this vexing body, but (2) to be clothed upon with that body which is from above. His last lecture, given just two days before his capture, is on Jer. 1:1-10, and expresses the same spirit as Paul in his last words to Timothy. His divisions are quite appropriate to the text: I. THE MINISTER SHOULD BE FAITHFUL TO HIS COMMISSION, II. HE SHOULD ALSO BE FAITHFUL TO WHAT IS COMMITTED TO HIS TRUST. This outline is not unique or "catchy," but it is true to the Word, and its delivery must certainly have edified his hearers.

The style of the lecture was quite simple. Contrary to

1. Cargill, A Lecture and Sermon Preached at Different Times.
2. Kerr, op. cit. 527.
lectures to-day, there was no Greek or Hebrew exegesis, and in some instances, the text was completely ignored. But when the field preachers did stay true to their text they usually delivered a "running commentary," speaking on each successive phrase, idea, or verse in turn.

The outline of the lecture was largely expositional, but was usually too prolix to have unity. In length it was rarely over five thousand words, and was always shorter than the sermon, yet involved a larger passage of Scripture — usually an entire chapter.

3. The Sermon

We turn now to the homiletical form of the sermon. This is by no means the most decisive consideration, for many great men, and many great sermons, have had little homiletical exactness. But because these are the exception rather than the rule, it is profitable for us to consider how well the conventiclers prepared their messages, handled the Scripture, and developed their ideas.

The Homiletical Form of Leading Conventiclers

John Welsh is one of the best homilists in this group of men. Each of his messages is favoured with an attractive title, a clearly-presented introduction, a well-balanced body, and an appropriate conclusion. However, he substitutes

1. All sermons to which reference is made are listed at the end of Chapter V in Appendix IV.
2. We refer the reader to such titles as The Great Gospel Sumonds, The Churches Paradox, and An Alarm to the Backsliding Generation in the West of Scotland. The first of these and his Sermon on Revelation 10:5-6 give us good examples of his use of the introduction.
a thesis with enormous slabs of "doctrine" throughout the message. 1

In reference to the great three-fold classification of sermons regarding treatment of the text (expository, textual, and topical), it is evident that Welsh was a textual preacher. The three following examples will illustrate this point fully.

**The Great Gospel Summons**

"But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed." Isa. 53:5.

I. **ELECT SINNERS ARE IN A VERY SAD STATE**
II. **CHRIST UNDERTOOK GREAT SUFFERING TO RELIEVE THIS STATE**
III. **PEACE IS THE RESULT THAT COMES TO ELECT SINNERS**
IV. **THE BENEFITS OF THE PURCHASE ARE ALSO THEIRS**
V. **THE GROUNDS OF ASSURANCE: THE COVENANT OF GRACE**

**The Churches Paradox**

"And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear, nor dark: But it shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day, nor night: but it shall come to pass, that at evening time it shall be light." Zech. 14:6-7.

I. **THE CHURCH'S SUFFERING IS ONLY TEMPORARY**
II. **THOUGH IT SEEMS LONG, IT IS YET ONLY TEMPORARY**
III. **NOBODY KNOWS THE TIME OF ITS END BUT GOD**
IV. **WHEN THE DARKNESS IS GREATEST, DELIVERANCE IS NEAREST**

1. For example, this is the first doctrine in his Sermon Preached at Nemphterbre in Clisdale: "So the first doctrine is this, that death is a thing very hardly believed and laid to heart by the most part of persons, if the Lord did not see that we were gross unbelievers, that we did not believe what we saw with our very eyes, he would not have confirmed this truth with such a great Oath, that man must die; but he finds us stuffed with unbelief in this point, therefore he finds it necessary that this great truth be confirmed with an Oath, we might here give you many strange evidences of it, that man doth but we shall not stand on it, only take these three or four shortly," 5.
A Communion Sermon

"Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the temple, What think ye, that he will not come to the feast?" John 11:56.

I. THE LORD ALLOWS HIS PEOPLE A FEAST AND FEASTING TIMES

II. IT IS VERY MUCH THE DUTY OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD TO BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE GOD'S PRESENCE WITH THEM AT SUCH A TIME

III. THE LORD'S PRESENCE IS VERY DESIRABLE AT SUCH A TIME

This communion sermon reveals the fault of accommodating a text. The phrase Welsh chooses, "Think ye that he will not come to the feast?" is a very memorable motif, but cannot be applied strictly to a communion service.

The development of his divisions is almost impossible to relate to the text. His outlines are extremely prolix, and are italicized in the body of the message in the style of the printers of the day. He does not use proof-texts as often as his contemporaries, yet abounds in biblical allusion. He uses illustrations frequently, but all are biblical and mostly from the Old Testament.

Welsh does not use a conclusion, peroration, or recapitulation. His sermons are largely evangelistic in content, and persuasive in tone. Blaikie said of him, "Welsh was a most spiritual and rousing preacher. The one theme of his discourses

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1. Herkless remarks on Welsh's prolixity in reference to a sermon he preached in the rain at Maybole. He says, "The sermon, which was to be brief because of the rain, was divided and subdivided into sufficient paragraphs to satisfy any man of the seventeenth, and to perplex any man of the nineteenth century," Richard Cameron, 68.
was the grace and glory of the Lord Jesus Christ."1 Except for his one published communion sermon, everything he preached was centred around the "great gospel call."

In style, this divine was not eloquent, but displayed great energy and clarity, in spite of his mammoth sentences, in which he tantalized the people with commas and semicolons while they patiently waited for the verb. Like John Milton, he was loath to fix a full stop, but could never be accused of muddling his thought. His sermons were often peppered with harsh remarks. He began *The Great Gospel Summonds* with a remark that would horrify the modern homilist who had been properly taught that one purpose of the introduction was to gain the goodwill of the hearer: "I find the most part of you a Company of Stupid Hearer."2 On another occasion he upbraided his auditors for their restlessness as rain began to fall by assuring them that they should rather be thankful it was not fire and brimstone.3

Except for a slight accommodation of one text, no fault can be found in his biblical interpretation. He is void of that strained typology and allegorizing so common among his contemporaries. Perhaps one of the reasons he is blameless in this regard is because he never preached controversial issues.

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2. Published separately under the same title, 8.
3. Kerr, *op. cit.* 643. Perhaps Welsh was familiar with John Livingstone's historic sermon at Kirk of Shotts in 1630, when that great divine said the same thing under much the same circumstances.
Consequently, a type for Charles II and allegorizing the Hebrew Race to mean Scotland were not necessary.

If John Welsh were alive to-day there would be no alteration in the contents of his sermons. As he preached to his congregation at Irongray, so he preached in the fields. He would be no more likely to preach on the Advent at Christmas than he would be to involve matters of state when speaking before the Queen. Where and when he preached had nothing to do with what he preached. He called men to repentance through logical persuasion, in contrast to Remwick and Cameron, who rather stressed the loveliness of Christ's Person. If one wishes to read long and complicated sermons, but edifying withal, then John Welsh will fulfil his wish. But those who seek entertainment through some fanatical idea, heretical doctrine, or political pronouncement will find little to satisfy them in the sermons of this great-grandson of John Knox.

*Alexander Peden* is the antithesis of John Welsh. This *Prophet of the Covenant* cannot be classed homiletically, for his treatment defies category. Besides a few hearsay quotations from Patrick Walker, we have only two published sermons, which Johnston calls only notes.¹ Contrary to contemporary style, Peden used no outline; he was impromptu in form and thought. He never did violence to his text because he rarely

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touched on it. He was a topical preacher, and his topic was always the same: negative rantings against the existing social, religious, and political evils. His messages lack divisions as well as introduction and conclusion. His frequent denunciations were not buttressed with either Scripture or reason, and the only positive doctrine which emerges from the colourful chaos is the Kingship of Christ over His Church. But, out of all fairness to Peden, we must remember the material available is too scarce to determine his ability to preach. Though his field ministry lasted twenty-three years, the longest of all the conventiclers', yet "we pant in vain after his unresting footsteps."¹

If there is a genius to be found in Peden as a preacher, then it must be in his style. He was not eloquent; his choice of words was small, and oftentimes overworked. He often repeated the poor phrase, "But Ille tell you sirs...." Yet never has a Scottish preacher had so little published and so unanimously obsessed writers on the Covenanters to comment on his bizarre style. He was clear and unpretentious in everything he said. His refreshing lack of inhibition often led him to dramatization. He would throw his bonnet to the ground, or scatter chaff in the air to illustrate the downfall of the Stuarts. It is in this emotional intensity that his greatness lies. None can surpass him here! He was

¹. Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 377.
a moody, subjective person; hence, the type of man the times would make famous. The persecution he suffered drew out his greatness in much the same way that crushing releases the fragrance of the rose. Each hackneyed word was rejuvenated by heated passion as he gushed forth in a Doric ode, on the crest or in the trough of a never-resting sea of emotions. "There is a dash of genius in Peden's preaching, sometimes of a homely kind, and sometimes burning with emotion."1 Because of his strange style Johnston calls him "the Carlyle of the period."2 and Hewat says, "His utterances are often like the panting words of a man in flight. Some of his addresses would be thinking aloud — nothing formal or prepared — an utterance rather of the spirit within, a reflex of the ebbings and flowings of his soul. He saw visions, and embodied them in speech, as he stood addressing the conventicles on the hills. Like the man himself, his preaching was picturesque...his oratory was not that of the schools, but rugged — with the blue skies and the storm clouds in it — and withal perfectly suited to the eager audiences he addressed among the moors and rocks."3

If ever the rules of the homilist seemed irrelevant it would be when we look at the sermons of Peden. We do well to smile lovingly at "puir auld Sandy" and pass quietly by.

1. Blaikie, op. cit., 162.
3. Hewat, Peden The Prophet, 75, 129.
To John Blackader the handicap of the first century preachers of having to speak of Christ solely from the Old Testament would have been no handicap at all. Indeed, we may justly remember him as the Old Testament Preacher of the Covenant. So much did Blackader involve himself in that part of the Bible that it was unusual even in this period. Remark-
ing on his preaching his son explains, "These expressions are the language of the Old Testament, not anywhere found in the New Testament, and describe things which were evident to the senses, and not merely matters of internal feeling."¹ We have three of his sermons in print, of which we shall examine the best:

**Sermon on Psalm 126:1-2²**

"Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing: then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them."

I. NOTE THE METHOD OF THE DELIVERANCE MENTIONED
II. NOTE THE EFFECT IT HAD ON THOSE DELIVERED
III. NOTE WHY THE DELIVERY IS SO SINGULAR
IV. NOTE THE REASON THE SINGULARITY IS SO PRONOUNCED
V. USES
VI. CONCLUSION

Though expository sermons are usually composed on passages of Scripture at least of paragraph length, yet because of loyalty to the text in the development we can classify this sermon as such. A close examination of the text will reveal

1. Colonel John Blackader, Select Passages from the Diary and Letters of the Late John Blackader, Esq., Introduction, xxviii.
2. The full outline is printed in Appendix V.
that Blackader derived his divisions directly from it, though the third and fourth heads are somewhat overlapping. His thesis is clearly implied: BECAUSE THE LORD WILL DELIVER HIS PEOPLE IN SCOTLAND FROM THE PRESENT CAPTIVITY WE SHOULD BE FILLED WITH PATIENT OPTIMISM.

This sermon has a clearly-marked introduction. Throughout the body the emotional tone rises gradually to a fitting conclusion, which gives an exultation of joy in anticipation of better times to come. The sermon includes a head entitled "The Use," a designation for the application. At this point the speaker advises his hearers to stop worrying about when the deliverance will come, and to concentrate on the fact that it will come — to rid themselves of all doubts that it will come, and to thank God for it in advance. This sermon to Christians in trial is optimistic in spirit, and treats a most appropriate theme for men with no assurance of life on the morrow. It abounds with proof-texts, all of which are from the Old Testament. Blackader falls into the common error of the times of straining the analogy between Israel and Scotland, but is otherwise sound in interpretation.

John Blackader is the kind of preacher one could hear every Sunday. He shows a fine talent for good preaching, yet is neither exceptional nor lop-sided in any way, which is probably why he commanded the largest audiences ever to assemble on the moors.
Donald Cargill was among the best homilists to be found in this group of preachers. His lectures were distinctly lectures, and his sermons were excellent in development and arrangement. We cite the following examples:

**Sermon on Hebrews 13:14**

"For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

I. MAN'S CONTINUANCE ON EARTH AND HIS EARTHLY ENJOYSMENTS ARE BRIEF
II. THE REALIZATION OF THIS SHOULD TURN OUR HEARTS TO CHRIST
III. WE MUST ALL LEAVE THIS EARTH
IV. ALL SHOULD BE SEEKING CHRIST AND HIS ETERNAL CITY

**Sermon on John 8:34:35**

"...Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever."

I. EVIDENCES THAT INDICATE WHEN A MAN IS THE SERVANT OF SIN
II. THE SUBJECTION TO SIN THAT MAKES MAN ITS SERVANT, AND HENCE LIABLE TO EXPULSION OUT OF THE HOUSE OF GOD

**Sermon on John 8:36**

"If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

I. THAT MEN MAY ATTAIN UNTO THIS FREEDOM
II. THAT IT IS OBTAINED THROUGH JESUS CHRIST
III. THAT IT IS FREEDOM INDEED

**Sermon on Revelation 20:11-12**

"And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on
it from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works."

I. THE PARTIES TO BE JUDGED: THE DEAD
II. THE JUDGE: JESUS CHRIST THE MEDIATOR

All four examples are textual in form. Each head is clearly stated, implied, or derived from the text. Each is mutually exclusive in meaning, and possesses the artless simplicity common to most good sermons. Though he apes the pattern of the age by announcing his divisions and subdivisions yet, without exception, he is always loyal to the text.

Cargill's influence as a controversialist was posthumous, and the fact that the Cameronians were first called "Cargill-ites," can in no way be justified by the contents of his extant sermons. It is true that his sermon on the excommunication of Charles II is full of contemporary happenings, yet we would think it strange if he remained silent about these matters in light of the highly occasional nature of that meeting at Torwood. But Smellie suggests that "In all likelihood, however, most of us will prefer to recall Donald Cargill in his softer and more purely spiritual moods. In many of his sermons he never touched on the misdoings of the King and the guiltiness of the land; he was the votary of nobler thoughts."¹

¹. Smellie, op. cit. 280.
In one message Cargill exhorts the people to set their affections on things that are eternal. In another he spoke about how men could escape the bondage of sin, and enjoy the wonderful freedom of Christ. He spoke once about the great judgment, and once against false leaders in the church. He recognized the puzzling aspect of the times, and often remarked about the inscrutability of Providence. He always ended his sermons with a trumpet blast of victory for the people of God in their war with evil. And when his text gave opportunity for a contemporary application he was general in treatment. Men who have admired the wisdom of John Welsh for his avoidance of "preaching to the times" would do well to ponder at greater length over the sermons of Cargill who was not behind Welsh in this approach. As we have seen, on one occasion Welsh publicly defied the civil authority by declaring his intention to preach in the fields as long as he wished; and on one occasion, and with much the same spirit, Cargill essentially did the same; for there is little difference between the overthrow of authority, and the rejecting of the king who represents that authority. No; from the evidence we have, we cannot call Cargill any more a controversialist than we can dismiss Welsh as the same.

Aside from his faultless textual outlines Cargill is most remembered for his brevity and simplicity. He is not unlike
D. L. Moody in this respect. His full sermons are only half the size of other conventiclers', and are full of terse, pithy epigrammatic sentences. "...he was short, marrowy and sententious, and his Ordinary was in all his publick Sermons and Prayers, with the greatest Evidence of Concernedness, exceeding all that ever I heard...."\(^1\) Because of this un-adorned simplicity Walker assures us that the printed sermon could give no idea of the sermon delivered.\(^2\)

Like Cameron, Cargill made frequent use of prosopopoeia\(^3\) and the rhetorical question. In addition to a consideration of style, we must also attribute to this conventicler a satisfying display of originality of thought. He and Renwick stand alone among the conventiclers as deep thinkers on eternal subjects. So fertile was his mind that he (again like Renwick) prepared several good, distinct sermons on the same text. Were it not for their brevity and a more conscious effort to include an introduction and conclusion, his sermons would closely resemble those of John Welsh. But he excels Welsh in development of thought. Most ministers in this group were content to fulfil their loyalty to truth with a prima facie presentation, a simple pronouncement of what was right; but Cargill added the third dimension of mature thought by telling why it was right. He is known to have preached the

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1. Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana, ii, 42.
2. Blaikie, op. cit. 170.
3. The representation of an imaginary or absent person as speaking or acting.
same sermon many times; and his sermons were worth the re-telling, for they had the concentration of a chapter from the Proverbs coupled with the simplicity of the Sermon on the Mount. Carslaw makes him "the eternal voice of humanity ever struggling against tyranny, which is of the devil, and for liberty, which is of God."¹

Though Michael Bruce was a notorious field preacher, yet he had little opportunity to preach at Scottish conventicles, for he was captured soon after the Pentland Uprising and promptly sent back to Ireland. We have only three sermons in print, yet include a discussion of his preaching here because it is representative of the period in the judgment of some who regard the popular conception as fact.

The outlines of Michael Bruce resemble conundrums more than skeletons for public addresses. The pseudo-introduction of each sermon solely involves a detailed telling of what is to be told. Then, as if this were not enough, he precedes each section with a second announcement, after a massive compound-complex doctrine has been posited. Paragraphs are sandwiched between Arabic and Roman numerals, and garnished over with italics, semi-colons, and colons. Indeed, one who frowns on exoskeletons, would chuckle with apprehension at Bruce's sermon, so appropriately named The Rattling of the Dry Bones!

¹ Carslaw, Life of Cargill, 131.
No greater sinner in prolixity and length could be found. The bare outline for his homily on Genesis 42:25 is longer than some of Cargill's complete sermons.\(^1\) It has divisions taking the appellation of "doctrines," which are four in number, each involving enough material for a complete sermon. Each section ends with "uses," or applications. He draws this nineteen-thousand-word sermon to its painful end with a detailed conclusion.

His treatment is somewhere between a textual-inferential and an allegorical use of Scripture. He uses the story of Joseph's gifts of bags of grain to his brothers to portray God's gifts to his children. He employs this mediaeval never-never method of allegorizing in other sermons as well, using fancy rather than imagination as he sees significance in the stones placed on Christ's grave, or the dry bones in Exekiel's vision.

In reference to content, one can readily appreciate the unvengeful attitude of this man. He uses no more bitterness than the most benign of men under strained circumstances. He never moans his lot, and never attacks the King; the little ire he expresses is directed toward the curates, whom he blames for the present trouble.

In addition to Bruce's allegorizing he is decidedly an Old Testament preacher, in his choice of texts. His illustrations

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1. This outline is reproduced in full in Appendix V.
and proof-texts are almost exclusively from that part of the Bible. Though he may select a brief text, yet he devotes most of his time, and draws most of his teaching from the context.

The style of Michael Bruce is clear in his choice of words, but his sentence structure is far too elaborate. There can be no doubt as to his energy, though he is not given to sudden bursts of passion like Peden or Cameron. He is generally lacking in eloquence, as well as originality of thought.

The men we have discussed so far in this chapter were all ousted shortly after the Restoration. We now come to two "hot" young men who have ascended the ladder of fame as notable Scottish preachers without the aid of either experience or maturity: Cameron and Renwick.

Richard Cameron was a textual preacher. His treatment of the Scripture was always clearly that, never varying or being mixed with other forms of outline. We cite three of his best examples:

Sermon on Psalm 46:10

"Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth."

I. WHAT IS HERE FORBIDDEN — INNER TURBULENCE
II. WHAT IS REQUIRED — A REALIZATION THAT GOD IS HIMSELF.
III. THE REASON ANNEXED THEREUNTO — GOD WILL BE EXALTED
IV. AN APPLICATION
Sermon on Hosea 13:9-10

"O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help. I will be thy king: where is any other that may save thee in all thy cities? and thy judges of whom thou saidst, Give me a king and princes?"

I. A CHARGE TO ISRAEL
II. A SOLUTION
III. THE MANNER OF THE SOLUTION
IV. THE REASON FOR THIS PARTICULAR SOLUTION

Sermon on Song 3:3

"The watchmen that go about the city found me: to whom I said, Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?"

I. WE SHALL CONSIDER WHAT HE HIMSELF IS
II. WHAT HE HAS DONE FOR THE CHURCH
III. WHY MANY YET DO NOT LOVE HIM
IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE WHO LOVE CHRIST

We note a refreshing lack of prolixity and length in Cameron's sermons, yet in accordance with the spirit of the times, he took his texts mostly from the Old Testament. He frequently identified Scotland with Israel, thus making contemporary a vast portion of that part of the Bible. His published sermons were mostly preached upon special occasions, and the last we have record of was the only one in which he did not attack the King, the indulgence, cess-paying, or some other church. As the reader will note, the texts chosen were well suited to his purpose. From a positive approach, Cameron preached mostly on the separation of church and state, though much of his material is devoted to the excellency of Christ. Herkless said, "he steadfastly championed the freedom of the Church from civil control, as great men in other lands
and other times had done."

In style Cameron was obviously different from his older predecessors. He was the first field preacher of note who was not ousted in 1662. The others had developed a style over years of tranquil practice in their settled charges, and this they took with them to the fields. But he had a voice born and bred in the fields. There is an air of sameness in the style of Cameron's elders (except in the case of Peden, who would have been aberrant in any age) which is as unlike the "Lion of the Covenant" as the placid river on some high plateau is unlike its waters when they plunge in foaming fury over falls and rapids on their way to the sea: the source and substance is the same, but how different the appearance!

Cameron's sermons would make good reading in any of the twenty centuries of Christian preaching. He is clear in delivery, making use of short Anglo-Saxon words. His sentences are not usually long, and when long, are always good in form. He made frequent use of the rhetorical question, and was, like Spurgeon after him, a master of prosopopoeia. In fact, one would think Spurgeon had sprung from Cameron's brow like Athene was born of Zeus. His use of the short text, taking parts of it for his divisions, his use of rhetorical devices, and his eloquent delivery all betray his affinity with that great English divine. He even made extensive use of the biblical motif so common to Spurgeon. He would continually repeat parts of the

1. Herkless, op. cit. 71.
texts in the course of delivery: "I will be exalted among the heathen," "I will be thy king," or "Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?"

If for no other reason, people would be enraptured by Cameron's energy. It is not climactic but constant, coming in a stream of power throughout. The polished sermon may rise to an emotional climax, but Cameron's preaching is like the perpetual throb of a dynamo. To keep the interest of his hearers as high as his constant flow of energy, he is frequently found using little bits of satire, peppery adjectives, and references to opponents, about whom he spares all vagueness. He uses biblical terminology and illustrations in much the same way as Spurgeon. However, we must remember, Cameron lived in a time before homiletics was seriously considered as a theological discipline, and preached when a vital concern of a minister was to stay alive, not to preach polished sermons. His imperfections were not out of keeping with his environment, but gave rather the piquant flavour common to a meal eaten out of doors. Cameron is the preacher who never lets us lose sight of his hearers. His dramatization brings them into his sermons, and scores of interrogatives keep them there, asking questions. We will always remember him as a lion with a velvet paw concealing the sharp talons of truth, and as the most fitting "first" chaplain of that world-famous military regiment which now bears his name.
James Renwick, the twilight voice of the period, is considered by some, not without cause, as the best Scottish preacher from the Restoration to the Revolution. It is easier to evaluate him homiletically than the other conventiclers, for he has left us an entire volume of field sermons, A Choice Collection of Very Valuable Prefaces, Lectures, and Sermons, Preached Upon the Mountains and Muirs of SCOTLAND, In the hottest Time of the late Persecution. Indeed, half of the bulk of published field sermons were Renwick's, though his was one of the briefest ministries among the conventiclers. Perhaps why we have so many is because he was almost alone in the fields, and attention from men who wished to preserve these messages could be focused exclusively on him.

Renwick's lectures were expository and his sermons were sometimes textual, and sometimes topical. Here are some representative examples:

Sermon on Luke 12:32
"Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

I. NOTE THE PEOPLE WHO WERE EXHORTED: THE LORD'S DISCIPLES  
II. NOTE THE EXHORTATION ITSELF: FEAR NOT  
III. NOTE THE GROUND OF THE EXHORTATION: A PROMISED KINGDOM  
IV. NOTE THE MOTIVE FOR CHRIST'S GIVING A KINGDOM: HIS OWN GOOD PLEASURE

Sermon on Hosea 8:11
"Because Ephraim hath made many altars to sin, altars shall be unto him to sin."

I. WHEN PEOPLE GO ON IN A COURSE OF DEFECTION, THEY
CANNOT BE STAID, BUT, ORDINARILY, BECOME ENDLESS THEREIN

II. THE LORD WILL HAVE RING-LEADERS IN DEFECTION ESPECIALLY OBSERVED

III. THE LORD JUDGETH A PEOPLE FOLLOWING SINFUL COURSES, AS IF THEY INTENDED THE SIN THAT IS IN THEIR WAY

Sermon on Song 1:7

"Tell me, 0 thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon: for why should I be as one that turneth aside by the flocks of thy companions?"

I. THE TITLE THE SPOUSE GIVES TO CHRIST
II. THE QUESTION SHE ASKS ABOUT HIM
III. THE REASONS FOR HER QUESTIONS

Renwick was somewhat faulty in handling the Scripture. We can criticize him honestly on this point, though somewhat unfairly; for we suspect that, if the other conventiclers had as many sermons in print as he, the faults he exhibits would also be found in them — perhaps even to a greater degree. Nevertheless, he is given to supererogation and accommodation of text. We see both faults in The Church's Choice, a sermon of twenty thousand words, the longest field sermon in print. It is obvious that a man cannot preach at such length on one verse from the Song of Solomon without straining the meaning. Under each section he introduces in laboursome turn both "doctrines" and "uses." His doctrines are occasionally suggested by the text, or context, but more often are foreign to either. Amusingly enough, at the outset of this two-hour sermon he promises, "...I shall not Observe everything that
may be Pertinently drawn from the same [text], but only what is most obvious...."¹ In his volume, A Choice Collection, he has nine sermons on Zech. 2:8, "For thus saith the Lord of hosts; After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you: for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye." In each case the same five-point outline is used. Needless to say, such a volume of material could never be directly related to one brief verse of Scripture. Renwick was fond of the saying, "the apple of his eye," and simply gave this text to a series of thematic sermons.

Renwick's outlines are not as true-to-form as those of either Cameron or Cargill; but his overall form was superior to both, and more consistent in quality. He always had an introduction and conclusion. Regarding preference of Scripture, Renwick was quite content to preach Christ from the Old Testament. Only nine of his many sermons took New Testament texts, several of which were from the Apocalypse. The book Renwick loved most was the Song of Solomon. Like Cameron, he quoted it frequently, and chose no less than six texts from it. Many of his sermons, though richly abounding in proof-texts, contain none from the New Testament.²

Regarding subject matter, it is undoubted that James Renwick gloried in controversy. He wrote letters, and preached

¹. James Renwick, The Church's Choice, 5-6.
². For example, see his Sermon on Isaiah 8:17, published separately.
sermons full of "the times." However, he was neither so bitter, nor so intense in his denunciations as Cameron. Carslaw says, "Those who think of Renwick chiefly as a controversialist would be surprised to notice the evangelical freedom and fervour which pervades this sermon [on Isa. 26:20] from first to last."¹ Simpson observes, "It is obvious from what we know of Mr. Renwick as a preacher, that his discourses were eminently practical and experimental, as well as doctrinal, and that it was not his custom to dwell exclusively, and with an embittered sort of eloquence, on the wrongs of a bleeding remnant, depicting their sufferings, and denouncing the cruelties of their oppressors. No; his preaching was occupied chiefly with the substance of the gospel...he was not a person employed in political intrigues, as the hireling agent of a party, who wished to embroil the nation in civil war."²

It might well be said of Renwick, as we have already said of Peden, that the times had a great influence on him. Peden achieved notoriety because of the sermons the times squeezed out of him, but Renwick was such a good preacher that he would have been well-known in any age; yet like Peden, the times squeezed out of him a denunciation of ecclesiastical and civil injustices. But one is always convinced his chief purpose was to convert souls. As he saw it,

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¹. Carslaw, Life of Renwick, 27.
the civil authority stood directly in his way of doing this. Hence, he refused to pay the cess, denied James II as the rightful King of Britain, and advocated the use of defensive arms to protect conventicles.

Renwick exhibited originality of thought in much the same way as Cargill. His reasoning was clear when he denounced wrongs of the day; he said why certain things were evil, and advanced ways of solving the problems that faced him and his fellow conventielers. Simpson, though somewhat speculative in his observations, pays him this tribute:

There was perhaps no preacher in his day so popular as Mr. Renwick. He seems to have had a soft and mellifluous voice, which fell with ineffable sweetness on the ear. His eloquence flowed in a "gentle stream," and came with a great and subduing power on his audience. There was nothing vehement in his action, nor boisterous in his delivery, but every thing calm, and dignified, and suited to the solemnity of the subject. The continuous and majestic flow of his oratory, which proceeded from the urgency and earnestness of his spirit like the still but irresistible current of a mighty river, swept all before it, and carried his hearers onward to the precise point he wished to conduct them. The crowds that listened to him in the desert, were often melted to tears by the heaviness of his manner and his doctrine. So persuasive and animating was he in his preaching, that the holy fervour and resolution of his auditors were often roused to so high a pitch, that they could have endured martyrdom on the spot.

There are many contemporary testimonies about Renwick's preaching. The Dutch theologians who heard him preach his first sermon said it was one of the most forceful messages they ever

heard. A man who rode sixteen miles to hear him preach testified, "The minister appeared to have much of his Master's presence. His method was clear, plain, and well-digested, suiting the substance and simplicity of the Gospel."

We have already noticed the tendency of Renwick to over-use his text; but this is not to say he could not handle the Scripture well. In many cases he chose very difficult passages that perplex even the most apt expositors, and gleaned much fruitful contemporary application from them. His sermon on Rev. 12:1 is an outstanding example of this talent, but the most difficult text he used was Ez. 39-40, the prophet's description of the temple he saw in a vision. A pamphlet containing three sermons on these chapters has been published with the title, The Lord's Return to Scotland. Note his sane, timely, and edifying way of making points of application from this seemingly barren passage:

Ye would take Notice here, That there is not so much as a Pin or a Post but our blessed Master takes Notice of it, and lays the measuring Line to it as well as to the body of the House; and it tells us this, that all the little Concernments of our Master that are within his House are all taken Notice of by him, as well as the great Concernments are. It is a strange Thing, our Master will lay the measuring Line to a very Post: We will think nothing to shut a Post down, we will think nothing to justle many Things in the House of God through other;

2. Carslaw, Life of Renwick, 96.
3. The sermon is published separately under the title, Some Notes or Heads of a Sermon Preached by that great and bright Shining-Gospel-Star, and now Glorified Martyr...
Prelates will think nothing to shut out a Thousand Props at once, and confuse all the Building....

A fifth Thing ye would take Notice of from this Vision, is this, That from entering at this East-gate there was always an Ascent upward, but no Descent downward; and from this ye would learn this Lesson, That any Body that would prove themselves to be true and right Members of our Master's Building, would always be upon the ascending Hand; when they come in at this Door, the first Step is up, and the next Step is up, and the third Step is up, and the fourth Step is up, there must always be an Ascending, but no Descending.

Renwick commanded a good vocabulary, and exhibited talent for using it well. He was a gifted speaker, and a gifted writer. Though his sentences were usually very long, yet his thought was never obscured. As one might expect, his style was very much like that of the King James Version of the Bible.

Perhaps Cargill and Cameron prepared better outlines than the "Martyr of the Covenant," but not even Cameron could excel him in actual delivery. He stands with Cameron as a preacher of the excellency of Christ, but surpasses him in thought and originality. Perhaps some of his day would not regard him as a good preacher, let alone the best of the period. The conformists and indulged clergy had a quarrel with him, and entertained a prejudiced antipathy toward all he did and

1. Published separately as A Prophecy Concerning the Lord's Return to Scotland, 12.
2. Renwick, op. cit. 13.
said. The sensationalist might have preferred Peden by far, and those who saw beauty in prolixity might well have considered Bruce, Welsh, or Blackader as his superior; but to the twentieth century ear his words sound the sweetest by far.

James Renwick could justifiably be called the best preacher of this period in Scotland. And if others challenge the place we give him, then let them produce a better. The minor faults we see in his sermons shrink to nothingness when we remember his youth, the weakness of his body, the testing circumstances under which he preached, and the brevity of his professional education. He was only a lad of twenty-six when executed. Had he lived to ripen his talent, he may well have been the greatest voice to speak in Scotland since the death of Knox.

The Homiletical Form of Other Conventiclers

We now come to a consideration of sermons which must take only a minor place in this chapter. They are by men of whom we know little, or from well-known men, very few of whose sermons found their way into print.

John Howie in 1780 claimed to have several of Gabriel Semple's sermons in manuscript, and fully intended to publish them. However, there remains in print only one brief message, a sermon on Isa. 55:6. Because of Semple's popularity such

1. This sermon is published in Faithful Contendings Displayed, Appendix, 122ff. See also 128, 131, footnotes.
a paucity of material is most lamentable. But, from this sermon on the favourite text, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found,"¹ we can ascertain the reason for his popularity.

Like Blackader, he had no particular gift of genius. His modest outlines, simple sentences and benign spirit had a timeless quality to them that kept him popular in the fields for nearly twenty years, preaching at least once weekly. His preaching is unlike that of Welsh his life-long companion; and comparing both men with Cameron, the "hot" young man they ventured to license, it is plain that Semple exerted a far greater influence over him.

In style, Semple is given to a constant use of prosopopoeia; too much, in fact, for good taste. His sermon almost takes on the flavour of a children's address. His outline is very easy to follow, and he takes special care to use proof-texts and biblical illustrations for all he has to say. He quotes very brief passages from both testaments, and gives us the impression that he has no preference for any particular part of the Bible.

Semple was unlike Welsh also in regards to content. He did not hesitate to denounce "papists, prelates, and malignants" as enemies of God; and in his conclusion he mentions the Highland Host, but not to denounce them. He tells his audience to pray for their conversion. The entire message has

¹ The outline for this sermon is included in Appendix V.
the one aim of persuading men to have a "blessed tryste" with God, and the sooner the better, for a time will come when God will not be found, if they delay.

John Welwood has left several sermons for posterity. From them we can see a youth entering zestfully into the traditions of his elders. Because he died of tuberculosis at a very early age we can see him only in his formative period. He is a topical preacher, and yields to the temptation common to topical preachers of straying from the text. His sermon, The Difficulty of Conversion, on I Peter 4:18, "And if the righteous scarcely be saved...," will serve as a good example. The text would suggest an evangelistic sermon, but we are soon disappointed because he intends to parade the sins of the authorities before us, which to him offer reason enough why people are not being saved. He quotes frequently from Scripture, equally from both testaments. He begins with the application in the second paragraph, and cannot seem to wait to vent his bitter "Jonah spirit." He sees only gloom. Scots are worse than the American Indians, or the Turks. He hopes God will burn down cities! and promises not to be surprised if He does. Most men in power are "incarnate devils." So like the pessimistic Elijah, he feels all the good men in Scotland could be written on three inches of paper." A recent fire in Glasgow was sent by God because the Covenants were burned there. The talent
Welwood could have exhibited as a preacher is spoiled in this sermon because it is overburdened with political tirades against the powers that be.

In his sermon on Amos 3:2, we have what seems to be more of an outline than the full address. It is of modest length, but so heavy with outline that even Bruce might be moved to criticize. The gist is an identity between Israel and Scotland. In that both were covenanted peoples, God will punish them more than other nations. He closes with a list of the sins of Scotland and claims that her coming judgment will first begin at the house of God. This sermon does not end on a victorious level, but is negative and threatening throughout. Welwood is negative, even when he could be positive. He seems always bent on telling people how bad they are, though he does occasionally point them to Christ.

No doubt Welwood was dying of consumption when he delivered these sermons. Remembering this as well as his youth, we cannot properly evaluate him, though we had a hundred addresses in print.

Alexander Shields is best known to us to-day as a pamphleteer, not a field preacher. From his two printed sermons we cannot tell whether he showed a preference for textual, or topical composition. His outline for the sermon on II Cor. 5:11 is textual, but his development is poor. Like Welwood, he resorted to bitter negativism too frequently. He begins
the sermon by telling us of the kinds of fear we should have toward God, but does not preach long until he is lost in "the times." He strains the meaning of his text to reach the Throne of Britain, and all that is wrong with it. He has an axe to grind, and cannot cease long from his task. His sermon on John 3:3-4 is the only one containing no tirades on political or religious matters, but even in it he manages to condemn the Anabaptists and Quakers.

For a representative example of the contents of Shields' preaching one needs but read his pamphlet, A Short Memorial of Sufferings, in which he makes a list of thirty-three grievances he has against Scotland, a roll-call of honour for those he knew to have suffered during this period, together with an appendix containing several ecclesiastical pieces. One cannot help being gripped with the lurid display of the foul deeds of the government.

Shields' lectures were probably delivered at conventicles along with sermons given by Renwick or some other preacher, but are useless as true expositions of the Scripture. In content and style they are more like the report of a news commentator than the thoughts of a minister of the gospel. His persistent reiteration of these things seemed to be his "Apostles' Creed," and he never speaks to "the times" but we are made aware that he is, in the terms of theatre, "playing to the pit." But we must not be too quick to judge for
he, too, ceased to publish sermons too soon for us to see his maturity. He most certainly wrote exciting prose, and had a vivid vocabulary, though he used it too extravagantly at times. Renwick said of him, "For mine own part, I have been refreshed with hearing him, and have been animated to zeal by his preaching and discourse."¹

James Fraser of Brea has left one sermon — an eleven-thousand-word polemic against prelacy, Prelacy and Idol, and Prelates Idolaters. This address is more of a lecture than a sermon. The construction is topically built on a list of popular arguments for episcopal polity. Fraser, with prolix elaboration, answers them in the mode of the day. There is no gospel in this "sermon"; it is wholly devoted to a denunciation of prelacy from start to finish. He employs the intemperate language of the bigot when he declares children baptized by curates are "children of whoredom."

He says it necessarily follows that, when church government is not biblical, the nation becomes corrupt, and men cannot properly worship God. Like Welwood, his language is unjustifiably crude: "It's no more natural to the Drunkard, to lust after his Cups, nor the unclean Person, to lust after his Whore, nor the Worldling after his Profit and Advantage, than 'tis for a carnal Heart, to have some Brat of its own, foisted into the Worship of GOD; ... and hence they are said to be mad after their Idols, and inflamed with them."²

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¹. Carslaw, Letters of Renwick, 59.
². Duncan Fraser, in his Ph.D. thesis, James Fraser of Brea, New College, Edinburgh, devotes a full chapter to the treatment of this sermon.
We have only two published sermons preached by James Kirkton, both of which were delivered after the Revolution, and shortly before his death. The outlines for these sermons may be seen in Appendix V. He preached with a very simple style from good topical outlines. Though his very long ministry in the fields was probably intermittent, it must have been quite easy to assemble the flock to hear his plain and practical sermons.

John Guthrie has given posterity only one sermon, A Sermon Preach'd upon Breach of Covenant. This homily lacks the essential elements of a sermon, and is really a treatise with logically-placed facts explaining why the Covenant is yet binding on Charles II, and on all Britain as well. The argument is good, but is almost exclusively of Old Testament origin. Guthrie had a good mind, wrote clearly, but probably preached too often to "the times."

William Thomson published two sermons in pamphlet form entitled, The Churches Comfort. The first of these, on John 16:22, "But I will see you again, and your Hearts shall rejoice," was his last before being outed. The gist of the message is that Christ is more interested in His people's sufferings than they can possibly be, and though He will depart for seasons, they will see Him again. His thoughts are more based on the context than the text, though he uses the text

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1. Kirkton also left sermons in Manuscript, Eight Sermons Upon Job, MS. Dc 8.25, University Library, Edinburgh.
as a motif throughout the development. The sermon is very edifying, and is pertinent to the times; but he does not specifically mention any contemporary matter. The sermon is long, and abounds with the customary prolixity, with many divisions and subdivisions.

Thomson's second sermon on Exodus 48:35, like the former, is very complicated in structure. It is not without eloquence, however, and in the peroration he waxes short and speedy, using many exclamations. It must have been of great comfort and encouragement to the hearers. He laments the defeated state of the Church of Scotland, but claims eventual and glorious victory. The conclusion is the best example we have in the entire body of field sermons.

John Mosman, one of the new preachers ordained after the outing of 1662, has left one field sermon, *The Christian's Companion*, on Ps. 77:1-2. In the introduction there is an explanation of the text, but the body could be tacked on any sort of text, for it bears no relation to the one given. He does not quote as frequently from the Bible as others, and when he does there is a definite partiality for the Old Testament. The text is a gloomy one, and the sermon follows with the same spirit; but toward the end we see "a blink" of hope. There is no reference to the times, though the reader is convinced things are in a bad state, as indeed they were when the sermon was preached in the fields, May 26, 1678.
James Simpson left one sermon bearing the title The Building the Tower of Salvation. The energy that usually attended field sermons seems lacking in this isolated example. The same criticism might be given to Alexander Moncrief, if his field sermons were anything like those of later years. We have two published long after the Revolution Settlement, that are as jaded in spirit as this one by Simpson.

The Use of Illustration

The art of illustration was practically unknown to the mountain men. The anecdote and story are not to be found in their sermons. The reasons for this are probably three in number: (1) anecdotes and stories were considered too secular and out of place in sermons, (2) the messages included an abundance of biblical allusion and conceits which would take the place of anecdotes, and (3) most of the preaching dealt with concrete matters, or with abstract ideas in a concrete way, in much the same style as the writers of the Old Testament; hence, illustrations, which are most in demand to vivify abstract ideas, were not so acutely needed.

Donald Cargill stands alone as a customary user of illustrations, although we do find rare examples in both Renwick and Shields. Alexander Peden was given to dramatization, and others, as we have already seen, used prosopopoeia, which is a valid form of illustration. The mediaeval habit of allegorical preaching may also be taken for a long-range kind
of illustration; but we have no examples of the true biographical sermon, which seems a rather significant exclusion in the light of current partiality toward the Old Testament, which is rich in its supply of material for such treatment.

Besides biblical allusion, and the few simple illustrations of Cargill, we have little else in the form of illustration from the sermons of the conventiclers. The fine art of using the story or anecdote was unknown to these men; and perhaps it is well, for their extensive quotations from the Bible left little room for anything else, and put to shame many modern preachers who think it not strange to preach an entire sermon without quoting one proof-text, and even have stooped to preach "three jokes and a death-bed story," as an American Presbyterian clergyman once put it.

**Length of Sermon**

Donald Cargill was the briefest sermonizer among these men. Not only was he given to "brief, sententious sayings," but none of his published sermons exceed two thousand words. Welwood left one sermon of only two thousand words; but when we note others over five thousand words, we suspect it is only an extract.

Most of the field preachers delivered sermons between five thousand and eight thousand words — fifty minutes delivery time, if a mean speed of one hundred and fifty words a minute can be accepted. However, there were several who
went to much greater pains! We have one sermon from Fraser of Brea, eleven thousand words long, and several from Welsh around ten thousand. Renwick seemed to keep to no pattern, and has sermons ranging from four thousand to the record-breaking length of twenty thousand words! Most of his sermons were quite long, which seems of great wonder in that he was such a frail man, and had to be carried on the backs of others to preaching engagements. Michael Bruce, left one sermon of nineteen thousand words. But the most severe example of sinning in this respect is a sermon to children (and a rather dull one at that!), delivered by the noted conventicler, Alexander Moncreif, and consisted of no less then fourteen thousand words!¹

In consideration of length, one must bear in mind that it is quite possible many of the sermons of around five thousand words may have been much longer. Contrariwise, such a sermon as Renwick's novel-length, The Church's Choice, may be an enlargement of the original sermon. We have no way of telling, for these men preached extemporaneously, and we have only what they later composed, or what shorthand stenographers were able to catch under very poor circumstances for reporting. On the whole, we would be safe in saying the average length of the field sermon was limited by John Livingstone's advice, which told preachers "ordinarily goe not beyond the hour."

¹. Alexander Moncreif, Christ's Call to the Rising Generation, Edinburgh 1740. This, however, was not a field sermon.
4. The Field Sermon and the Bible

Use of the Old Testament

A stranger to Scottish history will immediately see something is hermeneutically wrong in these sermons. He will realize with G. D. Henderson that "there was no serious attempt to discriminate between Old and New Testament codes, the difference being apparently not felt, and the whole Bible being regarded as equally authoritative...Interpreters in Scotland in the seventeenth century all hold Scripture to be a unity, no difference being suggested between book and book."¹

Not only did these men see the Bible as a unity, but they also showed a decided partiality for the Old Testament.² D. M. G. Stalker claimed the origin of proof-texts in *Lex Rex* was 4:1 in favour of the Old Testament; and what was true with that book seemed to be true of the entire literature of this period.³

Why was this so? There are at least two reasons that immediately suggest themselves: (1) The Calvinistic concept of a theocratic state, which necessitated a religious-political involvement, could find its excuse for being only in the Old Testament. Lord Eustace Percy said about Knox, "Yet the curse

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² Scottish commentaries written during this period by Mr. Durham and others almost always took Old Testament books for subject matter. See George Christie, "Scripture Exposition in Scotland in the Seventeenth Century," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol. i, 97-111.
of political slavery was on him still. He would no longer play politics, but he must still preach politics...there could be no more distinction between Church and realm, between civil government and divine purpose, than in Israel of old.\(^1\) (2) The contest between the Stuarts and the Church for the control of her government seemed to be a historical throw-back in status quo to Israel's escape from bondage and the conflict between the Jews and their monarchs; and this necessitated a redefinition of the limitations of monarchy, a basis for which could be found mostly in the Old Testament. So, with the Calvinistic dream of theocracy, and a king as head of church and state, the men of this century were lured into the hermeneutical quagmire of contemporizing the entire Bible.

The field preachers entered whole-heartedly into this tradition. They seemingly lived in Old Testament times, thought Old Testament ideas, and preached in Old Testament language. With an all-too-true apprehension Renwick observed, "And now there is, as it were, a Conspiracy among all Sorts to return to Egypt, to build again the Walls of Jericho, and to repair the Ruins of Edom."\(^2\) Anticipating temporary defeat of those in the right he further said, "For, ah! we may say at this Day, the House of David is waxing weaker

\(^1\) Lord Eustace Percy, John Knox, 412.  
\(^2\) Shields, Life of Renwick, 241.
and weaker, and the House of Saul waxing stronger and stronger.\textsuperscript{1} Blackader also saw a captivity in the near future, in his never-failing Old Testament terminology: "Now, I think I need not tell you of this, that the kirk of God may be led to captivity: For this people that was the only nearest and dearest to him upon earth, were led to captivity, and must go threescore and ten years down to Babylon."\textsuperscript{2} Hewison declared the persecuted looked upon a conventicle much as the Israelites viewed the Tabernacle and Ark in the wilderness, as the Presence of God,\textsuperscript{3} and when Mrs. William Veitch heard of the death of Charles II she wrote, "When I heard it, I thought Pharaoh was dead, and I would go to God and beg of him that he would spirit a Moses to lead forth the church from under her hard bondage."\textsuperscript{4} Cameron also thought of Charles as Pharaoh: "Now, there is help for us in Him who brought us out of Egypt through the Red Sea. We are not in a more dangerous case than the Israelites were when they came out of Egypt. They had as great an army pursuing them as our king can command, the sea before them, the hills on every side, and yet they passed through safely while Pharaoh and all his host were doomed."\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} Shields, \textit{Life of Renwick}, 278.  
\textsuperscript{2} Crichton, \textit{Memoirs of Blackader}, 319.  
\textsuperscript{3} Hewison, \textit{The Covenanters}, ii, 233.  
\textsuperscript{4} Ladies of the Covenant, 200.  
\textsuperscript{5} Cameron, "Sermon on Hosea 13," Kerr, \textit{Sermons By Martyrs}, 412.
From these instances it is not difficult to imagine Renwick and Walker making the Ark in the wilderness a type for conventicles,\(^1\) Blackader fearing the return of the death angel,\(^2\) or Welwood prophesying a coming "Midnight-Darkness."\(^3\)

These were the days when a man's ability to write or preach was seriously questioned unless his vocabulary was rich with biblical epithets, most of which were Old Testament in origin; and name-calling, a natural inclusion in the vocabulary of the bigot, was the best weapon to wield against the enemy. Archbishop Sharp became "Haman" to Cargill, and others naturally likened Charles II to several Old Testament kings. John Guthrie likens him to Zedekiah, who broke the covenant he made with Babylon,\(^4\) Fraser of Brea sees him as Jeroboam,\(^5\) and Gillespie as Manasseh.\(^6\) Cameron hoped the same violent end which came to Sisera in the tent of Jael would befall him.\(^7\) And, in true Old Testament style, Renwick rejoiced when God raised up men "to vex the Midianites," and wished for the time when "the cup of the Amorite and Edomite shall be brimful."\(^8\)

The Roman Catholic Church became "that old Strumpet Mother,"

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3. Ibid. i, 293-99.
or "the Romish Whore." The prelatic church was dismissed as "that old Grey-headed Strumpet Prelacy," and her clergymen were considered "the King's royal dawties," or "the calves of Jeroboam." The liturgy of "that wretched brat abjured Episcopacy" was deliberately miscalled "lethargy" or was mocked as an "ill-mumbled mass."

These men took their stand against "the Christ-dethroning, Church-ruining, Remnant-ruining, Zeal-quenching Indulgence," that "Rat-rhythm of Questions, the Test," and the "heaven-daring Act Rescissory." All who accepted the Indulgence, took the Test, or paid the cess had surely received "Joab's salute of cruel courtesy," and had gone down "the steep, slippery Brae of Backsliding" into "Egyptian Darkness."

Edinburgh, as the seat of a government "broached in hell," was "the sink of Abominations," and James II was "...the pimp employed for the Romish Whore." And only those who kept their garments undefiled really belonged to "the Anti-Popish, Anti-Lutheran, Anti-Prelatick, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, True Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland." And a rendezvous in the fields was proudly spoken of as "the Devil's grand Eye sore."

Texts and proof-texts. The field sermons and lectures in print comes roughly to one hundred and twenty, eighty-five of which have texts from the Old Testament, and thirty-five

1. "An Elegie upon the Death of...Renwick," found in Shields' Life of Renwick, 313.
from the New. We conclude, then, that around seventy per cent of the field sermons took Old Testament texts.

In addition, the field preachers filled their sermons and controversial pamphlets with many proof-texts. The most outstanding example of citing the Old Testament in this way was in reference to the practice of covenant-making. The four favourite passages of John Guthrie were all from the Old Testament.¹ To attempt an explanation for the trouble in which Scotland found herself because of a "broken and bleeding covenant," both Shields and Welwood use that part of the Bible exclusively,² and Cameron reminded his hearers of Judah and her kings when speaking on the limitations of monarchy: "You may read and always observe, that the several reformations that were in Judah, there was always a new covenant entered into with an acknowledgement of the circumstances, sins, and duties of that time."³

The Old Testament was used for other arguments as well. Renwick lists twenty-two texts to prove it is unbiblical to accept the Toleration offered by James II; only three of these are from the New Testament.⁴ Shields argues against paying the cess, using six passages, all from the Old Testament:

1. II Chron. 15:12, 15; Deut. 29:14-15; Neh. 9:38; and Deut. 29:24-25.
2. Shields, Ibid. 189-90, and Welwood in Kerr, op. cit. 343.
3. Cameron, Good News to Scotland, 13.
Testament;¹ and his argument for defensive arms is exclusively based on that part of the Bible.²

The Result of Old Testament Influence. One of the most common results of this excessive use of the old part of the Bible was the assumption of the roles of prophets on the part of the field preachers. Hewat calls Peden "the Elijah, or John the Baptist of the Scottish Church."³ He further says, "Peden was a prophet. He had a keen insight, an alert mind, and an ardent faith, capable of producing flashed illuminations of the future...he spoke as if his was the very voice of God responding to the appeal of the slaughtered innocent ones."⁴ Cargill, Blackader, Welwood, and several others also demonstrated this affectation.

There was also a cruel spirit found in the most godly of these men as the result of their contemporary application of the imprecatory passages from the Old Testament. In his letter of "comfort and encouragement" to the prisoners in Dunnottar Castle, Peden said, "O how sweet will it be, to see Christ marching up in a full Body, with all the Trumpets sounding the Triumph of the Lamb's Victory, when his Sword shall be made red with the Blood of his Enemies...death and Destruction shall be written in broad Letters on our Lord's Standard, a Look of him will be a dead Stroke to any that

². Ibid. 222-28.
³. Hewat, Peden The Prophet, 105.
⁴. Ibid. 108-09.
comes in his way." Cameron quoted David, saying, "'Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee?' I will tell you, I do not like those who are familiar with the stated and avowed enemies of our Lord and Master Christ, and are fond of favour from them. Away with such!" Though this spirit is rare, yet its presence indicates how fully captured some were by the spirit of Old Testament times.

Use of the New Testament

As we have noted, only thirty per cent of texts for field sermons were from the New Testament, eighteen of which are from the Gospels, ten from the Epistles, and five from the Apocalypse. Stalker concludes that the Covenanters in their writings and sermons "had recourse mainly, to the Old Testament, while the appeal of their opponents is generally to the New." Stalker, of course, said this in reference to the reactionary issues the two parties treated in their books, pamphlets, and sermons. However, even when we consider the sermons of the conventicleers as a whole the percentage is still overwhelmingly favourable to the Old Testament. The figures above reveal two interesting facts: (1) that the Gospels were far more popular than the Epistles, and (2) the book of the Apocalypse enjoyed a place far out of proportion to its importance in the canon, which is always so in times of persecution. Naturally, this book suffers from much

1. Walker, op. cit. 98.
2. Cameron, in Kerr, Sermons By Martyrs, 402.
present-day interpretation, and we are not surprised to know that men who were past-experts in Old Testament allusions, metaphors, and allegorizations could very easily see that the church was in its Sardis or Laodicean stage, 1 or that the battle between Michael and the Dragon was a contest between Christ and the King for ecclesiastical control. 2 Under the guise of "Antipas" Shields finds Renwick in the Revelation, 3 and Peden foresaw a time when the righteous in Scotland would dwell in holes and caves of the earth. 4 John Dickson saw Scotland as a great field in which God had sown, upon which the great Dragon would "spew out a Lambus Flood of Waters, which is like to drown all; yet the Harvest will come, and the Man Child must Rule and Overcome." 5 Perhaps the only acceptable treatment of Revelation is Renwick's sermon on Rev. 12:1, an account of the vision of the woman standing on the moon. It reveals his sane handling of a difficult passage, and one cannot help but appreciate the absence of fancy and exaggeration.

5. Summary and Conclusion

The field sermon of the seventeenth century was generally representative of covenanting preaching. It was usually a long, complicated address, abounding with much Scripture quotation and

3. Loc. cit.
4. Walker, Ibid. i, 82.
biblical language, most of which came from the Old Testament. Often it was preceded by a brief preface, or a lecture, or perhaps both. The preface contained remarks of the preacher which may or may not have been relevant to the sermon to follow, though it seemed to serve as an introduction. The lecture, likewise, usually bore no connection in thought with the sermon it accompanied. It was composed in an expository manner, and delivered in the style of a running commentary. However, the lecture, though often filled with much edifying exposition, contained no attempt at exegesis. There are instances in which the lecture was more sermonic in tone, though based on a much longer passage of Scripture than the sermon, which was frequently an entire chapter.

Unlike the lecture, the sermon took a very short text, usually one verse, which, strictly speaking, would be too little on which to base an expository sermon. Indeed, though contrary to much popular opinion, the field sermon was not expository in its treatment of the Scripture, but textual. There are several exceptions which take the form of topical and allegorical sermons, and some defy classification.

Though the field sermons were very elaborate in outline they rarely included introductions or conclusions as we define them to-day. Theses were never stated, though the confusing practice of stating and restating both major and minor divisions was the rule. Illustrations were rare, except for those
of biblical origin. The story and the anecdote were never used.

The chief hermeneutical fault of the field preachers was an indiscriminate treatment of both testaments of the Bible. This error did not originate with them, but was maintained by them throughout the entire period. It took the form of a favouritism toward the Old Testament, and frequently made Scotland an anti-type of ancient Israel. And when these men preached on political or ecclesiastical issues it was almost exclusively the rule for them to draw their proof-texts from the Old Testament. But in all other matters the conventiclers were orthodox Calvinistic Protestants, and their theology, if not their language, was New Testament in origin.

The style is by far the most outstanding quality of these addresses. Clarity and energy were always at the highest point. Their eloquence lay not in the size of vocabulary, but in the discriminate choice of clear, simple, words. At times, however, the sentence structure of these messages became quite involved, but seldom to the obscuring of thought. These men and their hearers were accustomed to complicated grammar, and considered it an element of beauty rather than a hindrance to clarity.

In conclusion, it remains to be said that one who objectively examines the sermons from a homiletical standpoint has accomplished very little in evaluating the conventiclers.
It is not in how they prepared their sermons that we find their greatness, but in what they preached, when they preached, and where they preached. Indeed, we must never forget they "were persecuted and hurried from place to place, hunted like partridges upon the mountains, were in continual fear of their lives, had little time to study, no well-furnished room, no assortment of authors; and often what they prepared was snatched from them by the alarm of the approach of the fierce and cruel foe.... Any person who knows anything of the literature of these times may easily conclude that they [field sermons] were never designed for the reflection of critics, not calculated to please the taste of those who affect nothing more than a bombast style of sentiment, embellished with scholastic phrases and grammatical oratory, with flights of fancy and terms of art pronounced in a South British accent. No; they were delivered in such a sense and dialect as was best understood among common hearers, even those amongst whom they were most conversant."¹

Many critics have laughed at the field preachers for living in Old Testament times, assuming the guise of Old Testament prophets, and even preaching Old Testament ideas. But this laughter is as unfair as it is unkind. The conventicalers were never moved by their somewhat lop-sided hermeneutics to meddle with Old Testament theology. We admit it was a strange thing to clothe the truth revealed in Jesus Christ

¹. Johnston, Alexander Peden, 183-84.
again in types and shadows, but the veil they partially restored was so thin, and their determination to preach Christ so intense that the Saviour became the glory of both testaments instead of one! When we would attempt an evaluation of these giants of faith we must take the advice of Renwick who wrote, "People should not speak much of our Doings, as little, until they do more themselves." ¹ We conclude with the praise given them by John C. Johnston:

If ever circumstances compelled the Lord's servants to preach as dying men to dying men it was then. Neither preacher nor hearer could ever be sure that the dragoons would not burst on them before the sermon was ended, or that before night-fall their lifeblood would not be staining the ground. It is ridiculous to fancy that men and women, looking out for the dragoons, with but a step between them and death, could be fed with the subtleties of scholasticism, or the ravings of fanaticism, or the denunciations of sectarian spite; yet how often have they been caricatured as if unable to rise to anything higher. The topics for such scenes could be no other than the incomparable grace of the Saviour, the infallible certainty of His salvation, the magnificent sweep of His promises, the poverty of this world as a portion, and the unfading glory of the inheritance which He had provided and prepared for His own.²

¹ Renwick, from an open letter to the Earl of Argyle, in Shields' Life of Renwick, 101.
² Johnston, Alexander Peden, 185-86.
"The Pope and Papists at Rome is rejoicing and burning Bon-fires; They are rejoicing that Britain and Ireland is coming Home again to their Antient Mother-Church...."

― Alexander Peden
A profound appreciation of the part of Scottish conventicleers and their activities played in the Revolution Settlement, as well as in making other contributions to their times and succeeding generations, must involve a comparison with nonconformists in other parts of Britain. Naturally, this cannot be done here except with utmost concentration, and a discriminate focusing of material bearing only directly on this comparison. Therefore, we shall look briefly at Ireland and England, knowing the reader will see that the Scottish field preachers attain a far greater stature when mirrored by these histories than when seen only against the dark background of their own troubled land.

1. Conventicles in Ireland

There were one million, two hundred thousand inhabitants in Ireland during the second half of the seventeenth century, which were divided into Irish Roman Catholics, English Episcopalians, and Scottish Presbyterians in an 8: 2: 1 ratio, respectively. At the Restoration the three hundred thousand Protestants were pastored by four hundred and thirty clergymen, seventy-four of whom were Presbyterian. In location, the Irish and English

1. Harrison, The Scot in Ulster, 84.
2. Reid, History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, ii, Appendix XII, 512ff.
were distributed throughout the counties rather evenly, but the Scots were concentrated mainly in Ulster.\textsuperscript{1}

Ireland had never revoked any laws regarding episcopal polity, so as early as January 27, 1661, two archbishops and ten bishops were consecrated at St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, with Jeremy Taylor as Primate.\textsuperscript{2} Archbishop Taylor made it clear that he "did not like the Scots in the North,"\textsuperscript{3} and outsed thirty-six at once.\textsuperscript{4} By April he brought the total to sixty-one,\textsuperscript{5} finding only seven willing to conform.

The Parliament, composed almost exclusively of English Episcopalians, met on May 8,\textsuperscript{6} and ordered the public burning of the Covenant in every town, which the Mayor of Carrickfergus failed to do, and was fined £100.\textsuperscript{7} Four days after, the House of Commons was ordered to take communion at "the Lord Primate's hand."\textsuperscript{8}

Michael Bruce, Andrew M'Cormick and John Crookshanks were three of the sixty-one ousted ministers. They were born and educated in Scotland, but came to Ireland in 1658, and were ordained to churches there. After the outing they determined to return to Scotland, but "resolved to do some good before they went,"\textsuperscript{9} and

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Seymour, \textit{The Puritans in Ireland, Appendix I}, 266ff.
\item[2.] Ball, \textit{The Reformed Church of Ireland}, 143.
\item[3.] R. H. Murray, "The Church of the Restoration," \textit{History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day}, iii, 126.
\item[4.] Ibid. 140.
\item[5.] Ibid. 252, and Reid, \textit{op. cit.} ii, 249.
\item[6.] Reid, \textit{ibid.}, 252.
\item[7.] Mant, \textit{History of the Church of Ireland}, i, 635.
\item[8.] Ibid. 1, 633.
\item[9.] Reid, \textit{ibid.}, 262.
\end{itemize}
began holding field conventicles. By September of 1661 they were outlawed by the authorities. This did not stop their preaching, but they rather "went about under disguise and oft in the night-time." They were accused of plotting to overthrow the government, having come under the influence of that colourful character, Colonel Blood, who later stole the crown jewels. Archbishop Taylor complained that they also made many public attacks on the bishops. After these three worthies left for Scotland in 1663-64, very few field conventicles were held, most of the outing Presbyterians being content to meet in private houses. Such meetings were given little notice by the authorities, so the clergy ventured to meet their congregations in barns, or in newly-erected conventicle houses by 1668. Two years later Bruce was "exiled" to Ireland, having left his two colleagues dead on Rullion Green. He began holding conventicles, and some of the Scottish ministers involved in the Pentland Uprising, now sought sanctuary in Ireland, and were doing likewise in Derry, Raphoe, Down, Connor and Dromore. The Presbyterians were so confident over their freedom that they ventured to send a delegation to the King in 1672. Charles received them in one of his better moods, and granted them an

1. Loc. cit. and Patrick Adair, A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 258.
2. Adair, Ibid. 283.
3. Murray, Ibid. 140-44.
4. Ibid. 130.
5. Macpherson, op. cit. 1, 635.
7. Ibid. 283.
8. Loc. cit.
9. Murray, op. cit. 147.
annual stipend from Irish revenues of £1,200.¹

But these nonconformists were soon to learn that the moods of their Monarch portended an uncertain future. In 1684 Jeremy Taylor complained that they were the only Protestants who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and so persecution broke out again.² The trouble first took the form of the authorities closing conventicle houses, but eventually came to the extremes of heavy fines, imprisonments and mob-violence. Troops were called in from other parts of the country to enforce the law, most of whom were Roman Catholics from the south.³ Murray observes that, though the same laws against nonconformists applied equally to Catholics as well as to Presbyterians, yet only the latter paid the penalty for their irregularities.⁴ These sufferings were apparently not so severe as in Scotland. Beckett notes that the Presbytery of Antrim held regular monthly meetings throughout the entire period, even though the meeting houses were closed.⁵ He also notes in 1686, that the curates who replaced the ousted Presbyterians were no better than those in Scotland. Because they had so grossly neglected their duties the people sought out nonconformist ministers and priests, "and there are plenty of both."⁶

At the Revolution Settlement sixteen of the sixty-one

¹ Harrison, op. cit. 84.
² Murray, Ibid. 140, and Reid, op. cit. 11, 323.
³ Adair, Ibid. 288ff.
⁴ Murray, op. cit. 123.
⁵ Beckett, Protestant Dissent in Ireland, 22.
⁶ Ibid. 23.
outed ministers were alive.¹ Michael Bruce was one of these, but his whereabouts in 1689 was unknown by his colleagues, who supposed he had returned to Scotland.² This Revolution, which proved to be bloodless in England, and practically so in Scotland, was destined to be long and bloody in Ireland.³ The Irish Roman Catholics, who enjoyed an 8:3 majority, were infuriated at giving up James Stuart for his Protestant nephew, and, at a time when both Scotland and England knew rest from their twenty-six years of oppression, the Presbyterians in Ireland were experiencing their greatest trouble. Of the eighty-nine Presbyterian ministers listed for Ireland in 1689, forty-nine had fled the country, leaving only forty in Ulster, and five "in and about Dublin."⁴

2. Conventicles in England

Nearly a year after the Presbyterian clergy had been ousted in Ulster, the English Act of Uniformity received royal assent, May 19, 1662. The outing was set for St. Bartholomew's Day, August 17, when between one thousand eight hundred and two thousand clergymen were turned from their charges.⁵ By the following Sunday all of these had evacuated.⁶ Burnet reminds us that England had existing laws against conventicles,⁷ which she

¹ Reid, op. cit. i, 255, footnote.
² Ibid. Appendix XII, 512.
³ Harrison, op. cit. 84.
⁴ Reid, loc. cit.
⁵ John Brown, From the Restoration of 1660 to the Revolution of 1688, 62.
⁶ Ibid. 65.
⁷ Gilbert Burnet, History of his own Time, i, 293.
strengthened early in 1663 by placing fines of one shilling for absence from church without reasonable excuse.¹

The actual beginning of irregular gatherings as the result of this outing is hazy, but they were probably begun at once in private homes. Outed Presbyterians split their congregations into cell-groups, giving the sermon five or six times a day in different houses.² We also note that the Presbyterians in England had no more respect for the curates who replaced them than had the evicted ministers in Ireland and Scotland.³

The Conventicle Act of May, 1664 defined a conventicle as a gathering when more than five guests met with a family for public worship. All offenders over fifteen years of age were to be imprisoned for three months, of pay a fine of £5. A second offence would double the penalty, and a third meant exile to a foreign plantation, or £100 fine.⁴ In spite of this law there were many conventicles that year,⁵ and even more in 1665, many of which were conducted by the Presbyterians.⁶ To conceal the nature of their meetings the Presbyterians would set a meal "with pipes, bread, cheese and cold meat," so when the soldiers and informers came, they would give the appearance of gathering for a common meal.⁷

1. Brown, Ibid. 76.
2. C. E. Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism, 60.
3. Ibid. 49-50.
4. Brown, Ibid. 79.
5. Ibid. 80.
7. Whiting, op. cit. 152.
The Plague raged throughout London in 1665, so many Episcopal clergy fled the city; and, in spite of the recently-passed Five Mile Act,\textsuperscript{1} and braving the contagion abroad, the nonconformists started their own epidemic of pulpit-invading.\textsuperscript{2} But many of these vacant churches, along with other makeshift places of worship, were reduced to ashes by the Great Fire the following year; so meeting in private homes thrived all the more in the capital.\textsuperscript{3}

By 1669 meetings were so numerous that proper prosecution was impossible, and "the government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness; and so began with letting them alone."\textsuperscript{4} The same year Carruthers reports ninety-two recorded conventicles in the diocese of Bath and Wells, sixty-one of which were undoubtedly Presbyterian. There was a total of eight thousand at these meetings, the lowest recorded number for any one meeting being eighteen, and the largest seven hundred — an average of eighty-five.\textsuperscript{5}

The government made one last attempt to enforce uniformity with a new Conventicle Act in 1670. It was exactly like the one of 1664, except for the addition of fines for any preacher conducting conventicles of £20 for the first offence, and £40 for each subsequent offence; persons allowing conventicles on their property were to pay £20.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Brown, Ibid. 87.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. 86.
\textsuperscript{3} Burnet, op. cit. i, 398.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid. 398.
\textsuperscript{5} S. W. Carruthers, Conventicles and Conventiclers, 9.
\textsuperscript{6} Brown, Ibid. 98. Note how much more severe penalties were in Scotland this year, for it was then that the "Black Act" was passed, making conventiclers guilty of death and confiscation.
The Presbyterians and Baptists challenged this Act the following year by holding large services ranging from two hundred to two thousand present.1 Burnet said of activities this year: "the continuance of these house conventicles, which no law could seem to stop gradually broke the morale of the government and they were left alone."2

In 1672, the same year Charles granted the Second Indulgence to Scotland, he offered one to England as well. It "suspended all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformist or recusants."3 This was a large grant indeed, far more than Charles was willing to extend to Scotland! One thousand five hundred ministers in England and Wales applied for licence (including John Bunyan), eight hundred and fifty-nine of whom were Presbyterians.4 As places of worship such locations as upper rooms, barns, malting-floors, gardens, houses, buildings in orchards, halls belonging to the public companies, chambers in ruined monasteries, cellars in old castles, and hastily-erected meeting houses were listed,5 the locations of which indicate that the greatest strength of the nonconformists was in London and the Home Counties.6

This indulgence met with too much success, and was withdrawn the same year it was offered. The contest began again,

1. Brown, op. cit. 102.
2. Burnet, op. cit. 1, 398.
3. Brown, Ibid. 105-06.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid. 108.
6. Ibid. 106.
Involving fines, imprisonments, and exiles. At this time a notable field conventicle was held at Riverton, by Richard Chantry, an ousted Presbyterian minister, at which meeting a stone pulpit and seats cut out of the hillside were used.¹

In 1678 conventicles were at their highest in both Scotland and England. Whiting notes the advent of the Sweet Singers of Israel that year, who, though they bore the same name as the "Gibbites" in Scotland, had little in common with Gibb's teaching, except that they met mostly in the fields.²

After the Revolution Settlement the English Presbyterian Church and Independents list three hundred and eighty ministers yet alive who were ousted in 1662, nearly all of whom had conducted conventicles.³ A noted field preacher, Oliver Haywood, ousted from Coley, Halifax, wrote in 1700 that since 1665 he had travelled thirty-one thousand miles and had preached three thousand sermons, most of which were delivered in invaded pulpits.⁴

3. A Comparative Summary of Presbyterian Conventicles in Scotland with those in England and Ireland

Conventicles in Ireland were conducted almost unanimously by the Scots in Ulster; hence, in regards to nationality, we can practically exclude the Irish from our consideration. These at the Restoration were in a decided minority, as was also the case with nonconformists in England. Scotland, however,

1. Whiting op. cit. 59.
2. Ibid. 291-92.
3. Ibid. 81.
4. Ibid. 68.
was more united in the matter of church polity than either England or Ireland — she was almost unanimously presbyterian. Hence, from the start, the re-establishment of prelacency throughout Britain was destined to be more consequential there.

This ecclesiastical cataclysm in the north made a cleavage in the ranks of the Presbyterians when two-thirds of the ministers conformed, whereas a far greater per cent of the non-episcopals elsewhere preferred eviction. These conformists in Scotland were mostly of little influence, and pastored small churches in obscure places; whereas nearly all the best preachers were ousted and became conventiclers. From this fact, and because many of the prominent pulpit voices in England were episcopal, we find that the history of conventicles in Scotland tends more to involve strong preaching personalities, who are remembered primarily as field preachers.

Not only did fewer Presbyterians refuse to change polity in Scotland, but a much smaller percentage of those ousted held conventicles than was the case in England and Ireland. In England, of Presbyterian and Independent clergymen alive at the Revolution, who suffered eviction twenty-six years before, ninety per cent had conducted conventicles; sixteen of such men were alive in Ireland, all of whom had done so; whereas only thirty-five per cent of those in Scotland were known conventiclers. If all the facts could be known, perhaps this percentage would be much higher, for
many men must have conducted irregular meetings without drawing attention from the authorities.

The significance of this low figure must be modified also by the fact that the spirit of English conventiclers was pacifistic, whereas the opposite was true in Scotland. Hence, law-enforcement against nonconformists was far more severe and longer-lasting in Scotland than in her sister Kingdoms, even to the point of making conventiclers guilty of capital crime, and establishing a standing army to prevent them from meeting.

Only because of circumstantial reasons were conventicles begun earlier in Ireland and England, and to the Scottish preachers in Ulster goes the distinction of being first to preach in the fields. The largest of such gatherings, however, were conducted in Scotland, where the average private citizen, and some of the upper classes as well, were more in sympathy with, and participant in such reactionary practices.

Current thought about conventicles in Scotland tended more to distinguish between field and house conventicles because sometimes the difference was legally a matter of life and death, and because the field meetings, unlike those in England, differed from the ones conducted under roof. Large communion services and meetings lasting three days had been known to occur. Weapons were eventually carried for protection, political matters were treated by the preachers, and the audiences
often took on the appearance and spirit of little armies which were involved at times in skirmishes with their enemies. And, as early as 1666, the political impact of even the more mild variety of field conventicles contributed a notable influence to the Pentland Uprising, as they naturally did in 1679 at Bothwell Bridge, when they were not only political in impact, but in nature as well.

Regarding location, there was a tendency both in England and Scotland for nonconformists to be more active in the larger cities and in the more densely populated areas. When permanent locations for worship were tolerated by the government, Scots and those in Ulster resorted more to building conventicle houses, whereas the English nonconformists tended to accommodate existing buildings to meet their needs. Aside from a consideration of house conventicles, the English preferred invading vacant churches, or pulpits in churches without pastors; hence field conventicles were comparatively few. The Presbyterians in Ulster were inclined to meet in conventicle houses, but went to the fields more than the English. Though Scots built several conventicles houses and were noted to invade vacant pulpits and closed churches as well, yet they tended mostly to go to the fields. However, we strongly suspect, that house conventicles were more numerous than the other types throughout the whole of Britain. And, though a far greater per capita representation in Scotland participated
in these irregularities for a time, yet toward the end of the period that representation was practically nil; whereas conventicles in England and Ireland drew fewer attenders, yet the numbers remained more static.

Persecution caused considerable relocation among the ranks of the conventiclers in all three Kingdoms. A few active field preachers came from England to Scotland or Ireland, more from Ireland to the other two countries, but the greatest movement was made by men who left Scotland. Because of this forced migration the Scottish conventiclers enjoyed a wider influence which, together with the size, frequency, and nature of the conventicles they would not desist from holding regardless of location, gave them a more vital part in effecting the Revolution Settlement than the English nonconformists who outnumbered them five-to-one.

4. General Summary

Field conventicles were not a Scottish invention, but a natural outgrowth of necessity. Logically, they began in houses, but their growing size demanded more space. Each year from late in 1662 to the battle of Bothwell Bridge, seventeen years later, they were conducted in the open fields in flagrant defiance of all human law, and in obedience to the Higher Law of God which commanded the perennial presentation of the gospel, in season and out.

The ministers would decide on the time and place of a
meeting, and then send trusty laymen into the neighbouring villages to announce it. If there was to be a communion, these laymen were given bags of carefully-counted tokens to distribute to the people who were to attend. It may have been winter, autumn, or summer; the weather may have been inclement or fair; or the Privy Council may have been threatening further legislation, and greater prosecution — these things did not seem to be determining factors.

Preparations were made usually on Saturday. A tent was erected on the highest elevation, with an opening toward the audience. For communion services stones were rolled into rows for seats, and planks gathered for tables. By morning all would be in readiness, and with the first hint of dawn the people began the long journey to their "rendezvous of rebellion."

Perhaps scores of them would meet at forks in roads and pass through a near-by village on their way. The new curate in the parish church would draw his curtain aside to see what caused the commotion in the streets, or perhaps he stood at the church door in embarrassed consternation, viewing the scene with a jaundiced eye, knowing all too well that he would not have ten hearers at sermon that morning. Carts carrying women and children, and men on horseback joined the joyful procession, and perhaps even before they arrived at their rendezvous they broke into the pilgrim's psalm:
How lovely is thy dwelling-place,
O Lord of hosts, to me!
The tabernacles of thy grace
how pleasant, Lord, they be!
My thirsty soul longs veh'mently,
yea faints, thy courts to see:
My very heart and flesh cry out,
O living God, for thee.

And if a meeting was to be near Glasgow, soldiers at the gates of the city would marvel at the hundreds making a Sabbath day's journey in the grey cold hours of the early dawn.

Long before eight o'clock, the appointed hour for the service, over a thousand would be in possession of the best seats, knowing that a thousand more were to come, or even two thousand. Some were seated reading the Bible, or moving their lips in silent prayer. Others were attending unruly children, or wrapping their babies more securely in their colourful plaids. Still others were standing on the perimeter of the growing sea of humanity passionately engrossed in discussions on religious or political issues.

Noblemen and their ladies were there, seated in places of honour near the tent. When the service began perhaps it was Gabriel Semple who acted as precentor. He had the double distinction of being one of the best precentors in Scotland and the first outed minister to hold field conventicles. Possibly he called for the Seventy-sixth Psalm, sung to the tune Martyrs. How the hills must have rung with the heavy, determined beat of that minor refrain, sung by the booming
voices of those who relished the taste of holy words! Partridges and swallows were startled from their nests for miles around, and all nature seemed to be glad.

If the meeting were conducted near St. Andrews (which was several times the case) Archbishop Sharp would hear this psan of praise drifting over the moor, providing a painful accompaniment for his breakfast. The conventiclers knew he would order out the militia, only to be confounded with the information that it was not available for duty because the troops were already at the conventicle as worshippers, or at least, as observers!

So on they sang, each stanza louder than the last. Let us say that John Welsh was to be the preacher, and that he had travelled all night to keep this appointment, only to arrive late. At first, few noticed him hitch his sweaty horse as near as possible, and begin to thread his way through the worshippers seated on the ground. As the hymn ended a ripple of whispers fanned out among the throng containing the news that this was Mr. John Welsh, the great-grandson of Knox himself. As he neared the tent the other ministers rose to greet him. Then Mr. Semple called for another psalm, after which Michael Bruce rose to read the lesson, or to lead in prayer. His voice was so loud and strong that any would presume he could speak for hours without tiring. Perhaps someone had heard his marvelous sermon on Genesis 42 which lasted two full hours, and was
telling his neighbour about it.

After John Blackader or John Guthrie gave an edifying lecture on a chapter from the Prophets, Mr. Welsh brought an evangelistic sermon that lasted nearly an hour and a half. Some of the attenders were hoping he would say something about "that wretched brat Prelacy," or that he would give a lament over the "Erastian government" that evicted him and nearly four hundred other clergymen from their churches. But Welsh ignored the unique nature of his surroundings and preached Christ as a comforter in times of trial, and a saviour for men yet in the bonds of sin.

It was nearly noon when he closed his Bible and called for the last psalm. The meeting had lasted four full hours, yet seemed but a moment to the hungry, starved throng who had not heard a Presbyterian sermon for months!

After a simple meal in the fields the ministers announced that baptisms would take place during the afternoon service. Many children were brought forth, some infants, and others several years of age. This afternoon meeting, which included a communion service, was not over until six o'clock; but the duty of the weary ministers was not over yet. There were many couples to be married, who had chosen to remain single until they could engage the services of their own pastors; and others were making arrangements for private weddings at a later time.
What a grand never-to-be-forgotten day! On the homeward journey the men would comment on the sermons and lectures. They compared notes made of the sermon preached by Mr. Welsh, and someone suggested he take them all and rewrite the sermon for publication. Yes, these kind of meetings would not be forgotten to their dying day. And what thrilled them most was that others, larger and longer, were to come; and, no doubt, Presbyterianism-in-the-field, by sheer popularity and majority, would soon drive prelacy out of the Scottish pulpits, and back to England and Rome from whence it came.

But they were wrong. They had underestimated the determination, cunning, and strength of the adversary. This they suspected at Bothwell Bridge, and knew for a fact when Charles organized a standing army to enforce the laws against conventicles, which now made preaching or attending field meetings punishable by death. Field meetings took on a different complexion entirely. There was no long-range publication of services, no field communions, and no convenient locations chosen. These "seminaries of sedition" moved from the outskirts of town to inaccessible bogs, where dragoons on horseback could not go. If a meeting was announced at all, it was on the same day as it was to be held; and then the location was often changed at the last minute for security reasons. Going through the streets of villages and singing on the way to the rendezvous were a thing of the past. If a man told
his intentions to take to the fields he might as well have signed his death warrant in many cases.

But conventicles were still held, though they were smaller and less frequent. The old nobility who once came were either persecuted into silence, in prison, exiled, or they were dead. The fewer women who came, left their children at home for fear of having them shot by dragoons who had fired at blank range on previous meetings. Men carried field pieces which they stacked around the perimeter of the gathering, or even held in readiness during worship. Sentries were posted, and guards prevented any attenders from leaving before the end of the service, for spies in the pay of the local curate were almost always present, and would like nothing better than to abscond with information that would bring the enemy upon the people before the meeting dispersed. Some of these turn-coats had been known even to give false alarms to scatter the people in hopes of collecting plaid and other items left behind in the worshippers' haste to escape.

Who preached during these troubled times? Blackader was dying in prison, Semple and Welsh had retired to England; and Welsh was soon to die there. Perhaps it was Peden, Cargill, or his young friend Richard Cameron, men who would no longer confine the sermon exclusively to topics involving comfort and evangelism. They were only preaching to hundreds, or scores; and they needed to denounce the evils that bullied their
Presbyterian friends into submission. They became political in their preaching because the King and government had become ecclesiastical in jurisdiction. They championed no political cause, but advocated such extremes as defensive arms, overthrow of the government and even regicide as the only means left to them for restoring freedom to the Church, and Christ as its Head. They delivered these dangerous sermons in haste, without the shelter of a tent, surrounded by guards with drawn swords, and even on horseback, ready for flight from an enemy who was sure to come.

Could things become worse? Cargill was captured and executed, and Cameron was killed in battle at Ayrsmoss. None of the forty ministers who preached regularly in the fields from 1674 to 1679 could be persuaded to speak as before. James Renwick, who became a Covenanter while beholding the execution of Cargill, took up Cameron's burden, and began one of the most phenomenal preaching tours in the history of Scotland.

It is true that Alexander Peden was still preaching when he dared, and John Law, Thomas Forrester, or John Hepburn occasionally would draw the attention of the authorities, but it was Renwick who preached nearly every day of the week! It was he who could baptize five hundred children in six months, and perform almost as many marriages in a year. It was he, especially, who would not remain silent on sensitive
issues. And it was with his capture and execution that Scotland's Heroic Age comes to its end. England has her Beowulf, Spain her Don Juan, Rome her Aeneid, and Greece her Iliad and Odyssey; but Scotland can boast of herself as a nation with an epic based strictly on fact as opposed to fiction, and on the vital issues of spiritual life as opposed to romance: Scotland has the Covenanters.
CHAPTER VIII
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FIELD PREACHERS

"For there are no more Christians than there are Martyrs in Resolution and Affection."

— James Renwick
CHAPTER VIII

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FIELD PREACHERS

Field conventicles were by no means a new thing in church history, or biblical tradition. No one doubts the right of Moses to pitch a tent in the wilderness. We applaud Elijah when he defied King Ahab and convened the people on a mountain top. Even Herod was silent when John called the city of Jerusalem to the banks of the Jordan. But, with over a millennium of Christian tradition behind them, and with a church in every parish, did Welsh and Blackader have a right to pitch tents for conventicles? or did Cameron have the sanction of God in preaching on mountain tops? or were the people justified in going to river banks to hear Renwick and Cargill preach? or, indeed, were these meetings really the "rendezvouses of rebellion" and "seminaries of sedition"?

In the light of these three obvious contributions to their times, we maintain the field preachers were justified in their activities as conventiclers.

1. The Main Resistance to Post-Reformation Absolutism in Scotland during this period

Monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who had previously been under the control and supervision of the Pope or Emperor, were now free to initiate an absolutist movement throughout Europe. Hence, the history of Britain during this century is a record of the conflict between absolutism and the Calvinist conception of the State.

1. Macpherson, The Covenanters under Persecution, 4-5.
2. Ibid. 16.
It is yet an open question whether Charles II was a secret Roman Catholic, but he most certainly believed in episcopal polity in the church and absolutism in the throne. "He often said, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicit...he had made such observations on the French government, that he thought a King who might be checked, or have his ministers called to an account by a Parliament, was but a King in name...he was bred with the high notions of the kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim, that all who opposed the King were rebels in their hearts." Charles' ultimate expression of his conviction came in the form of the Act of Supremacy, which made him the supreme authority in all matters both civil and ecclesiastical. By this Act he claimed more power for himself than any man since the emperors of Rome, making himself a pope as well as a monarch.

Monarchy had no fear of its existence in seventeenth century Scotland; it was well-established as the accepted form of government. But monarchy did not mean absolutism to the Scots, for they had always known a limitation of royal powers; and the nature of the Scottish Reformation, and the Covenanting Period served to limit it all the more.

1. See Burnet, History of his own Times, i, 103; Macpherson, Scotland's Debt to Protestantism, 74; Macpherson, The Covenanters under Persecution, 15; Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana, 115.
2. Burnet, Ibid. 131, 245.
Macpherson makes three distinct differences between the Reformation in Scotland and England: (1) The Scottish came twenty-five years later, at a time when Calvinism had become the dominant politico-ecclesiastical force on the Continent, (2) the movement was inspired and directed chiefly by one man, Knox, and was modelled after Geneva, and (3) most important of all, "it was brought about at the price of a revolution, and from the start the new Church had no innate respect for the heads of the State as such...from the beginning, the Church in Scotland was a revolutionary organisation, too strong to be crushed, but only just tolerated by the Crown."¹ Henry VIII took the initiative in the English Reformation, and it was only natural for that country to think of the King as vitally involved in ecclesiastical matters.

Scotland had no such thoughts. The Covenant was made part of the Coronation Oath, for Scots held that true monarchy was to be limited by covenants made to God, the interdicts and mandates of the Scripture, sound judgment, and the consent of the governed.² In short, Scottish Monarchy had well-defined responsibilities as well as privileges. The Stuarts claimed the one while resisting the other. Charles perjured himself by swearing the Covenant to gain the crown,

². Wi 116. Macpherson also said, "The doctrine of Scripture as a definite law code, inspired and infallible, was indeed the corner-stone of the whole structure of later Calvinism." Ibid. 61. See also Dodds, The Fifty Years' Struggle, 311.
and James flatly refused to take it. Hence Charles was considered a tyrant, and James a usurper.

The resulting twenty-six years' misrule of wreck and ruin is an often-told story, and we cannot rehearse it here at any length. It is a sad story of the break down of the judicial-legislative-executive branches of government, made possible by the fawning cowardice of a weak Parliament, the thirsty ambitions of a heartless Privy Council, and outrageous laws so general in wording that almost any brutality could safely stand within their limits. Trials were left out of Parliament records, and forbidden publication.¹

"Children were adduced as witnesses in matters of life and death, hearsays depended on, private confessions, extra-judicial, and sometimes even upon an oath of secrecy, brought in as evidence, witnesses suborned; persons condemned for crimes when by two witnesses proved alibi; and many other such steps, as discovered a resolved course of cruelty over the belly of all law, reason, and humanity."²

Not only was a man's conscience violated in forcing him to take "conscience-debauching" bonds, tests and oaths,³ but his home was open without legal warrant to soldiers who could take provisions, require lodging, and act as sole judge, jury,

¹. See Wi 57, 108, 211-12, 219, and PCI 73.
². Wodrow, Correspondence, i, 208.
³. See Shields, Life of Kenwick, 37.
and executioner with total indemnity from the law.\textsuperscript{1} Husbands, parents, and heritors were made responsible for the conduct of their subordinates, and were often double-jeopardized in the payment of enormous fines unheard of elsewhere in the world,\textsuperscript{2} which were commonly regarded as a profitable source of revenue.\textsuperscript{3}

The greatest abuse of jurisprudence came in 1678 when all recourse to the King was denied to the noblemen who had so lightly passed the Act Rescissory, some of whom, being convinced of the error of their ways, wished to return to the old way;\textsuperscript{4} some of them even felt the Restoration "was the biggest blunder the nation ever committed."\textsuperscript{5} Bell concludes about Charles II: "The reign of this monarch is tracked in blood; and, while the pages of history continue a faithful record of human action, his name shall remain a blot and his conduct a stain upon that of Scotland, until all is washed away in the boundless ocean of eternity."\textsuperscript{6}

In 1688 James II was driven from the throne. The Scots had good reason never to forget the Stuarts and their government: six hundred and eighty persons were killed at Rullion Green, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, and Ayrmoss; five hundred were slain in cold blood in the fields, and three hundred and sixty executed after some sort of

\begin{enumerate}
\item James Gibson, Inscriptions on the Tombstones and Monuments erected in Memory of the Covenanters, 23.
\item Wodrow, Correspondence, i, 207.
\item See Wi 233, 469-70; Lauderdale Papers, 23242, fol. 1; Hewison, The Covenanters, ii, 253; and J. Wood Brown, The Covenanters of the Merse, 195.
\item Wi 461.
\item John C. Johnston, Alexander Peden, 43.
\item Bell, Life of Cameron, 27.
\end{enumerate}
examination, some of whom were women and boys. Renwick, himself destined to die on the gallows, wrote with sad conviction, "...I think within a little, there shall not be a moss or mountain in the West of Scotland which shall not be flowered with martyrs."

If men were not executed, they were cast into prisons, not less inferior to the worst in all Europe. Animals awaiting the slaughter were better kept, and far better fed. Even fresh air (of which there is plenty in the world) was denied them to breathe, and sanitation and distinction of sex were completely ignored by their tormentors. Truly, they were in dens and caves of the earth, where the world so often puts great men of faith.

The Resistance of the Field Preachers:

Rejection of the King. The field preachers at first resisted the authority of their Stuart kings, and then overthrew it. "On the religious side the Covenanters represented Protestantism, which politically meant Constitutionalism; on the religious side Charles represented Prelacy, which politically meant Absolutism. The Cameronians carried their principles to their logical conclusion. They refused allegiance to a monarch to whose creed they were utterly opposed. They disowned Charles Stuart, who had been reigning or rather

tyrannising." Cameron concluded, "The present king, Charles II, has violated the constitution of Scotland; he has broken the covenant which he made with God and man; he has claimed as an essential part of the royal prerogative, a blasphemous supremacy in the church; he has overturned our ecclesiastical order, banished the faithful ministry, and prosecuted the most virtuous inhabitants of the land. Such a perjured usurper and tyrant cannot be considered as a lawful magistrate by the Reformed Presbyterian Covenanters."

The moral life of Charles II made him a hypocrite of the first water because he made himself head of the Church. The field preachers of the Cameronian persuasion felt it was just to resist the "king personal" when he was no longer qualified to function as the "king constitutional;" and when Renwick said of James II, "...if the Law of God, and the Laws of the Land were put in Execution, he would not live long," he said no more of him than Knox had said of Queen Mary over a century before.

Renunciation of the State Church. Had the field preachers consented to become the "King's royal dawties" like hundreds of their colleagues, they could have kept their churches, their purses, their lives, and saved the lives of many who

1. Macpherson, Scotland's Debt to Protestantism, 76.
2. Bell, Life of Cameron, 54-35.
3. Dodds, op. cit. 227.

John Knox, 410.
went into the fields to hear them preach. Though some contemporary historians attributed noble motives to Charles' re-establishment of prelacy, yet, in retrospect, it is easy to see he was using that form solely to realize his absolutism. No noble conviction would have caused his stubbornness at the cost of innocent blood.

These men were strongly for the separation of church and state. In a polity controlled by the state they saw a point of Christology missing: the Kingship of Christ over His Church. Neither did they want an English and Roman Catholic mode; and they wanted it even less when James, an "avowed Papist," came to the throne, claiming to be the head of their Protestant Church.

The field preachers saw the conflict over polity as the prima facie form of the far more profound issue of a separation of two antithetic powers, and two different worlds, which separation would insure their freedom of speech. The contest was not one of curate against elders, Scotland against England, or King versus rebels. "It was a contest between light and darkness — it was, whether the gospel of the grace of God was to be freely preached to the poor inhabitants of Scotland, or was it not?" Archbishop Sharp

1. See Crawford, A Serious Expostulation, 33.
3. See the testimonies of James Guthrie and John Livingstone in Wi 64, and Select Biographies, 1, 218.
4. Wi 299.
5. See Hugh Watt, Recalling the Scottish Covenants, 6-10; and Aikman, Annals, 214.
in his installation sermon at St. Andrews, claimed that division among the Presbyterians made episcopacy necessary. But he failed to realize that a union by force does not guarantee unity; and looking back over his seventeen years of ecclesiastical confusion, even he would have to admit that his episcopacy, as blood-red as his bishop's vestment, caused far more division than it ever mended. "Sharp commenced the work, which has been so often and often tried, of attempting to lash and drive men into some particular church system, and tried almost always with the same result, the violence recoiling upon the author and only confirming and strengthening his victims and securing for them the sympathies of the world." 

The inalienable freedom of religion versus human despotism was the issue. When these men died in prison, on the scaffold, or even on the battlefield, it was not for the form of church government they died, but for the "freedom indeed" Christ promised them, which prelacy would surely take away, especially with a person at its head who was as wicked and immoral as any mediaeval pope had ever dared to be.

Refusal of all Royal Toleration. Two-thirds of the conventiclers stubbornly refused all indulgences, bonds, indemnities, and tolerations vouched by the King; and of the

1. Wodrow, Correspondence, i, 439; Burnet, op. cit, i, 155-56.
2. Dodds, op. cit. 130-31; see also Herkless, Richard Cameron, 39-40.
sixty-six who were indulged, sixty-two were later evicted for breaking confinement to parish. These hill men remembered that the Reformation began with a monk in Germany who opposed indulgences given by a man in the stead of Christ; and now, here was another man who claimed more than the Pope in Rome. They maintained Charles had no more right to give an indulgence than the Pope — in fact less, because he was only a civil ruler, and a profligate as well. To accept an indulgence from his hand would only serve to acknowledge his right to give it. So, they continued to preach in the fields, considering the indulgence no more than the "King's hire to be silent."¹

It was plain to them that these inventions did not come from a "tender and loving Monarch" who wanted religious freedom, but rather from a crafty fox whose sole intent was to stamp out religious freedom, even if it meant giving more liberty to the indulged clergy. The indulgence muzzled the protestations of some, but intensified the persecution of conventiclers as far away from the others as possible, that was designed inevitably to destroy them all! No thanks to blindness of the majority groups, this plan did not materialize.

Advocation of violence. We do the filed preachers a grave injustice, and abuse the high ideal of pure history, if

¹ Burnet, op. cit. i, 414.
we consider only their opposition. Scores of the indulged clergy, as we have seen, were evicted a second time, and eighty curates resigned rather than take the Test Act.\footnote{1}{Peter Hume Brown, History of Scotland, ii, 329.}

Nor must we ever forget that James Renwick maintained no more against James II than all Britain was to act upon when they drove the King from his throne with a high hand.

The cause of the recalcitrance of the conventiclers was basically religious, not political. When a church invades the state, as was the case with the mediaeval Roman Church, the issue at once becomes political; but when a political figure invades the church, the matter is religious. These men saw a conceited, self-asserting man of the world, swelled with his own importance, presume to be an authority on church polity, to have the right to silence certain ministers, and then to tell others what, where, and when to preach! If they allowed him to continue unchecked, then they would be worse than he. The spirit within them, "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."\footnote{2}{Maepherson, The Covenanters under Persecution, 54.} Charles II stubbornly stood in their way of winning souls, and it was plain to them that he would not move aside unless he was
completely overthrown. And if his political powers were to cease with his ecclesiastical, that was no fault of theirs. "The fault of the noble two thousand in England was that they allowed themselves to be silenced; hence there was little or no preaching afield. The glory of our Scottish Covenanting preachers was, that they continued to exercise their ministry; and the glory of the people, that they would not allow the faithful minister to cease, but insisted upon them preaching and dispensing ordinances, no matter what the cost might be."¹

Some of these men advocated violent overthrow of an unfit ruler and his government, but the spirit of their "Revolution" sermons was resignation to the Providence of God. They made their opposition a spiritual matter, wholly in the hands of God. When Argyle tested the steel of their convictions he found Renwick and his followers opposed to his expedition because it was political "and not based on the old Covenanting principles."² And Cameron, in his first sermon after his return to Scotland, condemned the "Hamiltonian Faction" for the tragedy of Bothwell Bridge.³

It is a well-known fact that some of the violence of these men was in action as well as in words. Critics who are in the dishonest habit of showing that two wrongs make a

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¹ Johnston, Alexander Peden, 78.
² Hewat, Peden the Prophet, 133-34.
³ Richard Cameron, "Lecture of Psalm 78:40," Wodrow MSS, 4th, XXXVI, No 14, National Scottish Library.
right remind us that the Covenanters were just as cruel in battle as their opponents. They lay at the door-step of the field preachers the blame for inciting the murder of Archbishop Sharp; and while their opponents are ready to slay them in the fields, the Covenanters are commended to have the "sweet spirit of submission" exercised by the early saints under persecution. ¹ When Cameron would be reminded that he was not fighting Turks and infidels, but his own Christian King, he would declare that he was attacking something far worse than such: he opposed wickedness in the guise of Christianity — he opposed it to the death!

These men felt the submissiveness taught by St. Paul and Christ did not apply to them in this matter because the majority of the people were already Christians, and for religious freedom, and only a profane minority in power had taken it away. Their violence was more in word than in deed, more passive to the Will of God working through others, though, unfortunately, often contributory to the actions of men inspired less by the grace and love of God than they. They were willing and prepared to fight — if the enemy should attack them first. Yet even Cameron, John Kid, John King, Andrew M'Cormick, and John Crookshanks would admit that there were some who came to hear them preach in the fields who did not have the spirit of Christ,

¹ Crawford, op. cit. 13.
who were patriots only, or who enjoyed the fight for the
sake of a fight. But even their severest critics must
concede that "it seems inseparable from this imperfect
world, that some such men always hang on the skirts of
noble movements."^-

2. An Embodiment of Vital Christianity in a
Time of Moral Decay

From the time of the Scottish National Covenant in 1638
until the death of Charles I Scotland had her golden age.2
But during the years that followed the Church no longer had
a royal foe to check her advance, and, like any movement
without restraint, she seemed in the eyes of some to go too
far.3 The state, ruled by righteous elders, and guided by
the teaching of godly clergy, now seemed a reality. Geneva
had almost moved to Scotland.

But this Golden Age had given way to a gold-plated age,
and how thin the veneer really was is apparent at the
Restoration. The spiritual condition of the country fell to
its lowest ebb, and the overbearing rule of the Presbyterian
clergy was blamed. The deportment of its first parliament —
the "Drunken Parliament" — indicated that all was not well
in Scotland. It is obvious that most of the nobility were
reactionary against the strong religious culture of the day,

1. Blaikie, Men of the Covenant, 184.
2. Herkless, Richard Cameron, 9.
3. Thomas Stephen, The Life and Times of Archbishop
Sharp, 254.
and took the occasion of this Parliament to flaunt their resentment in no private way! "It was the misfortune of the presbyterians to have incurred the dislike of many leading characters in the nation. They hated the strictness of their religion, which is natural to all profligates."¹

The passing of the Act Rescissory, the most comprehensive single piece of legislation in Scottish history,² revealed that these nobles did not care a farthing for righteousness. They were born in the "Good Beulah-land," and now, in an adolescent abandon, were making their way into a "distant country" as prodigal sons. Satan himself could not have devised a more stinging insult to the clergy of the Kirk, to the parents who gave them birth, or to the Reformers who set them free. It is plain that they were tired of singing forced hallelujahs. Paradise was lost, and they drank the Devil's health in the streets of Edinburgh, and seemed to make a new "covenant" which essentially said, "let evil be my good."

The Kirk of Scotland, which had been the rallying point of national resistance in the first half of the century,³ became powerless before the onslaught of these indignant nobles. Nearly thirty ministers were ejected from their charges by Parliament, and the remainder seemed helpless to

¹. Crichton, Memoirs of Blackader, 65.
². See Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 45: "Before this fateful Parliament rose on the 12th of July, it had turned Scottish history into new channels as momentously as when Cyrus changed the course of the Euphrates on the night that he and his Persians captured Babylon."
effect their return. In 1662 over three hundred more were
turned out, among whom were some of the best Presbyterian
preachers in Britain. Prelacy was restored, and men with
dubious qualifications were called to fill famous pulpits.
The moral conscience of the nation now rested in the hands of
unproved intruders, most of whom were of low moral and edu-
cational standards, and some of whom were Highland lads still
in their adolescence. "So entirely bucolic the poor fellows
were that landlords in the north were heard cursing the
Presbyterian pastors, because, since they forsook their
parishes, not a boy could be got to watch the cows: every-
where the farm-lads were smitten with an insatiable hunger
to reap the profits of the pulpit."¹ Kirkton said, "I take
the Lord to witness, I've heard the curats upon Edinburgh
streets swear as fast as ever I heard a debaucht red-coat."²
Burnet testified, "They were the worst preachers I ever
heard: they were ignorant to a reproach: and many of them
were openly vicious."³ These lads looked on the soldiers as
their only friends, and frequently were willing to share
with them in their excesses, even outdoing them in debauchery.
It was common knowledge that they were the avowed enemies of
the Presbyterians, often being the sole cause of the persecution
which even the soldiers were weary of perpetrating.⁴

1. Alexander Smellie, Men of the Covenant, 93.
2. James Kirkton, The Secret and True History of the
Church of Scotland, 180.
4. See Simpson, Life of Renwick, 26-27, 116, and Aiton,
Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, 30.
The leaders of this new church "established by law" were no better. Archbishop Burnet said, "The only way to deal with a Phanatick, was to starve him,"¹ and Paterson, also an archbishop, turned inventor, and introduced the double thumbscrew, which proved a most effective instrument of torture to use on poor Presbyterians suspected of frequenting conventicles.² And the curate of Kilbride who conspired with his servant to lure weary travellers with refreshments, with the intention of murdering them for their possessions, was not more guilty than Archbishop Sharp who, among other numerous crimes, was totally to blame for the legalized murder of James Mitchell.³

The condition of the State and the Church naturally determined to some extent the behaviour of their social inferiors. "The degenerate condition of the Church as established by law serves as an index on 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."⁴

**The Response of the Field Preachers**

The conventiclers were daily faced with this ever-increasing moral decay. What were they to do? They had been illegally silenced. The nation was dying for want of Light.

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¹ Macpherson, The Covenanters under Persecution, 45.
² Hewison, The Covenanters, ii, 278.
³ Ibid. 235.
⁴ Ibid. 227.
and had no moral prod for her conscience. The high spiritual quality of the country for which they had laboured so hard and so long now took on the aspect of an idle dream. The Spirit of God still told them to "send out the light," and when they took to the fields men were able to echo back, "and great was the company of them that published it."

The condition of the nation is the background against which we must judge these men and their preaching, though it was against the law, and though it meant imprisonment, financial ruin, and even death to them and their hearers.

Macpherson pays them this tribute: "On the whole it may be stated that, save within the bounds of the Covenanting movement, religion in Scotland was practically dead, and that among the Covenanters a deep and fervent religious life existed. Within that movement practically the whole of the genuine religious life of the country was to be found; and the consistent Covenanters formed a small minority."¹

These men were "...not only enabled to keep alive among the people the spirit of resistance to tyranny; they carried on simultaneously an intensive evangelic campaign."² When the Duke of Hamilton was dying, he is reported to have said, "We banish these Men from us, and yet, when dying, we call for them; this is a melancholy Work."³ Johnston says, "The bravest of

¹ Macpherson, The Covenanters under Persecution, 47, 53.
² Ibid. 47-48.
³ Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana, ii, 47.
these [Covenanters] were the conventicle preachers. They saved the nation when Argyle was no longer at the helm to guide the vessel of the State, and they rendered service such as no single nobleman, with all the Christian Prowess at his command, could have yielded. The saviours of our country were field-preachers, like John Welsh of Irongray, Gabriel Semple, Alexander Peden, John Blackader, Donald Cargill, Richard Cameron, and James Renwick; and they saved it, not by their politics, although the political questions came in at a later period — being thrust upon them, but by continuing their ministry as the ambassadors of Christ, in the open fields and among the mountains and glens, when driven forth from church and home by cruel edict.1

3. A High Standard of Preaching in the midst of Ecclesiastical Confusion and Inability

The seventeenth century is a period of great preaching throughout Europe.2 The French pulpit, then at its highest peak, could boast such men as Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, and Claude. England was not at all inferior to France, and ornamented her pulpits with such men as John Donne, Joseph Hall, Jeremy Taylor, John Tillotson, Robert South, Richard Baxter, John Owen and John Bunyan.

Into this eminent parade of famous pulpiteers comes marching the rugged Covenanters of the North. Though we bless

their memory, yet we must deny them a high place as homilists. But then again, we do not remember them as great preachers, but as great men. They may pass unnoticed by historians of the pulpit, but will never be forgotten by historians of the Church. Further, we maintain that the best preaching is that which best makes a contemporary, dynamic application of eternal truths upon the lives of the immediate hearers. This the field preachers most certainly did.

In the world-scope, the stature of the conventiclers may be small, but they were giants in Scotland — and, we sincerely believe, the best preachers in the world to preach to Scots. We cannot compare, but only contrast them to most of the Episcopal clergy on their contemporary scene. Wodrow profoundly wished that "the World had a Specimen of the ordinary Doctrine preached by the Curates, and a Parallel 'twixt it and that of the Presbyterians at Conventicles, and they would soon perceive on which Side the Poison lies." And in 1666 Burnet lamented, "What are preachings turned to? long formal discourses often impertinent and unintelligible to the vulgar, at best wrought out w't an operose method and stuffed w't pedantry...how dry are our long preachments, where the poor people must be worried an hour at least w't such mean stuff." 

1. Wi 228.
2. Quoted by G. D. Henderson, op. cit. 201.
the worst preachers he ever heard, and "ignorant to a reproach."\textsuperscript{1}

Only in passing need we speak of the odious book, Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd. One perusal is enough to convince the sober reader that it is to be mistrusted. It is a libel depending on hearsay, published anonymously, and printed in England. After a careful examination of all known field sermons we have failed to locate any of the objectionable quotations it reports as fact. Some of the passages are quaint because of style, and confessedly bear a similarity to the preaching of some of the conventiclers, but none of the obscene language and crude illustrations have been traced to the men we are studying. As Hugh Watt so appropriately reminds us, "The massive expositions and weighty treatises have always been less well-known in certain circles than the spicy collections of passages, genuine and apocryphal, which were compiled in malice, and industriously circulated for the delectations of palates south of the Border."\textsuperscript{2}

In a previous chapter we noted Sir Walter Scott\textsuperscript{3} and his pictures of the field preachers in his novel Old Mortality, and can pass him by with the conclusion of Hector Macpherson:

From Scott downwards there has always been a band of supercilious critics, whose finer

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1.] Gilbert Burnet, History of his own Time, 1, 229.
  \item[2.] Hugh Watt, Recalling the Scottish Covenants, 17.
  \item[3.] See page 248.
\end{itemize}
sensibilities have been shocked by the bold and threatening language of the Cameronian section of the Covenanters. Scott has been disposed of by M'Crie, and no more need be said on that head but this: the great novelist's travesty of a heroic episode in the history of his country will be remembered to his everlasting discredit. As to his feeble imitators, they may be allowed to pass into oblivion. Sensible people will find in the terrible circumstances of the time ample explanation of the fierce language of the Cameronians.¹

Regarding the political flavour in the sermons of the conventiclers Aiton has this to say: "They aimed at holding the Crown in subjection — preached sedition and rebellion — discussed Bills of Suspension in their sermons — interfered in many civil matters, and keeping of fairs and markets, forestalling of markets, rank-rent, fiddling, &c. — and they meddled in the private and domestic concerns of the Sovereign."² So runs the general trend of the critics. We have already noted in this chapter that many of the issues that were political in implication, and even in form, were religious in esse, not political; and in a previous chapter³ we concluded that this preaching "to the times" was not as voluminous as many have supposed. The field preachers essentially said, "We have the gospel to proclaim! These things stand directly in the way; may God remove them so we can be about our Master's business!" Burnet shows how misinformed he was about field preaching when he said that obscure ministers, without talent,

1. Macpherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence, 117.
2. Aiton, Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, 35.
3. See page 265.
rose to fame during this period solely because of their sensational political rantings, and when some were indulged they returned to the same obscurity.\textsuperscript{1} But Burnet does not give the names of the ministers of whom he spoke, and he forgot that people oftentimes forsook indulged clergy not because of the quality of their preaching, but only because they were indulged. About the later conventiclers Aikman concedes, "...the younger and more inexperienced ministers insisted more strenuously in their sermons upon the controverted points...upon these topics they delighted to expatiate, till their minds became highly excited; and, unhappily, instead of moderating, encouraged a similar humour among their hearers, in hope of managing them, though sometimes they themselves were forced by the people to go farther than they intended or inclined."\textsuperscript{2} Notwithstanding that some are even less gentle than Aikman in their opinions about these younger men, yet the Revolution Church saw fit to ordain and settle in churches no less than sixty per cent of them! Undoubtedly some of those who were not settled were laymen who never intended to enter the ministry as a profession, in which case the percentage would be even higher. This revealing fact proves that these later conventiclers were not creatures of the times, but were spiritual enough, and talented enough to be regarded by their elders as worthy of preaching

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Burnet, \textit{op. cit.} i, 415.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Aikman, \textit{Annals}, 265-66.
\end{itemize}
the gospel in less troubled times, when men's minds turn more readily to the eternal truths of the Holy Writ.

The field preachers were always duty-bound to the "stern and tremendous theology of John Calvin" and to a persistent message of salvation. "There was invariably a strong evangelical appeal in these Covenanting sermons. We hear, for example, of Peden 'giving a very large offer of Christ in the gospel terms'...John Kid declared that 'preaching is not worth the wagg of one's finger' if Christ be not there... and Gabriel Semple insists that neither hearing Presbyterians, nor refraining from hearing Episcopalians avails, but only 'sincere seeking of God'".

The kind of sermons heard in the fields of Scotland during this period had a salutary effect on the attenders. An inn-keeper in Annandale said to two English noblemen who were his guests for the night, that it was unnecessary to lock up their horses to prevent them from being stolen by the many thieves known to dwell in that part of the country, because there were no thieves to be found since Richard Cameron had come among them. Gilbert Burnet, together with other Episcopal clergy, made a tour throughout the West where conventicles frequently were held. Of the accomplishments of these mountain men he reported: "We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government,

and on the bounds to be set to the power of Princes in matters of religion: upon all these topics they had texts of scripture at hand; and were ready with their answers to any thing that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants.\(^1\) And the Records of the Privy Councils contain several references to people who testified that, through the efforts of the conventiclers, they had been converted from wickedness, and turned to Christ.

These preachers were no less Scots because they were Covenanters. They were no more ignorant rabble now because they had to preach on the wild moors than when they stood behind pulpits they had made famous. They could not stand by in cruel silence when the cross their people was carrying weighed them to the ground. So they took to the fields with a message of comfort as well as one of salvation.

And the people! We must never lose sight of the audiences of the conventiclers. The soul of any true minister is so fashioned by God that it needs to be needed. When men of wealth were ruined for their stand as Covenanters they needed to be shown that the price was worth the paying. After Mrs. Brown of Priesthill witnessed the sadistic murder of her husband, "Puir Ault Sandy" Peden heard of it, and came for prayer. The two Margarets were drowned at Wigtown by men who

\(^1\) Burnet, op. cit. 1, 431.
would seem to have gladly stoned Stephen as well. To be silent, or to comply would have been the conventiclers' greatest crime in the light of these sad times.

Historians have recorded to the last stolen bolt of wool, yes, to the last farthing of damage done by the Highland Host. They have counted deaths, numbered imprisonments, totalled fines, and explained in careful number all breaches of the law. Scots will never forget these things, and historians have not written their last. But the thing we must remember is that the field preachers had very little to say about these injustices in their sermons. They were physicians not complaining about the wound, but healing it. So they went to the fields with a compassionate message, and, at times, even a patriotic message, but not as politicians looking for a soap box. "The men in authority pretended they were doing the country and even religion a service, when they were banning these men as 'rebels,' and banishing them and imprisoning them. Instead of this, as we read the ordinary records of history to-day, and discover for what they were branded, we bless their memory. We learn what brave souls these were who led the forlorn hope in the saint-killing time, and also how base and hypocritical were their persecutors."

It mattered little how far these beloved pastors might be driven from their pulpits, they could not be hid from men

and women who were always hungry for good preaching in a land where it was now so rare. Even the credulous stories of the field preachers, and of Peden in particular, have a truth to tell us: these men provided a symbol of loyalty to a noble cause nearly beaten to death by devising overlords; a loyalty that might have otherwise ceased to live. When we see Walker's Peden we might not see God's Peden, but we do see what the people wanted to happen — a powerful, supernatural visitation of God's power to work for a free church, exclusive of worldly control.

4. Conclusion
Division in the Covenanting Movement

William Garden Blaikie describes the years 1660-90 as one of the saddest periods in Scottish history. As a basis for this conclusion he advances four salient facts: (1) the renunciation of the King as the outcome of the bitter strife between the Resolutioners and the Protesters, (2) the flower of the clergy were driven from their charges, (3) the church did not enjoy long the benefits of the counsel and guidance of the veterans who were most gifted, most of whom died soon after the Restoration, and (4) the great storm of persecution which resulted.¹

To this we feel must be added a fifth: division among the ranks of the Covenanters, which tended to prolong and

intensify their sufferings. Had the Presbyterian clergymen wholly united, and refused to conform, probably the matter would have sooner ended. But Scots themselves proved to be their greatest enemies. A Scottish King sat on the British throne, a turn-coat Presbyterian minister was now the Episcopal Primate of Scotland, and two-thirds of the clergy accepted a change in church polity as though it had been no more than a change of clothes. There was this division first, then a cleavage between the indulged and the non-indulg, and finally, between the pacifists, and the zealots; in short, the period which began with divisions ended with the same. Fraser of Brea admits, "...the word of God in the midst of persecution did always prosper, until we destroyed ourselves, first by needless divisions and difference in opinion happening by reason of the Indulgence, and thereafter by rash and unwarrantable taking up of arms most unseasonably in the year 1679."¹

Some of the most destructive division during this time took the subtle form of secret loyalty. That is, the tendency of many in the land to give private sympathy and assistance to the nonconformists, while, at the same time, publicly avowing loyalty to their tormentors. One is almost amused to read of the jailor in Edinburgh Tolbooth helping John Dick and other prisoners to escape. While these inmates worked for several

¹. Wodrow, *Select Biographies*, 11, 326.
days loosening the bars from the window of their cell, one bar fell to the street below, where it was deliberately ignored by all who passed, including the jailor, until the escape could be effected.¹ There was much court gossip about Lauderdale secretly encouraging conventicles, and Archbishop Sharp wrote a threatening letter to the Earl of Cassillis in which he accused him of presuming to attend a field communion. Defoe said Lieutenant-General Maitland was known to send private notice to people at conventicles where a raid was to be made.² Even Rothes did not take his objections to these "seminaries of sedition" very seriously, for he did not prevent his wife from frequenting them; and when he was forced to take prisoners, it was his custom to release them the following morning.³

Blaikie observed that people's reluctance to disclose the location of meetings made it possible for some open-air communions to be well advertised long in advance, well-attended, and even conducted over the length of several days.⁴ The inability of the authorities to apprehend Renwick when he was the most hunted man in Scotland undoubtedly showed a profound loyalty on the part of his hearers.⁵ "The Privy Council were continually divising methods of reaching the leaders of the Covenanters, and were continually failing because of the loyalty

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¹ Wi 289; Sir John Lauder, Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, 329; and John Erskine, Journal, 17.
² Defoe, Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, 342.
⁴ Blaikie, op. cit. 242.
⁵ Carslaw, Life of Renwick, 27.
of the people to these leaders."¹ Hewat mentions that even some lairds, who by no means were sympathetic toward the field preachers, would often render them service.²

Many other instances of providing food, shelter, concealment, and transportation could be cited; but the point we intend to make is that these secret loyalties, even in high places, and in the darkest hours, though they kept the conventiclers in the fields, only added to their sufferings. After all, Gabriel Semple was the only field preacher of renown to outlive this period (probably only because he fled to England, and did not return until the Revolution). The remainder were killed, executed, or died in prison or of exposure. This "kind hypocrisy" did no more than infuriate Sharp and others in authority. It helped to bring down the Highland Host, and encouraged the sending of soldiers up from England to do what the magistracy at home was often insincerely pretending, or only half-heartedly attempting to do.

If these well-meaning secret sympathizers had unfurled their colours and joined the few who stood alone in the fields toward the end of the period, the awful suffering endured by the Covenanters would have been mollified and shortened, as indeed proved to be the case in England where the nonconformists held so many meetings that the spirit of the government was broken.

1. Herkless, Richard Cameron, 127.
2. Hewat, Peden The Prophet, 151.
The Lasting Influence of the Field Preachers

At the Revolution Settlement this famous period of conventicle-preaching in Scotland comes to its end. The aftermath of adjustment following the Reformation broke the back of religious tyranny in Britain.¹ The slave-state under Popish dictatorship was made to realize through ignominious defeat in battle that it could never make the Church its slave in return; and religious freedom became the spoils of war.

The conflict ends, and the laudation of "well done, good and faithful servants" is awarded the Scottish field preachers — a laudation spoken by men which their corpses could by no means hear, but was heard indeed by their glorified spirits, and uttered by better lips than ours. Like the second son of Adam, who "yet speaketh" millennia after his murder, so their influence, born at a cost only martyrs know, moves in sweet commotion down through the centuries. "No period in Scottish history has proved more pregnant with far-reaching results than the Age of the Covenants. The English-speaking world of to-day still bears the impress in thought and institution of the contest of the two Scottish generations from the 1630's to the 1680's."²

During the second of these two generations the history

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¹. See G. M. Bell, Life of Cameron, 136.  
of the Covenanters is essentially the history of the field preachers. The coming of William and Mary revealed that the truths which they pronounced in the fields were not regarded as an "emergency expedient, but as of perpetual obligation."¹ The Cameronian preachers came to the fore in their political-conscious tradition, by influencing the Society People to model themselves into a military force to march on Edinburgh to protect the Scottish Parliament which was deliberating on the transfer of the crown to William. "They were the first Volunteers in Britain who appeared for the Revolution of 1688,"² and, in the opinion of some, without their help the Settlement might not have been possible, or at least it would have taken longer, and at the cost of a greater civil contest than proved to be the case.³

The Covenanting Movement exerted a tremendous influence on the whole of Britain, and the Cameronian segment of it undoubtedly made a notable contribution to American culture as well. Couper lists fourteen instances of Cameronian ministers who were either exiled to the colonies during this period, or emigrated immediately after;⁴ and Hutchison affirms that these and their congregations were spread from Vermont to North Carolina, and in many places in Canada as well.⁵ Certainly they had their place in inspiring the First Amendment

¹. Watt, op. cit. 69.
². Carslaw, Life of Renwick, 110.
⁴. Couper, The Reformed Presbyterian Church, index, 175.
⁵. Hutchison, The Reformed Presbyterian Church, 406.
to the Constitution of the United States, which prevents Congress from making any laws pertaining to religion. And "From the year 1800 the Reformed Presbyterian Church stood forth openly and for a time alone, as a Church, in its condemnation of slavery."¹ In 1858 many members and ministers joined the Union Army as common soldiers to fight against the South.²

And to-day when "federation" seems to be the key-word throughout the Protestant world, certain circles in Scotland are dreaming of a united church in Britain — and some have gone to more concrete lengths.³ But others, and seemingly a far greater number,⁴ remember another time when such a union was a reality by law, and was a nightmare — not a dream — come true. They meditate on the feasibility of having bishops in the Kirk of Scotland, and, whether such an alteration in polity is right or wrong, we cannot deny that they think of Archbishop Sharp, King Charles, Claverhouse, and especially, the field preachers. The influence of the conventiclers is felt again, and their personalities seem even to live again, rejuvenated on the gilt-edged pages of their history, and conjured up from their graves by a contemporary need.

It is a refusal to die on the part of the conventiclers

¹. Loc. cit.
². Hutchison, op. cit. 409.
⁴. See, e.g., Glasgow Speaks, A Reply... on Anglican-Presbyterian Relations, The House of Grant, Glasgow, 1959.
whose natural lives were cut short that most fascinates those who write of them and their times. Johnston says, "Conventicles, and open-air communion services, were the seed-plots into which the seeds of truth, heroic struggle, steadfast endurance, and immortality were cast, which at this hour, not in Scotland only, but throughout the world, are yielding so plentiful a harvest."¹ James Gibson pays them this tribute: "From that day forward the current set in, slowly but surely, toward a truer recognition of and a larger concession to the rights of conscience; and in these days, when all men are free to exercise the right of private judgment in matters of faith, and the support of a State church, like religion itself, must be accepted as a purely personal responsibility, accountable to no earthly tribunal, we cannot but feel thankful to the men whose stern unyielding determination was remarkable, who suffered, bled, and triumphed in a struggle which not only saved Scotland, but really secured the religious freedom of England."² Hector Macpherson — himself a field preacher at heart — declares that the essence of John Locke's philosophy was anticipated in the writings and preaching of the "poor despised" Covenanters, some of whom were conventiclers.³ He weaves this wreath of words as a tribute to their memory: "The Covenanters

2. James Gibson, Tombstones of the Covenanters, 8-9.
3. Macpherson, Scotland's Debt to Protestantism, 74.
at the foot of the scaffold gained a glorious victory. Their memories, written in letters of blood, are enshrined for ever in the hearts of all freedom-loving Scotsmen. Richard Cameron, the Lion of the Covenant; Renwick, Cargill, and the rest of the noble band are not dead — they live with the Immortals.¹

No age can justly evaluate itself. Contemporary critics of great men and movements usually earn no more than to be laughed at and criticized by succeeding generations. So is it with those who so severely spoke against the conventiclers. In the light of their contribution to religious freedom and limited monarchy, it is their critics, not they who are on trial.

The field preachers made their mistakes, it is so, the greatest of which was only a lack of unity to realize their objectives sooner than they did! If some were fanatical, perhaps fanaticism was what was needed. They lived in fanatical times, were ruled by fanatical kings, and were subjected to fanatical injustice. In fact, fanaticism was so widely spread, that it strangely took on the semblance of normalcy; and just as equal factors on opposite sides of a mathematical equation cancel out each other, so the intolerance, stubbornness, and other extremes of these fearless men are neutralized by a greater show of the same traits in their enemies.

¹. Ibid. 78.
The field preachers — often last in the evaluation of people to-day, whose superficial knowledge of them seldom goes beyond an entertaining evening with Old Mortality — were first in opening the drama of the Revolution Settlement, first to offer help in effecting that Settlement, first to oppose the indulgences of a "Christ-dethroning" King, and first to hold field conventicles in open protestation against the form of church polity demanded by that King. The reverberations of their preachments still echo against the hills of Scotland, sermons that trumpeted forth in a myriad blast of many things, but reach the ears of little Caesars in our time in the simple words of history's greatest lesson: "We can do nothing against the truth."

John Welsh was one of the primary field preachers who never thought of himself as a prophet; yet once he winged his way up to the eternal scene, and saw the historical position of himself and his colleagues in the fields. We tingle with apprehension as we read his sad prediction, so accurately told that both subsequent generations and God Himself have given it an everlasting Amen:

O when our Stories is read, there will be uncoath Things in it to be read; and the very worst of Men, how ready soever they be now to Persecute, shall be made to drie their Shame; Their Shame shall be from Generation to Generation, and their Postering shall think Shame to say that such a Man was my Quicher, or such a Man was my Grand-Father. And it may be many of you no see that Day: We cannot tell, it may be so and otherways too; GOD has done as great Things for us: And I assure you it may fall out so, that the LORD give his Enemies a dead stroak. Ay says Enemies, we never knew that GOD would have done such a Thing.1

APPENDIX V

OUTLINES OF FIELD SERMONS

The Church's Paradox - Zech. 14:6-7

I. THE CHURCH'S SUFFERING IS ONLY TEMPORARY
II. THOUGH IT SEEMS LONG, IT IS YET ONLY TEMPORARY
III. NOBODY KNOWS THE TIME OF ITS END BUT GOD
IV. WHEN THE DARKNESS IS GREATEST DELIVERANCE IS NEAREST

— John Welsh

Sermon on Isaiah 55:6

INTRODUCTION

1. Man was lost in Adam
2. He was found in Christ
3. Hence, it is now our duty to seek Him

I. AN EXHORTATION: "seek"

1. God commands it
2. He is content to be sought after
3. He has many blessings awaiting those who seek
4. He now prepares a blessed welcome
5. The use: God is still to be found in Scotland in spite of all our enemies are doing to drive Him out

II. AN ENCOURAGEMENT: "he may be found"

1. In secret
2. In Scripture
3. In public ordinances

III. WHEN HE MAY BE FOUND

1. In the morning of the day
2. In the morning of life
3. In the morning of the Gospel

CONCLUSION

1. Pray for the lost, especially those in the Highlands
2. Seek Christ yourself without delay

— Gabriel Semple
Sermon on Psalm 126:1-2

INTRODUCTION

1. All is not lost that is in peril
2. An exposition of the text:
   A captivity mentioned
   A captivity turned again
   A song of joy because of it
   A prayer of thanksgiving
   A doctrine: the fruit of joy comes
   after the seed time of tears

I. NOTE THE METHOD OF THE DELIVERY MENTIONED
II. NOTE THE EFFECT IT HAD ON THOSE DELIVERED
III. NOTE WHY THE DELIVERY IS SO SINGULAR

1. Because it was done so perfectly by God, not man
2. Because the time of it was delightfully unexpected
3. Because it comes after great suffering
4. Because it astounds men, who are helpless to promote or prevent it

IV. NOTE THE REASON WHY THE SINGULARITY IS SO PRONOUNCED

1. God does it without the help of the wisest on earth
2. Because this brings Him, not men, the credit
3. And gives Him an occasion to demonstrate His power
4. And reveals how His foolishness is better than the wisdom of men

V. THE USE

1. Stop guessing about the nature of expected delivery, and concentrate on its fact
2. Get rid of doubts that it will come
3. Be thankful to God now, in anticipation of delivery

VI. CONCLUSION

1. How sweet the song of deliverance will be when God turns away his anger from Scotland!
2. Then will Scotland know in reality, what the faithful know now by promise

— John Blackader

Sermon on Philippians 1:21

INTRODUCTION

1. We understand on earth only what is sensuous
2. Heavenly things are abstract, hence inscrutable
3. Very little of heavenly bliss can we know now
4. Hence we are at fault in not adequately preparing
5. THESIS: Things in heaven should provoke us to sharpen our hunger to be there some day.

I. THERE IS REST IN HEAVEN
II. THERE IS PERFECTION IN HEAVEN
III. THERE IS JOY IN HEAVEN
IV. THERE IS GLORY IN HEAVEN

— James Kirkton

Sermon on I John 2:25

INTRODUCTION

1. We live by promises
2. The greatest of all promises is that of eternal life.

I. IT IS MARVELLOUS TO KNOW HOW FEW PREPARE FOR ETERNAL LIFE
1. Life is short
2. Life is so uncertain

II. IT IS A WONDERFUL THING TO HAVE SALVATION SURE

III. FALSE HOPES MANY PEOPLE HAVE:
1. They hope they are saved — wishful thinking
2. They are orthodox believers
3. They have done great things for God
4. They say their prayers
5. They do what the minister says

IV. COMPLAINTS AGAINST UNSURE BELIEVERS
1. They are not sad enough
2. They are not tender enough
3. They are not careful enough

— James Kirkton

Morning Sermon on John 5:40

I. I SHALL SHOW YOU THERE IS A GREAT UNWILLINGNESS IN SINNERS TO COME TO CHRIST
II. WHY SINNERS ARE SO UNWILLING TO COME TO CHRIST
III. A SHORT APPLICATION OF THE DOCTRINE

— Richard Cameron
Sermon on Hosea 13:9-10

I. A CHARGE TO ISRAEL — "they have committed suicide"
II. A SOLUTION — "In God is your help"
III. THE MANNER OF THE SOLUTION — "God will be their king"
IV. THE REASON — because there is none other to help

— Richard Cameron

Sermon on Psalm 46:10

I. WHAT IS HERE FORBIDDEN "be still"
II. WHAT IS REQUIRED "and know"
III. THE REASON ANNEXED THEREUNTO "I will be exalted"
IV. AN APPLICATION

— Richard Cameron

Sermon on Song of Solomon 3:3

INTRODUCTION

1. The church will have her night-time experience
2. She may be driven into the fields to find Christ

I. WE SHALL CONSIDER WHAT HE HIMSELF IS

1. What is His birth?
2. What are his possessions?
3. What is His person?

II. WHAT HE HAS DONE FOR THE CHURCH AND BELIEVERS

1. He took our nature upon himself
2. He took the form of a servant
3. He took our infirmities and diseases
4. He bore the wrath of God for us
5. He died for us
6. He made the hope of eternal life be in us
7. He made righteousness a reality in our lives
8. He is in constant intercession for us

III. WHY MANY YET DO NOT LOVE HIM

1. Because they are disappointed in not having great manifestations of Him
2. Because many prayers are not being answered
3. Because forgiveness does not seem real
IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE WHO LOVE CHRIST

1. They will think much about him
2. They will speak much of Him
3. They will bring all they can to Christ
4. They will be loath to offend Him
5. (The indulged ministers have no love for Christ)
6. They will respect all His commands
7. They are prepared and eager to make sacrifices

V. EXHORTATION

1. If you would love Christ, keep your sins ever before you
2. Be much in the grace of repentance — Richard Cameron

Sermon on Luke 12:32

I. THE PEOPLE EXHORTED: the Lord's own disciples
II. THE EXHORTATION ITSELF: fear not
III. THE GROUND OF THE EXHORTATION: a promised kingdom
IV. THE MOTIVE MOVING HIM TO MAKE THE PROMISE: His own good pleasure

— James Renwick

Sermon on Revelation 22:1

INTRODUCTION — an explanation of the symbols in the text

DOCTRINE 1: Jesus Christ is very tender with his people
DOCTRINE 2: The Church of Christ is a wonderful thing
DOCTRINE 3: True members of the church are clothed with Christ's righteousness
DOCTRINE 4: The Righteous Ones are destined to victory
DOCTRINE 5: A faithful ministry is the glory of the church

— James Renwick

The Saints' Duty in Evil Times
Isaiah 26:20 — first sermon

I. AN INVITATION
II. WHO ARE INVITED
III. TO WHAT THEY ARE INVITED
IV. THEIR CARRIAGE IN COMING
V. THE QUALITY OF THE PLACE TO WHICH THEY ARE INVITED

— James Renwick
INTRODUCTION: The Lord sifts his people by the sieve of temptations, and this is a narrow sieve. It is narrower than the sieve of persecution, but think it not strange that the Lord should take this sieve, for He Himself went through it. No doubt this is a narrow sieve, because it is fourfold:

I. WHEN THE TEMPTATION IS SUITED TO THE INCLINATION
II. WHEN THE TEMPTATION SUITS A MAN'S NECESSITY
III. WHEN THE TEMPTATION PROMISES A MAN GAIN
IV. WHEN THE TEMPTATION IS DECEPTIVELY GROUNDED ON THE WORD OF GOD

James Renwick

INTRODUCTION

1. God uses many ways at different times to test his people; the men in our text exemplify this
2. Scotland to-day is also an example of this
3. The text contains three blessings: the sacks must be filled with corn, every man's money is restored, and they are given provision for the way. The text teaches four doctrines. Observe:

DOCTRINE I. That it is a part of our Lord's infinitely good and gracious way of dealing with His people, that in the day when He is about to confer mercies and singular expressions of His favour and good will upon them that even then He will carry Himself very strange and unkind-like unto them, and will deal very roughly with them for the punishment and conviction of their sins whereby they have dishonoured Him and provoked Him to anger against themselves, and partly for the trial and exercise of His grace in them; that He may fit and prepare them for new manifestations of Himself and for what He has to bestow further upon them to tryst them with and exercise them under. This occurs in three ways:

1. He puts a counterbalance upon his people's enjoyments
2. He blesses them enough that they will come back again
3. He lays some cross on them, as a check on unbound joy He gives them proof of their own weakness and inability, and of their own inproficiency in grace, and of their own weakness and mortality.
DOCTRINE II: That it is a very promising-like mercy, and token of good to a person or people, in the day of God's dealing roughly with them, in pursuing His controversy with them, because He hath been provoked by their sins, that even then He gives them something in hand, to be provision unto them by the way until the full manifestation of Himself come.

I. Note the provisions Christ gives his people by the way:

1. A discovery of Himself to the degree that it stops all anxiety
2. A discovery of the Covenant with all its promises and provisions
3. A discovery of the excellencies of the future life
4. A discovery of the sufferings of the atoning Saviour
5. A new performance of old promises
6. A revelation that we all belong to the mystical body of Christ
7. The providence of God through Christ
8. Supporting experiences of the Lord's goodness
9. Joys in the Holy Ghost
10. The spirit of adoption
11. Direction of the Holy Ghost
12. Necessary correction; but note the difference between correction and punishment:

i. Correction serves to draw a man to Christ
ii. It tends to make him humble
iii. It unmasks the wickedness of sin
iv. It grieves a man into growth
v. It makes Christ supreme in a man's consideration
vi. It teaches one to hate what is against God
vii. It puts a greater distance between one's soul and sin
viii. It makes communion with Christ more real
ix. It makes for giving respect to the omnipotence of God
x. And for holy fear and awe of God's sovereign authority
xi. And for greater impression of total inability
xii. And for a quickened spirit in public worship
xiii. And for zeal in not giving offence to others
xiv. And for a fear against having hypocrisy
xv. And for a greater diligence in practical performance of duty
xvi. And increased realization of Christ's accomplishment on our behalf
xvii. And proves the reality and sincerity of one's faith
xviii. And increases the desire to glorify God with our total lives

xix. And makes for rejoicing when others are advanced. But do not ignore the indifferent sinner who cares not: have compassion on him, protest to him of his ways, be no stumbling-block to him, pray for him, and be a good example

xx. And will make a man as concerned about the things of the spirit as well as of the flesh

xxi. And will increase a longing for heaven and its joys

II. Note the sweetness of these provisions

1. They are a great prop for faith
2. They keep God's people from fainting under trial
3. They keep the believer cheerful under the cross
4. They help one to break through great difficulties

III. A word of caution

1. Christ will fill our bags in His own time
   i. He will empty the sacks before he fills them
   ii. He will first give a sore heart
   iii. He will lay a new cross first

2. The Christian must understand the purpose of God's adversity
3. He must not demand immediate and total victory over evil
4. He must not be discouraged in spiritual disappointments
5. Grow downwardly in humility while up in progress

IV. The use

1. There are many empty sacks and kitchens in Scotland today; but there are three storehouses of Christ we can draw from: Col. 2:3; Jno. 1:16-17; and the treasurehouse of God's goodness
2. There will be much further falling away from God before the filling time really comes. The indications are:
   i. Lack of concern for spiritual things
   ii. Lack of a heart filled with heavenly desires
   iii. Lack of a heart filled with burning love
   iv. Lack of a heart-purifying faith in Christ
DOCTRINE III. That though Joseph seems to deal more roughly with his brethren than with any others in this world, yet at last he gives them the better bargain. And why is this so?

1. Because they are related to Joseph
2. Christ treats his children in much the same manner
3. So that this will mysteriously lead to the conversion of others

And what do they get above all others?

1. Great enjoyments, from a good conscience, and from afflictions as well
2. The cross itself, which brings blessings; for the chastising of Christ is better than the world of pleasures, and our little is greater than the world's wealth.
3. We are better paid by Christ in all things
4. We have an invitation to come for better things yet
5. The use: Scotland at present has no cause for being discouraged!

DOCTRINE IV. That this is a heavenly lesson that the Spirit of God has taught His people, and He would have them be very careful to learn all the steps and degrees of His dispensations and dealings towards them. Note six steps in Joseph's dealings with his brethren:

1. Every word was for some time rougher than another
2. Joseph goes from words to deeds with his brethren
3. Every attempt his brethren made to escape their plight by themselves only involved them the more deeply.
4. Joseph both wept and bound at the same time
5. These blessings Joseph gave should be remembered by all
6. No matter what Joseph did, the highest motives were behind all

CONCLUSION: Remember, if you are having great difficulty now, it is Christ only preparing you, like Joseph with his brethren, for wonderful filling of your sack of joy!

— Michael Bruce
MICHAEL BRUCE:

I'll tell you, Sirs, That many Folks believes, that the Word of the Lord is sent to another, and not to them, or to a Multitude or Congregation, but little or nothing of this, thus says the Lord to me. And I'll tell you, this is one of the Causes, among many other, why they profit not by the Word of the Lord, because thou believes not that it is the Word of the Lord to thee; for as long as thou thinks it spoken in the General, or to another Person, thou can get no good of it; and this is cause thou profits not: For thou art to look upon the Word of the Lord as sent to thee, therefore if thou would Profit by the Word spoken, look on it as spoken to thee: I cannot tell, Sirs, what word ye can hear, but ye may (if it be the Word of the Lord) profit by it, and thou may believe it is of some Use to thee, or some others: For there is no useless Word of GOD speaks at Preachings, but every Soul that is there may get good of it: If he were threatning all the Vengeance in the Word, and eternal Damnation, even thou that is a Believer, and also sure of thy Justification thorow Faith in Christ, as can be; yet thou may get some use of it; there may be use for taking that to thee, that is spoken to the greatest Reprobate: Therefore I would say, when the Word of the Lord is spoken, thou would look upon it as spoken to thee...." "Lecture on Jer. 45:1-5," Good News in Evil Times, 4.

"...but we go away to our own Fears and Fancies, and this is Bible good enough to most part of us." "Lecture on Matt. 28," Good News in Evil Times, 32.

"For all this is come and gone, thou thinks ay less of the World; and ay less of all the Pleasures and Delights under the Sun, using the World as thou used it not, Laughing as thou Laught not; and for the Loss of these things, thou Mourns as thou Mourned not, that is to say, thou keeps a good Bridle Hand in all that thou uses, not using the World to Excess, not Joying, nor Laughing, nor Sorrowing to Excess, but ay keeping up a good March Dike in all these things...." "Lecture on Matt. 28." Good News in Evil Times, 31.
"It is the Lord that causes all Grief and Sorrow, and if ye saw God in all that ails you, that would quiet you; when thou sees God the Cause of all thy Grief, that will cause thee to cease from murmuring at the Instruments of thy Grief; but when Folk sees not God the Cause of their Grief, they fret at evil Doers, but to fret at them is altogether unlawful; But when Folk sees God the Cause of their Grief, this makes them search into the Cause wherefore he contends with them, but when Folk sees not God the Cause of all their Sorrow and Grief, then only wyte Enemies, and not themselves, there fore Folk should see the Lords Hand in all...." "Lecture on Jer. 45:1-5," Good News in Evil Times, 10.

"If ye do not as we do, say the Men of the World, A Tolbooth shall be your Hinder-end: Well, I wish a Tolbooth for the Cause, were the worst of our Lots; I wish there were no worse Prisons in Scotland than the Tolbooth that we have: But I'll tell you what is a worse Tolbooth, and our Enemies have the greatest Share of it, and it is the worst Tolbooth that ever poor bodies had; and that is a bound up Heart after Sin, and the wrath of GOD, and an ill Conscience; as long as I want these three, and has the peace of God, and a good Conscience, I shall never have an ill Prison, tolbooth me where they will, though we have received the Sentence of Bondage from Man; yet we have received the Sentence of Life, and Liberty from our Master...." "Sermon II on Psalm 140. Verses 12, 13," Good News in Evil Times, 64.

"I had rather have Twenty Crosses on my Back for Righteousness sake, as have one Cross on my Back for Sin, or leaving the Way of GOD." "A Sermon on Psalm 140. Verses 12, 13," Good News in Evil Times, 57.

RICHARD CAMRON:

Now for you that are saying this--"It is true, it is not easy to bring folk to Christ. I have had a profession for many years," say ye, "and yet I fear I have never yet come to Christ." But I say, our Lord is here this day, saying, "Will ye take Me, ye that have had a lie so long in your right hand?" What say ye to it! You that have been plagued with deadness, hardness of heart and unbelief, He is now requiring you to give in your answer. What say ye, "Yes," or "No?" What think ye of the offer? And what fault find ye in Him? There may be some saying, "If I get or take Him, I shall get a cross also." Well, that is true, but ye will get a sweet cross. Thus we offer Him unto you in the parishes of Auchinleck, Douglas, Crawford-John, and all ye that live there about. And what say ye? Will ye take Him?
Tell us what ye say, for we take instruments before these hills and mountains around us that we have offered Him unto you this day. Ye that are free of cess-paying, will ye take Him? Ye that are free of the bond, now tendered by the enemies, will ye accept of Him this day, when the old professors are taking offence at His way and cross? Oh, will ye cast your eyes upon Him? Angels are wondering at this offer; they stand beholding with admiration that our Lord is giving you such an offer this day. Nay, those that have gone to hell many years ago, who are now crying out in the agonies of torment may be saying, "Oh, that we had such an offer as yonder parish of Auchenleck!" Oh, come, come then unto Him, and there shall never be more of your by-past sins; they shall be buried. But if ye will not come unto Him, "it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah" than for you....Look over the Shawhead and these hills, and take a look of them, for they are all witnesses now and when you are dying they shall all come before your face. We take every one of you witness against another; and will not aggravate your sorrow when they come into your mind and conscience saying, "We heard you invited and obtested to take Christ, and we were witnesses, and yet ye would not." "Sermon on John 5:40," Kerr, 431-32.

"It is true they will hear of sin in general, but how hard is it to get folk to particularise their sins!" "Sermon on John 5:40," Kerr, 427.

Sometimes He will slip away, as it were, from the Church, and withdraw and hide His face from her. Therefore seek Him, and long to get a sight of Him. I trow many may say, 'Since I saw Him it is now a long time.' Can ye tell what He said to you, and what ye said to Him; what passed betwixt Him and your souls; whether saw ye Him in the public ordinances, or saw ye Him in private, or saw ye Him in secret exercises when alone, or saw ye Him when reading or meditating upon His word? But I think ye that never had a view of Him should be saying, "O where shall I get a sight of Him?" I will tell you, if ye saw Him indeed aright it would overload your hearts. There was never one that saw Him aright but his heart was drawn out after Him. There is no such lovely object as He, neither in heaven nor upon the earth besides Him. Oh, what a lovely, excellent, beautiful one is He! O Sirs, how little can we speak of Him! Time would fail us to tell how excellent a one He is. He is far more glorious than the 'mountains of prey.' I will tell you, He is as well worth the seeking after as ever he was, notwithstanding all the things that the seekers and followers of Him have met with in this dark and cloudy day." "Sermon on Song 3:3," Kerr, 394.
"Fy on you in this generation that is so much against testimonies, when the Lord is drawing it out of them, and if any appear to give a testimony, the rest is offended thereby, they overcame by the blood of their testimony. Had we openly pleaded with our mother, and testified against the sins of our rulers who ruled in this land, ye had not lain so long under the feet of the usurper of him who is the stated enemy of Jesus Christ; nay, nor under the feet of these under him." Good News to Scotland, 8-9.

"Our Lord Jesus is and must be King upon His holy hill of Zion. There is no king in the Church besides Him. The Lord has given Him to be King to rule in you and over you. What say ye to this? Our Lord is now dethroned, and that tyrant is entered into His place. After he had got the civil power into his hand that would not satisfy him, but it behoved him to have the crown and sceptre of Christ also. But if it sets him well let the world see and judge. Now, are ye insensible to let the King of Glory—the Lord of Hosts—enter into your hearts and souls? And what say ye in Galloway and Nithsdale? Will you take Christ to be your King, and to be the anointed King of the Church? Will ye acknowledge no lord over God's heritage but the Lord Jesus Christ Himself? And what say ye of Clydesdale and Lothian? Are there any of you here content to cast yourselves at His feet, and to enter your names in His list amongst His subjects? There are few followers of the Lamb this day in our land. Come, and set down your names and submit unto Him, and give away yourselves unto Him. There were hope in Israel concerning our case, if there were any this day crying, "I am content to take Him for my King, my Lord, and Saviour."
"Sermon on Hosea 13," Kerr 413.

"Then he [the Psalmist] says, "I will triumph in the works of thy hands." Some would triumph in a great army, with a great man at their head, or in a parliament; but know ye what it is to triumph in the works of His hands? Oh, His thoughts are very deep! It is true, the thoughts of the Pope's Conclave are very deep, the thoughts of the Turks' Alcoran are deep, and the thoughts of the Council of Britain are very deep, and the plots of our enemies are very deep. But oh, how deep are His thoughts! He sits in the heavens and laughs, and will laugh all their devices to nought. Ye would all read the Lord's mind, but it were not good that ye knew and saw the good that is in the Lord's power and purpose to do for these lands, for Scotland, England, and Ireland. If we knew it we would be apt to turn delirious and light-headed. Our weak heads would not bear the new wine of heaven. No, we could not bear it;...." "Sermon on Psalm 92," Kerr 422.
He not only died for us, but went down and perfumed the grave for believers, so that they may say, 'O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?' But take heed, Sirs, now. For, I think, if ye be believers ye will have love unto Him on this account. Those who have gone to a scaffold for Christ have done it cheerfully; so that their dying day has been the best day that ever they saw in their life, yea, they have been so joyful that their souls have been made, as it were, leap out of their bodies, because our Lord has gone through death and the grave for them; therefore they have the victory and have overcome death and the grave;..." "Sermon on Song 3:3," Kerr 398-99.

"And indeed as little children are few in comparison of the rest of the house, so God knows how few in all this congregation are really within the Church. Now, if we take the Church for the Church militant here upon earth, there will be but few children in the house of God. Now, ye know, if ye be true believers, and walking towards heaven, ye must be converted. Now, then, are ye converted? Ye must be converted ere ever ye be fit for the kingdom of heaven. Ye must see what conversion is." "Lecture on Matt. 18:1-17," Kerr 386.

DONALD CARGILL:

"And what are ye freed from? Are ye free from lusts—the lust of covetousness, the lust of passion, pride, sensuality? What is it ye have got loose from, that had once a grip on you? Some have got this lust, but not all out; and in effect, when a man has got the one eye thrust out, or blinded accidentally, commonly the other we think is the stronger. So we are sure if ye put not all your lusts out, those you leave behind will be stronger than before. It is best to thrust them all out. "Sermon on John 8:34-35," Kerr 481.

"Grace hath brought all the terrors of death unto this. It is but just like one putting off a worn suit of clothes, and putting on a suit of new apparel. O death, who wast so dreadful, thou art now but like the putting off old rags and on new apparel! Did ye never see the fondness of a child in putting on new garments? Though there be no such fondness here, yet there is as great a resolution and desire in every true Christian to be thus clothed upon. "Lecture on II Cor. 5:4-11," Kerr 474.
"...Man's hopes hold not the thousandth part. Man's hopes never answer or quadrate with his pretences. What are man's hopes at best? Why, they are just like a field of corn upon which the winter comes before it be full; and so it is blasted. And oh, but this field was rank in summer! Now, of these things we may say, man's show is vain, his boastings often fail, and his hopes fail. But that which is more than all, as it is in other things, so it is also in religion: men's pretences hold not in religious things. "Sermon on John 8:34-35," Kerr 476.

"...ye can never serve God without inward purity of the conscience and righteousness of the mind. Do ye think that words, prayers, or any other religious duties are a serving of Him, though there be not inward purity of mind? Nay, we shall say that the principal thing in God's service is the inward part, and the outward is rather for exercise to yourselves than for Him; for He looks on the spirit only. But there is need of external ordinances here: and if there were not, there should not be any more external ordinances than in heaven.... "Sermon on John 8:34-35," Kerr 479-80.

"The Man of God, blest Cargill, a little before his publick Murder and violent bloody Death, preaching upon that Text, Be not high minded, but fear; said, among many other of his Sententious Sayings, That a Christian might go through Nine-tine Trials, and carry honestly in them, and fall in the Twentieth. While in the Body, be not high minded, but fear." Walker, ii, 94.

"Nothing is ours but Sin, nor due to us, but the Wages of it, Death." Walker, ii, 31.

"...no sooner Christ became All and all to a Soul, but the next Wish of that Soul is, O that he were thus to all the World!" Walker, ii, 56-7.

"There are some, when they boast most of freedom, that are most in slavery to sin. They talk as if they were the only free men in the world, and yet they are so wedded to their own lusts that they cannot get from them nor by them. We may say this of some, that they think there are none but free but those that have got over the law of God or the checks of an awakened conscience.... What is freedom? What is bondage or thraldom? In a word, a man is free when he has got, by the Spirit of God, such a power over himself as to govern himself
by divine laws, religion, and right reason. So far as ye exceed these, if it were but in the instance of your four hours' drink, so far as ye are slaves to sin. We may mention less things to which ye are slaves. In a word, man is a slave where affection and sensuality rule and take the sceptre out of the hand of religion and right reason. "Sermon on John 8:34-5," Kerr 477.

"What is the soul of man like? It is like a rich heir, that some have so taken in that they have scarcely left him anything except the title. We have the name of men of strength, wisdom, virtue. But there is nothing left save the name of these. If we take and sift man to the bottom, you will find nothing of that excellency that should answer that name or character in him...we may say the best of men is but like a reed shaken with the wind, or a blasted stalk of corn, that stands up but has nothing but chaff. It appears somewhat until it is in your hand, and then you will find the grain is gone.... There is neither light, life, true wisdom, nor any perfection now in the soul of man, so that its deprivation is wonderfully great—so great that nothing is left him that may be really helpful to him. But all he hath is infirmities, or what tends more to trouble him, than to rid him out of these entanglements. "Sermon on John 8:36," Kerr 484.

"...it will take much to keep a man in the way of God; to keep a man's heart from going out after his lusts and idols, or to bring him back to God again.... Here He hedges in their ways with thorn hedges, and hedges them in from the ways that lead to hell and destruction.... Oh, blessed be God that puts crosses in the way! He raises a thorn hedge and a stone wall in the way of His people, and that puts a stop to their backslidings; and their graces never thrive more than in that way. Oh, but the goodness of God is much seen in bringing us near unto Himself by crosses and afflictions; yea, more in this than in any other thing we are pursued with! (these are Cargill's last public words). "Sermon on Hosea 2:6," Kerr 546.

"The heart of God is strangely knit to some. It goes through all with them. It is said of a friend that he loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity, but where can this friend be found? Surely God is this Friend. But with whom is He well pleased? It is with those who are in Christ Jesus, that is, not only those who are in the eternal purposes of God, but such as are actually engrafted into Christ. He loves them, not with the love of benevolence or the love of election, but with the love of complacency. But though he loves them he does not, as some might expect, give them fulness of the world
or make them free of the Cross. On the contrary, no sooner
is he reconciled to them than he puts them under the yoke and
removes from them those superfluities that might keep them
from delighting in Himself. For that delight is mutual;
the more you delight in God, the more He will delight in you.
Do not expect, then, that you will escape affliction, but
rejoice in what the text says—"In all their affliction He
was afflicted." Carslaw, Life of Cargill 34-35.

JAMES KIRKTON:

"...we will see the King in his beauty, we will see God as
he is, we will understand God as he is; we will love him
as we should, we will enjoy him to the full, that is the top
of Heaven's joy; upon earth we know not what the love of God
is, and if we know the love of God in any measure, we know very
little what it is to enjoy God. But in heaven we shall see
God; we know not what that is to see God upon earth, and we
shall love God in another manner than we do now, we shall be
satisfied abundantly." Kirkton, "On Heaven's Bliss,"
History..., xxxi.

ALEXANDER PEDEN:

"It were better for us all Sirs, to go to the Fields in
Frost and Snow untill we were wet to the skin on our Knees
err we bow to one of them, King or Council or anie of them.
For I know that the LORD will never bless the Labours of anie
that hath their Libertie from them, whether Minister or Pro-
fessor, but such Ministers & Professors shall be blasted &
their labours blasted & fruitless, if their Souls be not in
Hazard, I sadlie fear & am mistaken. This being the Main
Head that CHRIST our LORD is Head of the Church, and King in
Zion, and this they Denie on the Matter, and if that be not
Dangerous and Sad, Judge ye, to Consent to let CHRIST's Crown
go on the Head of anie King in the World, and this is the Sin
that shall Ruine these three Lands; No Rank shall escape
from the King to the Beggar, Ministers and Professors and all
shall go with the Judgement, for all have sinned for the most
part, and have joined with Sinful Courses that we have taken
to shun Suffering; The LORD shall take these things and make
them Instruments and Means to bring Sad Sufferings on us, and
then we shall Suffer with an Evil Conscience in the midst of
the Storm that is coming on... The Lord's Trumpet, 17.
"My trial enjoins deep silence abroad; but loud pitiful language upwards. But it were not a cross, if not a cross-ing; nor a prison, if not straightening; everything here in and more is needful; and blessed be He in whom all stock is, and who is Master-carver. Well were such, and no delay either, its blessed effects in His due time, though much suspended for present." Johnston, 96-97.

O Sirs! Will ye lippen to GOD, and give him credit, and he will help you at all your Word; And ye Would once Covenant with him (Frennds) and make him your own; Ille tell you what he would do for you, he would plow your Land, sow your Corn, and shear your Corn, and sell your Corn, and bring home your Money: Ille tell you what he will do (Friends) as it were to rock the Creddel, if it were needful for you: He will condescend as low as ye desire him, but ye man once close with him, and that upon his own Terms, and make a surrender of your hearts to him. The Lord's Trumpet, 8.

"Peden laid great stress on prayer. Sometimes when asked to preach he would not consent. Pray more, he said to the people; prayer will do more good than preaching; an awful curse was to be removed from Scotland, and prayer alone would do it. Hewat, 101.

JAMES RENWICK:

"...our Master can bring about our Mercies, not only by ordinary Means, but contrary Means. In that 9th of John, there is a blind Man, and our Master will have him to see; and the Way he doth this, is by Spatch of Clay and Spittle, that we would have thought had been the way to put out his Eyes. O Sirs! have ye given the Lord this Credit, under your Cross, of working out your Mercies by Means, or without Means, or contrary to Means, or by improbable like Means: This is a Knowledge worthy of a Year's Cross." The Lord's Return to Scotland, Sermon II, 36.

"...our Master can afflict us, and yet comfort us, throw us down, and yet hold us up, leave us, and yet hold us near him; he wrestles with Jacob, and, with the one Hand he throws him down, playing the Part of a Wrestler, and with the other Hand he holds him up and makes him prevail." Loc. cit.
"He is chief among ten thousand; His countenance is comely as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars; yea, He is altogether lovely." Letter to Mrs. Jean Hamilton, Groningen, February 13, 1683, Carslaw, Letters, 36.

"But when the soul, not being filled with sense, pants after Him as the hart after the brooks of water, and, getting up, and running through the whole fields, cries out, 'Saw ye Him whom my soul loveth,' I cannot but think, that the Lord is eminently present with that soul, though not to its own apprehension." Letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, Groningen, May 5, 1683, Carslaw, Letters, 46.

"And if this and such sweet invitations will not prevail, he makes Taws to whip his own to himself; Terrors within, and Judgements without; and he never lays on a Blow, but he is still provoked to it; and when he lays it on, the Tears are in his Eyes, because he must do it." The Saint's Duty in evil Times, 5.

"I think we are like unto a poor, despicable, helpless, dead-like company, lying depressed in a valley; and He, as it were, by His work and works discovering Himself upon a hill-top in our view, stretching out His arms, and all fluttering to be at us,—calling unto us that we would join our hearts and voices together, and cry Him down unto us, offering that His power and love meeting together shall tread down and dissipate unto nothing our dreaded obstructions of one sort of another." Letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, July 9, 1684, Carslaw, Letters, 97.

"O poor fools! what can they do? The greatest wrong that they can do to us is, to be instruments in bringing a chariot to carry us to that higher house; and should we not think this the greatest favour? Let enemies never think that they can make the people of God's case miserable, while He lives and reigns; and I wot well, He hath that to give, and will give that which will sweeten all the sours of His followers." Letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, undated, No. XXXIV, Carslaw, Letters, 130-31.

"...O Men and Women, have ye seen thro' your Cross? There are many of us we see our Cross, and we see our Trouble; but we never see thro' our Cross, nor we never see thro' our Trouble; but we never see thro' our Trouble. But are there any of you
admitted to see thro' your Trouble and thro' your Cross? Have ye seen the brave Enjoyments lies at the far Side of the Church's Trouble, to be enjoyed by all the poor wearied and drouked Followers of the Lamb?" The Lord's Return to Scotland, Sermon II, 21.

"...though the world thinketh my case most miserable, yet I think, it is so happy that I know not a man this day, upon the face of the earth, with whom I would exchange my lot. O! it is more sweet and pleasant to be swimming in the swellings of Jordan for Christ and with Christ, than to swatter in the pleasures of sin, and delights of the flesh. Yes, though Christians had not a heaven hereafter, I cannot but judge their case (even here) happy beyond all others." Letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, undated, No. XXXIV Carslaw, Letters, 130.

"O say some, I am not like the Profane and Wicked! What then need I fear? O poor Fool! ...A Penknife can take away the Life as well as a Broad-Sword: Indeed I think the Case of the Wicked and Profane is more hopeful than thy Case, because they will be sooner gotten convinced of the Necessity of Repentance than thou wilt." The Saint's Duty in evil Times, 23.

"Be well resolved against what Man can do unto you: For, there are no mo Christians than there are Martyrs in Resolution and Affection: The Kingdom of Heaven must be taken by Violence, and the Violent take it by Force; and the mo and greater Difficulties be in the Way, a right Sight of the Kingdom makes the Way the more pleasant. O fear not Difficulties: For, many Trials, that, when looked upon at a Distance, seem big and mounting, yet when they and ye meet, ye shall find them nothing." "Letter to the society of strangers at Lewarden...." Shields, Life, 273-74.

"Faith at length will vanish into sight, and hope into possession, but love is the Christian's continual companion, and a brave companion it is; for it is no burden to love when there is the lasting enjoyment of the Beloved, and the full and continual assurance of immeasurable love again, as it is when love is made perfect." Letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, July 9, 1684, Carslaw, Letters, 101.
"But oh! a weighty work indeed; I see that we can never run to Him to get the weight of anything taken off our spirits and laid on Himself, till He let us once find some what of the weightiness thereof, and get it, as it were, laid heavy upon us." To Sir Robert Hamilton, Groningen, March 6, 1683, Carslaw, Letters, 41. In op. cit., p. 42, "But He loves, because He loves; and there can be no other reason given for it."

"I the Lord your God remain to the fore; and it will be ill taken off our Hand by our Master, if we put not him in the Place of all: And therefore I'll put him in the Place of Stipends; and I'll put him in the Place of Glebe; and I'll put him in the Place of Wife and Children; and I'll put him in the Place of Gold and Silver; and I'll never be a poor Man, so long as I the Lord your God remain to the fore. I'll tell you News the Day, Sirs, the great Design our Master had before him, in sending us into the Wilderness, was to learn this Lesson of making up all temporal Losses in himself." The Lord's Return to Scotland, Sermon II, 31.

"Fool! the most Part of thy Stock, and of all the People of God's Stock, lies in the Bosom of Promises, and not in Performances, for a Time; and if thou gettest a Right to a Bundle of precious Promises, in a Day of Trouble, dropped in thy Lap, thou hast but little Fault to complain of, for all the Din thou makest; for the most Part of our Stock lies in Promises, that shall be made out unto us when Time shall be no more: But there are many of us, tho' our Master would lay one Promise at our Door the Day, and another Promise at the Door to Morrow, because he makes them not out in the Nook of our Niece for present, we will fling them all at the Wall; but, Fools that ye are, meikle of your Stock lies in Promises, and the Promise carries ay a Surety in the Bosom of it for performance." The Lord's Return to Scotland, Sermon II, 19.

"...not that the Child of God is perfectlie free from all sin in this life, but when he sinneth, he sinneth not purposelie, for he honestlie resolves against it: he sinneth not willinglie, for the whole consent of his life goes not alongst with it: he sinneth not affectionalie for the renewed part of his affections is fitted against it, and sin is the Object of his Hatred: and he sinneth not unto death; for the seed of God remaineth in him, & in a word he is either kept from gross sins, or if through unwatchfulness and temptation, he shall fall into anie as David Did, then he is Sorrie for his fault, he is careful to recover himself, and not fall again, and as for ordinarie
escapes, and sins of infirmity his resolution is against all these." The Church's Choice, 15.

"When he [Paul in I Cor. 13] speaks of Faith Hope and Charitie; it is so indeed, for Faith apprehends the promise, Hope the thing promised: But ambitious love will have no less than the Promiser: Faith grips the Garment of Christ. Hope the Feet of Christ, but Love grips into the verie Heart of Christ: Faith and Hope comes to a close; but Love never ends; Faith evanisheth into sight, Hope into Possession, but Love is the Christians continual companion throughout all Eternitie. The Church's Choice, 23.

"Let us not own the way of God by halves, but wholly, fully, and in all things." Renwick's letter to Mr. Henry Jenkinson at Newcastle, from Edinburgh, Oct 3, 1682; Carslaw, Letters, 22.


"Honourable and dearly beloved in our sweet Lord,—I have had often blushes with myself, when I thought upon my omitting to write unto you, but, I may say, my delay was neither voluntary nor wilful, but a matter of necessity: for a man, under such various exigencies of providence as I am, cannot be master of his own purposes. Besides that I am daily looking out, either to be presently killed, where I may be found, or else dragged into a prison or scaffold, various weighty and perplexing occurrences, day by day, come inevitably in my way, which take up my thoughts, filling my spirit with care and my hands with business. But if I had proven as forgetful of you, as I have been blocked up from saluting you with a line from my hand, I had been far out of my duty before the Lord, and grossly ungrateful toward you. Howbeit, right honourable and dearly beloved, I need not insist in apologising for myself with you, for I know you have such a feeling of our burdens, that you commiserate our case, and pity our perplexities: therefore I'll break off this, and go on in what the Lord gives me to say." "To the Honourable Society of strangers at Leewarden in Friesland." February 18, 1686, Carslaw, Letters, 160ff. It is Renwick's longest non-apologetical letter.
ALEXANDER SHIELDS:

"He is a lamb and a lion. He is a lamb speaking forth His meekness to penitent sinners, that come and accept of Him upon His own terms. But He is a lion also, and that speaks forth His power, and strength, and holiness. If ye refuse Him in His lamb-like meekness, in the offers and small still voice of the gospel, then ye shall be caught into the terrible paws of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah; and who dare rouse Him, or offend Him? "Sermon on II Cor. 5:11," Kerr 591-92.

"Zeal keeps all the graces of the Spirit in exercise, and is as oil to the wheels of the soul, to make it run sweetly after the Lord. If you want zeal, you may question your growth of grace in the soul, you may suspect the reality thereof. It is true your zeal should be according to knowledge, and we should look well that it pass not its due bounds. Yet zeal without knowledge speaks out the lightness of the head; so knowledge without zeal argues the rottenness of the heart, whereof many give demonstrations this day. "A Preface Delivered March 11, 1688," Kerr 594.

"O Sirs, Scotland's hell will be a hot hell, and especially to professors that had the offer of the gospel, and the offer of salvation on such easy terms. O Sirs, will you flee to hide yourselves in that day, you that have been gospel proof, and that will not be moved for all that we can say unto you? O ye professors in Scotland that will not embrace this offer, ye are in as great hazard of losing heaven and happiness as the wicked enemies. You that are not doubting your condition, ye are in a sad case; and ye who cannot read, ye are in a sad case. Ye say, ye cannot get leisure to read your Bibles; but can you take leisure to damn your own souls? "Sermon on II Cor. 5:11," Kerr 591.

"A Day of Jacob's Trouble, with a Witness, that hath all the Characters of a Season of sowing in Tears, that ever any had; A Day, that hath all the Symptoms of Wrath incumbent, and all Prognosticks of Wrath im pending from the Lord; All the Portents of a Night of Slumbering and Stumbling, Desertion and Darkness about Duties and Events; All the ominous Signs of a Day of Treading down, and of Perplexity in the Valley of Vision; Of a Day of Trouble, and of Rebu ke, and of Blasphemy; of a Day of Wrath, Trouble and Distress; a Day of Wasteness and Desolation, a Day of Darkness and Gloominess, a Day of Clouds and thick Darkness; wherein we have all the Causes that ever procured,
produced or portrayed; All the Evidences that ever pointed out the Approach of it, and may dreadful Effects that denominate such a Day: But in a special Eminency, the Grounds of that Formentioned Lamentation, in all its Parts and Numbers, are legible in our Lot, and signalized in our Circumstances this Day." Shields, Life of Renwick, 2.

JOHN WELSH:

Spend every day some thoughts on eternity: O eternity, eternity, all of us ere long must lanch forth into the ocean of eternity, eternity, is a sum that can never be numbered, a line that can never be measured, eternity is either an everlasting condition of wo and misery, or a condition of everlasting blessedness and happiness, eternity to the godly who have interest in Christ, and their sins pardoned; it is a day that has no night, and eternity to the reprobate and wicked, is a night that hath no day; so every day spend some thoughts on eternity, serious thoughts of our eternal condition would prove a great mean and help to promote holiness the thoughts of eternity would make us slight and contemn all the honours, profits and pleasures of this world, it would keep us from overvaluing the profits and pleasures in this world, and it would keep us from over giving for the want of comforts or meeting with the sufferings of this world." Fifty and Two Directions, 40.

"Look upon all things in the world as ye will look upon them when ye come to die. At what a poor rate do men set upon all the pomp and glory of this world, when their is but a step betwixt them and eternity: O if ye saw the world, eternity, and your own immortal souls, as dying men see them, then ye would not venture the loss of God's favour, the loss of a good conscience, the loss of your immortal souls, and the loss of eternal glory, nor not the whole world, much less for a fourth part of your estate in the world." Fifty and Two Directions, 22.

"Poor creatures are like children with short fingers, whose father holds out a great purse of gold unto them, and they cannot grip and fathom it, it is so large." Sermon on John 11:56.

"A 3. evidence that men and women does not believe they will die, is this, that ordinarily the longer folk are in the world, they are the more glued to the things of the world, the longer they live in the world, the closer they cleave to it, one would
think that it would be young folk that would stick closest to the world, yet we find by sad experience that it is the old Folk who in appearance must quit the world soonest that cleaves most to it, this says that men does not believe that time shall be no more, men does not often pose themselves with the Thoughts that to Morrow I may die, or I may die within a Twelve month, Men does not pose themselves with this till once it come to some period or point with them, when they find they can live no longer. _A Sermon preached at Nemphterbrae_, 6.

"Death is the most certain and the most uncertain thing imaginable, nothing more certain than ye must die, and no thing more uncertain than the time when and the place where." _A Sermon preached at Nemphterbrae_, 10.

"...I must die, no power can restrain it, no Riches nor Bribric can bind it, no Logick can shift it, no Disputes can over come it: no Reason will have weight with it, ix ..." _Loc. cit._
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