

men of the town in rioting and drinking, until the elections be finished, which in this case would have been twelve days; which they did in prudence think they ought to shorten, not conceiving it contrary in the least to the established rules of their election.

2. On these things they did humbly crave your majesty's privy council would be pleased to represent to your majesty, that thereby they might be freed from the suspicion of any factious design, with which they were charged by the said letter.

This being, through the influence of the Lord Hatton, refused by the privy council, they dispatched a gentleman to the Duke of Lauderdale, with letters and instructions full of respect and submission to his grace.

The gentleman at his first arrival found Duke Lauderdale very kind, and was made believe he should be quickly dispatched with answers according to his desire; but some delays having fallen in, the Duke of Lauderdale fell likewise upon thoughts of getting money from the town upon this occasion, and therefore pretending still more and more kindness to the said gentleman, he did first by some insinuations let fall to him his expectation, and at last flatly asked him if he had not brought a heavy purse with him, which, when he understood he was not to expect, he changed his method and grew harsher; and having detained him five or six weeks, he, the said duke, entered into consultation with his old friend Sir Andrew Ramsay how to order the affair. By his advice he did write a letter, and sent proposals to the said town, that they should give bond and security, that the townsmen should live regularly as to all matters ecclesiastical in the largest extent, as the same is determined by the late acts of parliament; and to keep the town free of all sorts of tumults, either of man or woman; judging that this was impossible for them to perform, and unfavourable to attempt, and that therefore it would oblige them to make offers of money.

This letter was all the gentleman could obtain, and having gone back to Scotland, and delivered it to the magistrates, they were so far from being carried in the design, that they were glad of that opportunity to witness their zeal to serve your majesty, for they did very heartily comply with what was proposed concerning the bonds and securities demanded; and immediately urged that your majesty's officers and lawyers would cause to be drawn such bonds and securities as were fit for the purpose, offering good security for great sums of money for the performance. But this not being the thing truly intended, their ready compliance with it set them yet farther off from their desired settlement, and served for no other intent than to cause the Lord Hatton to double his diligence to find out new means to molest them; to which end it was alledged by him, that they had of old forfeited their privileges and liberties by some great misdemeanour, and that therefore they had not right to chuse their own magistrates, for which he would needs have their records searched; and accordingly they themselves, with their books and records, were in a most unusual manner brought often before him and his friends, though they had not authority for it, to the great disturbance and annoyance of the citizens, who, by being abundantly jealous of their liberties, were with no small care kept within the due bounds of moderation, by the loyalty and vigilancy of their magistrates.

They, the said magistrates, finding how they were used at home by the Lord Hatton, did again apply themselves to the Duke of Lauderdale, both by private letters to the Duke of Lauderdale and his dutchess, from some of the most eminent of them, full of assurances of particular respect to their graces, and by a public letter to him from the whole town council, offering bond and security to him in the terms proposed by his fore-mentioned letter. But this could not prevail, it being objected to them, from some frivolous things the Lord Hatton had scraped together out of their old records, that they had lost their liberties, and that the right of chusing their magistrates did no more belong to them.

Then did they produce their charters, and did convincingly clear all mistakes, and

evidently make appear that the right of chusing their own magistrates did remain to them undoubtedly and intirely.

All these things being cleared and open, they expected to be restored to the free exercise of their election in their accustomed manner. They were still kept off with delays, until the Lord Hatton, in pursuance of his design, fell a practising with some few of themselves, who did undertake, with his assistance, to get such elected as were fit for his ends; whereupon he writes to his brother, the Duke of Lauderdale, to move your majesty for a letter, and accordingly the letter was procured from your majesty the 7th of August, 1675; wherein your majesty, after reciting your former orders in that affair, did declare, that you were well informed of their obedience to your commands, and of their dutiful carriage in your concerns; and therefore ordained them, the next day after the receipt of the letter, to convene their whole council after their accustomed manner, and out of the lists already made, to elect the lord provost, bailiffs, and other officers.

According to which letter they did the next day proceed to their elections, but instead of those whom the Lord Hatton expected they would have chosen, they did elect some men of good fortunes and integrity, not at all fit for his purpose, (those who had engaged to him not being men of that esteem or influence as to be able to carry his design as they had undertaken.)

The new magistrates and council did, immediately after their election, acquaint your majesty with their procedure, and gave your majesty great acknowledgements and assurances of their care of the peace of the town, and of your majesty's service in all matters, both ecclesiastical and civil.

The said Lord Hatton, being exceedingly enraged at this act of theirs, did, by advice of Sir George Mackynge, now your majesty's advocate, send a letter to the Duke of Lauderdale, to which he procured your majesty's hand upon the 25th of the same month of August, by which your majesty ordered your privy council to intimate to the magistrates and town council, that it was your royal pleasure that there should be turned out of the town council, and declared incapable of any public trust in the said town, twelve of the most eminent of the same men with whom your majesty had expressed yourself so well pleased, and whose actings your majesty had approved, by your letter of the 7th of the said month.

This was accordingly executed by the privy council, without ever so much as calling before them the said persons, though great crimes were laid to their charge, as being factious persons, and misrepresenting your majesty's proceedings, without mentioning any particular fact of theirs which could import any such crime. And though they be threatened by the said letter to be pursued for these great crimes, and that your majesty's advocate is commanded in the same to insist against them, yet could they never obtain from your majesty's privy council that they should be tryed for these things, though, by a petition signed by the whole twelve, they did represent the great prejudice they sustained both in their reputation and trade, by being kept under such threatenings, and therefore did humbly offer themselves to the strictest and severest tryal. To which petition they never received any answer.

To make appear to your majesty that these things were done for private and sinister designs, and not upon account of the ill affectedness or factious dispositions of the men, as was pretended, your majesty is humbly prayed to take notice of these particulars following:

First, There are three of the most considerable of these very persons who had been charged with so great crimes admitted since that time, by bribing the Dutchess of Lauderdale, into a trust in your majesty's affairs in Scotland, more eminent and considerable than any trust the town of Edinburgh can confer, viz. The paying of your majesty's forces, and bringing in your majesty's excise.

Secondly, No sooner were these twelve men turned out of the town council, but, after many great and essential informalities, (with the recital of which it is needless to trouble your majesty,) they elected for magistrates men of no reputation, either for parts, estate, or honesty; and though these bonds and securities, which had been demanded from the others, and consented to by them, were formerly pretended to be of great importance for your majesty's service, yet they were not so much as once demanded, either by the Duke of Lauderdale or the Lord Hatton, from these men who were now chosen.

Thirdly, These new magistrates were not long in their seats, when off comes the mask, and the true design of getting money appears. For by an act of the town council, there is about five thousand pounds sterling disposed on amongst their nameless friends, which were the Duke of Lauderdale, the Lord Hatton, and some other of their friends. A great sum to be got from that city, considering that the Duke of Lauderdale had got before that about twelve thousand pounds sterling from them.

The Dutchess of Lauderdale did also since that time endeavour to get more money from them, and did with great wrath threaten the magistrates in plain terms, for not giving her a present, notwithstanding all the good she said she had done for them; reckoning the favours your majesty hath at any time been pleased to bestow upon them, as done by herself.

Thus hath that poor town been abused, and doth now lie, having magistrates without either conduct or courage, in a time when the disorders of that nation do require persons to be employed there of eminent fidelity and capacity to serve your majesty.

Some farther Matter of Fact relating to the Administration of Affairs in Scotland, under the Duke of Lauderdale. Humbly offered to his Majesty's Consideration in Obedience to his Royal Commands. That the Duke of Lauderdale was concerned in the Design of bringing in of Popery and Arbitrary Government may appear by these following Particulars, &c.

I.

FIRST, in anno 1669, when he knew that the duke had changed his religion, he procured an act in Scotland for asserting the king's supremacy, which he made the presbyterian party believe was to empower the king to put down episcopacy, and set up presbytery, (the very words of it.) The disposal of the external government of the church is put absolutely in the king's power, as also all ecclesiastical meetings and meetings are to be ordered by the king.

Now the acknowledgement of the pope is a great part of the ecclesiastical government; besides, the other words are so comprehensive, that all popery may be brought in at that door. Soon after this, he entered into a firm friendship with the head of the popish party.

II.

At his next session of parliament, which was after madam's being at Dover, in 1670, to shew his farther kindness to that religion, he put in words in the seventh act of that session, against withdrawers from publick worship, which secured papists from all troubles; for the act runs only against his majesty's subjects of the reformed religion, for that papists are expressly excepted, and the words he put in with his own hand in the draught of that act.

III.

Whereas he first procured the act that was past anno 1667, that offered the king an army of twenty-two thousand men to be brought into England for any cause in which his majesty's honour, power, and greatness was concerned, which was generally

passed as a compliment, and continued so till the year 1669, that other design being projected in England by the papists.

He, to be ready to second that, raised his army, and procured another act, which is the second in the first session of the parliament held by him, by which the former act was only confirmed, but it was ordered that this army should obey the order of the council, without naming the king at all, which, as he has managed it, is upon the matter himself. And of late, before the discovery of the plot, he designed to convert the twenty-two thousand men to a standing army, as an addition to the new forces raised last summer, to be constantly maintained by all subjects; contrary to the true meaning of the first or second acts of parliament relating to that purpose, and directly against the fundamental constitutions of the nation, to impose burthens upon it without consent of parliament.

IV.

When he went down, *anno* 1678, to see if he could draw down this army to England (finding he could not effect it, that nation not being able to support this tyranny longer) he first wearied the members of parliament with often adjournments, and finding in the end that artifice and other tricks would not do, he dissolved the parliament, that he might proceed there consonant to the counsel he gave here; and set up a barefaced arbitrary power there, which he has so much advised and pressed here; and has ever since taken all the ways he could fall on to force the nation to a rebellion, by illegal imprisonments, unjust accusations, false reports made to the king, taking away from the subjects the right of propriety, their limitable jurisdictions, by the council's order, grounded upon letters procured by him from the king, and put in execution by his brother Hatton, by wrongful turning out bishops, ministers of state, magistrates, and others, by cruel and illegal sentences, banishments, and fines; some whereof he disposed to pensioners, relations of his own, by grants obtained from the king here, which bear date before the fines were judicially imposed in Scotland.

And likewise by bringing a man to die whom he had persuaded to confess upon hopes of life; and afterwards forswore that he had promised, though it stands yet registered upon the council's book; * by sending shipfuls to be slaves in English plantations, which he justified here at council-board in Whitehall; by imposing bonds against law; and, above all, by sending an army of nine or ten thousand men, most of them highlanders, to lie upon free-quarter, and rob and spoil a country that was in no rebellion, nor could any colour of saying they intended any be ever found now or since. † This he did last year, thinking that would certainly make them rebel, and so

* This was Mitchel, who attempted to assassinate the Archbishop of St Andrews. See the following tract, entitled *Ravallac Redivivus*.

† The exorbitant oppressions of the highland host, as it was termed, is recorded in all our histories, and also in the following rude couplets by the celebrated Col. Cleland:—

“ We thought his grace would ne’er give orders
To commit rapine, thefts and murders,
At that rate they’re now committed,
He never was so shallow-witted;
For truly they more cruel carrie,
Than ever Frenchmen under Marie,
Or Spaniards under Ferdinand did,
Or French when Duke of Guise commanded;
Yea, they more savage were than those were,
Who with Kolkittoch and Montrose were,
And sixtie times they’re worse than they
Whom Turner led in Galloway.
They durk our tennents, shames our wives,
And we’re in hazard of our lives;

have given a just cause for keeping up a standing army both there and here. And that being at the time when the papists thought the plot so near perfection, was certainly in conjunction with them, having prepared above eight thousand horse and foot, with officers of his own stamp, to execute his design. It is more than probable that it was for the intelligence his lady gave of this, that the Cardinal of Norfolk sent his thanks to her.

V.

Whereas there are but few papists in Scotland, he hath given these all the encouragements he could. The Earl of Aboins, who was oft complained of to the council by the bishops for keeping many priests in his house, and being a main stickler for popery, he made a privy-counsellor, and gave him a pension, though he has never since gone to church, nor received the sacrament. The Earl of Northdale, another furious papist, in command of the new forces he raised (and so is lord and king) and both those two were last year employed by him in the plundering of the west of Scotland, &c. And there being in Scotland but five noblemen that are papists, four of them have been supported and maintained by him, &c.

VI.

He was a principal instrument in procuring the toleration of popery, and courted them into sworn friendship with the Lord Clifford; and preferred the declaration and other the king's edicts at the council-board to law, &c. He pressed the king to break with his parliament, and maintain the declaration, and to take the great seal from the Earl of Shaftesbury, for giving him better counsel, of which he has often boasted. He became also an enemy to the Earl of Arlington upon the same account, and has ever since had an entire friendship with the lord treasurer, for promoting those ends he supported the last year against the just complaints the Scotch lords made for free quarter, and other barbarous usages which they met with, &c.

VII.

He became a pensioner to France, from whom he received rich presents and great

They plunder horse, and them they loaden,
With coverings, blankets, sheets and plaidin,
With hooding gray, and worsted stuff,
They sell our tongs for locks of snuff.
They take our cultors and our soaks,
And from our doors they pull the locks;
They leave us neither shoals nor spails,
And takes away our iron in laids;
They break our pleughs, ev'n when they're working,
We dare not hinder them from durking;
My lords, they so harasse and wrong us,
There's scarce a pair of shoes among us;
And for blew bounnets they leave non,
That they can get their clauts upon.
If any dare refuse to give them,
They durk them, strips them, and so leaves them.
They ripe for arms; but all they find,
Is arms with them, leaves nought behind.
Is't not a strange mistake in that
Our tankerds and our chamber-pot,
And stool-pans should be thought granads?
They take our sadles and our pades,
They stripe our lecquies, ripes their pouches,
They leave us neither beds nor couches,
Yea, to be short, they leave us nought
That can from place to place be brought."

CLELAND'S *Poems*, 1697.

sums: Out of one of the jewels which Monsieur Colbert gave him he made his rich George. He always helped on the French levies in Scotland against the treaties the king had made, and gave the French officers the publick prisons, yea, and the king's own castle of Edinburgh, of which he is governor, to keep their levies in till the ships are ready for their transportation: He gave order to his brother to set the levies forward, and to press men by force into their service; which being informed to the House of Commons, he corrupted one of the witnesses by money to forswear it; and this he did after the House of Commons had voted that any who assisted those levies should be looked upon as publick enemies to the nation. So much did he contribute to serve the French king's designs, and particularly in the year 1667, when complaints were made to the king by Spanish ministers, that Scotland levies for France were a breach of treaty, his majesty's commissioners ordered a proclamation to be sent down immediately for the discharging of them; but the Duke of Lauderdale dispatched an express to his brother Hatton secretly, to acquaint him that the proclamation was coming, and that it should be kept up until the levied soldiers should be shipped and sent away, and then published, which was accordingly performed. But for all the haste they made to sail, the wind detained some of their vessels in the road after the proclamation, and did drive others back, which had been a good way gone, yet none durst stop or trouble them for fear of Hatton, who had always promoted those levies, and had signed particular warrants to several prison-keepers for delivering their prisons to the French officers. He lived at that time in such intimacy with the French ambassador, that they were never asunder. He sent his nephew to make campaign in the French army, and wrote to the English ambassador to present him to the king; and tell him, "That he had sent the dearest thing he had to his service, and if he had any thing dearer he would have sent it."

VIII.

He hath upon all occasions spoken of the House of Commons with the greatest contempt and scorn possible, calling it commonly, "*Bellua multorum capitum*;" and usually said, if they would address against him, "he would fart against them, and that he would put a dog in his arse and bark at them." And after boasted among his creatures, "That he had risen by his addresses." For after one, he got himself made an earl of England; after the other, he had a pension of three thousand pounds per annum in England, though he had above nine thousand pounds per annum in Scotland of the king; and his usual words about the Commons is, "Let them bark, and he will bite."

IX.

Not long ago he carried a person, known to be of a very mercenary quality, before the king, and, it's like, suborned him to accuse some of the nobility of Scotland, and say, "They had inticed him to complain upon his grace to the commons in parliament;" thereby thinking not only to put those noblemen out of the king's favour, but also to beget in his majesty an ill opinion of the house; but the parties being convened before the king, his majesty discovered the forgery, and ordered the cheating rogue to custody, where he yet lies under restraint.

X.

At his last being in Scotland he forced all the officers of state and others, in both civil and military employments, to hold their commissions of the king *durante beneplacito*, which was never practised in that nation before; the consequence thereof tends so much to arbitrary power, that they need not be particularized; he put in and put out members of the king's council, according as they suited his secret designs. In a

word, he so packed all the judicatures, that justice and equity have been administered according to his pleasure, under colour of the good of the kingdom.

XI.

When the treaty for the union of both kingdoms was set on foot, which had been a great happiness to both nations, perceiving he should thereby lose that absolute power he had in Scotland, and not be able to prosecute his arbitrary designs, set himself to a breach; for which this was his argument, "That it was rather the king's interest to keep the kingdoms distant, and to hold England under the fear of the Scotch army, which then he was raising and modelling."

XII.

He has lived in that correspondence with the papists and priests, that the Cardinal of Norfolk, before he left England, was perpetually at his house; he has kept constant correspondence with Conyers and some jesuits; and at Rome he was called by one of the pope's bed-chamber, a great friend of the catholicks; and in all his concerns the papists were still on his side. So that his late proclamation against papists in Scotland hath been only a mockery. Now since the plot is discovered, to disguise his traiterous conspiracies, which then, though upon Mr Oates's discovery, he talked at the board like one that believed it, yet he went strait to the duke, and spoke of it with all possible scorn, and called it a ridiculous contrivance.

XIII.

First, That Colman's letters were discharged to be made publick in Scotland; and next, his trial being reprinted at Edinburgh, the books were by a peremptory order in council stopt at the press, when finished almost to the last sheet, not only to the printer's great damage, but to a manifest suppression of the discovery of that horrid plot from the good people of this nation, who were longing for the particulars thereof. For is it not known that Charles Milford of Hatton, treasurer, deputy of Scotland, managed all the affairs and councils there, exactly as he received instructions from his brother the Duke of Lauderdale here: According to which, those in that country, which these creatures talk now of the discovered plot, to be only a malicious forgery of two rogues, Oates and Bedlow.

The Apology of the Duke of Lauderdale.

It is a hard task to satisfy (even friends) against the slanders which ignorance or malice may easily throw upon the greatest innocence; and although I hear that I have had a large share of the persecution of tongues in and about London, in coffee-houses and elsewhere, these divers months past, yet I shall not endeavour at this time so much as to satisfy my friends in all the particulars that I hear; which, I hope, I shall be able to do in good time, and so clearly, that I may easily undeceive all sober and unbiassed men. But one thing I hear is talked, and of so horrid a nature, and yet so groundless, so impudently false, and so easily disproved, that I cannot forbear a moment to demonstrate my innocence to my friends. I hear it hath been said at London that I was a great cause and promoter of the late king's murder, bringing up a de-

claration from Scotland, which was made the ground upon which they proceeded to the murder, and that I was one that had furthered that horrid act. This is so monstrously false, and so groundless, that I need say little to my justification; for it is well known to the king, and many thousands, how faithfully and how diligently I served the last king all that year, 1648, and what my persecutions and my sufferings were from the king's enemies, both in England and in Scotland, from that year even to his majesty's happy restoration. Yet it shall not be enough for me to prove that that accusation is false; I undertake to demonstrate that it is utterly impossible.

I waited upon the last king at Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, with William Duke of Hamilton, (then Earl of Lanerick,) and the late Earl of Lowdon, (then Chancellor of Scotland;) we carried a protestation in the name of the kingdom of Scotland against the four bills which were at that time imposed upon the king by the two houses of parliament. We did then, at Carisbrooke Castle, receive the king's commands for engaging Scotland, and raising of an army for his delivery and restitution. We came thence to London; and in January 1647, (according to the account of England,) we parted from London towards Scotland, where we arrived in the beginning of that February. Now, if ever I saw London, or any place near it, from that January 1647, (according to the account of England,) until the second of October, 1651, on which day I was brought a prisoner to the Tower, after Worcester, then I do willingly submit to the infamy, guilt, and punishment due to the accusation; which should be more bitter to me than the cruellest death, and attainder of me and my family. This, I hope, proves the utter impossibility of my bringing up such a declaration.

My next task must be, to demonstrate as great and absolute an impossibility of my having any accession to such a declaration in Scotland, (if any was made and sent to the rebels in England). I came to Scotland (as I told you) in February, 1647; there we began the late king's service, the engaging Scotland for him, and the raising of an army; but very soon we found the opposition of them, who called themselves the Kirk Party. The Earl of Lowdon, then chancellor, abandoned us, and joined with that party; yet William Duke of Hamilton (then Earl of Lanerick) and I carried on the business.

The late king, of blessed memory, commanded Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir William Blackston to correspond with, and take measures from the Earl of Lanerick and me; and we corresponded with them constantly under the names of John Read and William Black. This Sir Philip Musgrave can testify, as also Arthur Barclay, yet alive, and now a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, who was constantly a messenger between us.

Most of the nobility and gentry joined heartily in the engagement, and so did the people, in spite of all the thunderings of all the pulpits against us, and the army drew to a rendezvous in July; and then was I commanded by all that was in power, both in Edinburgh and the army, to go to Holland, to invite his majesty that now is, (then prince,) to come and command the army that was raised for his father's service. I embarked on the 4th of August, 1648, and waited upon his majesty in the Downs, where he then commanded his father's fleet. There we got the news of the fatal defeat of the Scotch army under James Duke of Hamilton. I stayed with the king about three weeks in the fleet, and then waited upon him all that year. That winter the king designed to send me into Scotland for his service again. I procured a pass from them in power in Scotland, to come to Scotland, upon pretence of settling private business, and to remove out of it again. As soon as my pass came, the king sent me at Christmas into Scotland, with instructions which none knew but his majesty and the late Prince of Orange, who gave a man of war which transported me thither. As soon as I landed, I found that those who, after the defeat of the army, had usurped the power, and then proceeded with great violence against all those who were joined in the engagement, and most particularly against myself. I found that William Duke of Hamilton (then Earl

of Lanerick) was confined to his house ; and that both he and I, with many other persons of quality, were turned out of all employments, and declared incapable of all publick trust ; and that I had been fined, and my tenants ruined ; yet, trusting to my pass, I went to Edinburgh, where some of my friends saw me ; but I was very far from being either willing or able to meddle with any judicature. I spoke with the Duke of Hamilton ; and, at my return, I found that Scotland would quickly be too hot either for him or me : for the rebels in London, having heard from Holland that I was sent in a man of war to Scotland, they presently took jealousy, and dispatched one Roe to their friends in Scotland, to demand the then Earl of Lanerick and me to be delivered to them. As soon as these letters came to Edinburgh, a private committee was called ; and though the Earl of Cassel and Lord Balmerinoch (both dead) did plead the faith that they had given to me in their pass, yet they perfidiously resolved to have delivered me. But the Lord Balmerinoch gave me timely warning ; so I fled in the night for my life, and I brought away my Lord of Lanerick out of his restraint ; and so both of us went aboard of my ship, and sailed to Holland. From the Low-Countries we stirred not until we waited on his majesty in June, 1650. What declarations were made in Scotland, or sent to the rebels in London for countenancing the late king's horrid murder, or whether any such was or no, I cannot determine. Nor is it my business to justify those that were then in power ; (who, I am sure, were my persecutors and enemies ;) but I am sure I have demonstrated, that as it was utterly impossible that I could have been the carrier of such a declaration from Scotland, so it is impossible that I could have had the least hand in carrying any such declaration. And if I saw Scotland from the 4th of August, 1648, until June, 1650, (excepting those few days when the king sent me thither, and from whence I fled for my life,) I shall acknowledge the guilt ; or if ever I meddled in any judicature of Scotland, civil or ecclesiastick, from the 4th of August, 1648, till after the king was crowned in Scotland, then let me suffer any punishment.

From the Collection of Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart.

Ravillac Redivivus, being a Narrative of the late Tryal of Mr James Mitchel, a Conventicle-preacher, who was executed the 18th of January last, for an Attempt which he made on the sacred Person of the Archbishop of St Andrews. To which is annexed, An Account of the Tryal of that most wicked Pharisee, Major Thomas Weir, who was executed for Adultery, Incest, and Bestiality. In which are many observable Passages, especially relating to the present Affairs of Church and State. In a Letter from a Scottish to an English Gentleman. London, printed by Henry Hills, 1678, 4. 78. pp.

This tract drew a great deal of notice when it was first published, and has been more founded upon than its partiality deserves. It was written by the celebrated Dr Hicks, more honourably distinguished by his labours as an antiquary. Anthony Wood gives the following account of the period and purpose of composing the pamphlet :—

George Hickes received his education at North Allerton, and was admitted in April, 1659, a servitor of St John's College, Oxford. In the month of May, 1675, he was admitted Bachelor

of Divinity, being about that time rector of S. Ebbes Church, in Oxon, in the place of Will. Pindar; and in September, in the year following, he became domestic chaplain of John Duke of Lauderdale, through the recommendation of Henry Bishop of London, and with him continued till September, 1680. In June, 1677, he attended the said duke into Scotland, during his commission in that kingdom; and while he remained there, happened the trial of Mr James Mitchel, for having attempted to murder the Archbishop of St Andrews, whereupon he wrote and published a book, called *Ravillac Redivivus*, which occasioned him (by some menaces given out) to disguise himself under a feigned name and character, to secure himself from the murderous Scottish whiggs. During his attendance there, the Archbishop of S. Andrews (Dr James Sharp) and other bishops did, in compliment to him, but more especially to his patron, offer him the degree of Doctor of Divinity at S. Andrews, which his grace the duke approved so well, that he was obliged to accept it, and accordingly he sent his son-in-law and servants with him thither, where he was dignified with that honour in a full convocation of the doctors, professors, and masters. About that time also the said Archbishop of S. Andrews did, in his own name and in the name of the church of Scotland, present to him (as an acknowledgment of the services he did that church) *The Councils*, in 18 vol. in fol. set forth by Philip Labbeus and Gabr. Cossartius, at Paris, anno 1672. In Dec. 1679, he was actually created Doctor of Divinity of the university of Oxford; and on the 11th of June, 1680, was installed prebendary of Worcester, in the place of Mr Will. Thornborough, deceased, bestowed upon him by his majesty, for the services he had done the public during the Duke of Lauderdale's commission in Scotland."—*Wood's Athenæ*, II. 1001.

Hickes received various preferments in the church, all which he forfeited by refusing to take the oaths to King William.

Of the following tract it need only be said, that it was written to justify the cruelties exercised upon the unfortunate fanatics of the west of Scotland by the tyrannical administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, and contains many exaggerations, and some actual falsehoods, which the reader will find corrected in the notes.

The pamphlet first appeared in 1678, and afterwards, in an enlarged state, in 1682. It was reprinted and considerably altered by Curl, in 1710, under the new title of *The Spirit of Fanaticism exemplified in the Trials of Mr James Mitchel, &c. and Major Thomas Weir*.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, wherein you charge me with unkindness for having neglected to write unto you for the last six months; and you also tell me you cannot imagine what hath made me so silent all this while that others have sent their correspondents in England so many letters of Scottish news. But what you seem to make an aggravation of my fault, I must retort upon you in my own defence, and tell you plainly, that being a person incapable to write certainties in state matters, and too honest to write lyes, I could not prevail with myself to follow the ill example of many of my countrymen, whereof some maliciously wrote their own forgeries, and some, out of weakness, their jealousies and fears, and all pretending to understand not only what were, but what would be the intrigues of Halyrud-house, filled their Muddiman-letters with their own inventions instead of real truth.

The reports which these instruments of mischief sent to London rebounded as quickly hither again; and considering how foolishly some, and how maliciously others of their stories were contrived, I cannot but sigh for the unhappiness of my country where these coiners and dispersers of false news, like the false prophets in the kingdom of Israel, are a national judgment and a grievous plague both to church and state.

Therefore let me prevail with you, for the time to come, to give as little credit to the flying reports which are sent from our country, as I do to those which are sent from yours; and that we may both grow wiser by other men's follies, and take surer measures in our future correspondence, give me leave to propose that we write nothing hereafter but matters of fact, and confine ourselves to relate such useful and worthy

contingencies as might become an historian of his own age. By observing this rule, we shall keep ourselves within the safe bounds of prudence and duty, and profit one another by our mutual correspondence, without abusing the credulity of the vulgar, or injuring the ministers of public affairs.

Wherefore, that I may put my own advice into practice, and be a good example to my own rule, the subject of this letter shall be a faithful narrative of the trial, condemnation, and execution of one of our presbyterian preachers, who made an attempt on the sacred person of the Archbishop of St Andrews, in the month of July, 1668. The story is very comprehensive, and will invite me to speak of many particular things and persons; and it will be difficult for me to pass through it all without touching a little upon public affairs, in doing of which I shall endeavour to perform the part of a faithful historian, in writing nothing but matter of fact.

I have already fix'd the beginning of this story in the month of July, 1668; but the execrable wretch resolved to do the fact two years before, and languished all the time for want of an opportunity to execute his inhuman design. At last, having observed that the lord primate used always to go about this town in his coach, he resolved to pistol him in it; and accordingly, on Saturday of the aforesaid month, discharged a pistol, loaden with three bullets, at him, which were intercepted by the arm of the Lord Bishop of Orkney, who at the same instant was getting into his grace's coach. As soon as he had shot, he walked fast away; and, as he crossed the street, the primate got a view of his face. He was not immediately pursued, which gave him opportunity to escape into the house of one Ferguson, an ejected minister, which, being in an obscure place of the town, he had prepared for a retreat, in case he could get safe thither.

There, having disguised himself by putting on a perriwig and changing his clothes, he immediately went into the street again, and made as great a bustle as any in the throng to find out the assassin who had shot at the primate, and, as he hoped, had kill'd him in his coach. He was known by none in the crowd, but by three of his confederates, who had come to town on purpose to assist him in his bloody design.

Their designations, or titles, were Barscob, Mandroget, and Major Lermouth, who had been ring-leaders in the rebellion at Pentland-Hills in the year 1668. The assassin joyn'd himself with these three, and, after a consultation what they should do for their further security, they unanimously resolved to retire into the garden of Sir Archibald Primrose, the lord chief justice, who had for many years the misfortune to be esteemed a favourer and encourager of the fanatical faction; tho' it be hard to imagine how a man, that hath gotten so great an estate by the king's royal bounty, should have so much favour for the worst of his subjects, unless he hath lost all sense of gratitude and honour.

Certain it is, that there are such monsters of disloyalty and ingratitude in the world; and as certain it is (tho' he be not one of them) that the credit he hath with that party encouraged this murnival of rebels and murderers to shelter themselves the following night within his precincts, rather than any other man's in this populous town. But the morning approaching, they thought it safer to quit the town; and the other three conducting Mr James Mitchel, (for that's the name of this abominable man,) he made a final escape by their assistance, and was never after seen in this country, till the latter end of 1673. In this interval, betwixt July 68 and the latter end of 73, he had rambl'd through Holland, England, and Ireland, from whence he return'd to his countrey, resolved (as it seems) to assassinate the primate again. Not long after his return he married, and repair'd with his wife to Edinburgh, presuming, that after more than five years absence, he might live *incognito* here, at least so long till he could find another opportunity to execute his bloody design. In order to which he hired a shop within a door or two of the primate's lodgings, where his wife pretended to sell tobacco and brandy, and such like things.

But he had not long frequented there before he was discovered, and apprehended upon suspicion; and when he was taken (which was on the same day of the week, and in the same place where he had formerly stood to commit the fact) there were two pistols found about him, in size and shape like that which the primate saw him hold in his hand immediately after he had shot at his grace, and, upon search, they were also found to be charged with three bullets each. Being apprehended by Sir William Sharp, he was immediately brought to his brother the primate's lodgings; and though a great crowd had pressed in after him, yet his grace knew him at first sight from all the rest, (such a deep impression the transient view he got of him, after the shot, had made upon him,) and going strait up to him, without any hesitation he said unto him, "You, sir, are the man!" upon which the wretch trembled and grew pale.

Not long after he was convened before the privy council, and the Duke of Lauderdale, his majesty's high commissioner, then sitting in council; but he would confess nothing before them, which made the right honourable board depute a committee for his farther examination, before which he freely confess'd the fact, and afterwards acknowledged and sign'd his confession before the king's high commissioner sitting in council, with the Lord Halton, the treasurer deputy, the Earl of Rothes, lord chancellor, and some other of the council subscribed as witnesses; and this paper was brought at his tryal against him as a judicial confession of his crime.

After this examination of him before his majesty's high commissioner sitting in council, (which happened in February, 1674,) he was put upon his tryal in the criminal court; but after his indictment was read, he deny'd it, and retracted the confession, which he had freely made, without any promise of pardon, before the high commissioner and the council; upon which Sir John Nisbet, his majesty's advocate, (who, notwithstanding his fair pretensions to the church, either loves or fears the fanatical faction too much,) seem'd very much surprized, and desisted immediately from his prosecution, desiring the judges to adjourn the court; and from that time would never pursue the murderous villain again, although he was obliged by his office to do it, as well as by the archbishop, who *in causa sanguinis* would not pursue him himself. The judges also, at that time, had no great stomach to sit upon the tryal of this bloody saint; so that the privy-council were forced to send him prisoner to the Basse, (a rock in the Forth, where I wish all his brethren were,) where he continued till the latter end of last December, when the privy-council sent for him to be try'd again.

About this time it was rumour'd about town and country, that the whigs (for so we call fanaticks) design'd to take off both the archbishops, and some other bishops, by assassination; and likewise vehement suspicions and presumptions were found that they had the like design on other eminent persons who were most concern'd, and resolved to see them reduced to order and obedience: and therefore the council thought it expedient to prevent such barbarous attempts, and to secure the lives of his majesty's faithful ministers, to bring Mr Mitchel to publick justice, that the remonstrator-presbyterians of our country might see what their Clements and Ravillacs were to expect.

Since the Duke of Lauderdale came last hither, Sir John Nisbet resign'd his charge, and his majesty put Sir George Mackenzy, a learned and worthy gentleman, into his place, who, in obedience to the order of the privy-council, pursued this common enemy of mankind with a courage and zeal that became such a gallant man and a good Christian, although he foresaw he must for ever disoblige that implacable party which hath sworn to extirpate episcopacy here.

You may easily judge with what deliberation and caution this miscreant's process was made, seeing his tryal was dependant four days; for he was arraign'd on Monday the seventh of January in the morning, and received not sentence till the following Thursday, at two in the afternoon. As the privy-council were very just, so were they

exceeding merciful to this inhuman man; for, at the instance of his majesty's advocate, they commanded Sir George Lockhart, one of the best lawyers of this nation, to be of his council; and had he been the greatest subject of the three kingdoms, his cause could not have been more strenuously defended, nor his process made with more care.

The first day was spent in reading the indictment, and discussing some preparatory doubts necessary to be determined by an interlocutory sentence before the assize, which you call the jury, could be impannell'd, and the witnesses sworn. The doubts were three: First, Whether that confession which the pannel (for so we call the prisoner at the bar) made before the king's high commissioner and the privy-council, sitting in council, were judicial or extrajudicial? The second was, Whether, if this confession should be made appear to be upon hopes or promise of pardon, it should not serve for the prisoner's exculpation? And the third was, Whether, by a certain act of parliament made for the security of his majesty's privy counsellors and officers, the attempted assassination of the primate, who was, and is, a privy-counsellor, were capital or no? All which preliminaries the judges deliberated upon, and debated among themselves on Tuesday, and on Wednesday following pronounced their interlocutory sentence in the affirmative upon the several heads.

You may perceive, by the terms wherein I am forced to couch the narrative of his trial, that we have much of the civil law. Indeed it is the 'common law of our country, and takes place in all cases that cannot be determined by our statute or consuetudinary laws. I know very well you understand nothing of it, but yet your reason cannot but suggest unto you that an interlocutory is opposite to a definitive sentence, and that this is nothing but the final doom, consisting in the condemnation or absolution of the criminal; so the other is a decision of such incident and emergent matters of law as intervene betwixt the beginning and end of the cause.—*LANCELOT. instit. juris. Oxon. l. 3. tit. 15. paragr. 1.*

But to return to my narrative. After the interlocutory was pronounced, the jury was impannell'd, and the witnesses sworn, some of whose depositions I shall set down as I heard them; and I think I shall never forget them as long as I can remember my name.

The keeper of the tolbooth's son (for so we call the prison here) deponed, That having ask'd the pannel how he could do such a barbarous action, in cold blood, against a man that had never done him wrong? he answer'd, That it was not done in cold blood, for the blood of the saints was reeking yet at the cross in Edinburgh. By the saints he meant the rebels at Pentland-Hills in 1666, one of which he himself had been; and some principals whereof, that were taken in the field, had been executed about two years before at the cross in Edinburgh.

The Lord Bishop of Galloway, (whom no good churchman here ought to mention without honour and respect) having first asserted the privilege that is granted to bishops, to have their depositions taken at home, according to the civil and canon-law, and protested that his obedience to the court should be no prejudice to that privilege, deponed, That having ask'd the prisoner, What moved him to make such a bloody attempt on an innocent man? he answer'd, That he did it because he apprehended him to be an enemy to the people of God.

The Lord Halton deposed, That having ask'd him, How he durst be so wicked as to do such an execrable fact? he answer'd, That he did it because the archbishop was an enemy to the godly people of the west.

Furthermore, the lord chancellor and the Lord Halton testify'd upon oath, (for with

* *Duck de usu, et autorit. leg. Civ. l. 2. c. 10.*

us the greatest peers must be sworn,) That he own'd the confession produced in court before the privy-council, and acknowledged their names, which were subscribed under it, and the pannel could not deny his.

These depositions being taken, there was no way left to save the pannel's neck but by making it appear that he had made this confession upon promise, or hopes of pardon; and therefore his advocates desired that the lord chancellor might be call'd to declare upon oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon promise, or oath, to endeavour to secure him, life and limb, as he alledged his lordship did. But he declared, upon the great oath he had taken, that he never made any such promise or oath unto him. And the Duke of Lauderdale and the Lord Halton being also call'd to depone upon that particular, testify'd, That they never knew that the lord chancellor, or any other, had encouraged him to make that confession upon hopes or promise of pardon, which, if it could have been legally proved, he must have been absolved.

The impudent villain likewise desired the lords justiciary, (whom before I called the judges, in your style,) that the primate himself might be cited into the court, to declare upon oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon a promise to endeavour to procure his pardon, to which being sworn, he answer'd, That immediately after his apprehension he took him aside to discourse with him in private, where he did assure him he forgave him, and would endeavour to save him from publick justice, if he would confess the fact; but that upon this encouragement he would make no confession, nor ever after offer'd any to him; so that tho' he still forgave him, yet he did not conceive himself bound to endeavour his preservation after more than five years obstination in his crime.

¶ The matter which Hickeys passes over so slightly reflected the utmost infamy upon his patrons, the Duke of Lauderdale and Archbishop of St Andrews, as appears from the following more authentic statement:—

“Archbishop Sharp had observed a person who eyed him attentively, and imagined that he beheld the person who had attempted his life. When arrested, he proved to be Mitchell, a fanatical preacher; a loaded pistol was found in his custody, to confirm the suspicion; but no proof appeared of his actual guilt. To discover his confederates and the extent of the danger, a solemn promise was made by Sharp to procure his pardon, if he would confess the fact. On the most solemn assurance of life, confirmed by the chancellor, commissioner, and privy-council, he acknowledged the attempt to assassinate the primate; but, instead of numerous associates and a regular conspiracy, none but a single person, then dead, was privy to the design. Disappointed and mortified at such a slight discovery, the perfidious council proceeded to determine what punishment less than death might be inflicted on the crime. The justiciary court was instructed secretly to pronounce a sentence for the amputation of the hand; but when produced to renew his confession at the bar, the whisper of a judge, in passing, admonished him to acknowledge nothing, unless his limbs, as well as his life, were secured. The torture was next applied, under a false pretext to extort a confession of his concern in the insurrection of Pentland; and after enduring the question till he fainted under the strokes of the executioner, he remained four years in fetters, forgotten in the solitary confinement of the Bass. His trial, on the return of Lauderdale, was now resumed at the instigation of Sharp. Nisbet, the king's advocate, was displaced for Mackenzie, who, as Mitchell's counsel in the former trial could not be ignorant of the assurance of his life, yet preferred an indictment against him for a capital crime. Primrose, from the lucrative office of clerk-register, removed to be justice-general, transmitted privately to his advocates a copy of the act of council in which the assurance was contained. His former extrajudicial confession, the only evidence of his attempt to assassinate a prelate and a privy-councillor, was attested by Sharp, the primate, Rothes, the chancellor, Lauderdale, high-commissioner, and Hatton, a lord of the treasury and session, who did not scruple, in their zeal to convict the prisoner, to declare, on oath, that no assurance whatever had been given for the preservation of his life. The copy of the act of council was produced. The books of council, deposited in the adjoining chamber, were demanded as evidence of the prisoner, since his extrajudicial confession before the same judicature was admitted as proof. But the Duke of Lauderdale, as a witness not entitled to speak, interrupted the court in a strain of imperious authority, declared that the books of council contained the secrets of the king, which no court should be permitted to examine; and concluding that the four councillors came not there to be accused of perjury, it was immediately understood that they were all forsworn. The court, intimidated perhaps by his threats, determined, by an obsequious majority, that it was too late for the production of the record, of which an authenticated copy had been refused by the clerk. But it is observable, as a melancholy instance of the depravity or servility of the bench, that the justice-general, who furnished a surreptitious copy, and had previously admonished Lauderdale of the existence of the act, possessed neither the virtue nor the fortitude to attest the fact as a witness or a judge, but pro-

There were many other witnesses ready to depone, of which there was no need; one of them could have testify'd, That he heard him say, that he would do the fact, if it were to be done again. And another could have deponed, That he heard him say, "Let me but shoot at him again, and I'll be content to be hang'd if I miss." The jury, which consisted of fifteen gentlemen, unanimously found him guilty; and when sentence was pronounced, That he should be carried to the common place of execution, and there be hang'd, he told the justiciary lords, that he took it as from God, but not from them.

Since he was condemn'd, he desired that some conventicle ministers, that were imprisoned with him, might be admitted to give him comfort; and obstinately refused the assistance of the ministers of our church. However, one of them went to him to remind him of the murder he was guilty of in the eyes of God, tho' he suffered him not to effectuate his design. But instead of making any impression on his hardned heart, or receiving common acknowledgments for his good will, he received nothing from him but reproaches, being told by him that he was a murderer of souls, and had the blood of souls to answer for, with many more rude and enthusiastick expressions, which would be too long to relate.

He was a lean hollow-cheek'd man, of a truculent countenance, and had the air of an assassin as much as a man could have. He came with his perriwig powder'd to the bar, and behaved himself there with as much assurance as men devoted to do mischief by their principles and complexion resolve beforehand always to do.

As for his original, 'tis so obscure that the mean proletarian condition of his parents affords me no notice of his birth; and for his education, after he had passed through the subsidiary part of learning, he was sent to the college of Edinburgh in the time of the late usurpation, where he made very small progress in any part of good literature, but apply'd himself to the reading of such silly fanatical books as were fit for his narrow capacity and enthusiastical temper, so that the acquired, or artificial part of fanaticism (which whigs call grace) being added to his nature, he might qualifie himself for employment and reputation, especially among the remonstrator-presbyterians, who were then the principal part of the kirk. This faction, especially in the west, was advanced so far towards enthusiasm, that they despised and suspected men of learning and sense, and began to look upon it as a stinting of the spirit to spend any study or time in preparing themselves to preach. The people especially were so possessed with this opinion, that if they came to know that their ministers preconceived, much more peun'd their sermons in their studies, they thought it a sufficient ground of withdrawing from them, as believing it utterly impossible to receive any spiritual benefit from such carnal sermons as were composed by the help of study and books.

Among these people it was that Mitchel designed to teach and preach; and therefore, after he was graduated master, (which is here at the end of four years) he apply'd himself to the study of popular divinity under Mr David Dickson, a great apostle of the solemn league and covenant; under whom he continued his method of reading modern fanatical pamphlets, that he might be an able workman, and compleately finished with all those canting affected phrases which discriminate a spiritual from a carnal preacher among our presbyterians, and are musick and charms to their enthusiastical ears. And, that he might add the practical to the speculative part of fanaticism, and be perfectly master of his trade, he frequented those private meetings where conferences, prayers, and sermons, were spoken in that dialect; and where tone, grimace,

nounced the condemnation of a man to death whom his evidence should have preserved."—*Laine's History of Scotland*, Lond. 1800, 8vo. vol. II. p. 71.

Lauderdale would willingly have saved Mitchell's life; but as the archbishop insisted on his execution, he gave up his cause with a profane and brutal jest, "Nay, then, e'en let him glorify God in the Grass-Market!"

and gesticulations, are far more powerful than all the true learning and eloquence in the world.

Having acted some time in these nurseries of enthusiasm he thought himself fit for any ecclesiastical employment, and therefore offered himself to be tryed by the presbytery of Dalkeith, who rejected him for insufficiency, as some yet alive can testify to the world.

After this repulse he began to project some other way of living, and was shortly after recommended to the laird of Dundas, to be pedagogue to his children, and domestick chaplain for saying extemporary prayers. He passed some time in this family for a gifted and very holy young man, till some of the servants observed an extraordinary familiarity* betwixt him and a young woman, who was the old gardener's wife. Being possessed with this suspicion they observed him more, and one night as they were watching, they saw his mistress go to his chamber, which was a summer-house built on the garden-wall. The key, as it happened, was left on the outside of the door, which one of those that watched observing, gently locked the door upon them, and immediately ran to call his master, who came to the garden to see what would be the event. After they had been as long as they pleased together, at last Hortensia comes to go out, who, to her great confusion, finding the door locked, steps back to the adulterer, who, fearing that she should be taken with him, immediately let her down the garden-wall by the help of his shirt, she hanging at one end, and he holding the other as naked as when he was born. His patron all this while beheld him like a filthy Priapus, upon the garden-wall, and the next day, in great indignation, discharged him of his service and house. I suppose this is one of his particular and private sins, which you'll find him hereafter confessing in his speech, deserved a worse death than he endured.

Afterwards he came to Edinburgh, where he lived some years in a widow's house called Mrs Grissald Whitford, who dwelt in the Cowgate, and with whom that dishonour of mankind, Major Weir, was boarded at the same time. By his conversation, it may be presumed that Mitchel improved much in the art of hypocrisie, and drank in more deeply those murderous and treasonable principles which he afterwards practised in the whole course of his life, and justified at his death. Now began he to converse with the most bigot zealots against authority, to frequent and hold conventicles to preach up the covenant, and to the utmost of his power to promote the schism which was begun in the church. By these practices he much endeared himself to his tutor, Major Weir, who recommended him for a chaplain to a fanatical family, the lady whereof was niece to Sir Archibald Johnston, laird of Wareston, one of the most furious rebels against the late blessed king, and greatest compliers with the late usurpation, in the three kingdoms, and whom you may remember to have been president of the committee of safety; for all which accumulated treasons he was executed here in 1663.

During his abode in this family, broke out the rebellion of the fanatics in 1666. He no sooner heard of it but joyned with the rebels, who were defeated at Pentland-Hills; though Mr Welsh, (as it is reported) during the fight, prayed with uplifted hands to the Lord of Hosts against Amalek, (as his spirit moved him to miscall the royal forces,) and had his hands stayed up by some of his brethren, as Moses had his by Aaron and Hur. Mr Mitchel had the fortune to escape from the field, but was afterwards proclaimed traytor, with many other principal actors in the rebellion; and afterwards excepted by name in his majesty's gracious proclamation of pardon, that he might receive no benefit thereby. From this time he skulked about, and sheltered himself among the rebellious saints of the brotherhood, till the devil tempted him to assassinate the Lord Primate, for which he hath expiated by his blood.

Among others of his excellent qualifications, I have told you what an utter ignoramus he was; and I cannot forbear to tell you farther, that Welsh and Arnot, and all

the rest of them, are full as illiterate as he, and that their insuperable ignorance in divine and humane learning is the mother of their murdering zeal. Indeed all the late troubles upon the account of episcopacy are chiefly to be ascribed to the shameful ignorance of protestant divines in ecclesiastical antiquity, who, looking no farther back into the history of religion than the time of the Reformation, and some of them not so far, did either hate episcopacy as an usurpation, or else looked upon it as a meer human constitution, and so could not have that particular veneration for it that was due to an apostolical ordinance, so visibly founded in the scriptures, and which was the sole invariable government of God's universal church for above 1500 years.

Of this, that excellent man Mr Henderson was a deplorable example, who though he was a man of great temper and prudence, and very learned in his way, yet want of antiquity, of which he was ignorant, was the unhappy cause why he engaged for the covenant against the king and the church. Had he spent but half so many hours in that, he had never moved so eccentrically to the church, nor done those things for which he expiated with tears before his late blessed majesty at Newcastle, afterwards spending the short remainder of his life in a sorrowful penitential retirement, for which he grew suspected by his brethren of the covenant, who called him apostate from the cause. There are many persons yet alive who can testify this to be true, which may teach all divines how dangerous it is for them to live in ignorance of ecclesiastical antiquity, which is so easily acquired and so useful to be known. That comprehensive genius, Mr Calvin, wanted nothing but this to make him as orthodox and consummate a divine as ever was in the church of God; for had he been but half as well versed in the more primitive ecclesiastical writers as he was in St Augustine, he had never coined the notion of a lay-elder, defended the horrible decree, or been exposed for so many absurdities by meek Cassander's pen.

But to conclude this digression with Mr Henderson, there were very few among our covenanting-ministers comparable to him for prudence and learning; and yet even the lowermost form of our former presbyterians were great men in comparison to these of the remonstrator faction, who are all burning zeal but no knowledge; as you will perceive not only by the sequel of this story, but this letter of an ignorant minister, that lately revolted from our church.

SIR,

I received your letter of the 15th of July, wherein you say, That on the first Wednesday of August you are to have a presbytery, (you ought to have termed it a meeting of the exercise,) and on the second Wednesday of August, a provincial meeting with your Bishop of Rothesay. And, once for all, I desire you may take this for an absolute answer; first, That God hath for a long time been dealing with my conscience, but especially since October last, when I was called to Mul for electing Mr Andrew Wood, bishop (I confess his want of the Irish language did stick with me, besides many other things, as well now as before, about the election of Mr James Ramsay; and all of you, save one, did then profess that they did stick with you also, though now you have swallowed down that pill with many more,) and that in such an extraordinary, dreadful, and terrible manner, for my engaging to prelacy and a lordly government over the church of Christ, (contrary to which there lie so many ties and obligations on this land,) that, with the grace of God, I would not adventure to abide the terror of the Lord for all the stipends and preferments in Europe. And truly the worst I wish to you, or any prelate in Britain or Ireland, or their adherents, is, that they may have as sound a yoking with their consciences as I have had, if they be not incorrigible enemies of Christ. Next, upon serious search of the word of God and of

antiquity, I am the more confirmed in my resolution. Blondellus, Salmatius, Gerson, Bucer, yea the whole current of primitive fathers, especially Smectymnuus, have vindicated presbytery against the whole world. I want not many more solid reasons to add, only I suppose I could never be satisfied in them, and therefore I forbear.

To conclude, I do here, before God and the whole world, profess my disowning of lordly prelacy, as it is now established in our land, which I was once most fully engaged into; and my firm and resolute adherence to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of Scotland, as it was professed in this nation from the year of our Lord 205, and downward for the space of 230 years, and then since the year 1580 till the year 1610; and then from the year 1638 till the year 1661, and from thence downwards by many godly in these three lands, till this very day is; and more particularly to the point, that government of Christ's church by an equality and parity of pastors and ministers, all of them with one shoulder carrying on the work of the Lord, and exercising the keys of order and jurisdiction, doctrine and discipline in *communi*, according to due order, and feeding the flock of God, not as being lords of God's heritage, but ensamples to the flock; yea, I do here, (with all the Lord's faithful servants and witnesses in these three lands, both in the present and some former generations, and with all the Lord's witnessing and suffering servants and people, that have been, or now are in this land, or present generation,) confess and bear my witness and testimony, the cause of God, and the work of reformation, so much as was attained thereof, how afflicted and borne down soever, and to the confessions of faith of the church of Scotland and of the three kingdoms, and to rational and trinal covenant; and that I do rather choose to suffer affliction with the poor suffering people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproaches of Christ greater riches than all the pleasures and preferments in the world. I desire you, with your brethren, to consider those scriptures and take them home to you; Isa. lxvi. 5. Zach. xi. 5. John xvi. 2, 3. John ix. 1. 10. Remember your worthy bedfellow that is this day, I hope, in glory, shall bear witness against you. Farewel for ever, lordly prelacy, for I had never a joyful hour since I engaged therein; and welcome, welcome, my dear Lord Jesus Christ; I embrace thee with the arms of my soul and thy cross; I profess this, confess thee bearing my testimony to thee, and thy persecuted truth, and by thy blood, and the word of thy testimony; and not loving my life unto the death I hope to overcome.

Sic subscribit, ALEX. SYMER,
Minister of the Gospel at Cambre.

Cambre Isle, August 6, 1677.

Unless you are versed in our historian Buchanan, you will wonder why this learned antiquarian should assert, that the government of our church was presbyterian from the first plantation of the gospel in 205, or rather 203, till the arrival of Palladius in the middle of the fifth century. You must know, therefore, that all the authority our presbyterians have for this assertion is from Buchanan, that furious enemy of bishops; who, in the fifth book of his history, writes, that the church in the aforesaid time was not governed by bishops, but by the monks or Culdees; which, were it true as it is false, would prove that the government of the church in that interval was not presbyterian but perfectly laical, seeing it was long after that time that monks were admitted among the clergy, and permitted to meddle with church affairs. But you may find a larger confutation of this groundless assertion of Buchanan in Archbishop Spotswood's history, in the seven first pages of the first book.

But to continue my narrative of Mr Mitchel, I proceed to acquaint you with other memorable things that happened between his condemnation and execution, which

was on Friday the 18th of January, in the Grass-market, about three of the clock in the afternoon.

Some time before the execution the Reverend Mr Ammand, dean of Edinburgh, not discouraged with the unthankful returns one of his brethren had received from the malefactor before, out of his tender compassion to his soul, wrote him a very affectionate and pious letter, wherein he endeavoured to shew him, from the gospel, how contrary his principles and practices were to the doctrine of Christianity; and exhorted him to repentance for that unchristian attempt, by which he designed to take away the life of one sacred person, and grievously wounded another, &c. To all which he returned this answer:—

SIR,

I received yours, and since my time is very short and so very precious, I can only thank you for your civility and affection, whether real or pretended; and I tell you, I truly close with all the precepts of the gospel to love and peace, and therefore pray I both for Mr Sharp and you. But knowing both Mr Sharp's wickedness and my own sincerity, and the Lord's holy sovereignty to use his creatures as he pleases, I can only refer the manifestation of my fact to the day of God's righteous and universal judgement, praying heartily that God may have mercy on you, and open your eyes to see both the wickedness of all your ways, and of your godless insulting over an unjustly condemned dying man, and grant unto you repentance and remission of your sins. I am in this your well-wisher,

JAMES MITCHEL.

The dean, in his letter, urged an excellent argument to convince him that the impulse, which was upon him so many years to assassinate the primate, could not come from God, like the impulse of Phineas and the zealots, because he failed in the attempt, which never any person did or could do that was moved by God to do an heretick act. But you see the blind pseudo zealot takes no notice of this argument in his answer, wherein to shew what an implacable enemy he was to the office, as well as the person of the archbishop, he mentions his grace not by his character but by his name.

Having been told in the prison that he would not be permitted to speak to the people before his execution, he transcribed several copies of his intended speech, whereof one was found in his pocket, and taken from him before he was carried out to execution. It is long, and the former part containing nothing but libellous reflections on the privy council, the judges, and the king's advocate, I shall content myself to send you a transcript of the latter.

“ I acknowledge my particular and private sins have been such as have merited a worse death unto me; but I die in the hope of the merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from those eternal punishments due to me for sin. Yet I am confident that God doth not plead with me in this place for my private and particular sins, but that I am brought here that the work of God might be made manifest, and for the tryal of faith, John ix. 3. 1 Pet. i. 7. And that I may be a witness for his despised truth and interest in this land, who am called to seal the same with my blood. And I wish heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this kingdom, so much actuate by these perfidious prelates; and in opposition to whom, and in testimony of the cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my life, and bless my God that he hath thought me so much worthy to do the same for his glory and interest. Finally, concerning a christian duty in a singular extraordi-

nary case, and my particular judgment concerning both church and state, it is evidently declared and manifested more fully elsewhere. So farewell all earthly enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whose hands I commend my spirit."

As to that particular christian duty in an extraordinary case, and his judgment concerning church and state manifested elsewhere, he means a large blasphemous libel which he left behind him, wherein he endeavours to justify his fact. It is very long, but yet I beseech you to read it over, and if you have not read *Naphthali*, nor *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, which is a reply to the answer which the Bishop of Orkney (whom this miscreant wounded) made to *Naphthali*; I am confident you must be surprized with horror and astonishment, to see such unchristian doctrines come from a christian pen. Yet the primitive churches never received the apostolick epistles with greater veneration, than the members of our field congregations receive such discourses as this; nor can any churchman respect any ancient ecclesiastical writer half so much as they adore *Naphthali*, which is written in the defence of the rebellion in 1666, and wherein this horrid man's attempt upon the primate is commended for an heroic act; and that cursed book, with *Lex, Rex, Jus Populi Vindicatum*, and Mr Rutherford's letters, are the fathers and counsels of our Fife and western whigs.

I have here subjoyned the account of myself, principles, and foresaid practices, as they were set down in a letter to a friend; and another declaration, both written by me, when first convened before the lords justices, in the year 1674.

The Copy of my Letter, Edinburgh Tolbooth, February the 16th, 1674.

SIR,

Me, (who may justly call myself the least of all saints, and the chiefest of all sinners,) hath Christ his Son our Lord called, to be a witness for his destroyed truth and trampled-on interest, by this wicked, blasphemous, and God-contemning generation, and against all their other perfidious wickednesses. Sir, I say the confidence I have in your real friendship and love to Christ, his truth, people, interest, and cause, hath encouraged me to write to you, hoping that you will not misconstrue nor take advantage of my infirmities and weakness. You have heard of my indictment, which I take up in these two particulars: First, (as they term it) rebellion and treason, anent which I answered to my lord chancellor, that it was no rebellion, but a duty which every one was bound to have performed, in joining with that party; and in the year 1656, Mr Robert Lightonne being the primate of the college of Edinburgh before our laureation, tendered to us the national covenant and solemn league and covenant, which upon mature deliberation I found nothing in them, but a short compend of the moral law only, obliging us to our duty towards God and men in their several stations; and I finding, that our then banished king's interest lay wholly included therein, viz. both the oath of coronation, allegiance, &c.; and they being the then *tessera* of all loyalty. And, my lord, it was well known, that then many were taking the tender, and forswearing Charles Stuart's parliament and house of lords, I then subscribed them both. The doing of which, my lord chancellor, would have stood me at no less rate, if all's well known, than this my present adhering and prosecuting the ends thereof doth now; and when I was questioned, What then I called rebellion? I answered, that it is, (Ezra vii. 26) "And whosoever will not do the law of thy God and of the king," &c. But being questioned by the commissioner before the council there present, I answered, as I said to my lord chancellor before, in the year 1656. Mr Robert Lightonne being then primate of the college of Edinburgh, before our laureation,

he tendered to us the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, where he stopped me, saying, I made you are come here to give a testimony; and then being demanded what I called rebellion, if it was not rebellion to oppose his majesty's forces in the face? To which I answered, My lord commissioner, if it please your grace, I humbly conceive that they should have been with us; meaning that it was the duty of those forces to have joyned with us, according to the national covenant, at which answer I perceived him to storm. But, says he, I hear that you have been over seas; with whom did you converse there? Answer, With my merchant, my lord. But, saith he, with whom in particular? With one John Mitchel, a cousin of mine. Saith he, I have heard tell of him, he is a factor in Rotterdam, to which I conceded. But, saith he, did you not converse with Mr Lévingston, and such as he? To which I answered, my lord commissioner, I conversed with our banished ministers; to which he replied, Banished ministers! Banished traytors! He will speak treason at the very bar. Then he answered himself, saying, but they would call shooting at the bishop an heroick act; to which I answered, that I never told them of any such thing. *Quest.* But where did you see James Wallace last? *Answ.* Towards the borders of Germany, some years ago. *Quest.* But what ailed you at my Lord St Andrews here? pointing at him with his finger. *Answ.* My lord commissioner, the grievous oppression and horrid bloodshed of my brethren, and the eager pursuit after my own blood, as it appeareth this day to your grace, and to all his majesty's honourable council; after which he commanded to take me away, that they might see next what to do with me.

The second is the shooting that shot, intended against the Bishop of St Andrews, whereby the Bishop of Orkney was hurt; to which I answered my lord chancellor in private, viz. That I looked upon him to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed of my brethren that followed thereupon, and the continual pursuing after my own: and, my lord chancellor, as it was credibly reported to us, (the truth of which your lordship knows better than we,) that he kept up his majesty's letter, inhibiting any more blood to be shed upon that account until the last ten were executed; and I, being a soldier, not having laid down arms, but being still upon my own defence, and having no other quarrel nor aim at any man, but according to my own apprehension of him, and that, as I hope, in sincerity, without fixing either myself or any one upon the covenant itself; and, as it may be understood by many thousands of the faithful, besides the prosecuting of the ends of the same covenant, which was, and is in that part, the overthrow of prelates and prelacy. And I, being a declared enemy to him upon that account, and he to me in like manner, so I never found myself obliged, either by the law of God or Nature, to set a sentry at his door for his safety; but as he was always ready to take his advantage of me, as it now appeareth, so I of him when opportunity offered. Moreover, we being in no terms of capitulation, but, on the contrary, I, by his instigation, being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him upon all occasions. Also, my lord, Sir William Sharp making his apology anent his unhandsome cheating way, when he took me under pretext to have spoken with me about some other matter, (I not knowing him until five or six of his brothers and his own servants were laying fast hold of me, they being armed of purpose,) he desired that I would excuse him, seeing what he had done was upon his brother's account, which excuse, my lord, I easily admitted of, seeing that he thought himself obliged to do what he did without law or order in the behalf of his brother; much more was I obliged to do what I did in behalf of many brethren, whose oppression was so great, and whose blood he caused shed in such abundance: moreover, he insisting in his bloody murders, as witness the wounding Mr Bruce at his taking of his emissaries, some few days before that fell out concerning himself. Now, if by any means, in taking him away, I could have put a stop to the then current persecution, thus far I have truly resumed what past.

But this answer to the second part of the indictment may be thought by some to be a step out of the ordinary way, wherefore I shall offer these things following to your consideration, viz. that passage, Deut. xiii. 9, where to me it is manifest, that the seducer or inticer to worship false gods is to be put to death by the hands of those whom he seeketh to turn away from the Lord, especially by the hand of the witnesses, whereof I am one, as it appears, Deut. xiii. 9, which precept I humbly conceive to be moral, and not merely judicial, and that it is not at all ceremonial or levitical; but as every moral precept is universal as to the extent of place, so also as to the extent of time and persons; upon which command, sir, I do really think that Phineas acted in taking away the Midianitish whore, and him whom she had seduced, Numb. xxv. 6. Also that Elijah, by virtue of that precept, gave commandment to the people to destroy Baal's priests, contrary to the mind of the seducing magistrate, who was not only remiss and negligent in executing justice, but became a protector and defender of the seducers; then, and in that case, I suppose the Christian's duty not to be very dark. Moreover, we see what the people of Israel did, 2 Chron. xxxi. 1; they destroyed idolatry, not only in Judah, where the king concurred, but in Ephraim and Manasseh, where the king himself was an idolater; and surely what all the people were bound to do, as their duty by the law of God, every one was bound to do it to the uttermost of their power and capacity: and as it is, Ezek. xiii. 3, where the seducer's father and mother shall put him to death, I take this to be meant of the Christian magistrate; but when he is withdrawn by the seducer from the exercise of his office and duty, and he's become utterly remiss and negligent in putting the seducer to death, according to God's express law, which is not to be expected of him, (for then he should do justice upon himself,) but is become a protector and defender of the idolater; then I doubt not, but it doth become the duty of every Christian, to the uttermost of his power and capacity, to destroy and cut off both idolatry and idolaters. Yea, these presumptuously-murdering prelates ought to be killed by the avenger of blood when he meeteth them, by the express law of God; seeing the thing is manifestly true, Numb. xxv. 21, and not have liberty to flee to such cities of refuge as the vain pretext of lawful authority; but they should be taken even from the horns of such altars and be put to death. Moreover, what is spoken of concerning Amalek, upon the account that he design'd and resolved the extirpation of the Lord's people and truth, who are his throne, upon which he puts forth his hand, and because he took occasion against them, Exod. xvii. 15, Numb. xxiv. 20. He endeavouring that God should not have a people to have served him, according to his revealed will, upon the earth; and, if he could have effected his design, they should not have lived who would not serve and worship him and his idol gods: and for the better effectuating of this his design, he took occasion against them when they were weary in coming out of Egypt, Deut. xxv. 17, 18; and the reason there annexed is, that he feared not God. Now, because I know bishops both will and do say, that what they did against those of the Lord's people, whom they murdered, they did by law and authority, but what I did was contrary to both. *Answer.* The king himself, and all the estates of the land, and every individual person therein, both were, and are obliged, by the oath of God upon them, to have by force of arms extirpated perjured prelates and prelacy, and, in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes. The covenants being engaged into upon these terms, viz. after supplications, remonstrations, protestations, and all other lawful means have been used, now for that effect, as the last remedy we take up arms, upon which conditions the nobility, and all the representatives of the nation, according to the national and solemn league and covenant, gave to our king both the sword and sceptre, and set the crown upon his head; and he accordingly received them according to these sacred oaths and promises, and swore by the ever-living God, to use and improve them for the end aforesaid: and especially, in order to the performing of this article, viz. the extirpation

and overthrow of prelates and prelacy. And now the want of what authority do they mean or speak of? Truly I know not, except it be the authority of their aggregation of new gods, of whom they have their gain, life, and standing, viz. Chemosh or Bacchus, which, with drunken Moab, delighted to dwell within dark cells, and Ashteroth and Venus, whom they worship in the female kind, because of their adulteries and whoredoms, as also Milchom or Molech, which signifies a tyrannical king, or a devil, if they will have it so, in whose arms and power they put their young infants and posterity to be burnt and destroyed, according to his lust and pleasure, Amos v. 26, Psalm cxvi. 37, and that Mammon, which they delight to worship daily, together with their own bellies, whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things, whose end will be destruction, except they repent, which there is little probability of, Psalm iii. 19. To which, if we may add their abominable pride and blasphemous perjury, then their gods will be equal in number to the whore their mother, from whom they have their being, strength, and standing; and from the devil their father, who was a deceiver, liar, murderer, from the beginning. And now seeing the prelates possess whatsoever their gods, Chemosh, &c. giveth them to possess, then why should not we possess what the Lord our God giveth us to possess, viz. his eternal truths manifested to us in his revealed will, and keep and defend the same from all innovations, corruptions, and traditions, of his or our adversaries; defend our lives, laws, and liberties, out of the hands of our usurping enemies, Jude xi. 24; for sure I am, that God once dispossessed the prelates and malignants of all these, and should they again possess them through our defect, God forbid. But the like of this work our murdering prelates like not, who plead, like the whore their mother, for passive obedience, and that all the Lord's people, who may not comply with your idolatries, should lay down their necks to their bloody axes; with whom too, too many of our hypocritical time-serving and perfidious professors do agree, who would rather abide with Reuben, amongst the sheep-folds, than jeopard either life or fortune in the help of the Lord against the mighty, but do not consider the bitter curse pronounced by the angel of the Lord against Meroz, to which he immediately subjoins a blessing upon Jael, the wife of Hebar the Kenite. Others excuse themselves thus, viz. Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, but so the throne and judgment is the Lord's; and by this they would take away the use and office of magistracy, which erroneous principle I detest; for God, even in the working of miracles, viz. in dividing the Red Sea, Exod. xiv. 16, he commanded Moses to stretch forth his rod; and Christ, when he opened the blind man's eyes, maketh use of clay and of spittle, tho', indeed, I mean not of any who were willing to have helped, but wanted opportunity, yet there are many peevish time-serving professors, who resolve they shall never suffer so long as they have either soul or conscience to mortgage, providing that they may save them from suffering; and if it will not do their business, it seemeth (that before they suffer) they resolve to sell out at the ground. Now, sir, I have neither misinterpreted scripture nor misapply'd it, in regard of the persons here hinted at, nor been wrong in the end, which ought to be the glory of God, and the good of his church and people. Then I think that some persons might forbear to scourge me so sore with their tongues, while I am not yet condemned by the common enemy; and my hearing of some things reported by some behind my back hath occasioned my writing to you at this time. O, sir, be intreated to pray to the Lord in my behalf, that he would be pleased, out of his mercy and goodness, to save me from sinning under suffering in this hour and power of darkness, for my soul is prest in me, in the search betwixt sin and duty, viz. lest I should be too niggard and sparing of life when God calleth for it; and, upon the other hand, lest I should be too prodigal and lavish of it in not using all legal defences in preserving of it, and many things of the like nature. I am in a strait, O Lord, undertake thou for me. Sir, I hope you will excuse me in sending you these indistinct and irregular lines, when you consider my present

condition. Sir, believe I would many times, when I am before them, think a scaffold a sweet retirement, lest they should cheat and deceive me; in making me either to stain the declarative glory of God, my own conscience, or his people and interest, in wronging of them either by opening of the adversaries mouths against them, or in letting loose their hand upon them: henceforth let the adversary either say or do what they can, yet "the righteous will hold on their way, and he who hath clean hands will be stronger and stronger," Job. xvii. 9. "But he that saith unto the wicked, thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him," Prov. xxiv. 24. Farewell in the Lord.

P. S. It is acknowledged by all rational royalists, that it is lawful for any private person to kill an usurper or tyrant, *sine titulo*, and to kill Irish robbers and Tories, or the like, and to kill boars, wolves, and such devouring beasts; because the good of this action doth not redound to the person himself only, but to the whole commonwealth, and the person acting incurs the danger himself alone. The second part of *The Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 60, Mr Knox has these express words, "For God," saith he, "had not only given me knowledge, and a tongue to make known the impiety of the idol, but had given me credit with many, who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto." But so careful was I of common tranquillity, and so loth was I to offend some, that, in secret conference with zealous men, I travell'd rather to slacken that fervency God had kindled in them, than to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work, wherein I acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly; and from the bottom of my heart I do ask my God pardon, that I did not what in me lay to have suppress that idol in the beginning. But, O! how far are the men in our time from such convictions, whose work it is to put out any spark of life or zeal which appeareth in any person, against idolatry and idol of our times. Now let men, whether foes or friends, carp or quarrel never so much, yet the purpose and determination of God will not be disappointed, in living witnesses against this mis-believing generation, viz. that he is both all-powerful and willing to deliver one or more of his people trusting in Him: yea, and that there is no restraint unto the Lord, to save by many or by few, 1 Sam. xiv. 6. If any be obedient to the voice of his commandments, altho' success doth not always follow thereupon, more than it did to Israel, Josh. vii. 12, against the city of Ai, because there was an Achan in the camp; and, alas! there are many Achans in the camp of our Israel, which cause the Lord's people to fall daily before their enemies, and which makes all their endeavours unsuccessful: I mean the hidden, time-deserving hypocrites and murmurers, who have preferred their backs and bellies to the interest of God, and their hearts still desirous to return to Ægypt. I say, until such rebels be purged and dye, we can have little expectation to prosper in any enterprize or undertaking, for they have both betray'd and mis-believed God, notwithstanding of all his miracles which he did of old, and which he has done in our days, for his people, and before their eyes; yet they are so far gone back in a course of apostacy and compliance with the Canaanites of our times, and are become so brutishly ignorant of the express law of God, and are such enemies thereto, that they do rather concur with the said Canaanites, Judg. vi. 25, to have Gideon put to death for performing his duty, conform to the express command of God, than either to study thereof themselves or give obedience thereto. But if it be objected, that Gideon had an express command from God for throwing down of Baal's altar, and for cutting down of the grove, and destroying of the Midianites. *Answer.* Indeed he had an express command of God for his encouragement, but he had no new command from God, save that which was expressly enjoined upon all the Israelites; by virtue of which, every one was obliged to have done what he did, without any such message from God, Deut. vii. 2, 3, 15, and who are readier with Judas (before they incur danger or loss) to send three thousand men to bring Sampson bound to the Phi-

listines, than to have sent him ten of his assistants against the common enemy; concerning the truth of which, we have gotten many sad experiments. But, however, I hope that what hath been said shall occasion a further cognition of, and a more serious search into, these fore-mentioned truths, than hath been for a long time by-past.

That, albeit, I have singly declared my own motives and reasons for that attempt and shooting, wherein I then had, and now have, peace and hope to find acceptance of God, according to the multitude of his mercies, to such as seek and fear him in sincerity: Yet I will not take on me absolutely, and in every respect, to justify or assert, that it is my own deliberate and fixed principle; let be that it is justified by, and is the principle of the non-conforming presbyterian party of the church of Scotland, of which I have the honour and happiness to be one, the unworthiest of many; nay, if I should say so of them, I would be found a liar against the truth, for I adventured on it upon my own pure and proper motion, without the instigation of any, yea, without the privacy of that party; whom, therefore, I earnestly desire that none may charge with; and if any shall, I do with the greatest confidence aver, that they deal with them most unjustly. I have, I say again, in the simplicity of my heart, with candour and ingenuity becoming a dying man and a Christian, believing that he must be made manifest before the tribunal of Christ, and there receive according to the things done in the body, whether they be good or evil; giving an account of the reasons and motives, poussing and pressing me on to it, wherein I had quietness of mind in the time, and have still to this present hour; hoping that as he is sovereign Lord over all creatures, and may use any of them as instruments to whatsoever his pleasure is, and that, as I say, I did take, and do still look upon the motion as from himself, so he will accept of my sincerity in it, and one day both bring forth his own and my righteousness as the light.

FINIS.

His Speech at the Place of Execution.

I suppose some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this place of suffering, to which I have no other answer than that which Elijah gave when threatened with death by Jezabel, 1 King xix. 14, I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars and true worship, and slain his prophets and ministers; and they seek my life to take it away.

With all my heart and soul I own and adhere to the work of reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this kingdom according to the word of God, and the national covenant, and the solemn-league and covenant, as it was settled amongst us in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, kirk-sessions, and the peoples just power to choose and call their own lawful pastors; and I do declare, that I judge patronage to be a popish right, and an usurpation in the house of God.

I do believe and am persuaded, that magistracy is an ordinance appointed of God, as well under the New Testament as it was under the Old, and that whosoever resisteth the lawful magistrate in the exercise of his lawful power, resisteth the ordinance and appointment of God, Rom. xiii. 3, "For he is God's minister to you for thy good," and in doing good thou needs not be afraid of him, 1 Pet. ii. 12. We must obey the lawful magistrate for conscience sake, Deut. xvii. 15, 16, 17. The lawful magistrate must be a man qualified according to God's appointment, and not according to the people's lust and pleasure, lest in the end he should prove to them a prince of Sodom and a governor of Gomorrah, whom God in his righteousness should appoint for

their judgment, and establish for their correction. He must be one of thy brethren, and not the face of a stranger; he must not make himself strong by multiplying of horses, to the end he may compel the Lord's people to rebel against the Lord's express command, nor, Jeroboam-like, compel the people to any course of apostacy; he must not multiply wives to himself, and much less whores, nor marry an idolatrous wife, like Jezebel, 1 Kings xvi. 31; nor be covetous in multiplying to himself silver or gold; he must be a diligent student of the law of the Lord all the days of his life, that he turn neither to the right hand nor to the left hand therefrom, but must judge the people accordingly; otherwise neither he nor his children can expect to prolong their days, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. He must not be a son of Belial without or above order and law, whom a man cannot touch except he be fenced with iron, for such shall all be prest away; "For, (saith David) he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord," &c. But if a man, simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter, when he had strengthened himself upon the throne, shall abjure and sacrifice his oath and covenant both to God and his subjects, and shall transgress the law and commandment of the Lord, who hath given the magistrate only one accumulative power, to promote, protect, and defend God's laws, truth, and people, from being corrupted, violated, or any ways damnified; and for that end he hath received both his place and his power from God and men, for he hath not received of the Lord an obstructive, destructive, or privative power; for (as has been said) the people can give no right nor power to any man but what is according to God's appointment, lest they should incur the sad challenge from God, Hosea, viii. 4, "They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, but I knew it not." For in chap. x. v. 3, Israel there is brought in confessing their fault, and they deny'd they had a king, because he was not such as God had appointed, and said, What should a king do to them? Seeing he had partly by force, and partly by fraud, withdrawn them from the fear and obedience which they owed to God and to his law, and had seduced and compell'd them to idolatry and worshipping of false gods. And if the magistrate being in power shall overturn the covenant-work of God, his truth and interests, the fundamental and municipal laws of the land, and moreover by a settled parliament, according to his own mind, and for his own use and ends, they, as the peoples representatives, do by acts rescissory rescind all acts of laudable lawful parliaments, committee of states, or councils, wherein were contained or comprehended any mutual bond, obligation, covenant, or contract, betwixt the prince or people, he having divested himself of any legal right he could have or pretend over such a people, and they being *in statu quo prius*, and none having right to rule over them without their own consent; if the aforesaid magistrate shall then again usurp and invade his peoples lives, religions, liberties, and laws, and make even simple supplicating of him crimes of treason, contrary to the dictates of Nature; and he, by armed emissaries and by his arbitrary power, carried on by the sword in their hands, compel the Lord's people to relinquish and to forsake the true religion and worship of God, and make a surrender of both their soul, conscience, lives, laws, liberties, and embrace a false religion and will-worship, and engage to serve and worship false and idol gods at his pleasure: For thus all that is dear and near to a people being in the extremity of hazard. Now it necessarily follow'd to be the duty of such people, or any part of them, to take up arms in defence of their lives, laws, religion, and liberties, and of their posterity, that they may not be left in such an intolerable bondage; and as they would not be accounted guilty of bringing God's wrath upon the whole land, Jer. xxii. 2, 3, "Hear the word of the Lord, O King of Judah," &c. "Thou and thy servants, and the people that enter in by these gates, execute judgment and righteousness, and deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor," chap. xxxvii. 2, "But neither he, nor the servants, nor the people of the land, hearkened to the prophet Jeremiah, until wrath from the Lord consumed them all." Now, had it

not been the peoples duty to have executed judgment and righteousness, and to have deliver'd the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor, Zedekiah and his servants (which I think was meant by the nobility and princes) proving deficient, in order to the performing of their duty, it necessarily followeth to be the peoples duty; for if it had not been their duty, it had not been their sin to have omitted it; but here we see it is as well charged home to be the peoples sin, as to be the sin of the king, or the sin of his nobles. But say some, Who shall be judge in such cases? To which I answer, that the law of God is the only supreme and infallible judge in all such cases; for what other judge is, when two kings or monarchs falleth out in war, neither of them being subject to any other judge. But some prophane and brutishly ignorant malignant saith, that this or that ignorant fellow or hussy take upon them to determine what the law of God saith in such cases: I answer, neither this nor that ignorant fellow or hussy, nor yet this or that ignorant, prophane, wicked, or perfidious prince or princess, is capable to be judge, Deut. xxx. 11, "For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off:" verse 12, "It is not in Heaven that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to Heaven and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?" &c., "neither is it beyond the sea," &c., "but the word is very near unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart that thou may'st do it:" and in this case I do appeal to any man of a sober wit and judgment, seeing the "secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him," Psalm xxv. 14; "And seeing evil men understand not judgment, but they that seek the Lord understand all things," Prov. xxviii. 5; "For they know not how to do right, who store up robbery in their palaces," Amos iii. 10, who is most capable to judge what the law of God determineth in all such matters. Artaxerxes, a great monarch, commanded, "That whatsoever is commanded of the God of Heaven, that it should be diligently done for the house of the God of Heaven; for why should there be wrath upon the king and his sons?" Ezra, vii. 23. But O how many men at this time of the sons of Belial, contrary to what is here spoken of, skrew up those who are above them to so high a pinnacle, and an illimited and arbitrary power, far above what either the law of God or the law of Nature will admit of, for this very end and purpose, that they may glory in the works of their own hands; and that he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they have made a surrender of both credit, conscience, and common honesty, may return unto them a power over others who are under them, by putting swords in the hands of bloody cut-throats, who are raised and kepted up for that effect, to keep and bring into an Egyptian bondage the persons, lives, laws, liberties, yea, even the souls and consciences, of the Lord's people; the which power I declare to be diabolical, prophane, and blasphemous, and Pharoah-like, to say, "Who is the Lord that they should obey him?" Exod. v. 2. Now, seeing both the throne and the judgment is the Lord's, then O blessed and happy magistrate, who ruleth and governeth his subjects, keeping in a straight line of subordination to God's law and statutes, for in so doing, who may say to him, What dost thou? Prov. And O happy and blessed people thus governed, Deut. iv. 8, "And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law which I set before you this day?" But O, the blasphemous perjuries and wickedness of this apostate generation, whom no bands, obligations, nor covenants can bind, except these spoken in the 149th Psal. 8. But shall they thus break the covenant, and escape and be delivered? Ezek. xvii. 15, 18, as if the Lord's hand and power could not reach them, to inflict just and due punishment upon them which commit such things. I do detest and abhor that woful indulgence and incroachment, and usurpation on the crown and prerogatives royal of our Lord Jesus Christ, (at least in the givers thereof;) howbeit, I have very much love, charity, and affection, to many who have embraced the same: For I do really think that they have been outwitted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord; yet I hope they shall get their souls for a prey in

the day of the Lord, altho' they may suffer loss in building such hay and stubble upon the rock Christ Jesus, when that their work shall be burnt up by the fire of his jealousy.

I protest before God, angels, and men, against all these acts of parliament or council, which are against, and derogative to, the work of God and reformation, and carrying on of the same, according as we are engaged and sworn in these holy bands of the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant. I abhor the shedding of the blood of the Lord's people, for their adhering to the same, and the peoples guarding such in prison-houses and at scaffolds unto their death, whom, both by the oath of God upon them, and by the eminent and laudable laws of the land, and by the law of nature, they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes, it being most well known, that such as were put to death had committed no crime, but, on the contrary, had performed a duty which they were as much obliged to have performed as these, if the guarders had been as faithful to God and man as the pannels were.

Likewise I protest against their banishment, imprisonment, or finings, or confinements, and against all the hardships and perplexities of whatsoever kind which they have been put to through the iniquity of the times; so that we may justly with our predecessors say, that our persecutors have devoured us and have crushed us, have emptied us, swallow'd us up like a dragon, and have filled their bellies with our delicates, and have cast us out, Jer. v. 34. For which cause God gave a charge to prepare instruments for the overthrow and destruction of such persecutors, ver 12, because it was the vengeance of the Lord and of his temple; so shall our remnant, who outlive these persecutors, say, ver 35. The violence done to me and my flesh be upon Babylon, and my blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea; let wrath from the Lord pursue them, for their blood and violence in their persons and estates, and their strength wherein they confide, and in their friends and favourites, who have consulted and contrived within their wicked courses. I hope the time is drawing nigh, and that the joints of their loins is loosing, their knees are beginning to smite one against another, Dan. v. 6, and the hand writing begins to be portrayed upon the wall, because they have not consider'd what God did to their predecessors for their idolatrous pride and wickedness; altho' they knew it, yet they are become more insolent in idolatry and wickedness, and daring against God, than ever their forefathers presumed to be, in meddling with the vessels and materials of God's house, and with the crown and kingly office of Christ Jesus, and have appropriate them to their own idolatrous ends and uses, verse 21, 22. Therefore, when the forbid'd sword of the Lord's indignation and justice breaketh forth to devour, which it may do before the dark night of these dreadful dispensations pass over, then shall the time-serving hypocrites of this generation begin to their untimely prayers, viz. Hills and mountains fall upon them, to hide them from the face of the righteous Judge; for who may abide the day of his coming for executing of vengeance on his adversaries? In that day the man shall be accused who keepeth back his sword from blood, and who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, Jer. xlviii. 10. Yea, happy shall he be that taketh this cursed malignant and prelatiſcal brood, and dasheth them against the stones; yea, happy shall he be that rewardeth them as they have served us, Psalm cxxxvii. For this honour have all his saints the high praises of God in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand, to execute vengeance upon the heathen, Psalm cxlix.

Having thus deliver'd myself in the points that I have mentioned, I only add to what I have said, that I do only own these things as my own judgment in these great and important matters, not willing that any thing wherein others may differ from me should be looked upon as the principles and perswasion of that party whereto I adhere; and I obtest, that no man be so diabolick and prophane as to charge this upon any of

my perswasion, it being but my own, in which I hope God hath approven me. And whom God justifieth who dare condemn?

Now if the Lord, in his wise and over-ruling providence, bring me to the end of my pilgrimage, and to my long-looked-for and desired happiness, let him take his own way and time in bringing me to it: And, in the mean while, O my soul, sing thou this song, Spring up, O well of this happiness and salvation, of all this eternal hope and consolation; and whilst thou art burthened with this clog of a clay tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, patience, hope, and charity, and with all the instruments which God hath given thee; dig in it both by precepts and promises; dig carefully and dig continually, ay and till thou come to the source and head of the fountain himself, from whence the waters of life flow forth; dig until thou come to the assembly of the first born, when this song is most suitably sung to the praise and glory of the rich mercy and free grace of this fountain of life. O my soul, follow (in all this digging) the direction of the great Law-giver; so shalt thou prosper in all thy taking of pains. O happy nobles and princes of Israel, who were admitted to the sight and to the song, to the pains and to the profit, which none of the mixed multitude of murmurers were admitted to because of their unbelief, Numb. xxi. 17. And O, Father of Mercy, while I am tossed upon the turbulent seas of manifold troubles, grant that thy presence may be with me, and that thy everlasting arms may be underneath me to support me; for sure I am, Moses thy servant had good reason to be importunate in this suit, Exod. xxxii. 2. compared with 14 and 15 ver. chap. xxxiv. 9, seeing no less could furnish him with fresh supplies in the work he was about. O let thy presence be with me, and then my soul shall dig and sing, and sing and dig through times of trouble into eternal rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the rock Christ, out of whom floweth the pure fountain and river of life and happiness, which I may drink and not be damnified through the assaults of Satan or the invasions of sin, or of a wicked world, any more. Now, according to thy promise, Matt. x. 19, out of thy fatherly mercy grant present help, supply and direction in this time of trouble, seeing it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps, Jer. x. 23, and tho' it be a hard thing rightly to distinguish betwixt sin and duty, yet thy law, thy word, and thy truth, which are quick and powerful, dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a director of the thoughts, and thy law giveth light, Psal. cxix. cv. Psal. xxxii. 8, "For thy testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making wise the simple," Psal. xix. 7. For thou alone canst make all thy dispensations prove profitable, in order to the purging away of sin, even when they seem to be destructive, Esa. xxvii. 9; especially when thou intends them not for destruction but for tryal, Deut. viii. 2, 16, and for further humiliation; for thou, O Lord, hast led me for many years through a barren and wearisome wilderness, to the end that thou mayst work thy work of mortification in me; altho', if it had seemed good unto thee, thou couldst have brought me into the land of promise and rest a nearer way, Exod. xiii. 17. For thou, by hardships, many a time hides pride from men, and sealest up their instruction, that thou may'st deliver his soul from the pit, and that his life may see the light, Job. xxxiii. 17. And although thou, O Lord, should send me the back tract and tenor of my life, to seek my soul's comforts and encouragements from thence, yet I have no cause to complain of hard dealing from thy hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy people, Psal. xlii. 6. O God, my soul is cast down within me, therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and from the hill Hermon, &c. Yea, the last time he brought me to the banqueting-house, and made love his banner over me, (amongst the cold high-land hills beside Kepper, November, 1673,) he remembered his former kindnesses towards me; but withal he spoke it in mine ear, That there was a tempestuous storm to meet me in the face, which I behoooved to go thro' with the strength of that provision, 1 Kings, xix. 7. And now, O my soul, seeing it is his ordinary way and

method with thee, to send a shower and a sunblink, and again a sunblink and shower, therefore keep thou silent to God, and murmur not, fret not, be not disquieted, be still, and be content, seeing all my persecutors can do, either by fraud or force, can neither alter the nature or kind of my sufferings, or add so much as a degree thereto, neither lengthen out the time of them for a moment, Matth. x. 29. Exod. xii. 41. All Pharaoh's power could not keep Israel one night longer in Ægypt; therefore it is my duty to study with Paul, Phil. iv. 11, 12, "Whatsoever state I am in, therewith to be content;" and say, "Should the earth be forsaken, and the rock be removed out of its place for me?" Job xviii. 4. Should God alter the course of his providence for me, in which there is such an efficacy as to carry all things to the proper and appointed end? What an irresistible power! And that I may be found in him, "Not as having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness, which is of God by faith," Phil. iii. 9, 10, and to resign up unto God my will and affections, to be disposed as he pleaseth, and to say with fear, humility, and reverence, "O Father, not my will, but thine be done;" and whether I live or die, I may be the Lord's, that thro' his mercy and grace I may attain to his approbation, viz. "Well done, good and faithful servant," who hath hitherto sent his angel, and "shut the lyon's mouth that they have not hurt me," Dan. vi. 22. And who hath so shut the eyes of my persecutors with a Sodomitish blindness, that hitherto they could not find out the way how to break in upon me; and I hope he will in due time bring me out of the fiery furnace, and shall not, through his grace, suffer the smell thereof to be found upon me; and if not, yet I never held it to be my duty to worship this rotten and stinking idol of jealousy, which these nations have set up, who have killed both the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, Thes. i. 15. "For thou, O Lord, hast not abhorred nor despised my afflictions when I was afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy face from me, but when I cryed unto thee thou heardest me," Psal. xxii. 24. Now, "O Lord God, thou hast made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and stretched out arm," Jer. xxxvii. 2. Bring thou me at length to a happy arrival within the gates of the New Jerusalem, where no unclean thing can come, that my praise may be of thee in the great congregation. And altho', as Job saith, chap. x. 17, "That thou, O Lord, hast deliver'd me to the ungodly, and hast turned me over into the hands of the wicked, yet by this I know that thou, O Lord, favourest me, because mine enemies do not triumph over me." When I stand in judgment, thou, O Lord, didst not condemn; and if it pleaseth thee, thou wilt not leave me in their hands, Psal. xli. 11, Psal. xxxvii. 33, but canst bring up my life from the pit of corruption, Jonah ii. 6. And seeing I have not preferred, nor sought after mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, liberty, and safety of thy church and people, altho' I may be now mis-constructed by many, yet at length I hope thou, Lord, wilt make my light break forth as the morning, and my righteousness as the noon-day; and that shame and darkness shall cover all who are adversaries to my righteous cause; for thou, Lord, art the shield of my help, and the sword of my excellency, and my enemies shall be found lyars. Amen, yea, and amen.

JAMES MITCHEL.

In some parts of this villainous paper you find the author discoursing like a jesuit, in some like an enthusiast, and in many places like both; and, from the beginning to the end of it, he argues from the supposed validity of the judicial law which God gave the Israelites, not as their God, but as their political sovereign; and which they, on the other hand, received from his Infinite Majesty, not on a moral account, as his rational creatures, or the sons of Adam or Noah, but upon the account of the civil relation they had to him as subjects, or his people, in a political sense. For the Jewish government, as all their writers agree, was a theocratical constitution, or the temporal

kingdom of God, who was pleased to become Jehovah-stator, and dwell among them in a visible external manner; in so much that the judges and the kings were but his high commissioners and vice-roys, who were chosen and deposed by him at his pleasure, and, like Moses and Joshua, his first two generals, could neither make war nor peace, nor undertake any state-matter of great moment, without first asking council of the Lord.

Sometimes he answered them by messengers or prophets, sometimes by dreams and visions, but most commonly, in the time betwixt Moses and the captivity, by Urim and Thummim, which was a political oracle, appointed on purpose for the judges, kings, or generals, or the whole congregation, to consult in matters of state and war. But our Saviour, who came to break down the wall of partition betwixt the Gentiles and the Jews, threw his father's inclosure into the common again, and put an end to his political government over the Jews, who, had they embraced Christianity, and continued in their country as one entire people to this day, would not have been obliged, by their specifick judgments and statutes, wherein their civil, criminal, and military laws consist: no, the whole design of the gospel is so inconsistent with the Jewish œconomy, that it is impossible for Christians to observe some, ridiculous to observe others, and impious again to observe others of their judicial laws. Of the last sort are all those which God gave the Jews; as *carnifices gentium*, or executioners of his wrath upon the seven idolatrous incorrigible nations, as likewise all those capital acts against idolatry, as high treason to his government, and inconsistent with the design he had to be king as well as God of the Jews, whom he set up as a light among the Gentiles, and secured them by those great severities from falling into dæmonolatry, which was the catholick religion of the world.

This was the general opinion of all Christians, till the Romanists began to argue by false analogy from things and persons in the Jewish, to things and persons under the Christian dispensation; and from them it was that the presbyterians first of all learn'd to defend murders, assassinations, rebellions, and massacres, as you see this villain hath done.

Pope Adrian the Sixth moved the princes of Germany to cut off Luther and the Lutherans, because (forsooth) God cast Corah and his company down into hell, and commanded, that all those should be put to death that would not obey the high priest. And as Davila relates, in the ninth book of his history, the pope compared the Duke of Guise, that patron of the cursed league, to Judas Maccabeus; and the Jesuits complimented him with the name of Gideon, and bade him go on and prosper in the name of God. According to which damnable notion of false zealotry, when they consecrate an assassin (as Hospinian hath proved they sometimes do) to murder an heretick prince, they solemnly consecrate him to the work of the Lord in such a like form as this,—“Thou elect son of God, take here the sword of Gideon, the sword of Jephtha, the sword of Sampson, the sword of David, the sword of the Maccabees, go, and be of good courage, and the Lord strengthen thy arm.” Can any thing be more like Mr Mitchel's justification than this? Would not one think his soul had entered into that secret of the jesuits, seeing he hath not acted only like one of their assassins, but written his apology with their poyson'd ink? If Father Brown, the jesuit, that preach'd among them so many years, had penn'd it, could it have savour'd stronger of the Society of Jesus, or become such an author better than it doth? He boasted on his death-bed at Ingestonbriggs, that he had preach'd as down-right popery in our field conventicle as ever he had preach'd in Rome itself; and had he been the author of this paper, he might also have boasted, to the comfort of his departing soul, that he had written as true a papistical pamphlet as ever was written in the Romish church. I think there is great presumption to assert, that the father might help to indoctrinate Mitchel in this mystery of iniquity; but if he did not, yet both he and the author of Naphthali might

invent these doctrines without consulting jesuits, seeing it is the Cabala of their own sect.

For this way of arguing, to do mischief from the judicial law, was the logick of our most primitive presbyterians, which hath ever since caused so much ruin and blood.

For in the convention at Edinburgh, January, 1560, for ratification of a new form of church-policy, it was enacted, That all monuments and places of idolatry, by name chapels, cathedral-churches, and colleges, should be suppress'd; whereupon, through the instigation of John Knox, ensued (saith my^a author) a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings, so that the libraries nor church-registers, nor sepulchres of the dead, were spared. And some ill-advised preachers (saith he) did animate the people in their barbarous proceedings, crying out, That places where idols had been worshipp'd ought, by the law of God, to be destroy'd, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable, as if (he subjoyns) the commandment given to Israel for destroying the places where the Canaanites did worship their false gods had been a warrant for them to do the same. I confess, the^a council of Carthage, in the time of Honorius, decreed, That the emperors should be petition'd to raze the temples, and destroy the reliques of heathen idols; but it was because in maritime and other places of Africk idolatry was yet professed in them, and not from any sense of duty incumbent upon them from the Mosaic law; for that, as well as the Latin and Greek churches, had converted the temples of idols into the churches of Christ; but as for the supernumerary useless company of them, which remain'd as snares and monuments of the dominion which the devil had had in the world, they thought it both for the honour and interest of Christianity that they should be taken away.

In the following year, 1561, altho' Queen Mary had agreed with the council, that she should have her own service in her own chapel, yet the next day, when the³ tapers were carried through the court, a zealot of Mr Mitchel's principles fell upon him that bore them, and broke them all in pieces; and had not the tumult been timely suppress'd by some moderate spirits, abominable barbarities had ensued: for some maintain'd, that, if right were done, her majesty's priests should have been slain, according to God's law against idolaters. It would be endless to trace these principles down from the time of the original presbyterians to these unhappy days; you may see enough of them in the parliament sermons, and innumerable other pamphlets of the late times. How often did the late presbyterian preachers commend the House of Commons for their zeal, and ransack the Old Testament for examples and precepts to perswade the giddy vulgar, that the rebels fought the Lord's battles, and that their cause was his? How often did they compare the most active of them to Gideon, Sampson, and Phineas, and compliment the worthies of the late Long Parliament in England, as Gregory the 15th complimented the last King of France, when he raised an army for the extirpation of the protestants in the glorious name of the Lord of Hosts? Did not that darling of the faction, Mr Calamy, in the bloody speech which he made in 43, at the Guildhall of London, to the citizens, (to perswade them to contribute largely towards the bringing in of our Scottish army,) justify himself from the objection of his own tender conscience, that he, being a minister of the gospel, should stir them up to make war, by taking an apology from Numb. x. and Deut. xx. where God ordain'd, that the sons of Aaron, the priests, should sound the alarm with the silver trumpets, and that the priest should make a speech to encourage the people going out to battle, to fight for the Lord of Hosts? So that Naphthali, Nehushtan, and Mitchel's papers are but the last improvement of the presbyterian logick and zeal, which makes our conventicle-preachers ride about with guards, like petty princes, and their followers, more like soldiers than Christians, come armed by thousands into the field.

^a Spotsw. &c. in anno 1560. L. 3.

^a Can. 62.

³ Spotsw. &c. L. 4. anno 1561.

They are now arrived at the highest pitch of enthusiasm and bigotry, and are as ready, upon all occasions, to do as much for the spiritual crown of Christ, which they think inconsistent with the mitre, as the men of the fifth monarchy principles are ready to do for the temporal kingdom of Jesus. So that if God in his good providence had not sent down the Duke of Lauderdale among us, to prevent the storm that was ready to arise, in all human probability this kingdom had been involved in such a violent rebellion, as could not have been quelled without extrinsical force. His grace came hither without any prospect of trouble; and the incredible number of nobility and gentry that thronged to meet him several days journey on English ground, were enough to make him presume that all would be quiet and serene. But he had not been many days among us when he was surprized with the news of great insolencies and disorder, caused by the field conventicles in the west.

Now, to make you understand what wind blew up that sacred flame, and how those evil principles probably came to be put into fermentation, I must lead you back to the year 1674, when some, whose discontents far exceeded their causes, under the old pretence of redressing grievances, did design something else, and thereby almost rendered the parliament useless for the publick ends for which it was called.

The Duke of Lauderdale was then his majesty's high commissioner, and there was not one real grievance of which he himself did not propose the removal, nor any one pretended concerning which he was not willing to treat; and, if it were found to be really such, to have it redressed in an orderly, fair, and legal manner, according to the fundamental constitutions of the house. But this would not satisfy their discontents, (which enough demonstrates that something else was designed besides the removal of grievances,) whereupon his grace returning to court to give an account of affairs to his royal master, such great confusions appeared among us as naturally follow palliated discontents. Then did Welsh, and other declared traytors, take the confidence to preach openly in Fife and Tiveotdale, which before had been orderly places; and there they were entertained, and encouraged to debauch the people from their duty to the king and the church; and if these bold attempts and disorderly practices had not then been timely quelled by his grace's care and conduct, it is easie to divine to what imminent hazard our peace and government had been exposed.

Whether our fanaticks were then under-hand encouraged to commit these insolencies by designing male-contents, time, the revealer of secrets, may shew; but it is beyond all peradventure, that scandalous and unseasonable divisions, caused by nothing but envy and discontent, did then animate and embolden them to these turbulent practices; and therefore it seems not improbable, that the same discontented party, envying the duke his glorious reception and the just esteem he hath with his prince, and intending to frustrate his best councils and endeavours for preserving this, and by consequence the kingdom of England in peace, have now conjured up the phanatical spirit again, to act in more insolent irregularities than at any time heretofore. But let the cause be what it will, the conventicles were never so numerous and frequent as they now began, and sometime after continued to be in Fife, Clidsdale, Tiveotdale, Galloway, Shirlingshire and Carriest; the last of which shires had always been peaceable and orderly till now, when they all conspired to invade the publick peace. At these field conventicles, would meet sometimes five or six thousand, sometimes eight or nine thousand at a time, as many of which as were fit to bear arms and could provide them never failed to come appointed into the field. For this reason our laws and proclamations stile these field-meetings, rendezvouses of rebellion, which is as modest a name as they can deserve. For most of the principal preachers among them, as Welsh and Arnott, are either attainted or declared traytors, and were actors in the rebellion of 66, and the harangues, (for I will not call them sermons) which they make to the people, tend to nothing but to make them rebel, and possess them with hatred against the

king and the church. In October last, at Sanchil in Carrick, Mr Welsh, attended with seven or eight seditious preachers, made a preachment to the principal division of a multitude, upwards of 7000 people, upon St John xi. 34, 35. In this preachment, among much other treasonable stuff, he spoke these words, "The king, the nobles, and the prelates, are sure the murderers of Christ;" and then sitting down in his chair, he said, "Oh people, I will be silent. Speak, O people, and tell me what good the king hath done since his home-coming; yea, hath he not done all the mischief a tyrant could do?" At another conventicle not long after, he spoke thus, or to this purpose, "That he was confident that God would yet assert the cause of Pentland-hills, in spite of the curates, (for so they call the orthodox ministers) and their masters the prelates; and in spite of the prelates and their master the king, and in spite of the king, and his master the devil."

But to proceed, at these field-meetings, they administred the solemn league and covenant to the people, and made them swear never to hear the orthodox ministers more; and, in a most popish manner, gave them the sacrament thereupon. They also kept classical meetings, where they ordained ignorant and factious striplings, and, by an unparalleled act of schism, took the confidence to re-ordain one Mr John Cunningham, who was formerly ordained presbyter by the late Lord Bishop of Galloway; and likewise presumed to receive the hypocritical confessions and repentance of such as they had perswaded, or suborned, to confess the great sin of joining in worship with our church. They admitted ruling elders in several precincts, and with incomparable impudence proceeded to institute and induct preachers of their tribe both into vacant and full churches, according to Mr Mitchel's judgment; who asserts, in his apology, that every parish ought to chuse its preacher, and that patronage is but a popish right. They also, confiding in their numbers, proceeded, in manifest contempt of authority, to erect preaching houses, particularly in Carrick and Galloway, where persons of no mean quality and interest harboured and caress'd those great apostles of the cause, Welsh and Arnott, who ride about these disaffected shires in great state and security, with guards consisting of forty, fifty, or greater numbers of horse. From these insolencies they proceeded to invade the houses, and menace the persons of some orthodox ministers, whom Mr Welsh declared either in a conventicle, or presbytery, somewhere in Carrick, that it was as lawful to kill as for the Israelites to kill the Canaanites, if they complained to the men, (for so he called the magistrates) in power. These outrages so frightened the orthodox clergy, that many ministers forsook their charges, and some of our bishops, who lived in those distracted corners, were forced, for their security, to repair to this town. Thus all things seemed to run into confusion, and if excellent methods had not been used to prevent the sequel of such dangerous beginnings, the faction by this time had grown into a formed party, and disputed the cause with an army in the field.

The first thing the privy council did was to issue out proclamations for the execution of the laws against these conventicles, and to use all means possible for seizing the persons of Welsh and Arnott, and other seditious preachers; but the former were rendered ineffectual, the heritable sheriffs and bayliffs, and other officers of the seditious districts, refusing to act, and the latter could not be brought to effect, because the preachers are always so strongly guarded in publick, and in private shelter themselves with such superstitious adorers of their holy persons as none of the proposed rewards can tempt to betray. Disorders thus continuing, the council acquainted his majesty with the dangers they threatned; and humbly moved him to send speedy orders, that a considerable number of his Irish troops should march to the maritime borders next adjacent to Galloway, and the western shires, to be ready for transportation if occasion required. His majesty, who was long since acquainted with the spirit and principles of our remonstrator-presbyterians, in compliance with the wholesome advice

of his privy council, immediately ordered, that a well-appointed party, of about 3000 horse and foot, should be sent under the conduct of the loyal and valiant Viscount of Granard, our countryman, to quarter upon the maritime borders, and to march at the command of the privy council here. This particular care of his majesty, and the approach of the forces, did very much surprize the fanatical party, who were made to believe by the male contents, that the duke had no interest at court, nor was capable to procure any extrinsical assistance, although they should rebel. The Irish forces being arrived upon the coasts, the council were resolved to try what fair and gentle means would do; and thereupon directed letters to the heritors (whom you call landlords) of Aire and Renfrew, to know if they would undertake by their own power to reduce these disorders, having the king's authority for that effect. The heritors met in a full assembly, and after two days consultation, returned answer by three noble lords whom the council had sent to attend them, that they could not undertake by their own power to keep the country free from conventicles, or any disorders that might ensue thereupon.

You must know that our landlords have far more authority over their tenants than yours, insomuch, that in the most disaffected places there are no conventicles where the heritors and superiors use their private authority to keep the people constant to the church. All the world here knows, that there is not a more fanatical shire in this kingdom than Murray, and yet, by the single authority and interest of that most loyal and deserving person the Earl of Murray, it is kept in as perfect order and obedience as if there were no conventicles in the world. But as for the aforesaid shires, the council expected no such answer from them, because they of all others have had most indulgence, as having non-conforming ministers legally settled in very many churches among them, which one would think, if that party had any reason, modesty or conscience might have kept them from troubling the publick peace. Therefore the council having received such an unreasonable answer from the heritors of these more indulged shires, concluded what returns they might expect from others, and therefore began now to think it was high time to reduce them to their duty by force. Whereupon, knowing that the body of this kingdom was loyal, they resolved rather to reduce the fanatics by our own intrinsical power, than to call in his majestie's Irish forces, unless there should be absolute need. Wherefore, to the king's standing forces they added the militia of the most loyal county of Angus, and admitted the auxiliary forces which several loyal lords that have interest and authority in the Highlands did proffer to raise out of their vassals and dependents for his majestie's special service in this critical exigence of affairs. And by his majestie's special approbation and command, they were all united into one army, under the conduct of the most valiant and loyal Earl of Lin Lithgaw, who, towards the latter end of last January, marched into the western shires.

And, that all things might be transacted in a fair, legal, and orderly manner, there is also sent along with the army a committee of the privy council, consisting of eleven right honourable persons, who are invested with sufficient power, civil and criminal, to punish all sorts of offenders, and are now steadily pursuing those great ends for which they were sent thither. There's a strict correspondence betwixt them and the privy council, to whom they send frequent accounts of their proceedings, and from whom they receive such measures and directions as may most conduce to reduce and secure those disorderly shires. To which purpose, in the first place, they proceed to disarm them, causing all suspected persons to deliver their arms (whereof great provision was made) to their respective sheriffs upon oath, who are to deliver them to the major general, and to be sent by him to his majestie's garrisons. They have likewise order to plant garrisons in what places soever they shall think fit, and have proceeded to do execution on the new-built meeting houses, those temples of Baal Berith, by

commanding that they should be pulled down, and that their materials should be burnt. They are likewise to tender a bond to be taken by all heritors, wherein, as masters of families, they are to be bound for themselves, their wives, children, and servants; and, as landlords, for their tenants and cottagers, that they shall not go to conventicles, nor receive or supply conventicle-ministers, but live orderly in obedience to the law; so that if their wives, or any of their children or servants, transgress, they will be bound to undergo the legal penalties for them. But in case their tenants or cottagers transgress, they will be bound to present them to justice, or turn them off their tenements, or else to be liable to the penalties they shall incur.

The Form of this Bond, or Civil Anti-covenant, was drawn up by the Privy Council, and is as followeth.

“ I, _____, under subscribing, do faithfully bind and oblige me, that I, my wife, bairns, and servants, respectively, shall be no ways present at any conventicles and disorderly meetings in time coming, but shall live orderly in obedience to the law, under the penalties contained in the acts of parliament made there anent. As also, I bind and oblige me, that my whole tenants and cotters, respectively, their wives, bairns, and servants, shall likewise refrain and abstain from the said conventicles, and other illegal meetings not authorized by the law, and that they shall live orderly in obedience to the law. And further, that I nor they shall receipt, supply, or commune, with forfeited persons, intercommuned ministers, or vagrant preachers, but shall do our utmost endeavour to apprehend their persons. And in case my said tenants, cotters, and their fore-saids, shall contravene, I shall take or apprehend any person, or persons, guilty thereof, and present them to the judge ordinar, that they may be fined or imprisoned therefore, as is provided in the acts of parliament made there anent; otherwise I shall remove them and their families from off my ground. And if I shall fail herein, I shall be liable to such penalties as the said delinquents have incurred by the laws, consenting to the registration hereof in the books of his majesty's privy council, or books of any other judges competent, that letters and executorial may be direct hereupon in form as effects and constitutes my procurators.”

This is the tenor of the bond; and, lest the force thereof should be eluded, the privy council have declared, that every heritor that shall receive into his lands or service, any tenants or servants of any other heritor, without a certificate from him or the minister of the parish where they lived, that they lived orderly as to this matter, shall be subject to such fines as the privy council shall think fit to inflict, to punish them for their crime, and repair the damage that shall accrue to the heritor or master, whose tenants or servants they did receive. All the lords of the privy council and the judges, (whom we call the senators of the college of justice) together with the advocates, writers, and all others belonging to the society of the lawyers, have taken this bond, as also the lords of the exchequer and the justiciary lords, which is a very prevalent example; and little doubt is made, but the generality of the subjects of the nation will cheerfully sign it, as being so beneficial to authority, and so proper an expedient to recover the common people into their wits. And it cannot possibly give the least umbrage of scruple to the conscience of the most weak and peevish dissenter, being nothing but a purely civil alternative obligation to do what the law requires, or submit to the penalties therein contained. Perhaps it may seem strange in England that a landlord should be bound in this manner for his tenants, but there is nothing more reasonable and customary here, because our heritors have such a despotic power over their tenants as you cannot well imagine, unless you had lived here.

And in case any person shall finally refuse to take this bond, (as some Fife and western gentlemen have made difficulty at it) the privy council (according to the legal and uncontroverted practice of that board in all ages) hath ordained that letters shall be directed to them, to charge them forthwith to give in security to his majesty's privy council, that they, their wives, children, tenants, and servants, shall keep his majesty's peace, and particularly that they shall not go to conventicles, nor harbour rebels nor intercommuned persons; and that they shall keep the persons, families, and goods of their regular ministers harmless, under the double of every man's valued yearly rent, if he have any, or of such penalties as shall be thought convenient by his majesty's council or their committee, if they have none; which if they shall refuse to do within six days next after the charge, they are to be declared his majesty's rebels (as the manner is here) with sound of an horn.

To conclude, the committee is to proceed to the condign censuring of such as shall appear, upon proof, to have harboured Welsh or Arnott, or other intercommuned persons, and such also as have invited or convoked the silly people unto the field assemblies, under pretence of hearing sermons, and such as contributed, by money, work, or materials, to build the new Samaritan synagogues; two of which the Earl of Cassels was commanded to demolish in Carrick, as was his duty to have done before.

All this hath been done under the wise conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale, to whose presence among us, next under God, this poor church and religion are redevable, that they have been preserved from confusion and blood. And I question not, but his vigorous endeavours to suppress this schism (the like whereof, in all respects, was never yet heard of in any age or nation) have by this time effectually confuted all the lying reports that were sent into England by our men of schism and faction, with a design to render him odious in our neighbour country, and discredit his administration here.

But I beg Mr Mitchel's and your pardon for leaving him so long. I could not forbear to insert this account of his western brethren, whose confessor he lived and whose martyr he died. I'll now return to visit him again, and leave him no more till I see him in his grave.

In the interval betwixt his condemnation and execution, he seldom spoke of his approaching death but as of a martyrdom or murder, and gloried that he was accounted worthy to suffer for Christ. This is the stile of his short speech, and the frequent visits, papers, and messages that he received from the brotherhood, to dye with courage in the cause, and to seal the truth, that is, the covenant, with his blood; together with the frequent debauches which he made with ale, wine, and brandy, contributed very much to heighten his obstination, and make him insensible of his crime.

You cannot imagine how much the fanaticks of all parts were concerned about him. From the west, a private message was sent to the archbishop, to assure his grace, that if Mr James Mitchel were hanged, another should not fail to execute his design. His majesty's advocate who pursued him, received a threatening anonymous letter, and the common talk of this town was, that Mr James Mitchel's blood should be revenged upon the whole order; and truly I doubt not, but if all the fathers of our church, and all the clergy under them, had but one neck, that there are at least 300 covenanted Mitchels behind that would strive to cut it off.

In the year 1668, when he made the attempt, the fanatical party made a sport of it; and, as if the ruin of the church were to follow upon it, many fair pretenders, that, out of compliance to authority, had hitherto given our bishops that particular veneration that was due to their character, began now to slight them, and would scarce give them that common respect which was due to other men. The like charge was observed upon the late insolencies of the whigs in the west; the respect of our bishops and episcopal clergy began visibly to decay, and some that were then in a condition to

do the faction a kindness, had the confidence to say, that they knew no reason there was to oppose the inclinations of the people to support about a dozen men.

And while this martyr of iniquity lay in gaol, the mouths of our fanaticks were full of railing against the bishops; and the rascality, who are often taught to speak the sense of greater persons, were heard to say, that it were better the primate should be hanged than he. In the octave betwixt his sentence and execution, he received, as I was credibly informed, 400 dollars in private gifts, which was interpreted by the party for the particular care that God had of him, who never sees "the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread."

The day before his execution he sent to the provost, or mayor, of Edinburgh, to desire a stage larger than ordinary, because he had a great number of friends that intended to appear at his execution in mourning, but his lordship was more honest and prudent than to grant the vain-glorious villain his desire. When he was upon the ladder, he called the psalm to be sung, which, if you do not remember, I desire you before you proceed to consult. When the psalm was ended, he took out of his psalm-book two copies of his intended speech, which he threw among the people, for there had he put them to elude the search. After his body was cut down, it was conveyed to Magdalen-chapel, from whence it was carried to burial in great pomp, being attended with at least 40 mourners, whereof the justice general's gentleman was one. 'Tis reported also, that the hearse-cloth was of velvet, but certain it is it was more than ordinary brave.

The evening before his execution information was brought to the provost, that the women of Edinburgh (I mean the fanatical part of them) had entered into a conspiracy to rescue him between the prison and the gallows, which obliged his lordship to provide extraordinary guards, capable to prevent any such design. This information was well grounded, if it were not true; for there was never seen such an appearance of that sex at any execution as was at his, where a body of at least seven hundred sisters stood together almost in rank and file.

The next morning after his execution there were several copies of his speech distributed, and several libellous verses put up in several places of the city, one copy whereof, made by some fanatic poetaster, and fixed upon the great cross, I here send you, with an answer in another column, which was made about two or three days after, by a better poet and a better principled man.

Deploratio Mortis Jacobi Mitchel.

Heu quo jura ruunt? et siccinè candida virtus,
Et recti dicessit amor? tibi Scotia multas
Perfida gens parat insidias, rituque profano
Polluit impietas sacraria; membra piorum
Ah truncata jacent; qui sacri fœdera pacti
Non ausi violare; fidei rectique tenaces
Perstiterant; quo tanta ruunt perjuria? Quassam
Funditus an tentant Solymam convellere, magni
Gens secura Dei, speciosaque Tempia Sionis
Diruere, obductis involvens cuncta tenebris?
Quo ruit impietas? vanas sic ibit in auras
Pacta fides? Perjura manus coit omnis in unum
In scelus horrendum; sævos feritate leones
Mittit in occasum, suscepta ut fœdera regni
Deleat, et Christi prædetur ovile; cupido

Namque tenet lucri nunquam satiata, nefandum
 Proh scelus ! an Pharias miseri remeamus ad oras ?
 Anne iterum nostræ sic religionis habenas
 Papa reget ? nunquam ne aderit Deus ultor, inulti
 Dum pereunt justî, dextrâque ultrice furorem
 Comprimet ? hunc rabiosa lupi non terruit ira.
 Fraudibus occultis, odiisque immanibus annos
 Quatuor afflictum, non cæco carcere clausum
 Vincula terrebant, vinclis cruciatus in arctis
 Perstitit exilique tulit mala cuncta, reductus
 Jus rigidum perpressus obit ; quis cætera nescit.

Epitaphium ejusdem, ubi ipse introducit loquens.

Quo vesana ruit gens, et vis effera præceps ?
 Quo ruit impietas, et sine lege furor ?
 Rebus an intrepidis constantia victa fatiscit ?
 An metuit vanas mens labefacta minas ?
 In te fixa Deus mea spes, te intentus anhelò,
 Intrepidus carpam te duce mortis iter
 Sævus at iste lupus, quia mens intelligit, inde
 Se sciat in magnum tela movere Deum. Finis.

*Quo autem modo hactenus mortuo (cui soli epitaphium ex vi vocis debetur) carpendum sit
 mortis iter, confederatis fratribus problema esto.*

Congratulatio de morte Jacobi Mitchel Parricidæ.

In te jura cadunt, quia à te candida Virtus
 Et recti dicessit amor ; tibi Scotia pænas
 Perfida Grex ! meritas parat : ah quæ more profano
 Fædasti Christi sacraria, membra piorum
 Tu trunctata dabas, tu sacri fædera pacti
 Ausu novo violare ; fidei rectique tenaces
 Exilio muletans ; tua sic perjuriam quassam
 Tentabant Solyman convellere funditus, alti
 Grex securæ Dei ! Speciosaque Tempia Sionis
 Diruis, obductis involvens cuncta tenebris.
 Huc ruit impietas, tennes sic ivit in auras
 Pacta fides ; perjura manus coit omnis in unum
 In scelus horrendum ; sævos feritate leones
 Mittit ab occasu, suscepta ut fædera regni
 Deleat et Christi prædetur ovile ; Cupido
 Namque tenet lucri nunquam satiata, nefandum
 Proh scelus ! in Pharias remeavimus oras,
 Atque iterum nostræ sic religionis habenas
 Papa regebat ; adest nunc, nunc Deus ultor, inulti
 Ne pereant justî, dextraque ultrice furorem
 Comprimet. Hunc Divina lupum non terruit ira,
 Fraudibus occultis, odiisque immanibus actum ;

Grassantem rabie, solitæque cupidine cædis.
 Horruit ejectum patria peregrinus, at æquum
 O cælum ! exilii postquam mala tanta tulisset,
 Tormenta in patria atque homicidæ vincla parantur,
 Tandem perstringunt sceleratum vincula collum.
 Exitus hic dignus tam prodigialibus ausis.
 • Jus æquum perpessus obit ; sed cætera nescit,
 Æternos quisquis nondum damnatur ad ignes. Finis.

Epitaphium ejusdem, ubi ipse ab inferno introducitur loquens.

Quò vesana ruis grex, et vis effera præceps ?
 Quò ruis impietas, et sine lege furor ?
 Heu mea sero nimis constantia victa fatiscit,
 Sera, sed atroci fœnore pœna venit.
 Tam Cælo extorri terror Deus ipse ; coquenda
 Dum manus in Stygio sanguinolenta lacu.
 Christi si quis adhuc lupus expugnator ovilis,
 Se sciat in magnum tela movere Deum. Finis.

Isdem pene verbis convellitur quibus adstruitur impietas. Ambros.

There was also a severe satyr, in Scottish, made in revenge to the many libels which the fanaticks scattered about town upon this occasion. I got a copy of it, which I here present unto you, entitled, as it was, To the Memory of Mr James Mitchel.

O-y-es, O-y-es, covenanters,
 Filthy, cruel, lying ranters ;
 Come here, and see your murdering martyr
 Sent to hell i' th' hangman's garter.
 Your sealing witnesses, we hear,
 Are Mr James Mitchel and Major Weir ;
 One with his hand, but had no pith,
 Th' other your wives know well wherewith ;
 Which makes them sigh, and sighing say,
 Welsh can but preach, but Weir could pray.
 It's this that all religion shames,
 To give hell's vices heavenly names.
 Then, devils, then cast off your masks,
 Murder and whoredom are your tasks ;
 Which you to all the world proclaim,
 Boasting and glorying in your shame,
 And say your covenant doth allow
 This, maugre your baptismal vow ;
 And that the holy oath doth bind you
 To leave such holy seed behind you.
 For at and after your long prayers,
 You lye together pairs by pairs ;
 And every private meeting place
 Is made a bawdy-house of grace ;
 You shew it is your loving natures,
 To be sweet fellow-feeling creatures.

But to profane your holy order
 With incest, buggery, and murder,
 Is plainly to proclaim you devils,
 And horrid crimes to be no evils.
 Mas James Mitchel lay four year
 In Grissald's house with Major Weir;
 And from his Ghostly Father learns
 To lye with women and get no bairns,
 The mystery of the tribe, a trick
 Makes all the women mad fanatick;
 And now they both in hell are met,
 Where for your company they wait.
 Then fill your measure, and post on
 To your deserved damnation.
 Go whore and bugger, kill and pray,
 Till every dog shall have his day;
 Or go together to hell in troops,
 Else strive for new Grass-market loops.
 He that whores best, and murders most,
 Of him the sect shall always boast;
 And put him, as they've put Mas James,
 Among their saints and martyrs names.

You see the Latin verses take notice of the west as a place above all others of this kingdom, wherein fanaticism most abounds. This must needs awaken your curiosity to enquire from what magnetism it is, that our conventicle preachers have acquired such a strong verticity to that point. Truly the reason is the same for which yours haunt London, and the most opulent towns and counties of England, even the riches of the place; for where the silver is there are the Suisses, where the carcase is there the vultures gather together. There's a necessity laid upon them to preach the gospel there; yea, wo unto them if they preach it not in Fife and the west, where so many rich traders and heritors live. But as for the Highlands and other poorer counties, they have no Christian compassion for them, but let them live and dye in ignorance and idolatry, because their souls are not so precious for want of silver and gold. I remember when I was at London in 76, I heard a famous conventicle minister say, that if it were not for the non-conforming ministers, thousands of souls in that populous city would starve for want of the word. I very much wondered to hear him say so, considering how many hundred sermons were preached every week by the orthodox ministers, and the best, I thought, that ever I had heard. But being the next day in some company which was discoursing about the conventicles, one or two of them began to tell of the great store of money the conventicle-preachers had in the banks, and how some of them kept their coaches, and he believed it would not be long ere their wives kept their chairs. Then I began to understand the reason of the great care those gentlemen had to feed the souls of the good citizens, and was very glad that to keep a coach was no longer a sign of prelatical pride. When I returned home, I told our whigs, that the non-conformist ministers of London began to keep coaches; but the greatest part of them would not believe me, and those that did, said with sighs, they were sorry that there were Diotrepheses among them, that loved the pre-eminence, and that God would have a controversie with them for their prelatical pride. The like I have seen in a preface to a presbyterian treatise of divinity, printed about that time, wherein the author complains of the prelatical spirit, that began to shew itself among the non-conforming ministers; whereof some, living in great plenty and state,

condemned others who were poor, and whose lot was fallen in places where persecution did abound.

In the Scottish verses, which you will call the English verses, you see the poet upbraids their baptismal vow with the covenant; not, as I conceive, upon the common account, as another poet may do, but because 'tis the frequent practice of our whig-preachers to baptize the children of their disciples into the solemn league and covenant, as well as into the covenant of grace. He also takes notice of the intimate familiarity betwixt Mr Mitchel and Major Weir; and, unless you will be at the pains to read the life of the latter, as well as the former, you'll never be able to understand the satyr, nor know whether the satyrists indignation be just or unjust. I'll promise you the narrative shall affect you both with wonder and indignation, though, for the honour of our nature and religion, I wish no such stories were extant in the world. Nay, confident I am, that when you have consider'd it in all the circumstances that attend it, you will say that he, who is the subject of it, was one of the most prodigious sinners that ever was extant of human race: For there's nothing in history comparable to him, nor I hope will ever be; and had not our blessed Saviour told us, that men may be so wicked as to sin beyond forgiveness, I could scarce have believed that any man, much less a Christian, could have committed uncleanness in all species, with women, devils, and beasts.

But such a monster was this Pharisee of whom I am going to give you an account, which is partly taken out of the public register of our criminal court, and, where that cannot relieve me, from common fame, the notoriety of the things related, or the authority of persons of known integrity and great reputation in the world.

He was born and bred in the western parts of this kingdom, which, as appears from the preceding narrative, hath ever been the most fanatical part of our country, and most disaffected to the king and the church. There he was early prepossessed with the principles of schism and rebellion, which he shew'd upon all occasions, particularly in the beginning of the late rebellion, wherein he was a forward stickler; and, by his extraordinary zeal for the cause, raised himself to a greater command in some troop or company, than men of his mean original use to arrive unto here. About the year 1649, he had the great trust of the guards of this city committed unto him under the quality of major; and from that time, to the day of his infamous death, was always called by the name of Major Weir. He behaved himself in this office with great cruelty and insolence towards the loyal party, being very active in discovering and apprehending the cavaliers, and bringing them to be arraign'd and try'd for their lives. He used to insult and triumph over them in their miseries, and persecute them with all manner of sarcasms and reproaches when they were led out like victims to publick execution, as many yet alive can testifie to the world. In particular, this barbarous villain treated the heroick Marquess of Montrose with all imaginable insolence and inhumanity when he lay in prison, making his very calamities an argument that God, as well as man, had forsaken him; and calling him Dog, Atheist, Traytor, Apostate, Excommunicate Wretch, and many more such intolerable names. This cruel manner, after which he used to outrage the poor royalists, pass'd among the people for extraordinary zeal, and made them consider him as a singular worthy, whom God had raised up to support the cause. He studied the art of dissimulation and hypocrisy, always affecting a formal gravity and demureness in his looks and deportment; and employing a vast and tenacious memory, which God had given him, in getting, without book, such words and phrases of the Holy Scriptures as might serve best in all companies to make him pass for an holy and gifted man. He had acquired a particular gracefulness in whining and sighing above any of the sacred clan, and had learn'd to deliver himself upon all serious occasions in a far more ravishing accent than any of their ministers could attain unto. By these, and other hypocritical arts, he had got such a name for sanctity and devotion,

that happy was the man with whom he would converse, and blessed was the family in which he would vouchsafe to pray.

For he pretended to pray only in the families of such as were saints of the highest form, insomuch that the brethren and sisters of these precincts would strive who should have him to exercise in their houses; and of those that lived at a greater distance, some would come forty or fifty miles to have the happiness to hear him pray. He had indeed, but by what assistance will be seen hereafter, a wonderful fluency in extemporary prayer, and what thro' enthusiastical phrases, extasies, and raptures, into which he would appear transported, he made the amazed people presume he was actuated by the spirit of God. Besides praying, he used to exhort and bless the families in which he pray'd; but he never undertook to preach in them, for fear of invading the ministerial province, which certainly would have offended the kirk.

After this manner, and in this mighty reputation, he lived till the year 1670, which was the 70th year of his age; when, like the tyrant Tiberius, after so many murders and sorts of unnatural lusts, he was no longer able to endure the remorse of his awakened conscience, but, to ease the inquietudes of his guilty mind, was forced to accuse himself, which he first of all did among those of his own party, and desired them to bring him to public justice to expiate for his abominable crimes.¹ But they, considering what a confounding scandal and dishonour the hypocrisie of such an eminent professor would reflect upon the whole sect, did, with all possible care and industry, strive to conceal the major's condition, which they did for several months, till one of their own ministers, whom they esteem'd more forward than wise, reveal'd the secret to the Lord Abbotshall, then Provost of Edinburgh; who, judging human nature incapable of such horrid crimes as the minister told him the major had confessed, concluded he was fallen into a phrenzy, or high degree of melancholy, and therefore courteously sent some physicians of his own perswasion and acquaintance to visit him, and physick him for his distemper'd brain. But the physicians returning to the provost, assured him that the major was in good health, and that he was free of hypocondriack distempers, and had as sound intellectuals as ever he had; and that they believed his distemper was only an exulcerated conscience, which could not be eased till he was brought to condign punishment, as with cryings and roarings he desired to be. Afterwards the provost, for his further satisfaction, sent some conventicle ministers to enquire into his condition, and make a report thereof; who, finding it impossible to disguise the matter, which now was town-talk, told his lordship that the major was not affected with melancholy, but that the terrors of God, which were upon his soul, urged him to confess and accuse himself. The provost therefore began to conclude that he had good grounds to take publick notice of this affair; and, therefore, without further enquiry, sent the guards of the city to seize upon the major and his sister, who was involved in his confessions, and carry them both to the publick gaol. There they were visited by persons of all sorts and qualities, clergymen, laymen, physicians, lawyers, conforming and non-conforming ministers, who all flock'd thither to see this monster, and discourse with him about his horrible crimes.

They had not been long in prison before they were brought to tryal, which was on the ninth of April, 1670: they were tried before that learned civilian Mr William Murray and Mr John Prestoune, Advocates, who were made judges by commission for that time. They were pursued by his majesty's last advocate, Sir John Nisbett; and the jury by which they were tried was Gideon Shaw, stationer, James Penderer, vintner,

¹ It may be well doubted whether the mind of this unfortunate wretch was burdened with more heinous sins than the imaginary one of witchcraft. He is said to have had a superstitious dread of dying by a *burn*, which he interpreted, according to Scotch idiom, as meaning a *brook*; but it would appear the devil had spoke good English on the occasion. Professor Sinclair has recorded some particulars concerning him in the little book, still the darling of the Scottish vulgar, called *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*.

James Thomson, felt-maker, Robert Brown, stationer, James Brown, felt-maker, Robert Johnston, skinner, John Clighorn, merchant, with many more sufficient citizens of Edinburgh, most of which, together with the greater part of the witnesses hereafter mentioned, are yet alive.

The court being set, the major's libel was read, the sum of which was contained in these four particulars:—

Primo, That he enticed and attempted to defile his German sister, Jane Weir, when she was but ten years old, or thereabout, and that he lay with her when she was sixteen years old, while they both dwelt with their father, and afterwards had frequent carnal dealing with her in the house of Wicket-Shaw in her younger years; and, lastly, that after she was forty years old, he lived in a state of incest with her in his house at Edinburgh, where they dwelt together many years.

Secundo, That he committed incest with Margaret Bourdon, daughter to Mein, his deceased wife.

Tertio, That he committed frequent adulteries during the life of his said wife, both with married and unmarried women; and particularly with Bessy Weems, his servant-maid, whom he kept in his house for the space of twenty years, during which time he lay with her as familiarly as if she had been his wife.

Quarto, That to his fornications, adulteries, and incests, he proceeded to add the unnatural sin of bestiality, in lying with mares and cows; particularly in polluting himself with a mare, upon which he rode into the west country, near New-Mills. All which crimes, particularized in manner aforesaid, he acknowledged judicially at the bar.

The sum of Jane, his sister's indictment, is reducible to these two heads: First, To the charge of incest, which she committed with her brother; and, secondly, to the charge of sorcery and witchcraft, but most especially of consulting witches, necromancers, and devils; and yet more particularly for keeping and conversing with a familiar spirit while she lived at Dalkeith, which used to spin extraordinary quantities of yarn for her, in a shorter time than three or four women could have done the same. All which she judicially confessed in the face of the court.

Then they proceeded to swear the witnesses, which the lord advocate called for further probation against them both. Of these, John Oliphant, William Johnston, and Archibald Hamilton, bailies of Edinburgh, deponed, that on the Monday preceding the major's arraignment, he did freely confess and declare unto them, that he had committed frequent incests with his sister Jane, divers fornications and adulteries with other persons, and bestiality with a mare and a cow. Master John Sinclair, a conventicle minister, deponed, that the day before his tryal he freely confessed unto him that he was guilty of adultery, incest, and bestiality, and that his sister had been often taken out of bed from him: whereupon asking him if he had ever seen the devil, he answered, That he had felt him in the dark. But as to his conversation with the devil, the deponent might have declared more; for he had confessed to him and many others, particularly to the Lord Bishop of Galloway, then minister of Edinburgh, that he had lain with the devil in the shape of a beautiful woman.

Margaret Weir, wife to Alexander Weir, bookseller in Edinburgh, testify'd, That when she was of the age of 27 years, or thereabouts, she found the major, her brother, and her sister Jane, lying together in the barn at Wicket-Shaw, and that they were both naked in the bed together, and that she was above him, and that the bed did shake, and that she heard some scandalous language between them, in particular that her sister said, She was confident she should prove with child. Furthermore she deponed, that Catharine Cooper, a servant of the major's, told her, that he had lain with Margaret Bourdon, his wife's daughter, so that she would stay no longer in the house.

Anne, wife to James Simpson, bookbinder in Edinburgh, declared, That on Monday preceding and that day in the morning, that he confessed to her he had committed

incest with his sister Jane, and Margaret Bourdon, his wife's daughter, as likewise bestiality with a mare in the west country; and that he had carnally conversed with his maid-servant, Bessy Weems, for two and twenty years.

Mr Archibald Nisbett, writer to the signet, declared, That in the year 51 or 52, it was reported in the country that the major had committed bestiality with a mare near New-Mills, and that he heard it reported the same day in which it was said he did the fact. Mr John Alexander of Leith deponed the same, and said he was then but half a mile from the place. After these depositions, the major being examined about his act of bestiality, declared, That a gentleman having given him a mare, he rode upon her into the west country to see some friends, and dealt carnally with her near New-Mills; and that a woman saw him in the act, and complained of him to Mr John Nave, the minister of New-Mills, at whose instance he was brought back to the place by some soldiers, but was there dismissed for want of further probation. And further, being asked about the time, he answer'd, That, to the best of his remembrance, it was when the lords, gentlemen, and heritors, were taken by the English at Elliot.

As for probation against Jane Weir, the lord advocate insisted on her own declaration, and all the depositions in which, as a party, she was involved. And being asked if she knew any thing concerning the correspondence that was said to be betwixt the devil and her brother, she declared that she had a long time been jealous of it, but was not certain; and that six or seven years before she had found a mark upon his shoulder, like that which is called the devil's mark, at which she was sore afraid.

The process being thus ended, the jury did unanimously find the major guilty of incest with his sister, and bestiality with a mare and a cow, and found him guilty of adultery and fornication, by a plurality of votes. They also unanimously brought in Jane guilty of incest with her brother; whereupon the deputed judges sentenced him to be strangled at a stake betwixt Edinburgh and Leith on Monday following, the 11th of April, and his body to be burnt to ashes; and condemned her to be hang'd on the Tuesday following in the Grass-Market of Edinburgh.

Thus far have I given you a juridical account of the detestable crimes of this hypocritical monstrous man; I now proceed to acquaint you with other particulars no less surprizing than the former, which, upon strict enquiry, I have reason to believe to be as true as those that are judicially proved.

When they were seized, she desired the guards to keep him from laying hold on a certain staff, which, she said, if he chanced to get into his hand, he would certainly drive them all out of doors, notwithstanding all the resistance they could make. This magical-staff was all of one piece, with a crooked head of thorn-wood. She said he received it of the devil, and did many wonderful things with it, particularly that he used to lean upon it in his hypocritical prayers; and, after they were committed, she still desired it might be kept from him, because if he were once master of it again he would certainly grow obdurate, and retract the confessions which he had so publicly made. Apollonius Thyaneus had such a magical staff as this, which I believe was a sacramental symbol which the devil gave to the major, and the court had some such apprehensions of it, for it was order'd by the judges to be burnt with his body.

She also confessed in prison, that she and her brother had made a compact with the devil; and that on the 7th of September, 1648, they were both transported from Edinburgh to Musselborough and back again in a coach and six horses, which seemed all on fire, and that the devil then told the major of the defeat of our army at Preston in England, which he confidently reported, in most of its circumstances, several days before the news had arrived here. This prediction did much increase the high opinion the people began to have of him, and served him to make them believe that, like Moses, he had been with God in the mount, and had a spirit of prophecy as well as of prayer. But as for herself, she said, she never received any other benefit by her commerce with

the devil, than a constant supply of an extraordinary quantity of yarn, which she was sure (she said) to find ready for her upon the spindle, whatever business she had been about.*

Besides the beastialities which the major judicially acknowledged he had committed with the mare and cow, he confessed he had done the same abominations with three species more; and the woman that delated him for the fact near New-Mills was, by order of the magistrates of Lanerk, whipp'd through the town by the hand of the common hang-man, as a slanderer of such an eminent holy man.

The fornications and adulteries which this ἀλογεύμενος, (as buggerers are² call'd by the council of Ancyra,) committed with the most sanctimonious and zealous women of the sect, are too numerous to be related here. He had got himself the privilege, under a pretence of praying and exhortation, to go to their houses, and into their bed-chambers, when he pleased; and it was his practice to visit married women at such times especially as their husbands were from home: one especially, who lived in the street called the West-bow, in Edinburgh, he had several times solicited, in her husband's absence, to gratifie his unclean desires, till, at last, wearied out with his importunity, she told him how much she abhorr'd his design, and charged him never to come more to her house. Upon this he forbore to visit her for some time, till one night, when she was undress'd and ready to step into bed, the major suddenly appears standing by her, at which she was so extremely frighted, that she fell into a swoon: she had no sooner recover'd, but the major endeavour'd to comfort and assure her, and confirm her against that strange surprize; and, renewing his addresses, he tempted her with many arguments and filthy speeches and gesticulations, telling her he had taken that marvellous way of appearing in private with her on purpose to secure her reputation; that he would go out of her house in a manner as invisible as he came in. But she, by this time, having recovered her usual courage and strength, push'd him off with violence, and cry'd out for help to her maid, upon which he immediately disappear'd. The windows and doors were all close shut, and I make little doubt but his coachman to the fiery coach convey'd him in and out through the chimney, or perhaps by the door, which the cursed familiar might open and shut again, as well as the angel of the Lord did unlock and lock the prison-door wherein the apostles were put.

As for the miserable woman, she was never well after this magical manner of address which the lusty satyr made unto her, but immediately fell into a deep melancholy, which ended in a languishing sickness, whereof not many weeks after she died: and when she was upon her death-bed, she declared this strange story to many persons yet alive, of great integrity, wisdom, and fame.

I have already told you what an active rebel this multiform sinner was, but I forgot to tell you that he was an eminent promoter of the Western Remonstrance in the year 1650. To these principles he stuck as close as to the devil himself; insomuch, that when the government of our church was restored, he avowedly renounced the communion of it, and endeavour'd to widen the schism to the utmost of his power. He could not so much as indure to look upon an orthodox minister, but when he met any

* "Ninth April, 1670. Jean Weir, indicted of sorceries committed by her when she lived and kept a school at Dalkeith; that she took employment from a woman to speak in her behalf to the Queen of Fairii, meaning the devil, and that another woman gave her a piece of a tree or root the next day, and did tell her that as long as she kept the same she should be able to do what she pleased; and that same woman, from whom she got the tree, caused her spread a cloth before her door and set her foot upon it, and to repeat thrice, in the posture foresaid, these words, 'All her losses and crosses go alongst to the door;' which was truly a consulting with the devil, and an act of sorcery, &c. That after the spirit, in the shape of a woman, who gave her the piece of tree, had removed, she addressing herself to spinning, and having spun but a short time, found more yarn upon the pin than could possibly have come there by good means."—*Books of Adjournal*.

² Can. 16.

of them in the streets, he would pull his hat over his eyes in a Pharisaical kind of indignation and contempt.

While he was in prison, he acknowledged his hypocrisie, by which he had deluded men and mock'd God, declaring that in all his life he had never prayed to God in private, nor had any power to speak when he attempted to do it, although he had such an extraordinary and charming utterance in his solemn conventicle prayers. He also confessed, that he never bow'd his knee to God at his own or other men's prayers, which exactly agrees with his sister's relation, of his leaning at his prayers on his magical staff; and none of his own party can remember that at any devotion, even when he seem'd most rapturous, they ever saw him kneel. Nay, furthermore, he confessed, which I cannot mention without horror, that his fluency in prayer, by which he ravish'd the people, proceeded from the assistance of the devil, who, he said, helped him to the words and phrases in which he expressed himself. This hath given several men several ways of conjecture how it could be done. Some, who knew him better than I ever had the unhappiness to do, are of opinion that he was the praying oracle of the devil, out of whom he personally spoke. The reason which they alledge for their conjecture is, that sometimes the sound of his voice, like the sight of spirits, had something unnatural in it, as if it had not been form'd by the organs of speech.

Others think it reasonable to believe, that he saw all the words and expressions in his prayer successively written by the devil in the air; but upon enquiry I find that he, like most of the extemporarians, commonly prayed with his eyes shut, which, if it be true, this hypothesis will never be able to solve those diabolical phenomena in the air.

Some again think, that the words and expressions of his prayer were represented by the devil upon the stage of his fancy, after the same manner as when a man dreams he reads such a letter or book. But he never was affected with any consternations, tremblings, or abreptions of mind, which, both in true and false prophets, were the constant effects of such strong and violent impressions, as were required to exhibit such unwonted representations upon the imagination; nor after his long prayers were ended, were his natural strength or spirits exhausted, as, if his devotion had been visionary, they must have been.

Others, therefore, considering him as an apostate from God, and as a vassal and apostle of the devil, think it very agreeable to divinity to assert, that he was immediately, but yet without much violence, inspired by the devil, and helped by him both in the conception and utterance of his prayers. This they conceive the evil spirit might do, like an assistant form, by impregnating his fancy with enthusiastical conceptions, and thereby rendring his imagination very turgent, and ready to swell above its banks; which, being done by the immediate operation of the evil spirit, the wretched *εργόμενος* could not fail to burst forth in *flumine orationis*, or a full torrent of prayer; and likewise be affected with such moderate raptures, as yet left him in a condition to understand what he said. Furthermore, to prevent all possible objections, they say, that if God suffer'd the devil to counterfeit prophetic visions, or the true spirit of prophecy under the law, then they know no reason why it should be thought inconsistent with his goodness, or disagreeable to his infinite wisdom, to permit him, under the gospel, to counterfeit inspiration or the true spirit of prayer. But, for my own part, had not the monster himself ascribed his fluency in devotion to the assistance of the devil, I should have wholly ascribed it to the vigour of his own enthusiastical imagination, without any foreign force. For not only his fluency in prayer, but the moderate raptures and little extatick fits into which he was transported, are explicable by the natural power of unassisted imagination, as I could make it out by many examples; and where a natural cause alone is sufficient to account for any effect, I am always sparing to joyn with it a supernatural cause.

All the while he was in prison he lay under violent apprehensions of the heavy wrath

of God, which put him into that which is properly called despair,—a despair which made him hate God and desist from duty to him, and with which the damned souls in hell are reasonably supposed to be constantly affected. In this sense he was desperate; and, therefore, would admit neither church nor conventicle ministers to pray for him; or discourse with him about the infinite mercy of God, and the possibility of the forgiveness of his sins. Much less could he endure to be exhorted to repent, or brought to entertain any thoughts of repentance, telling all the world that he had sinned himself beyond all possibility of repentance and pardon, that he was already damnd, that he was sure his condemnation to eternal burnings was already pronounced in Heaven, and that the united prayers of all the saints in heaven and earth would be vain and insignificant if they were offer'd to God in his behalf. So that when some charitable ministers of the city, by name the present Bishop of Galloway and present Dean of Edinburgh, were resolved to pray before him for his repentance and pardon against his consent, he was with much difficulty withheld from interrupting of them in their devotions; and the posture he put himself in, when they began to pray, was to lye upon his bed in a most stupid manner, with his mouth wide open; and when prayers were ended, being ask'd if he had heard them and attended to them, he told them, "They were very troublesome and cruel to him; and that he neither heard their devotion nor cared for it, nor could be the better for all the prayers that men or angels could offer up to Heaven upon his account."

It was his interest to believe there was no God; and therefore, to ease the torments of his mind, he attempted now and then to comfort and flatter up himself into this absurd belief. For he was sometimes observed to speak very doubtfully about his existence; in particular to say, that if it were not for the terrors which he found tormenting him within, he should scarce believe there was a God.

Being with great tenderness and compassion besought by one of the city ministers, that he would not so resolvedly destroy himself, by despairing of God's mercy, which, upon repentance, had been granted to murderers, adulterers, sodomists, bestialists, nay, to those that had deny'd Christ, he reply'd, in anger, "Trouble me no more with your beseeching of me to repent, for I know my sentence of damnation is already seal'd in Heaven; and I feel myself so hardned within, that if I might obtain pardon of God and all the glories of heaven for a single wish that I had not committed the sins, with the sense whereof I am so tormented, yet I could not prevail with myself to make that single wish. And were your soul in my soul's stead, you would find your exhortations impertinent and troublesome, for I find nothing within me but blackness and darkness, brimstone, and burning to the bottom of hell." I have been told by very credible persons, that the body of this unclean beast gave manifest tokens of its impurity as soon as it began to be heated by the flames; and certain it is, that after it was burnt, a report was presently sent from hence to the brethren in the west, that the malefactor, who was burnt for such execrable crimes, was not Major Weir, but another person who exactly resembled him, and whom the wicked prelates and curates had bribed to personate the godly major, (who was said to be gone with a contribution to the exiled brethren in Holland,) and call himself by his name. This report was believed in the west for several months, till time discover'd that the major was no more.¹

As for Jane, this incarnate devil's sister, she was very insensible of her great sins,

¹ With respect to these wretched persons, it is possible they might be guilty of the horrible and unnatural crimes mentioned in the text, because there are no limits to the extent of human depravity; but when it is considered that Weir and his sister were both in their dotage, and that the principal evidence seems to have been their own confession, we may be permitted to doubt whether the flagitious part of the accusation was not as imaginary as that of sorcery and witchcraft, also charged and also confessed. Be as it will, the populace were fully persuaded of their guilt; and the house in which they lived stood totally uninhabited for upwards of one hundred and thirty years, if indeed it has yet found any tenant hardy enough to reside in it.

and was so far from remorse of conscience for them, and despairing of the mercy of God, as she did, that she presumed too much upon it; placing a great deal of confidence in her constant adherence to the covenant, which she call'd, in her brother Mitchell's stile, *The Cause and Interest of Christ*. She confessed indeed, as he did, that her sins deserved a worse death than she was condemn'd to dye; but she never shew'd herself in the least concern'd for what might ensue after death. When she was upon the ladder she bespoke the people in the following words: "I see a great croud of people come hither to day to behold a poor old miserable creature's death, but I trow there be few among you who are weeping and mourning for the broken covenant." And, having so spoken, she threw herself in greater haste off the ladder than a person should have done, who was no better prepared for another world."

I could tell you many more remarkable stories of our fanatick zealots that have been put to death for lying with beasts, and other unnatural crimes. One, not many years since, was put to death at Sterling for committing uncleanness with five individuals, among which there were four species of irrational animals, and immediately before his execution, the unclean wretch protested against the prelates, and boasted of his constant zeal for the covenant; and so, without declaring any detestations of his crimes, or desiring the people to pray for him, went off with all assurance into the other world. I should not have related any of these stories, with reflection on the schismatical party;

"During the time of his imprisonment he was never willing to be spoken to; and when the ministers of the city offered to pray for him, he would cry out in fury, 'Torment me no more, for I am tormented already.' One minister (now asleep) asking him if he should pray for him, was answered, 'Not at all: the other replied in a kind of holy anger, 'Sir, I will pray for you in spite of your teeth, and the devil your master too;' who did pray, making him at least to hear him; but the other staring wildly, was senseless as a brute. Another, who is likewise at rest, demanded, if he thought there was a God: said the man, 'I know not.' The other smartly replied, 'O man, the argument that moveth me to think there is a God is thyself, for what else moved thee to inform the world of thy wicked life?' but Weir answered, 'Let me alone.' When he peremptorily forbade one of his own parish ministers (yet alive) to pray, one demanded, if he would have any of the presbyterian persuasion to pray; he answered, 'Sir, you are all alike to me.' Then said the minister to him, 'I will pray with you.' 'Do it not,' said the other, 'upon your peril,' looking up to the beams of the house; but prayer was offered up so much the more heartily, because the company about expected some vision. It is observable, that in things common he was pertinent enough; but when any thing about Almighty God and the soul's condition came about, he would shrug and rub his coat and breast, saying, 'Torment me no more before the time.' When he was at the stake to be burnt, the city minister called to a churchman there looking on, being of that persuasion, whereof Weir was formerly deemed to be, to speak to him; but no sooner had he opened his mouth, than he made a sign with his hand and feet to be silent. When the rope was about his neck to prepare him for the fire, he was bid say, Lord be merciful to me: but he answered, 'Let me alone, I have lived as a beast and I must die as a beast.' The fire being kindled, both he and his staff a little after fell into the flames."—*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, by GEORGE SINCLAIR, Edin. 1746, p. 152.

"She was asked aient her parents: She was persuaded her mother was a witch, for the secretest thing that either I myself or any of the family could do, when once a mark appeared on her brow, she could tell it them though done at a distance. Being demanded what sort of a mark it was, she answered, 'I have some such like mark myself, when I please, upon my forehead;' whereupon she offered to uncover her head for visible satisfaction: the minister refusing to behold it, and forbidding any discovery, was earnestly requested by some spectators to allow the freedom; he yielding, she put back her head-dress, and, seeming to frown, there was seen an exact horse-shoe shaped for nails in her wrinkles; terrible enough, I assure you, to the stoutest beholder.

"In the morning before her execution, she told the minister she resolved to die with all the shame she could, to expiate under mercy her shameful life: this he understood to be an ingenuous confession of her sins, in opposition to her brother's despair and deperate silence, to which he did encourage her. At her parting with him she gave him hearty thanks for his pains, and shaking his hands, offering to kiss them: she repeated the same words which he bade her perform. Ascending up the ladder, she spake somewhat confusedly of her sins, of her brother, and his enchanting staff; and with a ghostly countenance, beholding a multitude of spectators, all wondering and some weeping, she spake aloud, 'There are many here this day wondering and greeting for me; but alas! few mourns for a broken'—at which words many seemed angry; some called to her to mind higher concerns; and I have heard it said, that the preacher declared he had much ado to keep a composed countenance. The executioner falling about his duty, she prepares to die stark naked: then, and not before, were her words relating to shame understood; the hangman struggling with her to keep on her clothes, and she struggling with him to have them off, at last he was forced to throw her over open-faced, which afterwards he covered with a cloth."—*Ibid.* p. 160.

but that nine parts in ten of the horrid sins, such as witchcraft, bestiality, and incest, are found among them; which hath occasion'd a proverbial sarcasm in our language against them, *That the whigs go to Heaven a gate of their own*. This is no hyperbole, but a plain historical truth, which our judges can testify, and which may be confirm'd by the registers of our criminal courts.

And then as for adulteries and fornications, those common failings of these Pharisees, there are more of them committed, and more bastards born within their country, the western Holy Land, than in all our nation besides. This is evident from comparing the parish registers, and the registers of the presbyteries, or rural deaneries of those shires, with the rest of the parish and presbytery registers in every diocese of the church. Not very long since, in a parish within the presbytery of Pasely, there were no fewer than seventeen whigs who did publick penance for fornications and adulteries at one time. The parish is very disaffected, so that on that Lord's day, wherein this herd of goats did stand in the seat of publick repentance, there were but two regular persons, besides the minister and precentor, in the church. I know you are already wondering that fanatical sinners will do penance in the kirk, which is as serious and solemn a piece of worship as any belongs to the service of God.

Therefore, to unriddle the paradox unto you, be pleased to take notice, that if any fornicator, adulterer, &c. contumaciously refuse to submit to church-censure, his majesty's advocate is to pursue him before the supreme judicature, or lords of the session; who, upon evidence of his contumacy, issue out order for having him declared the king's rebel, that is, to be solemnly denounced an outlaw, with the sound of an horn. After the horning (for so we call the denunciation) letters of caption are direct against him, so that if he be taken he must be put into prison; and, although he be not, he forfeits his personal, and the annual revenues of his real estate, and becomes altogether *ἀπρόσωπος*, as Theophilus, the Greek civilian, calls slaves and minors, and all that are civilly dead. Hence, an outlaw is almost in the same condition with us as *deportatus in insulam* was among the Romans; he is incapable of all civil employments; he hath no head in law; he can make no will or testament of his own, nor receive any benefit by any other man's. So that our whigs (like yours, who will be married by the Common Prayer) choose rather to mock God, and offend their tender consciences sometimes, than forfeit their liberty and estates.

I am very well satisfy'd in my own conscience that I have done nothing against the strictest rules of Christian charity, in discovering the impious principles and practices of this sect; I have done it upon the same grounds and motives that the ancient fathers publish'd the wicked lives and opinions of the more primitive hereticks, particularly of the Gnosticks, who were the archetype of our whigs: and the parallel in most particulars runs so exact between them, that I cannot abstain from comparing them together.

First, then, as the Gnosticks were so call'd from *ψευδὸνομος γνῶσις*, or knowledge, falsely so call'd, and boasted that they were the most knowing, altho' they really were the most ignorant of the Christian religion of any sect in the world, so our whigs stile themselves the knowing Christians, and look upon us, who adhere to the church, but as ignorant, silly, formal people, that understand not gospel mysteries, but are spoil'd after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.

Secondly, as the Gnosticks pretended to understand the scriptures better than all other Christians, and yet did most absurdly and blasphemously interpret them, as Epiphanius hath shew'd in many particulars, so our whigs pretend to this gift as their own peculiar talent; and yet interpret the word of God as absurdly, to make it comply with their wicked opinions, as the Gnosticks did to make it countenance theirs. Mr Mitchel's papers are full proof of this charge, besides the books I mention'd before.

Thirdly, as the Gnosticks spoke *ἐπίπονα*, or mighty high things of Simon Magus, equalling him with God, so our whigs speak big-swalling words of Baal-berith, or the

solemn league and covenant; to which they ridiculously apply, whatsoever is said of the covenant of grace, which God made with Abraham, and of that political covenant which he made with the Jews, and of the counterpart of it, which the Jews, or any of their kings, made and renew'd with God, baptizing their children into it, as into the covenant of the gospel, and making it the cause, and interest, and truth of Christ.

In the fourth place, as the Gnosticks pretended to be Christians, and yet in many things comply'd with the wicked Jews, and joined with them in raising persecution against the church, so our whigs pretend to be the purest protestants in the world; and yet in many things are real papists, and now joyn most cordially with them to overthrow both our and your church, which the papists acknowledge to be the strongest bulwark against themselves that are in the protestant world.

In the fifth place, as the Gnosticks contumeliously used the apostles and presbyters of the primitive church, hating them with the malice of Cain, and gain-saying them among the people, after the impudent manner of Corah, and opposing them as Jannes and Jambres did Moses and Aaron, so our whigs treat our reverend clergy with all imaginable contempt and barbarity; hating our bishops with a mortal hatred; calling their government an usurpation over God's heritage, and rail at his majesty, and all other magistrates that support them; binding and re-binding themselves by a solemn oath to extirpate the apostolical function, though in doing of it they should shed an ocean of protestant blood.

To proceed, as the Gnosticks were raging waves of the sea, *i. e.* a fierce, tumultuous, and troublesome people, so are the whigs; as they despised dominions, and spoke evil of dignities, so do the whigs; as they were murmurers and complainers, so are the whigs; who, by their principles, can never be satisfy'd with any concessions, nor obliged by any favours, but must murmur and complain against Moses and Aaron as long as there's a king and bishops in the land.

Furthermore, as the Gnosticks scorned and despised the orthodox Christians, and separated from them, calling them carnal, but themselves spiritual men, and yet were sensualists, defilers of the flesh, and, like the Sodomites and Gomorrheans, given to unnatural lusts, so our modern Pharisees scorn us, calling us carnal, or at the best but moral men; and while they pretend to be holier than the people that adhere to the church, they fall into all sorts of impurities, to the great scandal of the protestant name.

I could run the parallel in more particulars, but I remember I am writing a letter, wherein a man is not to exhaust his subject, but rather to hint than to write; and I need not suggest unto you, that I am not so uncharitable as to include every individual among our whigs in this comparative character, for doubtless there are many well-meaning people among them; but you must understand me so, as our Saviour is to be understood, where he describes the general hypocrisy of the Pharisees, among whom notwithstanding were many sincere and pious men.

In this sense it was that St Paul charged the whole nation of the Cretians with the character of one of their old poets, that they were lyars, evil beasts, and slow bellies, and, for my own part, I believe that among the Gnosticks themselves, there were a considerable number that lived free from those portentous sins, with which St Jude and Epiphanius charge the sect.

I am now drawing near the end of this tedious historical letter, in which I hope I have made you ample amends for my six months silence, for which you chid me again in your second letter, which I received by this day's post. You also tell me in it what tragical stories are reported at London concerning the present unhappiness of this kingdom, and the tyrannical administration of affairs therein. In particular you say, that 'tis reported by some of our own countrymen, that the nation is enslaved, that there is nothing among us but pluderings, burnings, murders, ravishing of women, and all

other sorts of devastation, which has made considerable persons fly the country, particularly D. H., who, I assure you, came to town from his own house but two or three days ago. You also tell me there are reports of a secret correspondence betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and the Viscount of Granard on the maritime borders, whose real design they say is to advance the presbyterian interest, all that hath already been done under his grace's conduct against them being nothing but for shew and pretext. I need but desire you to recollect what I have already written concerning the occasion of our present disorders, and the faction that supports the schism, to make you divine from what original these lying stories proceed, and for what end they disperse them about the world.

I imagine by this time you are very weary, but though you be, you must put yourself to the penance I always enjoin you, to read my letters once for the author's sake as well as for your own. You know I came to England the last time upon no other account but to learn the language, and promised to keep correspondence with you upon this condition, that you would make remarks upon my letters, and faithfully admonish me of all the Scotticisms, or all the words and phrases that are not current English therein. I confess I have a great veneration for our own and the northern English language upon account of the Anglo-Saxon, to which they are so nearly allied; but yet I think it prudent to observe that rule in Macrobius, *Loquere cum presentibus verbis præteritis verbis moribus vice*; and, therefore, am as ambitious to write modern English as any Gascon or Provençal can be to write the modern French.

You may communicate this letter to as many of your friends as you please, but you must take care to conceal my name, least, if it be known, I pass for an enemy to the people of God; and thereupon another Mitchel send me out of the world for a Canaanite or Egyptian, with a brace of bullets or a dirke. The narratives, I humbly conceive, are very profitable to be known: one of them affords an excellent example of counterfeit zeal, and the other of hypocrisie or pharisaism, which, from the beginning of things, hath always been the most powerful engine which the Corahs of all ages and nations have used to draw the multitude into faction and schism. Besides, the knowledge of these things will move all good Christians to pity the miserable condition of our church, and to pray for her both to God and the king; and likewise undeceive all ingenuous spirits, that have had the unhappiness to be misguided by the false informations which our fanaticks send to yours. There is a more strict and mysterious correspondence betwixt them, than the present pains, in which I write, will permit me to relate.

But by that time I come next to London I shall be able to discover the cabala unto you, which I shall better talk in half an hour than write in many days: in the mean time, let us love, honour, and remember one another with pleasure and respect. Let us pray for the improvement of our church, the preservation of yours, and serve them both in our several stations to the utmost of our power.

I have no more to add, but to desire you to remember that my title is advocate and not counsellor at law; there's almost none here knows what that title means; so that the post-master kept your last letter a week before he could imagine it was directed to

Your most faithful

and obedient servant.

Edinburgh, March the 5th, 1677.

FINIS.

A true History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson, a Minister's Wife in New-England: wherein is set forth the cruel and inhumane Usage she underwent amongst the Heathens for Eleven Weeks Time, and her Deliverance from them. Written by her own Hand, for her private Use, and now made public at the earnest Desire of some Friends, for the Benefit of the Afflicted. Whereunto is annexed, A Sermon of the Possibility of God's forsaking a People that have been near and dear to him. Preached by Mr Joseph Rowlandson, Husband to the said Mrs Rowlandson, it being his last Sermon.

Printed first at New-England, and re-printed at London; and sold by Joseph Poole, at the Blue Bowl in the Long-Walk, by Christ's-Church Hospital. 1682.

“The memorable war between Philip, King of the Wampanoags, and the New England colonies now commenced. Susaman, a friendly Indian, having given notice to the English of a plot that he had discovered among Philip's Indians, against the English, was soon after murdered. Three Indians, one of whom was a counsellor, and particular friend of Philip, was convicted of the murder at Plymouth court, and executed. Philip, apprehensive of personal danger, used no farther means to exculpate himself either from the charge of conspiracy, or of having concern in the death of Susaman, but had recourse to arms. Finding his strength daily increasing by the accession of neighbouring Indians, he prepared for war. The Indians, having sent their wives and children to the Narrhagansets for security, began to alarm the English at Swanzy. After offering them insolent menaces, they proceeded to kill their cattle and rife their houses. Provoked by these abuses, an Englishman discharged his gun at an Indian, and gave him a mortal wound. The Indians instantly fell on the English, and killed all in their power. Eight or nine were slain in Swanzy and its vicinity, on the twenty-fourth of June; and on that day the alarm of war was given in Plymouth colony.”—HOLMES' *American Annals*, London, 1808, 8vo. vol. I. p. 353. See also COTTON MATHER'S *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book VII. § 11.

During the confusion, occasioned by this war, the captivity of Mrs Rowlandson took place. The distressing circumstances of her slavery are detailed with interest and simplicity; and the devotional character of the narrative, although marked by the peculiarities of puritanism, has all the appearance of religious sincerity. It is indeed difficult to conceive that any sentiment short of a sincere sense of religion, could have supported this unfortunate woman through her scenes of complicated misery.

Preface to the Reader.

It was on Tuesday, Feb. 1, 1675, in the afternoon, when the Narrhagansets' quarters (in or toward the Nipmug country, whither they were now retired for fear of the English army, lying in their own country) were the second time beaten up by the forces of the united colonies, who thereupon soon betook themselves to flight, and were all the next day pursued by the English, some overtaken and destroyed. But on Thursday, Feb. 3, the English, having now been six days on their march from their headquarters at Wickford, in the Narrhaganset country, toward and after the enemy, and provision grown exceeding short, insomuch that they were fain to kill some horses for

the supply, especially of their Indian friends, they were necessitated to consider what was best to be done, and about noon (having hitherto followed the chase as hard as they might) a council was called, and though some few were of another mind, yet it was concluded, by far the greater part of the council of war, that the army should desist the pursuit, and retire; the forces of Plimouth and the Bay to the next town of the Bay, and Connecticut forces to their own next towns, which determination was immediately put in execution; the consequent whereof, as it was not difficult to be foreseen by those that knew the causeless enmity of these barbarians against the English, and the malicious and revengeful spirit of these heathen, so it soon proved dismal.

The Narrhagansets were now driven quite from their own country, and all their provisions there hoarded up, to which they durst not at present return, and being so numerous as they were, soon devoured those to whom they went, whereby both the one and the other were now reduced to extreme straits, and so necessitated to take the first and best opportunity for supply, and very glad no doubt of such an opportunity as this to provide for themselves, and make spoil of the English at once; and seeing themselves thus discharged of their pursuers, and a little refreshed after their flight, the very next week, on Thursday, Feb. 10. they fell with a mighty force and fury upon Lancaster, which small town, remote from aid of others, and not being garrison'd as it might, the army being now come in, and as the time indeed required (the design of the Indians against that place being known to the English some time before) was not able to make effectual resistance; but, notwithstanding the utmost endeavour of the inhabitants, most of the buildings were turned into ashes, many people (men, women, and children) slain, and others captivated. The most solemn and remarkable part of this tragedy may that justly be reputed which fell upon the family of that reverend servant of God, Mr Joseph Rowlandson, the faithful pastor of the church of Christ in that place, who, being gone down to the council of the Massachusetts, to seek aid for the defence of the place, at his return found the town in flames or smoke, his own house being set on fire by the enemy, through the disadvantage of a defective fortification, and all in it consumed; his precious yoke-fellow and dear children wounded and captivated (as the issue evidenced, and the following narrative declares) by these cruel and barbarous savages. A sad catastrophe! Thus all things come alike to all; none knows either love or hatred by all that is before him. 'Tis no new thing for God's precious ones to drink as deep as others of the cup of common calamity; take just Lot (yet captivated) for instance, beside others. But it is not my business to dilate on these things, but only in few words introductively to preface to the following script, which is a narrative of the wonderfully awful, wise, holy, powerful, and gracious providence of God toward that worthy and precious gentlewoman, the dear consort of the said Reverend Mr Rowlandson, and her children with her, as in casting of her into such a waterless pit, so in preserving, supporting, and carrying through so many such extream hazards, unspeakable difficulties and disconsolateness, and at last delivering her out of them all, and her surviving children also. It was a strange and amazing dispensation that the Lord should so afflict his precious servant and hand-maid: it was as strange, if not more, that he should so bear up the spirits of his servant under such bereavements, and of his hand-maid under such captivity, travels, and hardships (much too hard for flesh and blood) as he did, and at length deliver and restore. But he was their Saviour, who hath said, "When thou passes through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, nor shall the flame kindle upon thee," Isai. xliii ver. 3; and again, "He woundeth, and his hands make whole; he shall deliver thee in six troubles, yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee: In famine he shall redeem thee from death; and in war from the power of the sword," Job v. 18, 19, 20. Methinks this dispensation doth bear some resemblance to those of Joseph, David, and Daniel, yea, and of

the three children too, the stories whereof do represent us with the excellent textures of Divine Providence, curious pieces of divine work : and truly so doth this, and therefore not to be forgotten, but worthy to be exhibited to, and viewed and pondered by all that disdain not to consider the operation of his hands.

The works of the Lord (not only of creation, but of providence also, especially those that do more peculiarly concern his dear ones, that are as the apple of his eye, as the signet upon his hand, the delight of his eyes, and the object of his tenderest care) are great, sought out of all those that have pleasure therein ; and of these, verily, this is none of the least.

This narrative was penned by this gentlewoman herself, to be to her a memorandum of God's dealing with her, that she might never forget, but remember the same, and the several circumstances thereof, all the daies of her life. A pious scope, which deserves both commendation and imitation. Some friends having obtained a sight of it, could not but be so much affected with the many passages of working Providence discovered therein, as to judge it worthy of public view, and altogether unmeet that such works of God should be hid from present and future generation ; and therefore, though this gentlewoman's modesty would not thrust it into the press, yet her gratitude unto God made her not hardly perswadable to let it pass, that God might have his due glory, and others benefit by it as well as herself.

I hope by this time none will cast any reflection upon this gentlewoman, on the score of this publication of her affliction and deliverance. If any should, doubtless they may be reckoned with the nine lepers, of whom it is said, " Were there not ten cleansed ? where are the nine ? " but one returning to give God thanks. Let such further know, that this was a dispensation of public note and of universal concernment ; and so much the more, by how much the nearer this gentlewoman stood related to that faithful servant of God, whose capacity and employment was publick, in the house of God, and his name, on that account, of a very sweet savour in the churches of Christ. Who is there of a true Christian spirit that did not look upon himself much concerned in this bereavement, this captivity in the time thereof, and in this deliverance when it came, yea, more than in many others ? And how many are there to whom, so concerned, it will doubtless be a very acceptable thing, to see the way of God with this gentlewoman in the aforesaid dispensation, thus laid out and pourtrayed before their eyes.

To conclude, Whatever any coy phantasies may deem, yet it highly concerns those that have so deeply tasted how good the Lord is, to enquire, with David, " What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits to me ? " Psal. cxvi. 12. He thinks nothing too great ; yea, being sensible of his own disproportion to the due praises of God, he calls in help : " O magnifie the Lord with me, let us exalt his name together, " Psal. xxxiv. 3. And it is but reason that our praises should hold proportion with our prayers ; and that as many have helped together by prayer for the obtaining of this mercy, so praises should be returned by many on this behalf ; and forasmuch as not the general, but particular knowledge of things makes deepest impression upon the affections, this narrative, particularizing the several passages of this providence, will not a little conduce thereunto : and therefore holy David, in order to the attainment of that end, accounts himself concerned to declare what God had done for his soul, Psal. lxvi. 16. " Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what God hath done for my soul, " *i. e.* for his life. See ver. 9, 10. " He holdeth our soul in life, and suffers not our feet to be moved ; for thou our God hast proved us : thou hast tried us, as silver is tried. " Life-mercies are heart-affecting mercies, of great impression and force to enlarge pious hearts in the praises of God, so that such know not how but to talk of God's acts, and to speak of and publish his wonderful works. Deep troubles, when the waters come in unto the soul, are wont to produce vows : vows must be paid : " It is better not vow, than to vow and not pay. " I may say, that as none knows what it is to fight

and pursue such an enemy as this, but they that have fought and pursued them, so none can imagine what it is to be captivated and enslaved to such atheistical, proud, wild, cruel, barbarous, brutish, (in one word,) diabolical creatures as these, the worst of the heathen; nor what difficulties, hardships, hazards, sorrows, anxieties, and perplexities do unavoidably wait upon such a condition, but those that have tried it. No serious spirit then (especially knowing any thing of this gentlewoman's piety) can imagine but that the vows of God are upon her. Excuse her then if she come thus into the publick to pay those vows: come and hear what she hath to say.

I am confident that no friend of Divine Providence will ever repent his time and pains spent in reading over these sheets, but will judge them worth perusing again and again.

Here, reader, you may see an instance of the sovereignty of God, who doth what he will with his own as well as others; and who may say to him, What dost thou? Here you may see an instance of the faith and patience of the saints, under the most heart-sinking tryals; here you may see the promises are breasts full of consolation, when all the world besides is empty, and gives nothing but sorrow; that God is indeed the supreme Lord of the world, ruling the most unruly, weakening the most cruel and savage; granting his people mercy in the sight of the most unmerciful; curbing the lusts of the most filthy, holding the hands of the violent, delivering the prey from the mighty, and gathering together the out-casts of Israel. Once and again, you have heard, but here you may see that power belongeth unto God, that our God is the God of salvation, and to him belong the issues from death; that our God is in the heavens, and doth whatever pleases him. Here you have Samson's riddle exemplified, and that great promise, Rom. viii. 28, verified: "Out of the eater comes forth meat, and sweetness out of the strong;" the worst of evils working together for the best good. How evident is it that the Lord hath made this gentlewoman a gainer by all this affliction, that she can say, 'Tis good for her, yea, better that she hath been, than she should not have been thus afflicted.

Oh how doth God shine forth in such things as these!

Reader, if thou gettest no good by such a declaration as this, the fault must needs be thine own. Read, therefore, peruse, ponder, and from hence lay up something from the experience of another, against thine own turn comes, that so thou also, through patience and consolation of the scripture, mayest have hope,

PER AMICUM. *

A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson.

On the tenth of February, 1675, came the Indians with great numbers upon Lancaster. Their first coming was about sun-rising. Hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several houses were burning, and the smoke ascending to heaven. There were five persons taken in one house, the father and the mother, and a sucking child, they knock'd on the head; the other two they took, and carried away alive. There were two others, who, being out of their garrison upon some occasion, were set upon; one was knock'd on the head, the other escaped. Another there was, who, running along, was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them money, (as they told me;) but they would not hearken to him, but knock'd him on the head, stripped him naked, and split open his bowels. Another, seeing many of the Indians about his barn, ventured and went out, but was quickly shot down. There were three others belonging to the same garrison who were killed. The Indians, getting up upon the roof of the barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their

fortification. Thus these murtherous wretches went on, burning and destroying before them.

At length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. The house stood upon the edge of a hill: some of the Indians got behind the hill, others into the barn, and others behind any thing that would shelter them; from all which places they shot against the house, so that the bullets seemed to fly like hail; and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third. About two hours (according to my observation in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they could prevail to fire it, (which they did with flax and hemp, which they brought out of the barn, and there being no defence about the house, only two flankers, at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished). They fired it once, and one ventured out and quenched it; but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is that dreadful hour come that I have often heard of, (in the time of the war, as it was the case of others,) but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood; the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, "Lord, what shall we do?" Then I took my children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house; but as soon as we came to the door and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken an handful of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our garrison, but none of them would stir, though another time, if an Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him, and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him. But out we must go, the fire increasing and coming along behind us roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets to devour us. No sooner were we out of the house but my brother-in-law (being before wounded, in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, whereat the Indians scornfully shouted and hallowed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his clothes. The bullets flying thick, one went thorow my side, and the same (as would seem) thorow the bowels and hand of my dear child in my arms. One of my eldest sister's children (named William) had then his leg broken, which the Indians perceiving, they knock'd him on the head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless heathen, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. My elder sister, being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and her elder son telling her that (her son) William was dead, and myself was wounded, she said, "And, Lord, let me die with them!" which was no sooner said but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labours, being faithful to the service of God in her place. In her younger years she lay under much trouble upon spiritual accounts, till it pleased God to make that precious scripture take hold of her heart, 2 Cor. xii. 9, "And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee." More than twenty years after, I have heard her tell how sweet and comfortable that place was to her. But to return: the Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way and the children another, and said, "Come, go along with us." I told them they would kill me. They answered, If I were willing to go along with them, they would not hurt me.

O the doleful sight that now was to behold at this house! "Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolation he has made in the earth." Of thirty seven persons who were in this one house, none escaped either present death or a bitter captivity, save only one, who might say as he, Job i. 15, "And I only am escaped alone to tell the

news." There were twelve killed, some shot, some stabb'd with their spears, some knock'd down with their hatchets. When we are in prosperity, oh the little that we think of such dreadful sights; and to see our dear friends and relations lie bleeding out their heart-blood upon the ground! There was one who was chopped into the head with a hatchet, and stripp'd naked, and yet was crawling up and down. It was a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here and some there, like a company of sheep torn by wolves; all of them stript naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, singing, ranting, and insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out; yet the Lord, by his almighty power, preserved a number of us from death, for there were twenty-four of us taken alive, and carried captive.

I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them than taken alive; but when it came to the trial my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous bears, than that moment to end my daies. And that I may the better declare what happened to me during that grievous captivity, I shall particularly speak of the several removes we had up and down the wilderness.

The first Remove.—Now away we must go with those barbarous creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill, within sight of the town, where they intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house; (deserted by the English before for fear of the Indians;) I asked them whether I might not lodge in the house that night? to which they answered, "What, will you love English-men still?" This was the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw: oh the roaring, and singing, and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell! And as miserable was the waste that was there made of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, calves, lambs, roasting pigs, and fowls, (which they had plundered in the town,) some roasting, some lying and burning, and some boyling, to feed our merciless enemies, who were joyful enough, though we were disconsolate. To add to the dolefulness of the former day, and the dismalness of the present night, my thoughts ran upon my losses and sad bereaved condition. All was gone; my husband gone, (at least separated from me, he being in the Bay, and, to add to my grief, the Indians told me they would kill him as he came homeward,) my children gone, my relations and friends gone, our house and home, and all our comforts within door and without, all was gone, (except my life,) and I knew not but the next moment that might go too.

There remained nothing to me but one poor wounded babe, and it seemed at present worse than death that it was in such a pitiful condition, bespeaking compassion, and I had no refreshing for it, nor suitable things to revive it. Little do many think what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous enemy, even those that seem to profess more than others among them, when the English have fallen into their hands.

Those seven that were killed at Lancaster the summer before, upon a Sabbath-day, and the one that was afterward killed upon a week day, were slain and mangled in a barbarous manner by one-eyed John, and Marlborough's praying Indians, which Capt. Mosely brought to Boston, as the Indians told me.

The second Remove.—But now (the next morning) I must turn my back upon the town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate wilderness, I know not whither. It is not my tongue or pen can express the sorrows of my heart and bitterness of my spirit that I had at this departure: but God was with me in a wonderful manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse: it went moaning all along, "I shall die, I shall die!" I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be exprest. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms, till my strength failed, and I fell down with it. Then they set me upon a horse, with my wounded child in my lap; and there

being no furniture upon the horse back, as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horse's head, at which they, like inhuman creatures, laught, and rejoiced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our dayes, as overcome with so many difficulties. But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carried me along, that I might see more of his power, yea, so much that I could never have thought of had I not experienced it.

After this it quickly began to snow; and when night came on they stopt, and now down I must sit in the snow, (by a little fire and a few boughs behind me,) with my sick child in my lap, and calling much for water, being now (thorough the wound) fallen into a violent fever; (my own wound also growing so stiff that I could scarce sit down or rise up;) yet so it must be, that I must sit all this cold winter night upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick child in my arms, looking that every hour would be the last of its life, and having no Christian friend near me, either to comfort or help me. Oh I may see the wonderful power of God, that my spirit did not utterly sink under my affliction!—still the Lord upheld me with his gracious and merciful spirit, and we were both alive to see the light of the next morning.

The third Remove.—The morning being come, they prepared to go on their way. One of the Indians got up upon a horse, and they set me up behind him, with my poor sick babe in my lap. A very wearisome and tedious day I had of it, what with my own wound, and my child's being so exceeding sick, and in a lamentable condition with her wound. It may easily be judged what a poor feeble condition we were in, there being not the least crumb of refreshing that came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water. This day in the afternoon, about an hour by sun, we came to the place where they intended, viz. an Indian town called Wenimesset, northward of Quabaug. When we were come, oh the number of pagans (now merciless enemies) that there came about me, that I may say as David, Psal. xxvii. 13, "I had fainted, unless I had believed," &c. The next day was the Sabbath: I then remembered how careless I had been of God's holy time; how many Sabbaths I had lost and mispent, and how evilly I had walked in God's sight, which lay so close upon my spirit, that it was easie for me to see how righteous it was with God to cut off the thread of my life, and cast me out of his presence for ever. Yet the Lord still shewed mercy to me, and upheld me; and as he wounded me with one hand, so he healed me with the other. This day there came to me one Robert Pepper, (a man belonging to Roxbury,) who was taken in Capt. Beers his fight, and had been now a considerable time with the Indians, and up with them almost as far as Albany, to see King Philip, as he told me, and was now very lately come with them into these parts. Hearing, I say, that I was in this Indian town, he obtained leave to come and see me. He told me he himself was wounded in the leg, at Capt. Beers his fight, and was not able sometime to go, but as they carried him, and that he took oaken leaves and laid to his wound, and through the blessing of God he was able to travel again. Then I took oaken leaves and laid to my side, and with the blessing of God it cured me also; yet before the cure was wrought, I may say as it is in Psal. xxxviii. 5, 6, "My wounds stink and are corrupt, I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long." I sate much alone with a poor wounded child in my lap, which mourned night and day, having nothing to revive the body or chear the spirits of her; but, instead of that, sometimes one Indian would come and tell me one hour, And your master will knock your child in the head, and then a second, and then a third, Your master will quickly knock your child in the head.

This was the comfort I had from them; miserable comforters are ye all, as he said. Thus nine dayes I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw again. My child, being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bad me carry it out to another wigwam; (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such

spectacles;) whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sate with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the night, my sweet babe, like a lamb, departed this life, on Feb. 18, 1675, it being about six years and five months old. It was nine dayes (from the first wounding) in this miserable condition, without any refreshing of one nature or other, except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice how, at another time, I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was; but now the case is changed; I must and could lye down by my dead babe, side by side, all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me, in preserving me so in the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead, they sent for me home to my master's wigwam, (by my master, in this writing, must be understood Quannopin, who was a Sagamore, and married King Philip's wife's sister; not that he first took me, but I was sold to him by another Narrhaganset Indian, who took me when first I came out of the garrison). I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone; there was no resisting, but go I must and leave it. When I had been a while at my master's wigwam, I took the first opportunity I could get to go look after my dead child. When I came, I asked them what they had done with it. They told me it was upon the hill; then they went and shewed me where it was, where I saw the ground was newly digged, and there they told me they had buried it; there I left that child in the wilderness, and must commit it, and myself also, in this wilderness condition, to Him who is above all. God having taken away this dear child, I went to see my daughter Mary, who was at this same Indian town, at a wigwam not very far off, though we had little liberty or opportunity to see one another: she was about ten years old, and taken from the door at first by a praying Indian, and afterward sold for a gun. When I came in sight she would fall a-weeping, at which they were provoked, and would not let me come near her, but bade me be gone, which was a heart-cutting word to me. I had one child dead, another in the wilderness I knew not where, the third they would not let me come near to: "Me (as he said) have ye bereaved of my children; Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin also, all these things are against me." I could not sit still in this condition, but kept walking from one place to another: and as I was going along, my heart was even overwhelmed with the thoughts of my condition, and that I should have children and a nation which I knew not ruled over them; whereupon I earnestly intreated the Lord that he would consider my low estate, and shew me a token for good, and, if it were his blessed will, some sign and hope of some relief: and indeed quickly the Lord answered, in some measure, my poor prayer; for, as I was going up and down, mourning and lamenting my condition, my son came to me, and asked me how I did. I had not seen him before since the destruction of the town, and I knew not where he was till I was informed by himself, that he was amongst a smaller parcel of Indians, whose place was about six miles off. With tears in his eyes, he asked me whether his sister Sarah was dead, and told me he had seen his sister Mary; and prayed me that I would not be troubled in reference to himself. The occasion of his coming to see me at this time was this: There was, as I said, about six miles from us a small plantation of Indians, where it seems he had been during his captivity; and at this time there were some forces of the Indians gathered out of our company, and some also from them, (amongst whom was my son's master,) to go to assault and burn Medfield: in this time of the absence of his master, his dame brought him to see me. I took this to be some gracious answer to my earnest and unfeigned desire. The next day, viz. to this, the Indians returned from Medfield, (all the company, for those that belonged to the other smaller company came thorow the town that now we were at). But before they came to us, oh the outrageous roaring and hooping that there was! They began their din