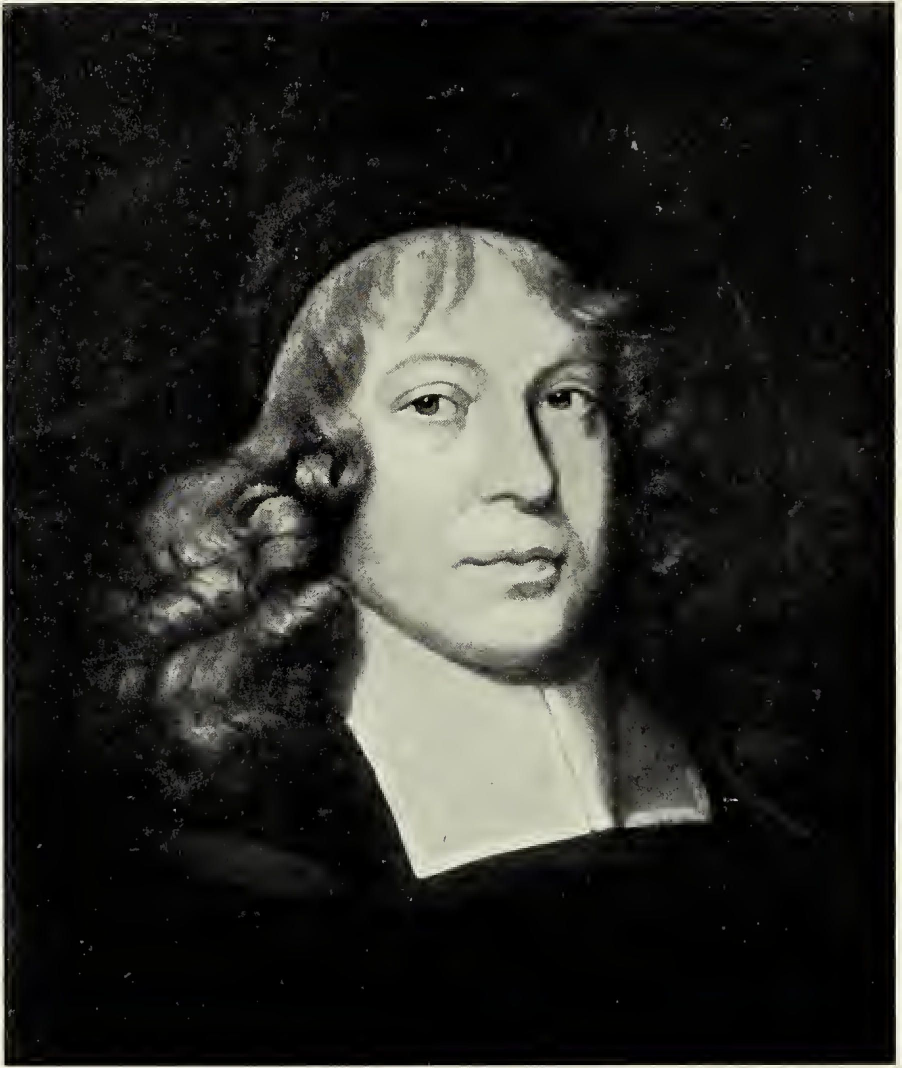

Samuel Rutherford

See Appendix I.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD

A STUDY

Biographical and somewhat Critical, in the History of the Scottish Covenant

BY

ROBERT GILMOUR

MINISTER OF THE HIGH UNITED FREE CHURCH
MUSSELBURGH

EDINBURGH AND LONDON
OLIPHANT ANDERSON & FERRIER
1904

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TO THE LATEST INTERPRETER OF RUTHERFORD

THE REV. ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D.

WITH PROFOUND AND LASTING GRATITUDE

FOR THE INSPIRATION AND HELP OF

THE ST. GEORGE'S CLASS FOR YOUNG MEN

IN THE EARLY AND FORMATIVE YEARS

OF STUDENT LIFE

VIR Dei, Samuel Rhetorfortis, natione Scotus, doctrina magnus, sed sanctitate, pietate, zelo Domus Dei et Regni Christi, quem spirant omnia ipsius scripta, sed maxime omnium EPISTOLÆ post obitum ejus ante quadriennium editæ, etc. NETHENUS.

"THESE poor persecuted Scotch Covenanters," said I to my inquiring Frenchman, in such stinted French as stood at command, "*ils s'en appelaient à*"— "*A la Postérité*," interrupted he, helping me out. "*Ah, Monsieur, non, mille fois non!* They appealed to the Eternal God: not to Posterity at all! *C'était différent.*"
CARLYLE.

PREFACE

IN this book I have tried to tell again the story of one of the most fascinating personalities in our national religious history, whose life was one prolonged struggle for truth, whose death was the death of a saint, and whose devotional writings are still a source of inspiration to many. It is written in the belief that, as regards religious fervour, scholastic subtlety of intellect, and intensity of ecclesiastical conviction, Samuel Rutherford is the most distinctively representative Scotsman in the first half of the seventeenth century. An attempt is therefore made, along with a delineation of the man's character and career, to point out the significance of that revolutionary movement which formed the background to the drama of his life.

The original authorities, Baillie, Row, Wodrow, Stevenson, Lamont, etc., are accessible to all. Dr. Andrew Bonar's edition of the Letters is indispensable. For M'Ward's characteristic Preface, and Rutherford's *Testimony to the Work of Reformation*, recourse must be had to the earlier editions. I may also mention the

Life of Rutherford by Dr. Thomas Murray (1828), which contains many interesting details.

On the title-page of his chief books the author spells his name Rutherfurd, and this usage is the one now generally followed. Considerations of sentiment, not altogether unreasonable, have determined me to adhere to the traditional form that has become endeared to us by so many associations.

For the use of books, and editions of books, not easily obtainable I have been indebted to the Advocates' Library, to Mr. J. Kelso Kelly, and the Rev. W. W. Aitken; but chiefly to the ever-ready kindness and courtesy of the Rev. James Kennedy, D.D., of the New College Library, Edinburgh.

R. G.

Musselburgh, *July* 18, 1904.

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SAMUEL RUTHERFORD

CHAPTER I

THE SAINT OF THE COVENANT

THE first of man's Realised Ideals and the noblest of his attainments is, according to Thomas Carlyle, his Church, or Spiritual Guidance. "The Church! what a word was there; richer than Golconda and the treasures of the world! In the heart of the remotest mountains rises the little kirk: the Dead all slumbering round it, under their white memorial-stones, 'in hope of a happy resurrection.'"

A mile or so westward from the little town of Gatehouse-of-Fleet, in the south of Scotland, a sudden bend of the road brings the traveller on the remains of such a little kirk. It lies there in the midst of its ancient churchyard, in which many a weather-worn tombstone keeps green the memory of some who died for Scotland's faith. Almost concealed from view in a circle of

exquisite natural beauty, the quaint old ruin, ivy-mantled and roofless, appeals to the hearts of all who regard with affectionate pride the spiritual inheritance of their country. Near three centuries ago this was the Parish Kirk of Anwoth, and a centre of spiritual light for the entire province of Galloway. For the minister of Anwoth was a very remarkable man. Amongst his contemporaries, he had, indeed, a quite extraordinary reputation. They spoke of the greatness of his intellect, the intensity of his labours, the holiness of his life. "Such who knew him best," says Wodrow, "were in a strait whether to admire him most for his sublime genius in the school, and peculiar exactness in matter of dispute and controversy, or his familiar condescension in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time." In the opinion of one he had "a most sharp, piercing wit, and fruitful invention, and solid judgment." To another he seemed to be "always praying, always preaching, always visiting the sick, always catechising, always writing and studying." To yet another he appeared as one "whose manner of life in all godliness and holy conversation rendered him dear to the lovers of holiness." For many he was "The Bright Shining Light of the Time," "The Renowned Eagle," that "Flower of the Church, famous famous Mr. Samuel Rutherford." Nor has the verdict of posterity reversed the apparently extravagant testimony of his own time. By many

still, not incompetent to judge, the first minister of the Parish of Anwoth is revered as the one supreme Saint of Presbyterian Scotland. Instinctively has it been felt that the master-passion of this man's life was to see the King in His Beauty, and to behold the Land that is very far off. It is thus that his memory is enshrined in a familiar hymn, or Christian song, which, with a simplicity and truth rare in such compositions, interprets not merely his "last words," but the entire spirit of his life. For more than two centuries the name of Rutherford has been a household word in the Christian homes of Scotland. The old parish kirk and its minister are linked forever in the most sacred memories of our national faith. "As we say Bunyan and Bedford, Baxter and Kidderminster, Newton and Olney, Boston and Ettrick, M'Cheyne and St. Peter's, so we say Rutherford and Anwoth."

But Rutherford is more than a name or a memory however fragrant. He was a maker of history too, a man of strenuous action, one of those great churchmen who have done so much to shape the destinies of Scotland. Not exactly of the order of Knox or Melville, he is nevertheless one of the most prominent figures in the national drama at a most critical period of our ecclesiastical history. If Saint, then assuredly Saint of the Covenant. "The Covenant," says Tulloch, "marks at once the limitations of his sphere, and of his saintliness." To a statement like this the most ardent

admirer of Rutherford will not demur. But we must know what the Covenant means. And it is only too easy to go astray here.

The religious struggle of the seventeenth century has been often misunderstood in the interest of a shallow philosophy to which the spiritual is pretty much identical with the superstitious. That is the method of Henry Thomas Buckle, who finds in Scotland an instance of superstition paralleled only by Spain. To Buckle the Covenanting struggle is simply a paradox of liberalism in politics combined with bigotry in religion. That, he maintains, is the largest and most important fact in Scottish history, the key to it in short, and he devotes the entire third volume of his work to an investigation of the causes and results of this strange anomaly. Others, again, fail in their interpretation of the period, because they lack what Dr. Rainy terms a sympathetic appreciation of the deeper and stronger currents of religious life and doctrinal controversy. We have an example of that in Dean Stanley, who in his amusing Lectures on the Church of Scotland declares the struggle for religious freedom to be but an example of the native stubbornness and passion for antagonism so characteristic of the Scottish people. It had, he thinks, no root in genuine principle, was but a form of our national jealousy of foreign domination, patriotic rather than ecclesiastical, the simple determination to fight that inspired a Wallace

or a Bruce. He considers the Burning Bush a capital badge for the Scottish Kirk. Samuel Rutherford thought so too. It was a great consolation to him in his later years of controversy and seeming failure, that though the Bush had been burning above five thousand years, we never yet saw the ashes of that fire. But the Dean was evidently thinking more of the magnificence of the blaze than of the goodwill of Him who dwelt in the Bush. It says something for Stanley, however, that across so much that was calculated to mislead an Englishman he discerns the transcendent greatness of a man like Rutherford.

In another direction the mistake is frequently made by many whose appreciation of the inner side of history is by no means superficial. A comparison is drawn between 1638 and 1843, and the history of the Church in Scotland read as if it were merely a prolonged struggle for spiritual freedom alone. It is that no doubt, but it is also much more than that. The peculiarity of the struggle of 1638 is that the Church then stood for the nation. Striving to secure her own spiritual independence, the Church really fought at the same time for the civil liberties of Scotland.

What, then, is the real significance of the strife that convulsed Scotland for the greater part of the seventeenth century? It was the second act and virtual completion of the Reformation itself. It was

the next and necessary stage in the organic development of Scottish life and thought. As Mr. Hector Macpherson reminds us, Knox, when he demanded religious liberty, became the founder of Scottish democracy, and called forth a new power that was really to determine the future of the nation. The Covenanters were the inevitable successors of the first Reformers; they carried the work of Knox and Melville to its legitimate result. Out of their half century's contest emerged those principles of civil and religious liberty of which we as a nation are so justly proud. They are clearly wrong who imagine that, because of their somewhat narrow conception of human life and duty, the Covenanters were working against the genuine current of the national life. "A wide survey of the evolution of Scotland," says Mr. Macpherson, "shows that the Covenanters and the Humanists, unknown to one another, were fighting as soldiers in the same great cause of emancipation." It is just this grand fact, and the magnificent characters it evoked or created, that makes the period so worthy of our study. We constantly return for illustration of modern political principles to the rise and fall of the Roman Commonwealth. No understanding of our present position as a nation is possible, apart from a minute survey of the conflict that began in 1638, and continued without interruption for the next fifty years.

Samuel Rutherford's connection with this epoch of

our history is most vital. He does not, indeed, figure so prominently on the historic canvas as some who organised and led the movement at its start—Henderson, Loudon, or even Warriston. But in no character of that time do we see the movement in its entire significance so completely reflected. A national controversy, like the Covenant, involving questions of conscience, principle, and possible compromise, elicits in the most curious way the strong or weak points in a man's nature. There was Baillie, for instance, Robert Baillie the minister of Kilwinning, who passed through all that terrible jostle "where so many stumbling fell," and in the end found himself not a prospective martyr, but comfortably seated in the Principalship of Glasgow University. In the Letters of Baillie we have to perfection what Mr. Taylor Innes regrets that we have not in the Letters of Rutherford,—"a wonderful amphitheatre of the Scotsmen and Scotswomen around him in that very living time." But admirable in many respects as Baillie's patriotism is, he fails us when we come to study the profounder aspect of the Covenant. He was too much of a Laodicean, contrived too successfully to "carry his dish level," and earned the appropriate reward. Very different was it with Rutherford. That a man like Baillie honestly loved the good cause and was prepared to sacrifice much for it, we can well believe. But can we imagine him writing as

Rutherford wrote to the Provost of Ayr: "Serve Christ; back Him; let His cause be your cause; give not an hair's-breadth of truth away, for it is not yours but God's"? or thus to John Kennedy: "Hold fast the truth; for the world sell not one dram-weight of God's truth, especially now, when most men measure truth by time, like young seamen setting their compass by a cloud"? Rutherford had infinite scorn for those who, to use his own words, "take, in the storm, the nearest shore, and go to the lee and calm side of the gospel." The Covenant and its cause were everything to Rutherford. Its varied aspects, religious, ecclesiastical, political, appear in him as in none of his contemporaries. In his life and writings we study its evolution as we study the evolution of English Puritanism in the life, writings, and personality of Milton or Cromwell. For the Covenant he lived; by its ideals he was inspired, and for it he was prepared to die. And if he was not its first and greatest martyr, it was only because he received a prior summons to "where few kings and great folks come." Was he not, as our historian writes, a martyr both in his own resolution and in men's determinations and designs? Hear this significant sentence from his deathbed: "My tabernacle is weak, and I would think it a more glorious way of going hence, to lay down my life for the Cause at the cross of Edinburgh, or St. Andrews; but I submit to my Master's will."

It is not without reason, then, that we sketch here again the story of a life so passionately identified with what is most heroic in our religious past. And in no life-story of the time do we find more genuine elements of romance. The youthful student allowing his sun to be high in the heaven ere he "took the gate by the end"; the devoted pastor, always praying, always preaching, always writing and studying; the prisoner of Christ witnessing a good confession; the lonely exile inspiring others in words hastily thrown out, yet destined to immortality; the staunch Covenanter endeavouring to win Scotland for Christ; the fierce controversialist contending for what, rightly or wrongly, he considered the very Cause of God; the Saint turning at last his wearied eye to Immanuel's Land: it is a figure of rugged strength and passion, and yet, withal, of a wonderful grace and sweetness too. It is a personality that we cannot forget, a memory that Scotland will not willingly let die.

CHAPTER II

IN THE EVANGELICAL SUCCESSION

THERE is, however, a further reason for Rutherford's claim on our attention. To many it may quite possibly be the chief reason. Apparently it was so to some in his own day. In addition to the praise of his learning and genius Wodrow says: "He seems to have outdone himself as well as everybody else, in his admirable and every way singular letters, which though jested upon by profane wits, because of some familiar expressions, yet will be owned of all who have any relish of piety to contain sublime flights of devotion." Rutherford is thus much more than a figure of the past, however interesting. He is in truth a distinct factor in the spiritual life of many at the present day. Of him alone amongst his contemporaries of the Covenant can this be said. "His letters," says Dr. Walker, "are the only letters two centuries old which are still a practical reality in the religious life of Scotland, England, and America." I cannot at all agree with Principal Tulloch's assertion that the name of Leighton belongs

to Christendom, but that of Rutherford to a party. Rutherford the controversialist certainly did belong to a party, and a very extreme party. It is exactly the element of controversy that creates a party, and many an essentially small man has been a very fierce controversialist. But the saint is the peculiar creation of Jesus Christ, and what Christ creates belongs to Christendom. Rutherford is not only the Saint of the Covenant; he is a link in the Evangelical Succession of Christendom,—that succession so happily defined by Dr. Blaikie as "a chain of spiritual magnates, kings of men, higher by head and shoulders than their fellows, who have appeared from age to age since the beginning of the Christian era, and have given a new impulse to Christian thought, a new direction to Christian activity, or a new warmth to Christian devotion."

By what strange chances do we live in history? The remark finds graver illustration than the grimly humorous examples quoted by Professor Teufelsdrockh. A Socrates commits nothing to writing,—is it not true in the highest degree of a Diviner than Socrates?—yet becomes, through the interpretation of admiring disciples, the founder of ethical philosophy. It is not by his own writings that John Sterling lives to-day, but in the most exquisitely finished of English biographies. Frederick Robertson published in his lifetime one sermon; his posthumous volumes regenerated the

English pulpit of the nineteenth century. So has it been with the Saint of the Covenant. In the course of his career Samuel Rutherford gave to the world about a score of volumes, massive tomes some of them. Three or four of these will always interest the student of Scottish Church history, one or two of them the student of Puritan theology, and one, at anyrate, remains a unique if ponderous contribution to the most difficult of sciences. Most of these books are in the dialect of controversy, weighted with learning, scholastic in style, and alas! a weariness to the flesh of even the most inveterate reader. They brought to their author a European reputation, but for us now they are as good as dead. Paradoxical as it may seem, Rutherford lives by a book which he never wrote as a book at all—by a collection of letters written with no further intention than to edify or comfort his correspondents. It is by these that he, being dead, yet speaks so forcibly to so many hearts.

Scarcely in all literature is there to be found a finer example of the bow drawn at a venture than these Letters of Rutherford. They begin with his ministry at Anwoth in 1627, and the last was penned a few weeks before his death. Never surely did a word spoken from the heart more unmistakably reach the heart. We have the testimony of Row the historian that they were the instrument of much good not to

their recipients alone, but in the case of many others to whose hand they had providentially come. "Sundry," he says, "have whole books full of them, which, if they were printed, I am confident, through the Lord's rich mercy and blessing, would not fail to do much good." That was in 1650, eleven years before Rutherford's death. Not till three years after his death was the attempt made by one who knew him intimately to bring them together and publish them in a collected form. Robert M'Ward has a place in the roll of Scots Worthies, and he deserves it. He edited *Rutherford's Letters* and he ordained Richard Cameron. His veneration for the character of the one appears to have been matched by his insight into the probable career of the other. As his hand rested, in the ordination ceremony, on the head of the Lion of the Covenant, he said, "Behold, all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and shall be set up before sun and moon in the public view of the world." Born at Glenluce in Galloway, M'Ward became a student under Rutherford at St. Andrew's in 1643. He accompanied him to the Westminster Assembly as his amanuensis. After the Restoration M'Ward was banished "for treasonable preaching of sedition," that is, for strong language in defence of the Covenant. He settled in Rotterdam, became minister of the Scots congregation,

and died there after twenty years absence from his native land.

Rutherford must have been another exception to the rule that no man is a hero to his valet, for his secretary speaks of him in the most affectionate and admiring terms. To M'Ward the collecting and publishing of the famous Letters seemed a distinct duty. It was, he says, "a thing greatly desired of a long time by the godly." Hitherto they had existed only "in some broken and imperfect parcels in the hands of a few." Rutherford could never be prevailed upon to consent to their publication in his lifetime. To the pressing and assiduous entreaties of his friends he was "inexorable." "He did violence to the desires of many in refusing to publish them, not because he thought them unworthy of a scholar, but lest any man should think of him above what was meet." In the editing of such a treasure M'Ward exercised all possible care. Many had procured copies of the originals, and errors had crept into the text. M'Ward compared several of the most correct copies and obtained as many of the autographs as he could. To him it seemed little short of providential that their publication had been reserved for a time when the clouds of persecution threatened to break heavily over Scotland, a time when "the Philistines had stopped most of the wells out of which they used to draw and drink with joy." Profitable were it therefore to

know the experience of this noble witness who suffered for the same cause, how he acquitted himself and how he overcame. It was this no doubt that suggested the quaint title-page. In one of the letters Rutherford says that God had sent him into banishment to see the land and try the ford and, like the spies of old, bring back his report to others. So in M'Ward's edition the title runs: *Joshua Redivivus, or Mr. Rutherford's Letters,* etc. Fearing that the little book should be thought fit fuel "to make a fire in the hall of Caiaphas," M'Ward dispensed with the Prelate's imprimatur. "For thee, Christian reader, it will be a sufficient imprimatur that these are Mr. Rutherford's Letters." The function they were intended to fulfil is indicated on the title-page. "Now published for the use of all the people of God, but more particularly for those who now are or afterward may be put to suffering for Christ and His Cause." Thirty successive editions are sufficient proof that they have abundantly realised this purpose. The little volume, given to the world in this quiet way, ranks in the literature of the soul with the masterpieces of Augustine, à Kempis, Taylor, Bunyan, Keble, and Martineau.

That the hasty reader casting his superficial glance on these old letters should agree with the polite Warton and consider them "genuine specimens of enthusiastic cant," is the most natural thing in the world. Rutherford certainly indulges in the metaphor-

ical language of the Song of Solomon to such an extent as sometimes to repel his reader. This is a fact that none of his admirers would deny. But what author is there who will yield you his secret till you have struggled into sympathy with his language? Is it not so with Plato, Behmen, Coleridge, the very Bible itself? And after all is said it is precisely this very element in *Rutherford's Letters* that constitutes the source of their continued power, this "passionate intuition of Christ," this spiritual perception of an "aliquid in Christo formosius Salvatore." Dr. Robertson Nicoll points out that the perennial source of the "Evangelical Love for Christ" lies in the awful vision of the moral beauty of Christ's person, and the abiding consciousness of His love and presence in the soul. What is it but just this that gives to Rutherford his place in the Evangelical Succession? And what is it but this that has won for him the homage of so many diverse natures? Hear the testimony of Richard Baxter, the broadest-minded of his Puritan contemporaries. "Hold off the Bible," said Baxter to Principal Carstares, "such a book as *Mr. Rutherford's Letters*, the world never saw the like." To Carstares, the Dean Stanley of his age, this confession "was a great token and evidence of Mr. Baxter's true piety." Thomas Erskine, the Maurice of Scottish theology, felt the attraction of Rutherford and wrote a preface to an edition of the Letters. Of more recent testimonies

one may suffice. We may trust the mystic to know the mystic. No modern man had more of that same passionate intuition of Christ, or has a more unquestioned right to rank with the highest in the Evangelical Succession, than Charles Haddon Spurgeon. "When we are dead and gone," said Spurgeon, "let the world know that Spurgeon held *Rutherford's Letters* to be the nearest thing to inspiration which can be found in all the writings of mere men."

It is this above all that has made Rutherford beloved by successive generations of his fellow-countrymen. To this source we must ever trace the undying charm that accompanies the very mention of his name. Curious, however, it is just here that the critics fall upon Rutherford, and find him a veritable paradox, prodigy, and world's wonder. However comes it, they ask, that the author of the Letters should also be the author of *Lex Rex*? Or the question is put the other way. How is it possible that the author of a book "tediously pedantic," a book "containing as much emotion as the multiplication table," should also have "carelessly flung out upon his age the most seraphic book in our literature"? This is evidently the problem for all Rutherford's critics. They cannot but touch it, it stares them in the face. If—to quote Mr. Taylor Innes—he had been "a recluse, an enthusiast or a dreamer, we should not have felt it strange. Had it been even some rude child of nature and of the soil, a

ploughman by his Scottish furrow or milkmaid in her Highland strath—him or her we might permit to rise at any moment far above us on the wings of devotion and genius; much like that plain brown bird which makes its bed in the heather at our feet, but soars straight up and up till the very heart of heaven palpitates with its song. But a politician and an ecclesiastic, a dialectician and a polemic—how came he to be in our literature like an embodied joy, whose race after two centuries is but begun?" The most casual mention of his name brings up the problem. "Rutherford," says Dr. Rainy, "as interminable in distinctions as he is rich in poetry and feeling." Or, failing the admiration, he is referred to in that style of polished sarcasm which in certain quarters occasionally does the work of rational criticism. Thus in *The Church of Scotland, Past and Present*, edited by Principal Story, we read: "The greatest of the Covenanting theologians was Samuel Rutherford. He was born too late to take part in the controversy as to whether an angel could pass from star to star without traversing the intermediate space, but he delights in raising and discussing questions no less abstruse. Like a true Scotsman, he is troubled with no doubts regarding the truth of the opinions which he entertains, and strikes down his opponents with a warrior's joy. He wrote the best book yet produced against religious toleration: and if anyone think it

allowable to take sexual love as the symbol of spiritual emotions, and expatiate at length on that seductive theme, he can find no collection of religious erotic prose-poetry at all to be compared with *Rutherford's Letters.*"

To all his critics Rutherford is, in the language of Dr. Walker, "a sort of intellectual, theological, and religious prodigy." They almost hint, in the true spirit of King Alphonso, that it is not fair, and that had they been consulted in the making of this Rutherford we should have had a very different result indeed. Perhaps then there would have been two Rutherfords, one of them an utterly unreadable scholastic, and the other an ethereal visionary, a little too fine for a rough and rugged world like this. Certainly we should have missed the magnificent combination of fiery intellectual force, subtle logic, and spiritual poetry that has commanded the admiration of two centuries.

Samuel Rutherford may well be a paradox to his critics. He was a paradox to himself. "I am made of extremes," he wrote to his friend David Dickson. And yet, surely one may be permitted to express surprise, not unmingled with a touch of scorn, at this very same surprise of the critics. Is it maintained, then, that when Nature sends into this world a great soul, a soul of truly original proportions, he must conform to our preconceived standard of what is

correct and proper, and that if we cannot "account" for him he has simply no right to be there at all? Heredity and environment explain much no doubt, but is there never a third factor to the making of a great soul, more important than either—the Almighty Maker of men Himself?

"I confess," says Thomas Carlyle in his Lecture on the Hero as Poet, "I have no notion of a truly great man that could not be all sorts of men," that the Poet, in short, contains within him the Politician, Thinker, Legislator, Philosopher. Quite in the sense of his own principle Carlyle speaks of D'Alembert as "famous in mathematics; no less so to the wonder of some in the intellectual provinces of Literature." "A foolish wonder," he continues, "as if the Thinker could think only on one thing and not on anything he had a call towards." There is light for the critic of Rutherford here surely. True, there are aptitudes of Nature, as Carlyle himself admits; Nature does not make all great men in the selfsame mould. Given your Hero, is he to become Conqueror, King, Philosopher, Poet? That, says Carlyle, will depend on the kind of world he is born into; it is the "different sphere" that constitutes the grand origin of such distinction. In this connection I do not question the value of much that is said to account for Rutherford's "extremes,"—considerations such as we find so well stated in the brilliant psychological study by Mr. Taylor Innes. In his fine

lecture on Rutherford this critic deprecates the idea than the man of action cannot also be the saint, refers to the great Bernard, churchman, scholastic, mystic; and quotes very pertinently the beautiful story of the monk tearing himself away from the vision of the Christ to dispense charity at the convent door. Rutherford, he says, was a monk in a Scottish manse. There were, he maintains, really two men in him: one the man of the Letters, ardent, aspiring, unworldly; the other the intellectual gladiator, the remorseless logician and divider of words; and the two men were never really fused into one. He points out that as a typical Scotsman and a born logician Rutherford had a passion rather for the form than the matter of truth, that he lived in a world of words, and that words to him represented ideas which constrained his heart and conscience. This is admirable criticism, and it is worked out by Mr. Innes in a very elaborate and impressive manner. Specially good is, I think, the remark that the contrast between Rutherford in his Letters and Rutherford in his other books was not nearly so visible to the men of his own time; it was bridged over by the Rutherford of the sermons. A great deal more might be made of this. But let us clearly understand what criticism of this kind really amounts to. That there were two men in Rutherford is most true, but it is true only in the sense that logical and mystical tendencies may be said to exist

more or less in every one of us. I admit, of course, that these tendencies do not become specially apparent in everyone or specially divergent. That is just where the point of our contention lies. It is in great minds like that of Rutherford, where the very intensity of the nature forces the different tendencies into sharp contradiction, that the so-called problem appears. But the problem, if problem there be at all, is, I should say, rather to account for the fact that the generality of men develop in the one direction alone or never develop at all, than to marvel or carp at the many-sidedness of the man who is admittedly great, and therefore exceptional. The very same difficulty that the vexed critic finds in Rutherford confronts us in Milton and Newman, men graced with a classic culture to which Rutherford makes no pretensions. Does it not seem, then, that the critic's solution of the problem is after all but a very clever amplification of the problem to be solved; and that the problem itself is a purely fictitious one, the creation of the critical imagination? "As if the thinker could think only on one thing and not on anything he had a call towards." These words of Carlyle really contain the pith of the whole matter. That the author of *Lex Rex* was also the author of the Letters means simply that he was a man of gigantic original force of mind; in plain English, that Samuel Rutherford was a very much greater man than even his most sympathetic critics are

prepared to allow. And for the rest, we need not quarrel with the kindly providence that has given to the Church of Scotland, in the person of a stern and rugged Covenanter, her greatest scholastic and her greatest mystic in one.

CHAPTER III

LIFE'S MORNING AND EARLY NOON

RUTHERFORD was born about the year 1600 at Nisbet, a village in Roxburghshire. According to M'Ward he was a gentleman by extraction; Wodrow says he was of mean but honest parents. There were two other sons in the family, one of whom became a schoolmaster in Kirkcudbright and the other an officer in the Dutch service. In a letter written near the close of his life to the minister of the neighbouring parish of Oxnam, Rutherford prays that "the place to which I owe my first breathing, in which I fear Christ was scarce named as touching any reality or power of godliness, may blossom as the rose." A little incident regarding his childhood is thus told by Wodrow. When about four years of age he was playing near his father's house with a sister somewhat older than himself. The boy fell into a well several fathoms deep; not full, but faced about with hewn stone, so that it was not possible for anybody to get up, far less a

child. The sister ran for help, but when father and mother came they found young Samuel sitting on the grass beside the well. Questioned as to how he got out, he replied that "a bonnie white man" pulled him out by the hand. It is not surprising that Rutherford's biographers should find in the legend, what was simple matter-of-fact to the parents, an early evidence of his mystic nature and his communion with the spiritual world.

From the Grammar School of Jedburgh he passed in 1617 to the University of Edinburgh. That institution was then in its thirty-fifth year, and was known as the "Town's College." Born out of the Reformation enthusiasm, it owed its immediate establishment to the long-cherished wish of the ministers and town council for a seat of learning in the capital. Difficulties had come in the way, but at length the decline of the Episcopal cause in Scotland gave the needed opportunity. It was formally opened with an address from its first Principal, the celebrated Rollock, and a crowd of youths—*magna mulititudo*—hastened to enrol. From the histories of Crawfurd and Bower, and the more recent researches of Sir Alexander Grant, we are able to form a most interesting picture of the College life at the time when Rutherford became a student. The standard of teaching in the Town's College of Edinburgh had from the very outset been fixed at

University level, as this was then conceived. The labours of educational enthusiasts like Buchanan and Melville had quite recently freshened the entire traditional conception of academic studies. A curriculum had been established for the degree of Master of Arts. The Principal was assisted by four teachers or Regents of Philosophy. This had been the method in mediæval colleges. The system was tutorial rather than professorial. The professor teaches his special subject to successive classes of students; the Regent conducted his class through the entire course of a prescribed curriculum. The lectures were delivered in Latin, and all intercourse between Regent and student was conducted in that language. The session extended from October till August, and eight or ten hours a day were devoted to study. It was an age of revolt, and the philosophy taught was characteristic of the age. The mind had awakened to a consciousness of its powers. The authority of Aristotle, so long the guide of mediæval speculation, was boldly questioned and discarded. Prominent as a leader in this intellectual revolution was Peter Ramus, who lectured in the University of Paris. Melville had studied under Ramus, and introduced his philosophical method at Glasgow and St. Andrews. Rollock, a pupil of Melville, introduced it to Edinburgh. Whatever the admitted faults of the Ramean Philosophy there can be no question of

its value as an admirable mental discipline, and that it taught men to think for themselves. The effect of its introduction to the College of Edinburgh was immediate. Says Grant: "There was no mere passive note-taking allowed, but frequent examinations, translations, themes and disputations, ensured an assimilation of the text-books read, and gave to each student a certain command of thought and language." And he concludes that the education which was given in the Town's College of Edinburgh at the beginning of the seventeenth century was for the times quite as good and useful as that which many modern universities up to very recent times have given.

A system like this would develop to the full a mind so naturally original and subtle as that of Rutherford. In 1621 he graduated Master of Arts. The ceremony of graduation was purposely made as impressive as possible. The students assembled on the previous evening and subscribed the Confession of Faith in presence of the Principal. A thesis was prescribed as subject for public disputation on the following day. The ceremony began at an early hour, and was attended by members of the College of Justice and others of note in the town. The entire day was spent in discussing the thesis, and the degree was conferred by the Principal about six o'clock in the evening.

Two years after his graduation Rutherford was appointed Professor or Regent of Humanity. This special chair was a necessity of the peculiar constitution of the College. Latin was, as we have seen, the recognised medium of instruction. It became necessary, therefore, not merely to test the efficiency of the student in this language when he entered on his studies, but to provide a teacher to help him. A Tutorship for this purpose was created in 1597. By enactment of the town council the office was to be considered distinctly inferior to that of the other four Regents of Philosophy; but the Regent of Humanity was entitled to the first vacancy that might occur in the philosophical department. The post, like the others in the College, was filled by competition. On the present occasion four candidates appeared, Rutherford being one. An Ode of Horace was prescribed. After some days of preparation the candidates were required to explain and comment on this for three-quarters of an hour. One of the candidates, a master in the High School, "pleased the judges most for his experience and actual knowledge; yet the whole Regents out of their particular knowledge of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, demonstrated to them his eminent abilities of mind and virtuous disposition, wherewith the judges being satisfied declared him successor in the Profession of Humanity."

For two years Rutherford discharged the duties of Regent of Humanity, and then, as we learn from Crawfurd, he was forced to "dimit his charge" for some indiscretion connected with his marriage. What the actual nature of the offence was which gave ground for suspicion against Rutherford to the University authorities, it is impossible now to say. From the evidence before us it would rather appear that Rutherford chose of his own accord to resign his office. In his defence Murray says: "His enemies never branded him at any period of his life with this 'scandal'; the Town Council, the patrons of the University, granted him 'an honest gratification' at his dimission; and at the time, 1638–39, when Rutherford was petitioned to go to Edinburgh, purity of character was of more vital and indispensable importance than any other recommendation." For all that, it is quite possible that Rutherford may have been in error. It is almost certain that shortly afterwards he betook himself to the study of theology with a view to the ministry of the gospel. It is natural, therefore, to inquire as to the possibility of a crisis at this time in the inner life of one who was destined so powerfully to influence the inner life of others. There are a few fragments of autobiographical reminiscence in the Letters that throw some light on this point. Here, however, we must remember what Macaulay says of Bunyan, and not interpret the passionate utterances of subsequent regret

as a genuine record of actual fact. There are sentences in Rutherford that would certainly point that way. "Like a fool, as I was," he writes to Robert Stuart, son of the Provost of Ayr, "I suffered my sun to be high in the heaven, and near afternoon before ever I took the gate by the end." And to another young man he writes: "I had stood sure if I had in my youth borrowed Christ to be my bottom: but he that beareth his own weight to heaven shall not fail to slip and sink." May it not have been his remembrance of youthful folly, his recollection of the "ravelled hesp," that gives such force to his advice in his remarkable correspondence with young men? Thus he writes to young Gordon of Cardoness: "Lose your time no longer; flee the follies of youth; play the merchant, for ye cannot expect another market-day when this is done." And to young Earlston: "There is not such a glassy, icy, and slippery piece of way betwixt you and heaven as youth; the devil findeth in youth dry sticks and dry coals and a hot hearthstone, and how soon can he with his flint cast fire and with his bellows blow it up." And to Lord Boyd: "It is easy to master an arrow and to set it right ere the string be drawn; but when once it is shot and in the air and the flight begun, then ye have no more power at all to command it. And therefore, oh what a sweet couple are Christ and a young man. This is a meeting not to be found

in every town." Milman, I think, says somewhere that there is a tang of remorse in the style of Tacitus. There is certainly a tang of remorse in these passionate counsels of Rutherford. One thing at anyrate we are sure of. No personality known to Christian biography more happily exemplifies the principle of Newman, that saintliness is not forfeited by the penitent. Whatever light these quotations throw on a possible crisis in Rutherford's life, we may with perfect accuracy apply to him at this period of his career the words that have been used regarding his great contemporary, the soul and organiser of English Puritanism. "It is therefore in these years, undated by History, that we must place Oliver's clear recognition of Calvinistic Christianity; what he, with unspeakable joy, would name his conversion, his deliverance from the jaws of Eternal Death. Certainly a grand epoch for a man, properly the one epoch; the turning-point which guides upwards, or guides downwards, him and his activity for evermore."

In 1620 the offices of Principal and Professor of Theology in the College of Edinburgh, hitherto vested in one person, were separated, and Andrew Ramsay, a man of Calvinistic principles, was appointed to the chair of Divinity. Under this man Rutherford commenced the study of Theology, a discipline then regarded as Queen of the Sciences, and more or less influencing

every other branch of learning. The work of the College in this department does not seem to have been very heavy. Once a week, on Wednesday, the students assembled in the public hall to hear a theological lecture from the Principal. Scripture was read in their separate classrooms early on the Sunday morning; and thereafter professors and Students went to church together. The students on their return were examined on the sermon and their Scripture studies of the morning. There was thus, as Sir A. Grant hints, perhaps more theological enthusiasm than actual study of theology as a science. So much indeed is evident from an inspection of the revised code of Theological Studies drawn up for the College by the Town Council in 1628. It comes far short of what Melville had sketched out so brilliantly for St. Andrews.

Rutherford's course as a student of Divinity lasted for two years. He was then licensed as a preacher of the gospel. Nor did he wait long for a charge. In those days the field was extensive and the labourers few. At the invitation of John Gordon of Lochinvar he became in 1627 minister of Anwoth in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Gordon had already asked John Livingstone to take the charge, but a church had to be built, delay ensued, and Livingstone went to Torphichen. "But thereafter," says Livingstone himself, "the Lord provided a great deal better for them,

for they got that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, whose praise is in all the Reformed Churches." In this way began the ministry that has become so famous in the history of Covenanting Scotland.

CHAPTER IV

FAIR ANWOTH BY THE SOLWAY

THE district of Anwoth had not yet been formed into a separate parish. Hitherto it had been united to the parishes of Kirkmabreck and Kirkdale under the ministry of one clergyman. The church was built shortly before or just about the time that Rutherford came. The entire region is one of the loveliest in the south of Scotland, a veritable Garden of Romance. This, and the fragrance of Rutherford's name, has drawn many a traveller to the spot. Thus Dr. Andrew Bonar writes to a friend, on the close of the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1878, of which he had been Moderator, "I go with my family in August to Anwoth to enjoy the twittering of the 'blessed sparrows,' and, if possible, pick up some of Samuel Rutherford's grey hairs, that may be somewhere found." Two such visitors have left on record their impressions of the scene, which I may appropriately quote here. The first is specially interesting, as it comes from the pen of one who was, like Rutherford, a

great Scotsman, a great churchman, and like him, too, a link in the Evangelical Succession. It is found in the third volume of Hanna's *Life of Dr. Chalmers.*

"*Wednesday, August* 23, 1826.—Started at five o'clock; ordered the gig forward on the public road, to meet us after a scramble of about two miles among the hills, in the line of 'Rutherford's Memorials.' Went first to his church; the identical fabric he preached in, and which is still preached in. The floor is a causeway. There are dates of 1628 and 1633 on some old carved seats. The pulpit is the same, and I sat in it. It is smaller than Kilmany, and very rude and simple. The church bell is said to have been given him by Lady Kenmure, one of his correspondents in his Letters. It is singularly small for a church, having been the Kenmure house-bell. We then passed to the new church that is building; but I am happy to say the old fabric and Rutherford's pulpit are to be spared. It is a cruel circumstance that they pulled down (and that only three weeks ago) his dwelling-house and his old manse; which had not been used as a manse for a long time, but was recently occupied. It should have been spared. Some of the masons who were ordered to pull it down refused it, as they would an act of sacrilege, and have been dismissed from their employment. We went and mourned over the rubbish of the foundation. Then ascended a walk still known

by the name of Rutherford's Walk. Then went farther among the hills, to Rutherford's Witnesses,—so many stones which he called to witness against some of his parishioners who were amusing themselves at the place with some game on the Sunday, and whom he meant to reprove. The whole scene of our morning's walk was wild and primitive and interesting."

Half a century later Dr. Andrew Thomson writes thus: "As one stands inside the ivy-clad ruin, it is not difficult even now to fill in the main features of the picture as they must have presented themselves to a worshipper two centuries and a half ago—the door by which Rutherford entered, the oaken pulpit with the spacious oval window behind it, shedding in streams of light upon his Bible; the spot in front of the pulpit where the pastor used to stand on high sacramental occasions surrounded by his elders, with the Communion table before him covered with 'fine linen, clean and white,' to dispense to his flock the symbols and pledges of redeeming love; the galleries at either extremity of the house, which were occupied by the titled families and principal proprietors of Anwoth, such as the Lennoxes of Cally, and the Gordons of Cardoness and Rusco; and, lining every other part of the sacred edifice, the densely packed seats of the farmers and peasants, who sat listening for hours to Rutherford's melting eloquence, and were

often raised above themselves by the almost seraphic strains of his adoration and prayer."

"Of Rutherford's manse of Bush-o'-bield," continues Dr. Thomson, "not even a stone remains. But there are those still living who remember its site and its ruins. It was an old house even in his days, having belonged to an Anwoth family of rank, and containing more space than the simple pastor needed. It stood on a gentle eminence, with a garden behind producing sufficient vegetables for culinary purposes, and abounding in the rose, the honeysuckle, the balm, and other flowers in which our forefathers delighted. The Anwoth people of the last generation used to tell of gigantic hollies which lined the front of the house, while a green field gradually sloped down to the level, along which a tiny burn found its way to the Fleet not far off. The church was so near that when the pastor heard the first sound of the bell from its little belfry, he had ample time to don his Geneva gown, and, passing calmly through an intervening copse, to be in his place at the appointed time to read out the first words of praise."

It was a fortunate circumstance for Rutherford that, as regards the truth of the gospel, Anwoth was by no means virgin soil. Already there existed a distinct Reformation and Evangelical tradition. Thirty years earlier, John Welsh, the son-in-law of John Knox, had been minister of Kirkcudbright. The apostolic

character of Welsh's ministry is evident from his famous prayer, "Lord, wilt Thou not grant me Scotland?" While in Kirkcudbright Welsh is said to have reaped a harvest of converts, who continued long after his departure, and became a part of Rutherford's flock, though not in his parish. This is corroborated by Livingstone, who says that Rutherford was a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country who had been the fruits of the ministry of Mr. John Welsh. Rutherford's predecessor, William Dalgleish, was a resolute adherent of the Presbyterian faith. He preached at Anwoth every alternate week; when he handed over this third part of his charge to Rutherford, he had evidently given the people a sufficient amount of gospel teaching to create on their part a thirst for more. One other circumstance favoured Rutherford's settlement in Anwoth, and ultimately became a source of peculiar joy to himself. At that time many of the proprietors and best families in the district were in sympathy with the Reformed Faith and Presbyterian Church polity, and were ready to welcome a ministry that drew its inspiration from both.

Time and place were thus ripe for the advent of a pastor of learning and power. The good people of Anwoth welcomed Rutherford with open arms. Afterwards when they were losing him they declared what his coming among them had been. "Our souls," they confessed, "were under that miserable extreame

femine of the word, that we had onlie the puir help of ane sermone everie second Sabbath." Rutherford was not the man to disappoint them. Well may we believe the numerous testimonies to the enthusiasm with which he pursued in that ideal sphere the aims of an ideal ministry—his early rising, his morning studies, his assiduous labours in the visitation of a widely-scattered flock. From his own letters, written afterwards, we gather evidence of his intense interest in the welfare of each individual soul in his care. To one of them he writes: "I did what I could to put you within grips of Christ: I told you Christ's testament and latter will plainly." To another he says: "My soul was taken up when others were sleeping how to have Christ betrothed with a bride in that part of the land." And again: "There I wrestled with the Angel, and prevailed. Wood, trees, meadows and hills are my witnesses that I drew on a fair match between Christ and Anwoth." Small wonder is it that Anwoth became so dear to the heart of Samuel Rutherford, and that, when deprived of his ministry there, he counted the very swallows happy that built their nests in the old kirk. Nor did such intense enthusiasm of labour fail of its reward. "While he was at Anwoth," says Livingstone, "he was the instrument of much good among a poor ignorant people, many of which he brought to a knowledge and practice of religion." M'Ward declares that he laboured night and day, "the whole country being to

him, and accounting themselves as his peculiar flock." His success, however, fell somewhat behind his own expectations, and he thirsted for more recognition. After two years of labour he writes: "I see exceedingly small fruit of my ministry! I would be glad of one soul, to be a crown of joy and rejoicing in the day of Christ." He complains that his people were like hot iron, "which cooleth when out of the fire." "The very repairing of God's house in our own parish church is a proof. Ye need not go any farther. The timber of the house of God rots, and we cannot move a whole parish to spend twenty or thirty pounds Scots upon the house of God to keep it dry." It is perhaps natural that a mighty spirit like that of Rutherford should, by reason of the very intensity of its zeal, be prone to under-estimate the work it has accomplished. It was so with Elijah and Luther.

The age of the Covenant was pre-eminently an age of great preachers, mighty speakers for Christ. With them, as with Knox, the declaration of the Evangel was ever put in the forefront. What was Rutherford's appearance in the pulpit, and what was his style of preaching? The answer comes in the happiest manner from one or two of those traditionary anecdotes that more exquisitely portray for us the figures of the past than the most elaborately detailed descriptions.

An English merchant, returning from a visit to Scotland, relates to his friends in the South his

experience of the Scottish pulpit. At St. Andrews he had heard a sweet, majestic-looking man who showed him the majesty of God; and after him a little fair man who showed him the loveliness of Christ. Then at Irvine he had listened to a well-favoured, proper old man who showed to this discriminating merchant his own heart. The sweet, majestic-looking man was Robert Blair, characterised by Livingstone as "of a notable constitution, both of body and mind," "of a majestic, awful, yet amiable countenance," and as one "who was seldom ever brangled in his assurance of salvation." The well-favoured proper old man was David Dickson, famous not merely as a preacher, but justly celebrated as one of the most masterly expositors of Scripture in his time. The little fair man was Rutherford. "The whole General Assembly," says Wodrow, "could not have given a better character of the three men." The Saint of the Covenant, then, lives in our memory as "a little fair man." Regarding the style of his pulpit utterances we are told that he had a kind of *skreigh*, also that he had two quick eyes, and that when once he entered into the pulpit he held them up toward heaven. Most credible of all is the statement that his constant theme was the "loveliness of Christ." "Many times," says one witness, "I thought he would have flown out of the pulpit when he came to speak of Jesus Christ; he was never in his right element but when he was commending Him. He

would have fallen asleep in bed speaking of Christ." Here also the fitting anecdote is ready. Once when preaching in Edinburgh, Rutherford, after dwelling upon the controversy of the day, broke out with, "Woe is unto us for these sad divisions, that make us lose the fair scent of the Rose of Sharon"; and then he went on commending Christ, going over all His precious styles and titles about a quarter of an hour; upon which the Laird of Glanderston called out, "Ay, now you are right—hold you there!" For the reader of *Rutherford's Letters*, however, evidence on this point is superfluous. If the passion of Rutherford's life was to see for himself the King in His Beauty, the passion of his ministry was to make the vision apparent to others. This is borne out also by his published sermons, especially in those which he is said to have preached at seasons of Communion. They are splendid specimens of the Covenanting pulpit, unique in their flashes of homely wit, pithy Scotch phrase and quaint Scotch humour, and above all in their presentation of the moral beauty and glory of Christ. In this connection mention must be made of his volume of sermons, *The Trial and Triumph of Faith*, an exposition of the story of the Syrophenician woman. In the preface to another book of a like nature, *Christ Dying and Drawing to Himself*, Rutherford protests against the shallowness of the current theological literature.

"We but play," he says, "about the borders and margent of knowledge of Christ, as children do with the golden covering and silken ribbons of an Arabic Bible that they cannot read. O how rarely do the needle-eyed schoolmen write of Christ; O how subtle and eagle-eyed seem they to be in speculations, grave-deep, or rather hell-deep, touching His grave-linens, what became of them when He rose from the dead, and the chestnut colour of His hair, and the wood of His cross, and the three nails that wedged Him to the tree, and the adoring of anything that touched His body, either wood, iron, or nails of the holy grave." Certainly it is the glow of adoration towards the person of Christ that thrills the reader of Rutherford's sermons. But there is light as well as heat. The pulpit was the great means of reaching the intellect as well as the heart of the common people in the seventeenth century. Mr. Taylor Innes points out that the rather tedious controversial digressions which fill so much of the discourses of that age were really a necessity of the time, and that when the minister entered the pulpit the people expected not merely the evangelist and poet, but the moral casuist, the debater and churchman. This was pre-eminently the case with Rutherford. That he preached for eternity goes without saying, but no one could preach more powerfully to the times.

It is not surprising that Rutherford's fame spread

far and wide. He was much in request for sacramental occasions throughout Galloway. Scholarly travellers are said to have turned aside that they might visit a man so learned and pious. The story of one such visit, considered by no means improbable, has become a truly classic tradition of the Covenanting Church. But a classic story should be told in classic style. Few could surpass Dean Stanley at this. I must therefore resort to quotation once more. I do so the more readily this time, that I shall have occasion to refer later on to the lesson that the Dean attempts to draw from the story itself. In a sermon preached in the Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, on the 7th January 1872, Dean Stanley said—

"There may be some here present who have visited the retired vale of Anwoth on the shores of Galloway. In the seventeenth century the minister of the parish of Anwoth was the famous Samuel Rutherford, the great religious oracle of the Covenanters and their adherents. It was, as all readers of his Letters will remember, the spot which he loved most on earth. The very swallows and sparrows which found their nests in the church of Anwoth were, when far away, the objects of his affectionate envy. Its hills and valleys were the witnesses of his ardent devotion when living; they still retain his memory with unshaken fidelity. It is one of the traditions, thus cherished on the spot, that on a Saturday evening at one of these

family gatherings, whence, in the language of the great Scottish poet,

> 'Old Scotia's grandeur springs,'

when Rutherford was catechising his children and servants, a stranger knocked at the door of the manse and begged shelter for the night. The minister kindly received him, and asked him to take his place amongst the family and assist at their religious exercises. It so happened that the question in the Catechism which came to the stranger's turn was that which asks, How many commandments are there? He answered, 'Eleven.' 'Eleven!' exclaimed Rutherford, 'I am surprised that a person of your age and appearance should not know better; what do you mean?' And he answered, 'A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another.' Rutherford was much impressed by the answer, and they retired to rest. The next morning he rose early to meditate on the services of the day. The old manse of Anwoth stood—its place is still pointed out—in the corner of a field, under the hillside, and thence a long, winding, wooded path, still called Rutherford's Walk, leads to the church. Through this glen he passed, and as he threaded his way through the thicket he heard amongst the trees the voice of the stranger at his morning devotions. The elevation of the sentiments and of the expressions convinced him that it was no common man. He

accosted him, and the traveller confessed that he was no other than the great divine and scholar, Archbishop Usher, the Primate of the Church of Ireland, one of the best and most learned men of his age, who well fulfilled that new commandment in the love which he won and which he bore to others; one of the few links of Christian charity between the fierce contending factions of that time, devoted to King Charles I. in his lifetime, and honoured in his grave by the Protector Cromwell. He it was who, attracted by Rutherford's fame, had thus come in disguise to see him in the privacy of his own home. The stern Covenanter welcomed the stranger Prelate; side by side they pursued their way along Rutherford's Walk to the little church, of which the ruins still remain; and in that small Presbyterian sanctuary, from Rutherford's rustic pulpit, the Archbishop preached to the people of Anwoth on the words which had so startled his host the evening before—'A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.'"

What do we know of Rutherford's personal life during these early years at Anwoth? We naturally turn to that "involuntary self-revelation of the heart," the Letters. But with the exception of one or two pathetic incidents of domestic history we do not learn much from them. Sorrow had come to Rutherford's home. His wife died after a painful illness of thirteen

months. For three months he was himself laid aside from preaching by a fever. His life became wearisome; his faith almost failed. "It is, as I now know by experience, hard to keep sight of God in a storm." His aged mother who had come to live with him was taken away. "My mother is weak, and I think shall leave me alone; but I am not alone, because Christ's Father is with me." There is certainly room for Mr. Taylor Innes's complaint that, so far as the Letters are concerned, we know more of the birds which built their nests in the Kirk of Anwoth than of the bairns who played in the manse. It is from another point of view that these Letters are so interesting. They reveal the inner life of the man through the spiritual relationships which he formed. It is this that from the first enthrals the reader. And, occasionally from the mental attitude of the writer, we are able to infer a good deal regarding the character of his correspondent. With two friends especially did Rutherford communicate while at Anwoth. It is perhaps characteristic of the man, as it is certainly characteristic of the times, that both of these are women, ladies of the Covenant.

Foremost and best beloved of all was Marion M'Naught, wife of William Fullerton, the Provost of Kirkcudbright, and niece to Gordon of Lochinvar. To her is addressed the first of the letters, dated 6th June 1627, and a close correspondence evidently followed till her death in 1643. She seems to have been a woman

of rare worth, and greatly interested in the moral welfare of the town and district. "Blessed be the Lord," says Rutherford himself, "that in God's mercy I found in this country such a woman to whom Jesus is dearer than her own heart, when there be so many that cast Christ over their shoulder." Her reputation for piety was not confined to Kirkcudbright. Robert Blair relates in his autobiography that on returning from London to Ireland, *viâ* Portpatrick, he had a desire to visit Rutherford at Anwoth and Marion M'Naught at Kirkcudbright. Not knowing how to compass both, when he came to the parting of the way he laid the bridle upon the horse's neck, "entreating the Lord to direct the horse as He saw meet." The horse took the way to Kirkcudbright, "where I found them both whom I desired to see, and was greatly refreshed with their company."

It is to Marion M'Naught that Samuel Rutherford opens his heart, in all the varying moods of his mind, as he writes in praise of his Master Christ, or in prospect of a Communion season, or in despair over his wife's sickness, or when he laments the desolate state of the Kirk, and recommends submission, perseverance, and zeal. "Take as many to heaven with you as ye are able to draw," he says to her on one occasion, "ye shall be the welcomer yourself." And again, "Go up to your watch-tower and come not down; but by prayer and faith and hope wait on." On her recovery from a

dangerous illness he writes: "The silly stranger in an uncouth country must take with a smoky inn and coarse cheer, a hard bed and a barking ill-tongued host. It is not long to the day, and he will to his journey on the morrow and leave them all." Marion M'Naught had three children, a daughter and two sons; and Rutherford frequently refers to them with interest and affection. Thus in a postscript: "I had not time to give my advice to your daughter Grizzel; you shall carry my words therefore to her. Show her now that in respect of her tender age she is in a manner as clean paper, ready to receive either good or ill; and that it were a sweet and glorious thing for her to give herself up to Christ, that He may write upon her His Father's name and His own new name." "Remember me to your husband," he writes also, "and desire him from me to help Christ and receive a blow patiently for His sake." The encouragement was not thrown away. William Fullerton was a man of stern principle, and suffered imprisonment for his opposition to the Bishop of Galloway when the latter attempted to force a minister on the people of Kirkcudbright. "You were ne'er honoured till now," wrote Rutherford to his friend on that occasion. "If your husband be the first magistrate who shall suffer for Christ's name in this persecution, he may rejoice that Christ hath put the first garland on his head and upon yours. You live

not upon men's opinion; gold may be gold, and have the King's stamp upon it, when it is trampled upon by men."

The other intimate correspondent of Rutherford in the Anwoth days was the wife of his patron, the Viscountess Kenmure. Gordon of Lochinvar was born in 1599. The Gordons were an ancient family in Galloway. Some of them had espoused the good cause in the time of Wycliffe, and some had helped to establish the Reformation. John Gordon's youth had been wild and lawless. When abroad in France he had come under the influence of John Welsh. Though now a friend to the Presbyterian cause he spent his time, like the rich man in the gospel, casting down barns and building greater ones. "Sometimes," says Howie, "when at ordinances, particularly sacramental occasions, he would be filled with a sense of sin, which being borne powerfully in upon his soul he was scarcely able to hold out against." About the year 1626 Gordon married Lady Jane Campbell, third daughter of the seventh Earl of Argyle, and sister to the future Marquis and martyr. In her youth Lady Jane had formed a strong liking for the Presbyterian Church, and warmly appreciated Rutherford's ministry. Of a delicate constitution, she suffered much from illness and depression, and Rutherford had often to write his timely word of encouragement. Thus he reminds her that "there be many Christians most like unto young

sailors, who think the shore and the whole land doth move when the ship and they themselves are moved; just so, not a few do imagine that God moveth and saileth and changeth places, because their giddy souls are under sail, and subject to alteration, to ebbing and flowing." On the death of her first child he wrote: "Ye have lost a child; nay, she is not lost to you who is found to Christ. She is not sent away but only sent before, like unto a star, which going out of our sight doth not die and evanish but shineth in another hemisphere."

For the first two years of Rutherford's ministry, Gordon and his lady resided at Rusco in the parish of Anwoth. Then they left for England, and their departure was a great grief to Rutherford. He wrote to Lady Gordon: "I have received many and divers dashes and heavy strokes since the Lord called me to the ministry, but I esteem your departure from us the weightiest." By the end of 1631 they returned to Scotland and settled at Kenmure Castle, a place twenty miles distant from Anwoth. Rutherford was keenly solicitous for the spiritual welfare of the Kenmure household, and all the more because of the temptations of their high social position. "Madam," he writes, "many eyes are upon you, and many would be glad your ladyship should spill a Christian and mar a good professor. It is more to you to win heaven, being ships of greater burden and in the main sea, than

for little vessels that are not so much in the mercy and reverence of the storms, because they may come quietly to their port by launching along the coast. Look for crosses, and while it is fair weather mend the sails of the ship." Especially was he anxious about Gordon himself, knowing his worldly propensities. "Madam, stir up your husband to lay hold on the Covenant. What hath he to do with the world? It is not his inheritance." That was written in April 1633. Rutherford had noted the weak point in his patron's character. Gordon was soon to be put to the test. King Charles on his visit to Scotland in that year was profuse in the honours he bestowed on the Scottish nobility. Gordon was created Viscount of Kenmure and Lord Gordon of Lochinvar. He attended the meeting of Parliament in June, staying only a few days, and then returned to his country seat at Kenmure. It was the King's intention to pass certain Acts for the advancement of Prelacy in Scotland. For these measures Kenmure could not conscientiously give his vote. Fearing to incur the displeasure of the King, who had honoured him so highly, he feigned illness and withdrew. "God knoweth," he afterwards confessed, "I did it with fearful wrestlings of conscience, my light paying me home within, when I seemed to be glad and joyful before men." For about a year, says Howie, he slept securely. Business called him to Edinburgh again, and on his return he was stricken

with sudden sickness and overwhelmed with remorse. Rutherford was absent at Irvine on a visit, it is likely, to David Dickson, and coming back sooner than he intended broke the journey at Kenmure Castle. Kenmure saw the finger of God in this, and in fear of death "drew on a conference with the minister." That conference may be read at length in one of Howie's most impressive chapters, who almost tenders an apology for introducing Kenmure amongst the Scottish heroes. Peace of mind came after one or two interviews, but it was superficial. "Dig deeper," said the faithful pastor, whose gentleness and firmness appear on every page of the little narrative. Kenmure got down to the Rock at last. At peace with God, he would fain be at peace with man, and as friends and relatives took farewell he had a word of affectionate advice or warning for each. "Remember your chief's speeches on his deathbed," Rutherford afterwards wrote to one of them. The dying nobleman bore testimony to the worth of Rutherford's ministry, and the satisfaction it now gave him that he had been the means of bringing him to Galloway. He expressed his opinion that dark days were in store for the Church. "God forgive the nobility," he said, "for they are either very cold in defending the true religion or ready to welcome Popery, whereas they should resist; and woe be to a dead, time-serving, and profane ministry." He took a promise from Bishop Lamb that he would not molest

the Presbyterian ministers or enthral their conscience with Episcopal ceremonies. At sunset on the 12th September 1634, Rutherford engaged in prayer at Kenmure's request, and, as the prayer concluded, the nobleman died.

Fifteen years afterwards, when the contest for political and religious liberty in Scotland was at its height, Rutherford published an account of his patron's death, entitled, *The Last and Heavenly Speeches and Glorious Departure of John, Viscount Kenmure.* In the Epistle Dedicatory, addressed to the whole nobility of Scotland, and others having a voice in Parliament, Rutherford endeavoured to press home a salutary warning from Kenmure's late repentance and awful remorse. He dwelt especially on the sin of deserting God's cause, "which is scarcely counted a fault in these times." What, he asks, when the spirit is stricken, will avail Balaam's wages, or Naboth's vineyard, or Achan's wedge of gold, or Gehazi's bribe, or Judas' thirty pieces of silver? "It is not the antiquity of your families, nor the long descent of an ancient pedigree through many noble or princely branches that can make you noble. The most royal blood is in the most religious heart." To the bereaved widow he wrote: "God hath dried up one channel of your love by the removal of your husband, let now that speat run upon Christ. God's hammering you from your youth is only to make you a fair carved stone in the high upper temple of the

New Jerusalem. Lift up your head, for the day of your redemption draweth nigh. And, remember, that star that shined in Galloway is now shining in another world."

With one other person Rutherford must have been specially intimate during those years, the young chaplain of Kenmure Castle, the name of him George Gillespie. We shall meet them together again in a far other sphere. Not, however, till we peruse the letters written from his banishment in Aberdeen do we know the full extent of Rutherford's acquaintance in Galloway, or realise how his kindly counsel was welcomed by each and all, from the Gordons of Rusco, Earlston, and Cardoness, to the humble parishioners whose homes he had so often brightened with his saintly presence.

In 1842 a granite monument sixty feet in height was erected to Rutherford's memory on an eminence a short way eastward from his old kirk, and from which a magnificent view is obtained of the district in which he laboured and which he loved so dearly. "Erected," so runs the inscription, "in admiration of his eminent talents, extensive learning, ardent piety, ministerial faithfulness, and distinguished public labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty." Appropriately the words are added, "The Righteous shall be in Everlasting Remembrance."

CHAPTER V

THE MEANING OF THE COMING STRUGGLE

FOR nine years Rutherford ministered to his flock at Anwoth, when he was hurled into the controversy that engaged his entire strength for the rest of his life. I have already said that this struggle was the inevitable outcome of the Reformation in Scotland. Here, however, it is necessary to fix a little more precisely, though with great brevity, the actual nature of the issue that was at stake. This is indispensable if we are to do justice to the aims, ideals, and life-work of a man like Rutherford, and the other makers of Scotland who were associated with him.

In its external aspect, the contention of the Covenanters had reference to certain different forms of Church government and religious ceremony. Its deeper significance involved the conflict of two grand antagonisms—"decent, dignified ceremonialism," and "awful, devout Puritanism." These, again, were but the distinctively Anglo-Scottish form of the mighty conflict between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism that

was being waged throughout Europe. The struggle of the Covenanters in Scotland ultimately involved the Puritan Revolution in England. Of this Puritanism it has been said that it was "the only phasis of Protestantism that ever got to the rank of being a Faith, a true heart communication with Heaven." But what then, we ask, was the Reformation itself that it led to such grand results in a country like Scotland? The answer to this larger question depends very often on our point of view. To the mere theologian the Reformation is a return to the original purity and simplicity of the gospel. To the philosophic thinker it is above all things an appeal to reason, conscience, the right of private judgment. The student of history, again, considers chiefly its influence on national life and character. In this latter respect no one has studied it more profoundly than Carlyle. In a pregnant chapter, in the first volume of his *Frederick*, he speaks of the Reformation as the audible voice of Heaven to the nations, offering them Heaven's light and truth, and decisive of their history for half a thousand years to come. "Protestant or not Protestant?" The question meant everywhere: "Is there anything of nobleness in you, O Nation, or is there nothing? Are there, in this Nation, enough of heroic men to venture forward and to battle for God's Truth *versus* the Devil's Falsehood, at the peril of life and more? Men who prefer death and all else, to living

under Falsehood — who, once for all, will not live under Falsehood; but, having drawn the sword against it (the time being come for that rare and important step), throw away the scabbard, and can say, in pious clearness with their whole soul: Come on, then! Life under Falsehood is not good for me; and we will try it out, now. Let it be to the death between us, then!" He adds, that "once risen into this divine white-heat of temper, the Nation is thenceforth considerable through all its remaining history."

In no European country did Protestantism obtain so complete a victory as in Scotland. "In the history of Scotland, too," says Carlyle elsewhere, "I can find properly but one epoch, nothing of world-interest but this Reformation by Knox." Hitherto it had been "a poor, barren country, full of continual broils, dissensions, massacrings,—a people in the last stage of rudeness and destitution." "And now at the Reformation, the internal life is kindled, as it were, under the ribs of this outward material death. A cause, the noblest of causes, kindles itself like a beacon set on high; high as Heaven, yet attainable from Earth!—whereby the meanest man becomes not a Citizen only, but a Member of Christ's Visible Church; a veritable Hero, if he prove a true man." Or, to quote Dr. P. Hume Brown: "For the first time in our history a question was then submitted to a public opinion sufficiently developed to understand and realise its importance,

and it was in the decision of that question that the Scottish people grew to the full consciousness of itself, and became a nation in the true sense of the word."

Scotland broke with her past in 1559, and the Reformation was accomplished in 1660. It is important to remember that there was no break in the continuity of the national life; the Church reformed herself. Says Dr. Brown again: "It was with eyes fully open that the Scottish nation made choice of the Calvinistic Theology and Religion as the highest Revelation which had been made known to men. The same gospel was received in other eountries, but in Scotland alone it became the dominating force in moulding the temper and ideals of the people. It was by natural affinity that Scotland adopted the special form of Christianity formulated by Calvin, and in adopting it the nation impressed it with its own moral and intellectual character. That for three centuries the Scottish people have clung with such tenacity to this type of religion is conclusive proof that at a particular stage of their development it embodied the highest ideal they could conceive of human life and destiny."

By an affinity as intense and unmistakable Scotland made choice of the Presbyterian polity as the form of government for her Church. The Church of Scotland was to be pre-eminently a Church of the people. As we study the First Book of Discipline we see what

Presbyterianism from the very first has meant for the people of Scotland, and are prepared to sympathise with the men who gave their lives and labours in defence of what has become such a powerful factor in the development of our national character.

Not in a day, however, or many days, could the results of such a Revolution be completely attained. The supreme power in the nation had now been transferred to the people, and a contest was inevitable. The desperate character of this contest, with the far-reaching issues it involved, is seen at its very commencement in the debates between Knox and Queen Mary. It is seen in the stern reply of the Reformer to Secretary Maitland's complaint against the liberty of the General Assembly. "Take from us the freedom of Assemblies, and take from us the Evangel." It was exactly there that the future of Scotland at that moment lay. A free Assembly was the safeguard of the Presbyterian Church as surely as that Church was the guardian of the people's liberty.

When Morton pronounced over the grave of Knox his famous eulogy, "Here lies one who neither feared nor flattered any flesh," Protestantism in Scotland was an accomplished fact. That very year, however, an attempt was made to modify the Presbyterianism of the Church by the revival of Episcopal titles and the creation of a set of men—the Tulchan Bishops—who were to hand over to their patrons, the noblemen,

the chief share of their ecclesiastical emoluments. "Did the reader," asks Carlyle, "ever see, or fancy in his mind, a Tulchan? A Tulchan is, or rather was, for the thing is long since obsolete, a calf-skin stuffed into the rude similitude of a calf,—similar enough to deceive the imperfect perceptive organs of a cow. At milking time the Tulchan, with head duly bent, was set as if to suck; the fond cow looking round fancied that her calf was busy and that all was right, and so gave her milk freely, which the cunning maid was straining in white abundance into her pail all the while! The Scotch milkmaids in these days cried 'Where is the Tulchan? Is the Tulchan ready?' So of the Bishops. Scotch Lairds were eager enough to 'milk' the Church Lands and Tithes, to get the rents out of them freely, which was not always easy. They were glad to construct a *Form* of Bishops to please the King and Church and make the milk come without disturbance. The reader now knows what a Tulchan Bishop was. A piece of mechanism constructed not without difficulty in Parliament and King's Council among the Scots, and torn asunder afterwards with dreadful clamour and scattered to the four winds so soon as the cow became awake to it."

The "cow" became awake soon enough. To the sons of the Scottish Reformation Episcopacy in any form was perilously near to Romanism. A struggle was inevitable if the Church was to be allowed to develop

according to her sincerest convictions. And if the liberties of the people were to be preserved, the Church must lead the way. Under the magnificent generalship of Andrew Melville the Kirk rose to the occasion. Melville abolished the incipient Episcopacy, and, claiming for Presbyterianism a Divine Right, established it on a definite basis, formulated its principles for all time in the Second Book of Discipline, and stamped on the Church of Scotland those features which made her the nurse and home of civil and religious liberty for a hundred years to come. "With the history of the times before us," says Dr. Hume Brown, "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, if Presbyterianism was to be saved in Scotland, it was only the revolutionary fervour of men like Andrew Melville that could have saved it. Calvinism, by the character which it formed, saved Protestantism in Europe, and with equal truth it may be said that Presbyterianism saved it in Scotland."

The magnitude of the struggle appeared in its full proportions when James VI. became king. James disliked Presbytery and favoured Episcopacy. Only in this way could he realise his fondest wish, to rule as an absolute monarch. Then at last was born that strife between Crown and Kirk which was ultimately to decide the destiny of Scotland. Episcopacy in religion, leading the way to Romanism, was now definitely allied to Absolutism in politics, and the civil as well as the spiritual liberty of Scotland was endangered.

This became still more apparent when James ascended the throne of England. "Scottish patriotism," says Froude, "succeeded at last in the object it had so passionately set its heart upon. It sent a king of the Scotch blood to England, and a new dynasty, and it never knew peace or quiet after." In Scotland the Kirk had defied the King to tamper with the liberties of the nation. Andrew Melville, taking him by the sleeve, had called him "God's silly vassal," and reminded him that there were "two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland, King James the head of the Commonwealth, and Christ Jesus the King of the Church."

But James had now another nation to support him, and he determined to reduce the Scottish Kirk to the ecclesiastical pattern he loved. His motto was, "No Bishop, No King," with the inevitable corollary that "Presbytery agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil." The Church of Scotland might therefore set her house in order. By gradual innovations the way was paved for a complete restoration of Episcopacy. Men like Melville were banished. By Act of Parliament the Bishops were restored to their civil privileges. In 1610 two Courts of High Commission were established in Scotland, by authority of which the Bishops exercised full control over the life and doctrine of the ministers in the northern kingdom. Having modified as far as he could the polity of the Church, the King's next move was to

tamper with its mode of worship. In 1617 he visited Scotland, accompanied, amongst others, by Dr. Laud, who "much to his regret found 'no religion at all,' no surplices, no altars in the east or anywhere, no bowing, no responding; not the smallest regularity of fugle-manship or devotional drill-exercise; in short 'no religion at all that I could see.'" The following year a pseudo-General Assembly at Perth imposed on the Church the innovations known as the Articles of Perth. To kneel at Communion, or to administer it in private, to baptize infants at home, to keep Christmas and Easter may not seem to us now very formidable injunctions. It was otherwise in the case of a nation that had but recently emerged from Popery; other-wise also when they were thrust on the Church by what was practically the imperious dictation of the King.

James died in 1625, and the crash came, dramatically enough, in the reign of his successor. Dr. Hume Brown says: "By his training, temperament, and lifelong convictions regarding religion and his kingly function, Charles was incapable of sympathetic understanding alike of the national character and the national aspirations." Or, as Carlyle puts it, he will go "on his father's course, only with frightful acceleration: he and his respectable Traditions and Notions, clothed in old sheepskin and respectable church-tippets, were all pulling one way; England and the Eternal Laws

pulling another: the rent fast widening till no man could heal it."

It was this fatal incapacity on the part of King Charles that ultimately precipitated the crisis in Scotland, and provoked the desperate resistance of the men we call Covenanters. What their aim was—the aim of Samuel Rutherford and his contemporaries—will now be apparent. They arose to maintain the purity of their Church and the liberty of their country, to defend the free institutions that have been the pride and admiration of three centuries.

CHAPTER VI

A PRISONER FOR CHRIST AND HIS TRUTH

IT is a disputed point whether Rutherford, when he came to Anwoth, received ordination at the hands of the Bishop. By some it is confidently affirmed that he did. They allege that the representatives of Episcopal power in Scotland would not be slow to enforce their full authority. From what we know of Rutherford's hatred of compromise, and his profound attachment to Presbyterian principles, it is difficult to give this credence. The direct evidence that we possess certainly points the other way. From M'Ward's preface to the Letters we gather that Kenmure's influence so far prevailed with Andrew Lamb, the Bishop of Galloway, that Rutherford was permitted to enter his charge "without giving any engagement to the Bishop." This is corroborated by Wodrow. Stevenson is even more explicit. He says that till the beginning of 1628 some few preachers were allowed by moyen (influence) to enter the ministry without conformity, and that Rutherford may be reckoned

one of these, as he was ordained before the doors came to be more closely shut upon honest preachers. Be that as it may, it is certain that from the very outset of his ministry Rutherford was fully aware of the storm that was gathering for the Church of Scotland, and fully alive to the far-reaching significance of the controversy that in all probability would follow. "Remember Zion," he entreats in his very first letter; and his earlier correspondence is full of apprehension for the troubles that were manifestly ahead. In 1629 a letter had come from the King to Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, to urge the adoption of the forms of the English service—"dumb masks of antichristian ceremonies," as Rutherford said. The following year Rutherford himself was summoned before the High Commission Court, at the instigation of "a profligate person in the parish." Stormy weather prevented the attendance of Spottiswoode, Bishop of St. Andrews, and through the influence of one of the judges, Alexander Colville of Blair, who befriended Rutherford, the prosecution was dropped. Many of the English preachers silenced for nonconformity at this time were forced to emigrate, and found a home and freedom of conscience in New England.

In 1631 word came that the English Service, the organs, and King James's Psalms were to be imposed on the Scottish Kirk. It would appear that Rutherford carried on a regular correspondence with the leaders

of the Church in Edinburgh. In view of the struggle at hand they were fully alive to the significance of his great powers and growing influence in the Galloway district. In the letter conveying this news he was desired to strengthen the hands of those beside him. His own faith and fear strangely alternate as he writes of the mighty issues at stake. "We expect a trial, God's wheat in this land must go through Satan's sieve, but their faith shall not fail." In his fine scriptural way he says: "It is our Lord's wisdom that His Kirk should ever hang by a thread; and yet the thread breaketh not, being hanged upon Him who is the sure Nail in David's house, upon whom all the vessels, great and small, do hang: and the Nail (God be thanked) neither crooketh nor can be broken." And again: "Jesus that Flower of Jesse, set without hands, getteth many a blast, and yet withers not because He is His Father's noble Rose, casting a sweet smell through heaven and earth, and must grow; and in the same garden grow the saints, God's fair and beautiful lilies, under wind and rain, and all sunburned, and yet life remaineth at the root."

The first definite crisis came with the King's visit in 1633. Parliament was summoned to meet in June. Rutherford was apprehensive for the fate of the Kirk, fearing "that our Lord Jesus and His Spouse shall be roughly handled." In the hope of averting this crisis the Presbyterian ministers drew

up a paper entitled "Grievances and Petitions concerning the disordered state of the Reformed Church of Scotland," which they intended to lay before Parliament. In the interest of the Bishops, Sir John Hay, the Clerk-Register, suppressed it. It was then presented to the King, who read it, but took no formal notice of it. In this way the attempt to save the Kirk failed. Following the decision of the Committee of Estates, the Parliament confirmed the Acts previously passed enforcing Episcopacy, and legislated more emphatically than ever in regard to the power of the King.

To the Act anent the Royal Prerogative a determined resistance was made. When the vote was taken, Charles himself took a roll of the members, and marked the vote of each individual, "withal telling them he should now know who were good subjects and who were bad." It must have become evident to the King that the majority of those present were hostile to the measure. It was, however, declared to be carried. Lord Rothes, who had led the opposition, immediately called the correctness of the vote in question. This, the King said, was equivalent to high treason, and that Rothes must either withdraw his statement or make good the assertion at the peril of his life. In a letter to Marion M'Naught (No. 244 in Dr. Bonar's edition, but evidently misdated) Rutherford expresses his bitter disappointment at the

result, but takes heart from the thought that a more ancient Act of Parliament—the second Psalm—had already decreed Scotland for Christ, and that "what men conclude is not Scripture." "Kings have short arms to overturn Christ's throne; and our Lord hath been walking and standing on His feet at this Parliament, where fifteen earls and lords, and forty-four commissioners for burghs, with some barons, have voted for our Kirk in face of a King who, with much awe and terror, wrote up the voters for or against himself."

In the beginning of 1634 Rutherford received a letter, "from some of the worthiest of the ministers in this kingdom," recommending that in view of the troubles coming upon the land a union for prayer on certain specified days should be formed. It was characteristic of the times and the men. "When authority, king, court, and churchmen oppose the truth, what other armour have we but prayer and faith?" Bit by bit Rutherford was himself drawn into the controversy. He had written something anent the corruptions of the times, advocating liberty of worship in private, and this had found its way to the hands of the King. Rutherford was careless of consequences. "I know, by the wise and well-affected I shall be accused as not wise nor circumspect enough. I seek no other thing but that my Lord may be honoured by me in giving a testimony; I desire not

to go on the lee-side or sunny side of religion, or to put truth betwixt me and a storm; my Saviour did not so for me, who in His suffering took the windy side of the hill."

Just at this time the people of Kirkcudbright were seeking a colleague for their aged minister, Robert Glendinning. Glendinning had succeeded John Welsh. One day in Kirkcudbright, Welsh, as we are told in his Life, "met with a young gallant in scarlet and silver lace, new come home from his travels, and much surprised the young man by telling him he behoved to change his garb and way of life, and betake himself to the study of the Scriptures, which at that time was not his business, for he should be his successor in the ministry at Kirkcudbright, which accordingly came to pass sometime thereafter." Glendinning was now an old man, and his congregation were anxious that Rutherford should be nominated his colleague. It would appear, also, that at this time he received a call from Cramond. The burden of decision was a heavy one for Rutherford. His own desire was to remain at Anwoth. That, he felt, was the sphere for him. "The Great Master-Gardener in a wonderful providence with His own hand planted me here; and here I will abide till the Great Master of the Vineyard think fit to transplant me." In his perplexity he writes to Marion M'Naught, "If I were assured of God's call to your town, let my arm fall from my

shoulder-blade, and my right eye be dried up, if I would not swim through the water without a boat, ere I sat at His bidding." He adds to comfort her: "Ye shall be fed by the carver of the meat, be he who he will; and those who are hungry look more to the meat than to the carver."

But the matter was not to be settled so easily. Bishop Lamb, who had dealt so kindly with Rutherford, died in 1634. He was succeeded in office by Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Brechin, a man of fiercely intolerant character, exceedingly unpopular, and suspected of leaning to Popery. Sydserff determined to make the aged minister of Kirkcudbright conform to Episcopacy and to receive as his successor a person of the Bishop's nomination. Glendinning refused to comply. For this he was suspended by the Bishop and sentenced to imprisonment. Provost Fullerton and the other magistrates, one of whom was the minister's son, very naturally opposed such a high-handed measure, refused to imprison their own minister, and persisted in their devotion to his ministry. Furious at this defiance of his Episcopal authority, Sydserff imprisoned Bailie Glendinning in Kirkcudbright, confined the other magistrates within the town of Wigton, and the aged pastor within the bounds of his parish, at the same time forbidding him to preach.

Rutherford's turn came next, as indeed he quite expected. To no one were the alternatives so clear.

"We must either see all the evil of ceremonies to be but as indifferent straws, or suffer no less than to be casten out of the Lord's inheritance." In January 1636 he writes: "I expect our new prelate shall try my sitting: I hang by a thread, but it is (if I may speak so) of Christ's spinning. There is no quarrel more honest or honourable than to suffer for truth." Sydserff, like the other bishops, had erected a High Commission Court within his own diocese. In this way, as Blair remarks, the prelates could fine and confine at their pleasure, no limits being set to their arbitrary authority. Before this Court, which met at Wigton, Rutherford was summoned in 1636 and deprived of his ministerial office.

To confirm this sentence Sydserff appealed to the Central Court of High Commission in Edinburgh. Rutherford appeared before that tribunal in the month of July. A charge of nonconformity, equivalent to treason, was preferred against him. But his gravest offence was that he had written a book against Arminianism. This will seem strange to the modern reader, who so readily forgets that what he knows historically as a mere system of thought was once a living and moving force. Arminianism is the name given to the doctrines advocated by James Hermann or Arminius, Professor of Theology at Leyden, who led in the reaction against the severity of the theology of Calvin. In reality Arminianism was an honest attempt

to emphasize the rational side of Protestantism, which the spiritual fervour of the Reformation had been prone to ignore. It is comparatively easy at this time of day for the scientific student of history to recognise in this type of thought an inevitable phenomenon in the process of European culture. It was by no means so easy for men like Rutherford, who beheld in all this the growth of a critical and rationalistic spirit antagonistic to the Calvinism they loved, which had regenerated half the nations of Europe. In refutation of this new movement of thought, Rutherford had built up an elaborate treatise in Latin, — his *Exercitationes Apologeticæ pro Divinâ Gratiâ*,—which had been published at Amsterdam in the beginning of this year. The book at once brought its author into prominence. "The Arminian bishops," says Row, "might well gnaw their tongues and gnash their teeth for bitterness and indignation of spirit, for Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, when he read it, said he did not expect that any Puritan in Scotland had had so much learning." This, then, was "the cause that ripened their hatred," and for which Rutherford had to answer when he appeared before "Christ's forbidden lords."

The trial lasted for three days. They plied him with questions having no relevancy to his summons. Rutherford refused to answer, disdaining the entire authority of the Court. "My newly-printed book

against Arminianism was one challenge; not lording the prelates was another. The most part of the bishops, when I came in, looked more astonished than I, and heard me with silence." Some of them spoke on his behalf, and he was ably defended by the young Lord Lorn, the future Marquis of Argyle. For a while the issue seemed doubtful. Fearing an acquittal, Sydserff swore that he would appeal to the King. In the end the judgment of the Court was given against him, and Rutherford was deposed from the ministerial office. He was forbidden on pain of rebellion to preach in any part of Scotland, and sentenced to be confined within the town of Aberdeen by the 20th of August, to continue there during the King's pleasure.

From the opening words of his next letter to Lady Kenmure we learn the spirit in which Rutherford received the decision of the Court. "That honour that I have prayed for these sixteen years, with submission to my Lord's will, my kind Lord hath now bestowed upon me, even to suffer for my royal and princely King Jesus, and for His Kingly Crown and the freedom of His Kingdom that His Father hath given Him." One thing alone was matter for regret, that he must part for a time from his beloved flock. "The remembrance of my fair days with Christ in Anwoth is as vinegar to my sugared wine."

In a letter to Lady Culross he laments his want of faithfulness during the latter part of his ministry as

compared with his earnestness of the first two years, "when sleep departed from my eyes because my soul was taken up with a care for Christ's lambs." Into the future he looks without fear. "Christ shall make Aberdeen my garden of delights."

To a minister in Ireland he writes: "Oh that every hair of my head and every member and every bone in my body were a man to witness a fair confession for Him." This letter, dated 4th August 1636, was written "From Irvine, being on my journey to Christ's Palace in Aberdeen." His own congregation had made an effort to retain him in their midst, but without success. Some of them conveyed him to Aberdeen, "with great regret at the want of such a pastor, so holie, learned, and modest."

CHAPTER VII

FROM CHRIST'S PALACE IN ABERDEEN

THERE have been famous exiles in history, and one of them has written of his experience thus—

> "Thou shalt leave each thing
> Belov'd most dearly; this is the first shaft
> Shot from the bow of exile. Thou shalt prove
> How salt the savour is of others' bread,
> How hard the passage to descend and climb
> By others' stairs. But what shall gall thee most
> Will be the worthless and vile company
> With whom thou must be thrown into these straits.
> For all ungrateful, impious all, and mad,
> Shall turn against thee; but in a little while
> Theirs and not thine shall be the crimson'd brow."

Rutherford was to prove to the very letter the truth of these lines of Dante. Aberdeen had apparently been chosen for him on purpose, as it had long been noted for its adherence to the Episcopal cause.

"The town," he wrote, "consists either of Papists or of men of Gallio's naughty faith." On this account his welcome there was none of the heartiest. The townsmen were "dry and cold in their kindness, yet

I find a lodging in the heart of many strangers." His prospects at first were dreary enough. "Northern love is cold, but Christ and I will bear it." Gradually the manifest sincerity of the man won many to his side who dared not avow their sympathy openly. "Folks are kind, but in the night and under their breath." He became known to all as "the banished minister." His coldest welcome he received from the University and ecclesiastical authorities. They regarded him with much suspicion, and their aversion increased as he grew in favour with the people. They could not avoid controversy however. Dr. Robert Barron, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, crossed swords with Rutherford on the burning questions of the hour, Arminianism and Prelacy. "Three yokings laid him by, and I have not been troubled with him since."

The story of Rutherford's year and a half of exile from all that he loved most dearly is written down for us in his Letters. Forbidden to preach, he resorted to the pen, and in severe study and extensive correspondence found a solace for his weary days and heavy heart.

His industry in this latter respect must have been something marvellous. Of the three hundred and sixty-five letters that we possess, no fewer than two hundred and twenty were written from Aberdeen. We wonder at the number and variety of his correspondents. His old friends Marion M'Naught and Lady Kenmure; the

lairds of Galloway; faithful ministers scattered here and there over the land; the persecuted Church in Ireland; the future leaders of the Church of Scotland, Henderson, Dickson, Robert Douglas; representatives of the nobility like Lothian, Loudon, or Cassilis; the sons of these lairds and nobles, young men of high abilities and great opportunities; ladies of the Covenant like Lady Culross or Lady Boyd; honourable women like the mother of John Brown of Wamphray; a Bailie of Leith; the Provost of Ayr; a Divinity student wrestling with the problems of the spiritual life; members of the congregation at Anwoth, some of whose names may be read on the tombstones there, and some that are written only in the Lamb's Book of Life; and to all he has a suitable word, a word worth reading by them and by us. Many of these he had never seen, but writes to them as "sons of the same Father, and sufferers for the same truth." "It is enough for acquaintance that we are one in Christ."

What is it that draws the reader so irresistibly to these old epistles? Is it their style, which, often hasty and rugged, is also sometimes almost classical in its beauty? Or their subject matter, for they certainly deal with the realities and not with the superficialities of the spiritual life? Or is it their intensity of feeling, their soul-subduing earnestness? Or, again, is it perhaps just what Rutherford himself felt, that here is a spy sent into the wilderness of suffering to see

the land and try the ford and bring back a report to others? It is that, no doubt, but also more than that, more than all these reasons put together. The unconscious, we are told, is the alone complete; no truly great nature can fathom its own depths; and in penning these hasty letters Rutherford is unconsciously the organ of a higher inspiration for those who might afterwards read them. What brings us to them again and again is that here we have the picture of a life that "sought above all things to see one Face which is yet unseen." Mr. Taylor Innes puts it admirably. "The central and characteristic thing in him is also the highest. Essentially, his life is not a theory of Christ. It is not even a picture of Christ. It is a mere window—a window which enabled him not so much to show that Face to other men as before all things and above all things to gaze upon it himself. Men have complained that the window is colourless. It is enough for a window that it be transparent, provided only that there be a living face outside which gives itself to be seen. The window does not make the Face, and the Face is all that the gazer desires." One might quote very pertinently here. And yet it is a curious fact that quotation as such very signally fails to bring out this aspect of Rutherford. To any but the habitual reader the extracts are apt to appear frigid and artificial. It is a question, rather, of subtle influence and atmosphere. "The love of Christ that

filled his heart," says Dr. A. Bonar, "throws out its sparks as we read." It is even so. *Rutherford's Letters* remain with us as a reminder "that the love of God is the crown and goal of all things, and that religion is not a means only but an end." And this all the more, surely, that such true greatness is ever a secret to itself. "I am judged to be that which I am not," says Rutherford himself. "If there be anything of Christ in me (as I dare not deny some of His work) it is but a spunk of borrowed fire, that can scarce warm myself and hath little heat for standers-by."

As we turn the letters over and quietly seek to read the story of a "prisoner of Christ," we learn much. We see a mighty spirit moved to its very depths. At first the bitterness of exile weighed heavily on him. He complains that he gets so few letters from his friends in Galloway, he thinks he is forgotten. Depression of spirit follows. "He hath cast me over the dike of the vineyard like a dry tree. I am like an old crazed ship that hath endured many storms, and that would fain be in the lee of the shore, and feareth new storms." But a mood like this could not be permanent. With Rutherford, as with all noble natures, despair is but the reverse of his faith, so presently his prison becomes a palace and banqueting house of Christ "where the King dineth with His prisoner," and we hear him say, "I walk on the sunny side of the brae. The cross of Christ is a crabbed

tree, yet such a burden as wings to a bird and sails to a ship. Christ's cause even with the cross is better than the king's crown. Suffering for Christ is my garland."

Alternations of feeling there were of course, the ups and downs of faith, as there well might be. "Oh, I am made of unbelief, and cannot swim but where my feet may touch the ground." But the note of joy prevails. "I am put often to swimming, and again my feet are set on the rock that is higher than myself. One thing by experience my Lord hath taught me, that the waters betwixt this and heaven may all be ridden if we be well horsed."

It was the enforced separation from his people at Anwoth that tried him most bitterly, and especially the fact that he was forbidden to preach. "My dumb Sabbaths burden my heart, they are like a stone tied to a bird's foot." "My one joy, next to the flower of my joys, Christ, was to preach my sweetest sweetest Master and the glory of His Kingdom, and it seemed no cruelty to them to put out the poor man's one eye." The memory of his Communion seasons in Anwoth lay heavy on his heart, as "the remembrance of a feast increaseth hunger in a hungry man." Blessed to him in his exile seemed the swallows and sparrows that built their nests in the Kirk of Anwoth.

And now there had come fresh sources of grief. His brother, a schoolmaster in Kirkcudbright, and a zealous adherent of Presbyterianism, had, in November 1636,

been condemned by the High Commission Court to resign his charge and quit Kirkcudbright before the ensuing term of Whit-Sunday. An attempt had been made by Bishop Sydserff to thrust on the congregation of Anwoth a nominee of his own. This they opposed "at the hazarding of their persons and estates." Rutherford feared that he would be forgotten in the place where God had blessed his labours, that the work he had begun there would be "like a bird dying in the shell." In a letter to one of the elders he pleads that they continue faithful to the principles of his ministry. "I have no comfort earthly but to know that I have espoused and shall present a bride to Christ in that congregation. Show others of my parishioners that I write to them my best wishes and the blessings of their lawful pastor. Receive no doctrine contrary to that which I delivered to you." And he refers to Acts i. 15, 16, and Acts vi. 2–5, where "ye shall find that God's people should have a voice in choosing Church rulers and teachers."

It is, however, as we read the letters addressed to the congregation itself that we realise what a Covenanting ministry meant for both pastor and people. Hearken to his passionate sentences. "Next to my Lord Jesus and this fallen Kirk, ye have the greatest share of my sorrow, and also of my joy. My only joy out of heaven is to hear that the seed of God sown among you is growing and coming to a

harvest. My witness is above: your heaven would be two heavens to me and the salvation of you all as two salvations to me. Ye heard of me the whole Counsel of God. Sew no clouts upon Christ's robe. The vengeance of the Gospel is heavier than the vengeance of the Law. Ye were witnesses how the Lord's day was spent when I was among you. Think not that the common gate of serving God, as neighbours and others do, will bring you to heaven. Keep in mind what I taught you, for God will seek an account of it when I am far from you. To God's honour I speak it, without arrogating anything to myself, who am but a poor empty man, ye had as much of the word in nine years, while I was among you, as some others have had in many. Remember me to God in your prayers. I cannot forget you; I do not eat, I do not drink, but I pray for you all. I beseech you by the mercies of the Lord, by the sighs, tears, and heart's blood of our Lord Jesus, that ye and I may meet before the Lamb's throne amongst the congregation of the firstborn."

It is characteristic of the age of Puritanism that his banishment was to Rutherford a revelation of self. "I verily think," he writes, "that Christ hath led me up to a nick in Christianity that I was never at before. I look back to what I was before, and I laugh to see the sandhouses I built when I was a child." And again, "Every man thinketh he is rich enough in grace till he take out his purse and tell his money, and then

he findeth his pack but poor and light in the day of a heavy trial." This one thing he had been taught. "Heaven is not at the next door; I find Christianity to be a hard task. The world's negative holiness—no adulterer, no murderer, no thief, no cozener—maketh men believe they are already glorified saints."

We marvel at Rutherford's insight into the character of his correspondents and the pertinent advice he gives them. "Die well; carry not empty lamps; remember your shortening sand-glass; be nigh your lodging against night; build not your nest here; men are not landed at heaven sleeping; put off a piece of sin every day; search yourself with the candle of God; make conscience of speaking truth when none knoweth but God." To each there is the appropriate word, and a letter to a Divinity student contains more strictly relevant matter than many a treatise in Systematic Theology. His more lengthy exhortations are equally impressive. He writes in this strain to his friend Gordon of Cardoness, that grim old tower that overlooks the mouth of the Fleet: "Dear Sir,—I always saw nature mighty, lofty, heady and strong in you, and that it was more for you to be dead to the world than for another common man. Look to your compass ere you take shipping, for no wind can blow you back again. Oh, how fair have many ships been plying before the wind, that in an hour's space have been lying in the sea bottom. Down, down, for God's sake, my dear and

worthy brother, with your topsail. Stoop, stoop, it is a low entry to go in at heaven's gate."

To young Cardoness, who had inherited his father's passionate nature, he writes: "Ye know that this world is but a shadow, a short-living creature under the law of time. Within less than fifty years, when ye look back to it, ye shall laugh at the evanishing vanities thereof, as feathers flying in the air, and as the houses of sand within the sea-mark, which the children of men are building. I would fain hope good of you. Be not discouraged at broken and spilled resolutions; but to it, and to it again!" Robert Blair is thus encouraged: "Suffering is the other half of our ministry, howbeit the hardest. It is folly to think to steal to heaven with a whole skin."

And to Lady Earlston he says: "Hurt not your conscience with any known sin. Let your children be as so many flowers borrowed from God; if the flowers die or wither, thank God for a summer loan of them."

Specially noteworthy is his interest in the nobility of Scotland, and their relation to the great controversy then pending. Lord Lothian is reminded that "to want temptations is the greatest temptation of all."

To Loudon he writes: "Your ordinary logic from the event—that it will do no good to the Cause, and therefore silence is best till the Lord put to His own hand—is not worth a straw. Events are God's. Let Him sit at His own helm."

And to Cassilis: "The Earldom of Cassilis is but a shadow in comparison of the City made without hands. It is no wisdom (however it be the State wisdom now in request) to be silent when they are casting lots for a better thing than Christ's coat."

And to Lord Craighall: "Courtiers' arguments, for the most part, are drawn from their own skin, and are not worth a straw for your conscience. Fear your light, stand in awe of it, for it is from God. Kings cannot heal broken consciences; it is common for men to make doubts when they have a mind to desert the truth."

In another respect *Rutherford's Letters* are the delight of the reader. A proverb has been defined as the wit of one man and the wisdom of many. In his proverbial philosophy of the spiritual life Rutherford ranks with the great masters of our old English theology, with Thomas Adams and Bishop Hall. The following examples most readily occur to me:—

"It is not the rock that fleeth but the green sailor."

"Grace groweth best in winter."

"Our pride must have winter weather to rot in."

"Unbelief is always an irrational thing."

"Christ is man, but He is not like man."

"Dry wells send us to the fountain."

"Faith is the better of the sharp winter storm in its face."

"Our best fare here is hunger."

"They are blessed who suffer and sin not."

"No man hath a velvet cross."

"Ye are as near heaven as ye are far from yourself."

"Faith's eyes can see through a millstone."

And the Letters thrill with the patriotic passion of the Covenanter, the temper of the men who regenerated Scotland. "They are blind who see not Scotland divided into two camps and Christ coming out with His white banner of love. He who maketh old things new, seeing Scotland an old drowsy and rusted Kirk, is beginning to make a new clean bride of her, and to bring a young chaste wife to Himself out of the fire. O blessed hands that shall put the crown upon Christ's head in Scotland."

Rutherford's influence with the people of Aberdeen increased to such an extent that the prelates determined to have him banished the kingdom. There seemed no likely termination to his confinement. "My hopes of enlargement are cold," he writes, "my hopes of re-entry to my Master's ill-dressed vineyard again are far colder." He thought of seeking a sphere in New England. It was the darkest hour before the dawn. There were others who cherished a like hope for him.

Baillie, writing at this very time, says of Rutherford: "Alwayes I take the man to be among the most learned ingynes of our nation. I think he were verie able for some profession in your colledges of Utrecht, Groningen, or Rotterdam; for our King's dominions, there is no appearance he will ever gett living into them. If you

could quietly procure him a calling, I think it were a good service to God to relieve one of His troubled ministers; a good to the place he came to, for he is both godlie and learned; yea, I think by time he might be ane ornament to our natione." Not in this way, however, was Rutherford to serve his Master. A very different fate was in store for him. Already the dawn of the Second Reformation was visible in Scotland's sky. Rutherford's hands were to help in putting the crown on Christ's head in Scotland. And when in after years, and in the midst of trouble, the call to a foreign university did come and was urged upon him, he could write, "I had rather be in Scotland beside angry Jesus Christ than in Eden or any garden in the earth."

CHAPTER VIII

REALISING THE NATIONAL IDEAL

TO a less discerning eye than that of Rutherford it must have gradually become evident that a great crisis was at hand, and that the country was on the eve of an ecclesiastical revolution. During the half century that followed Knox's Reformation, Scotland had been truly alive to her great destiny and eager to realise it. It was an unfortunate circumstance that she had to submit to the rule of sovereigns who were in deepest antagonism to the convictions of her people. From the stubbornness and want of tact manifested by Charles on his visit to Scotland, it very soon became apparent that he was to fail in the government of that country more completely than either of his predecessors. "His ostensible business," says Carlyle, "was to be crowned; but his intrinsic errand was, what his father's formerly had been, to get his Pretended Bishops set on foot there; his Tulchans converted into real calves;—in which, as we shall see, he succeeded still worse than his father had done. Dr.

Laud, Bishop Laud, now near upon Archbishophood, attended his Majesty thither as formerly; still found 'no religion' there, but trusted now to introduce one. The chapel at Holyrood-house was fitted up with every equipment, textile and metallic; and little Bishop Laud in person 'performed the service,' in a way to illuminate the benighted natives, as was hoped,—show them how an Artist could do it."

In a very short time the King's ultimate purpose became clear enough. Never did monarch more hopelessly misread the temper of a nation than Charles I. when he attempted to force his Book of Canons and Prayer-Book on the Scottish people. From their very nature they were calculated to provoke the most bitter and violent opposition. By the one the King was recognised as the supreme Head of the Church, Presbyterianism in its essentials was scouted, and ecclesiastical ceremonies prescribed that in the eyes of Scotsmen were but a thinly disguised Romanism. The character and probable reception of the Service-Book are sufficiently indicated in Row's description of it as a "Popish - English - Scottish - Mass - Service - Book." And the fact that it was thrust on the nation by an act of purely arbitrary power, and without the consent of the National Church, more than anything else roused the ire of a people that cherished such proud traditions of liberty.

A reaction was inevitable. Even a historian like

Buckle admits this. He says very truly: "The explanation of the reaction is to be found in that vast and pregnant principle that a bad government, bad laws, or laws badly administered, are indeed extremely injurious at the time, but can produce no permanent mischief; in other words, they may harm a country but can never ruin it. As long as the people are sound there is life, and where there is life there will be reaction. In such case tyranny provokes rebellion, and despotism causes freedom. But if the people are unsound all hope is gone, and the nation perishes." Where Buckle fails is in his inadequate appreciation of the nature of that life that inspired Scotland at the time. "In Scotland," he says, "general causes made the people love their clergy and made the clergy love liberty. As long as these two facts co-existed, the destiny of the nation was safe." It would be impossible to imagine a more complete misconception of the entire historical situation.

The crisis came, as all the world knows, with the advent of the Service-Book in the High Kirk of Edinburgh on Sunday the 23rd July 1637, and the advent, likewise, of Jenny Geddes, a heroine in comparison with whom, says our historian, Helen of Troy is of small importance to human history, but that Helen has been luckier in the recording. "'Let us read the Collect of the Day,' said the Pretended Bishop from amid his tippets; 'Deil

colic the wame of thee!' answered Jenny, hurling her stool at his head. 'Thou foul thief, wilt thou say *Mass* at my lug?'" Or is Jenny with her stool but a half-myth after all, and was it a young man in a corner who said "Amen" that brought on such an explosion of national wrath and actually set Scotland on fire? So at anyrate thought Dean Stanley, who finds in all this an admirable illustration of the absurdity which characterises the Scottish stubbornness in matters ecclesiastical.

Certainly the occurrence is as good a subject for ridicule to those who list as any other. And what irony more delicate than that of the Dean himself when he quotes the beautiful prayer which is supposed to have evoked the undignified uproar: "Lord of all power and might, who art the Author and Giver of all good things, graft in our hearts the love of Thy name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of Thy great mercy keep us in the same through Jesus Christ our Lord." And yet Stanley himself admits that never except in the days of the French Revolution did a popular tumult lead to such important results. Why, then, surely the Dean might have endeavoured to penetrate a little more deeply to the real point at issue.

Dr. Rainy in his masterly reply to Stanley points out the real cause why the people's minds were "so electrical about the Mass." These innovations were

but steps in a progress—progress to Popery, namely. "Our fathers felt instinctively that the changes thrust upon them threatened to suppress great elements of good—not mere forms alone, but the life which those forms nourished and expressed."

Rutherford puts the case as clearly, if more pithily, in a letter to Lord Loudon. "The Prelate is both the egg and the nest to cleck and bring forth Popery," hence the necessity for the "plucking down of the nest and the crushing of the egg." In the hands of Dean Stanley the Philosophy of History with its relation of cause and effect becomes rather a strange thing. Here, as elsewhere, none are so blind as those who deliberately refuse to see.

I pass on, quoting a lengthy but highly significant passage from Froude, who, if his professed Carlylean discipleship meant anything at all, could scarcely fail to be in the right here—

"And now, suppose the Kirk had been the broad, liberal, philosophical, intellectual thing which some people think it ought to have been, how would it have fared in that crusade; how altogether would it have encountered those surplices of Archbishop Laud or those dragoons of Claverhouse? It is hard to lose one's life for a 'perhaps,' and philosophical belief at the bottom means a 'perhaps,' and nothing more. For more than half the seventeenth century the battle had to be fought out in Scotland, which in

reality was the battle between liberty and despotism; and where except in an intense burning conviction that they were maintaining God's cause against the Devil could the poor Scotch people have found the strength for the unequal struggle which was forced upon them? Toleration is a good thing in its place; but you cannot tolerate what will not tolerate you, and is trying to cut your throat. Enlightenment you cannot have enough of, but it must be the true enlightenment which sees a thing in all its bearings. In these matters the vital questions are not always those which appear on the surface; and in the passion and resolution of brave and noble men there is often an articulate intelligence deeper than what can be expressed by words. Action sometimes will hit the mark, when the spoken word either misses it or is but half the truth. On such subjects and with common men, latitude of mind means weakness of mind. There is but a certain quantity of spiritual force in any man. Spread it over a broad surface, the stream is shallow and languid; narrow the channel and it becomes a driving force. Each may be well at its own time. The mill-race which drives the water-wheel is dispersed in rivulets over the meadow at its foot. The Covenanters fought the fight and won the victory, and then, and not till then, came the David Humes with their essays on miracles, and the Adam Smiths with their political

economies, and steam-engines, and railroads, and philosophical institutions, and all the other blessed or unblessed fruits of liberty."

"Now, if ever," writes Dr. Hume Brown, "was realised Milton's vision of a nation 'rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks.'" What was the feeling that inspired all true-hearted Scotsmen at that moment, and how did it come to incarnate itself in such an act as the signing of the National Covenant? It was simply the conviction that they could no longer permit the Faith and Conscience of their nation to be insulted, their dearly-bought liberties to be trifled with or trampled under foot, and that now or never the intolerable incubus of Episcopal rule must be swept away. In the words of Dr. Rainy: "Men knew very well that in making a stand the risks might be great, and that the odds must be heavy. But having for a moment the opportunity to breathe free air, and to utter common convictions and resolves, it was a grand impulse which led them to join together and to pledge themselves to one another in a common recognition of this, as duty to God, that the system they had known should end, and that what they agreed in regarding as destitute of Scripture warrant should henceforth, as far as their power extended, be shut out and kept out. In time past they had finessed and paltered, and had halted between two opinions. They had felt the effect of that. Now

henceforth they would keep a clean conscience, and walk straight upon principle agreed upon by all. Lower motives mingled with the higher, no doubt. For all that, it was a grand impulse. In the thrill that went through Scotland the bulk of the nation felt itself one, as it perhaps never did before or since."

Was it not both inevitable and appropriate that a feeling like this should embody itself outwardly in a form so distinctively Hebrew as the Covenant? "In every crisis of public strife," says Martineau, "when irreconcilable principles have tried their strength in the open field, the Old Testament has risen into higher favour with religious men; has seemed to become richer, deeper, grander than before, and to speak with a directness and reality that almost take its antiquity away." The reason is that "the Old Testament is the expression of an intense *nationality*—a nationality consecrated by faith, and guarded by a sense of loyalty to the living God." How true we feel this to be as we study the text of the National Covenant. "And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect; we promise and swear by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist

all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life."

It is a just pride with which we look back to the scene in the churchyard of the Greyfriars Kirk on that spring morning of 1638, when our fathers in this manner entered into a Covenant with their God and solemnly pledged themselves to purity of Faith and purity of life. "How natural in all decisive circumstances is Symbolic Representation to all kinds of men. A whole nation, gathered in the name of the Highest, under the eye of the Highest; imagination herself flagging under the reality; and all noblest Ceremony as yet not grown ceremonial but solemn, significant to the outmost fringe."

The whole scene was evidently in Carlyle's mind as he wrote out his "Feast of Pikes," and the contrast of the French and Scottish natures is marked enough. For the Scots "believed in a righteous Heaven above them and also in a Gospel far other than the Jean-Jacques one." We are not surprised to read of the enthusiasm with which the Covenant was signed throughout the country.

"I was present," says John Livingstone, "at Lanark, and at several other parishes, when on a Sabbath, after the forenoon's sermon, the Covenant was read and sworn, and may truly say that in all my lifetime, except one day at the Kirk of Shotts, I never saw such

Rutherford witnessing the Signing of the National Covenant
in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh

See Appendix II.

motions from the Spirit of God, all the people generally and most willingly concurring. I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes; so that through the whole land, except the professed Papists, and some few who for base ends adhered to the prelates, the people universally entered into the Covenant with God."

Alongside of this may be placed the testimony of the Archbishop of St Andrews: "They have thrown down in a day what we have been building up for thirty years."

There has been much discussion as to the actual worth, and especially the legal right, of this bold action of the Covenanters. We agree with those who consider that to quote law in such cases is mere pedantry. It is enough to say that the Covenant saved the country from despotism. Its sufficient justification is there. "Who shall be judge between the King and the people," asks Rutherford himself, "when the people allege that the King is a tyrant?" The answer is given in one of the most pregnant aphorisms of the *Lex Rex*. "There is a court of necessity no less than a court of justice; and the fundamental laws will then speak; and it is with the people in this extremity as if they had no ruler."

It was about this time that Rutherford, taking advantage of the prospective overthrow of Episcopacy,

ventured to leave his place of exile in the north where he had been confined for "six quarters of ane yeir." In all probability he returned direct to Anwoth. In June of this year we find him in Edinburgh, associated with the leaders of the Church in advancing the Presbyterian cause. On this occasion a fast had been appointed and Rutherford preached in the College church. The congregation was great, and many of the nobility were present. Baillie, who reports the incident, says: "Mr. Rutherford has an excellent gift both of preaching and prayer, and, which helps all the people's minds, fells all the fourteen bishops and houghs the ceremonies." On the invitation of the people of Glasgow he preached in the High Church there, preparatory to their taking the oath of the Covenant. Henceforth Rutherford is side by side with the most eminent Scotsmen of the day in their endeavours to pilot the Kirk—that is, the nation—through the stormy waters ahead.

The General Assembly that was to consolidate the energies of the Covenanters and complete this "Second Reformation," met in Glasgow on the 21st of November. It is justly regarded as the most important Assembly in the whole history of the Scottish Church. From the fact that it embraced the most eminent of the nobility, gentry, and ministers, it voiced the judgment of the entire Scottish people at a most grave crisis in their history. Its calm faith in the justice of its

cause rises into the sublime. When the Royal Commissioner left out of zeal for the King, the Moderator exhorted them to be as zealous for Christ; and when he cordially welcomed Argyle he added, "Though we had not a single nobleman to assist us, our cause were not the worse nor the weaker."

Of this Assembly Rutherford was a member, representing with two other ministers the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright. Along with them were associated as laymen Alexander Gordon of Earlston, William Glendinning, now Provost of Kirkcudbright, and Robert Gordon of Knockbrex. The Bishops refused to attend, declining to acknowledge the authority of the Assembly, and protesting, amongst other things, that several of its ministers had already incurred the censure of the Church of Scotland. Rutherford was one, but along with Blair, Dickson, and others, succeeded in vindicating his position to the satisfaction of all present.

What this Assembly accomplished in the way of reform is known to all. It cancelled all previous legislation in favour of Episcopacy, abolished the High Commission Court, the Book of Canons and the unfortunate Liturgy, deposed or suspended the Bishops, swept utterly away the "baseless fabric of a Divine hierarchy," and reconstituted the Church of Scotland on the genuine Presbyterian basis.

What, asks Dr. Rainy, is the meaning and source of that grave enthusiasm about the Church as a divine

institution which has so remarkably appeared amongst our Scottish people? He answers that it was due to something else than mere theoretical conclusions about Church government. It was, in short, the practical outcome of their experience that in Presbyterianism and in it alone, the spiritual life of the nation found its highest outward expression. "Presbyterianism meant organised life, regulated distribution of forces, graduated recognition of gifts, freedom to discuss, authority to control, agency to administer. Presbyterianism meant a system by which the convictions and conscience of the Church could instantly be applied by appropriate organs to her affairs. . . . From the broad base of the believing people the sap rose through Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, to the Assembly, and thence descending, diffused knowledge, influence, organic unity through the whole system. Yes, Presbyterianism is a system for a free people that love a regulated, a self-regulating freedom; a people independent, yet patient, considerate, trusting much to the processes of discussion and consultation, and more to the promised aid of a much forgiving and a watchful Lord."

That was the Ideal of National Spiritual Life which Scotland, consciously or unconsciously, set before her at the Reformation. Half a century of toil and suffering and martyrdom had yet to elapse before it was definitely secured to her for ever. But in all the essential characteristics of its spirit, in its great outlines, definite

and coherent, the Ideal was realised in this Glasgow Assembly of 1638, which its Moderator, "the great Mr. Henderson," is said to have closed with the words, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

CHAPTER IX

FAREWELL TO ANWOTH

RUTHERFORD took no very prominent part in the deliberations of the Glasgow Assembly. But in one instance its decision involved momentous results for him. Before it rose the Assembly considered the necessity for translating or "transporting" ministers of distinguished ability to more important spheres of labour. Men like Henderson and Douglas, Dickson, Blair, and Baillie, could not be permitted to remain in minor charges when the Kirk "required the public help of them all." This resolution of the Assembly was by no means acceptable either to the ministers in question or to their congregations.

The storm of opposition that it frequently raised is a significant feature of the times, one more proof, and a unique one, of the purity and fidelity of the ministry of Scotland in the age of the Covenant. Henderson himself had been elected minister of Edinburgh, though he pled that he was too old a plant to take root in another soil, having been minister at

Leuchars for eighteen years. Application was now made by the town of St. Andrews for Blair and Rutherford, Blair to be minister of the town and Rutherford to fill the chair of Divinity in the New College.

Blair's opposition to the proposal is described as most moving. "I confess," he said, "I am in the hands of this Assembly; but I protest here in God's presence that I had rather lay down my life than be separate from my flock at Ayr." Then followed what our invaluable eye-witness calls a most pitiful contest—the noblemen of Fife advocating with much importunity the claims of St. Andrews, and Provost John Stuart of Ayr pleading the cause of his town and congregation "with tears." Baillie, while admitting it a "dangerous preparative to rent any man from the flock his soul was bound to and others to him," yet gave his voice in favour of the translation, knowing Mr. Blair's "great dexteritie, yea greater than any man I know living, to insinuate the fear of God in the hearts of young schollars." It was carried by a narrow majority of four or five votes that Blair should go to St. Andrews. But his devoted congregation kept him in their midst "almost by force" till the Assembly of 1639 peremptorily commanded him to obey.

A resistance equally vehement was made on the part of Rutherford. Admitting that his ministry and the exercise of it were subject to the Honourable House,

he nevertheless said, "I trust in God this Assembly will never take me from my pastoral charge, for there is a woe unto me if I preach not the gospel, and I know not who can go betwixt me and that woe." The worst punishment that the High Commission had been able to inflict on him was, he said, to forbid him to preach. He was prepared to suffer imprisonment and banishment, but never to lay down his ministry. The Moderator expressed satisfaction that Mr. Rutherford's reasons were "so weake," and the matter was referred to the Commission of the Kirk at Edinburgh.

This was a heavy blow to Rutherford. Anwoth and its quiet rural population, its woods and secluded glen the scene of many a meditative walk, and its kirk where the swallows and sparrows built their nests, had become a part of his very self. The prospect of filling one of the most important positions in the Church had little attraction. By many ties of affection and sympathy, and most of all by a common experience of suffering in the noblest of causes, he considered himself bound to his people. In view of the change he writes, just before the Assembly of 1639: "I must entreat you to remember me to God in your prayers, and my flock and ministry, and my transportation and removal from this place which I fear at this Assembly." And when it was no longer matter of doubt, he wrote to Lady Kenmure, "My removal from my flock is so heavy to me that it maketh my life a

burden to me; I had never such a longing for death. The Lord help and hold up sad clay."

To avert this calamity Rutherford drew up and presented to the Commission of the Kirk a petition in which are set forth his reasons against the proposed translation. He maintains that it is quite beyond the authority of the Commission to translate him without permitting his flock and Presbytery to be heard. The congregation at Anwoth had been partakers of the sufferings of their pastor, they had hazarded their persons and estates to oppose an intruder. Were they not therefore entitled to some consideration at the hands of a General Assembly "which is the public joy of this nation and Church?" He pleads his "inabilitie of bodie and gifts of mynd," and is ready to depone upon oath that in this regard alone he is unfit for a heavier charge. Then, "let it be considered if ane whoe dare not be able to answer to Christ for a lesser charge, should be burdened with a more weightie."

Characteristic of the Presbyter is the following: "As the lawfull calling of ane pastor to the flock of Christ requireth the consent, vowes, and approbation of the people and Presbyterie, soe it would seam als necessaire that ane lawfull lousing of him from the flock cannot be without the consent and vowes of the said flock and Presbyterie." He asks whether some deference should not be given to the "inward libertie and inclination of mynd in the pastor transported,"

as he cannot find liberty of spirit to pray for a blessing on his labours elsewhere. And he concludes by expressing his extreme reluctance to vacate the pulpit even for the Professor's chair.

Nor did Rutherford plead alone. Galloway knew his worth, and determined not to lose him without a struggle. Two other petitions were presented to the Commission, craving that Rutherford might continue in the pastorate at Anwoth. They are touching tributes to the extent of his influence and to the esteem and affection with which he was manifestly regarded. The first of these petitions was signed by the most eminent landowners and clergymen in Galloway, with some belonging to Dumfriesshire. They urge as important reasons "for the reteining of Maister Samuel in this countrie" that their district was overrun with "papistes and enemies to reformation," and that it would be injurious to the cause of the gospel to remove such a help as Rutherford had proved himself to be. His labours in the district had, they said, been blessed with much success, and he would have more leisure in the country "to profit the Kirk by his penn."

It was the earnest entreaty of many Presbyteries, and people of all sorts, that he should remain. His stipend was a voluntary contribution, the contract for his maintenance being made to himself alone. Anwoth was the residence of a nobleman, and, lying on the

main route for those travelling between England and Ireland, was really an important charge, and required a minister of eminent gifts. To remove Rutherford would be a great discouragement to his own Presbytery of Kirkcudbright. The weakness of his body almost argued in favour of a less arduous charge than he had at present. And the entire province of Galloway would suffer grievously if he were taken from them at such a critical time.

Almost more impassioned, and indeed quite pathetic, is the supplication of the "eldership and parraishinerie of ye parraishin of Anweth," that they might keep with them the pastor they loved. Their great argument is, very naturally, to tell what his personality and ministry had become to them during the eleven years they had spent together. We have already quoted the confession of eagerness with which they had welcomed him at the first; but it may be written down here again in its proper connection. "At ye entrie of ye said Maister Samuell, our soules were under that miserable extreame femine of ye word, that we had onlie ye puir help of ane sermone everie second Sabboth, by reasone of ane most inconvenient unione with uther twa kirkis and ye want of ane steipand." If they lose Rutherford they have little hope of getting another minister except he serve for the same stipend of "twa hundred merkis Scottis."

The possibility of being again without a pastor, they

consider a more intolerable bondage than the "transcendent and lawless tirranie" of the prelates "who depryved and confyned our pastor fra us six quarteris of ane yeir, dureing whilk space no sound of ye word of God was hard in our kirk." Like the other petitioners, they speak of the importance of the charge, and Rutherford's physical unfitness for a heavier one.

The crowning reason, honourable surely to them and to him, comes last. "It hath pleased God so to evidence his calling heir by His blessing upon his laboures among us, ye consequence whereof we find to be ane mutuall union of our heartis betwixt him and us; but of the consideratione of the foresaidis reasones, we most humblie entreatis your reverend and godlie wisdome in ye bowellis of Jesus Christ, that ye wald not depryve us of sic ane comfortable instrument wherewith ye Lord hath blessed us, least in so doing ye sequell of this reverend Assemblie, whilk is ye joy and praiss to God of this whole church, be turned to us into ye mater of bitter grieff." The signatures to this petition number nearly two hundred, the first being that of Rutherford's old friend "Johnne Gordoun of Cardness."

Plausible and passionate as these appeals are, they prevailed not with the Commission. The public interest of the Kirk demanded otherwise. Perhaps, too, it was felt, as a manuscript document of that period hints, that not many could be found so well qualified for St.

Andrews as Rutherford. This no doubt weighed all the more strongly since Edinburgh also sought him, had in fact elected him one of her ministers, and the rivalry between the two cities was keen. But Edinburgh had secured Alexander Henderson, and in a Divinity chair Rutherford would be "able in few yeirs to make many able ministers."

Still Rutherford hesitated, and the case came up for final settlement at the Assembly of August 1639. After many "contestations and altercations," and a full consideration of the reasons urged on both sides, the judgment of the Commission was confirmed. In one thing, however, Rutherford's dearest wish was respected. At his own request he was appointed colleague to Robert Blair in the ministry of St. Andrews, as well as Professor of Divinity in the New College. Never again would he consent to experience those "dumb Sabbaths," that "silence on the Lord's day," which in Aberdeen had been his "greatest prison." Never again would he be forbidden to exercise that sublime gift of preaching "his royal Master," which was more than ever the delight of his life.

CHAPTER X

FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT

THE appointment of Rutherford to St. Andrews was one of great importance. The University there was the earliest, and for long the most brilliant centre of learning in Scotland. Of its three Colleges, St. Mary's, or the New College, was the most recent. It was begun by Archbishop Beatoun in 1532. Like the other Colleges, it was erected "for defending and confirming the Catholic faith, that the Christian religion might flourish," etc. With the advent of the Reformation a different construction was inevitably put on this intention, and an attempt made to revise and distribute more accurately the code of studies in the three Colleges. Owing to the indifference of the nobility the attempt proved abortive. But in 1579 the enthusiasm of Andrew Melville induced General Assembly and Parliament to reorganise the entire constitution of the University. St. Mary's College became a school for the study of Theological Science, with a Principal and four Professors. In a curriculum

extending to four years the student was expected to master successively Hebrew with Chaldee and Syriac; the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament; and the Prophets: and throughout his entire course he studied the New Testament in the original with the Syriac Version, while Divinity was taught by the Principal. "It was," says M'Crie, "the most liberal and enlightened plan of study which had yet been established, as far as I know, in any European University."

Melville himself was translated from Glasgow to be Principal of St. Mary's, and for a quarter of a century discharged his duties with a learning and an ability that won the admiration of the foremost scholars in Europe. On his imprisonment he was succeeded by Robert Howie, a man of average talent who had been minister at Aberdeen and Dundee; Howie at that time favoured Episcopacy. Later he espoused the popular side, signed the Covenant, and his position was recognised by the Glasgow Assembly while his colleagues lost office. He was the only Professor in the New College when Rutherford was appointed to assist him.

In one respect Rutherford's task was a somewhat difficult one. St. Andrews was the seat of the Primate, and the Episcopal cause was strong. The University especially stood in need of reform. M'Ward, who speaks as an eye-witness, gives no flattering account. It was, he says, "the very nursery of all superstition

in worship and error in doctrine, and the sink of all profanity in conversation among the students."

Rutherford entered on the work with all his wonted enthusiasm. His admiring secretary speaks of his "unparalleled painfulness and holy zeal." He laboured in the ministry of the town, yet seemed "to spend as much time with the young men as if he had been sequestered from all the world besides." Such faithful toil had its reward. "God did so signally second his servant's indefatigable pains, both in teaching in the schools and in preaching in the congregation, that it became forthwith a Lebanon out of which were taken cedars for building the house of the Lord through the whole land." Rutherford's fine enthusiasm for young men would have abundant scope. One of the first-fruits of his ministry at St. Andrews was young William Guthrie, author of a book that has played its own part in the religious life of Scotland.

And now that his Lord had "turned his apprehended fears into joys," had "made the north render him back again," and restored him to "his second created Heaven on earth," Rutherford will not forget others who are still suffering for the good cause. His very first letter from St. Andrews is written to encourage one who though not to be a martyr was yet almost more. Dr. Alexander Leighton, father of the famous Archbishop, had by pen and voice advocated the cause of Presbytery He was condemned by the Star Chamber to

have one of his ears cut off and his nose slit; to be branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron; to be publicly whipped and imprisoned till he paid an extortionate fine of ten thousand pounds. It is said that when the sentence was pronounced Archbishop Laud took off his hat and gave God thanks for the victory of the Church. Leighton exclaimed, when his ear was cut off, "Blessed be God! if I had a hundred, I would lose them all for the Cause." He had now been a good many years in prison.

"Reverend and Much Honoured Prisoner of Hope," writes Rutherford, "it was not my part (whom our Lord hath enlarged) to forget you His prisoner. When I consider how long your night hath been, I think Christ hath a mind to put you in free grace's debt so much the deeper as your sufferings have been of so long continuance. Oh, but your sandglass of sufferings and losses cometh to little when it shall be counted and compared with the glory that abideth you on the other side of the water. And I think ye could wish for more ears to give than ye have, since ye hope these ears ye now have given Him shall be passages to take in the music of His glorious voice."

He also wrote to certain "Prisoners of Christ at Dublin," who had refused to swear obedience to the King in matters ecclesiastical: "Let me charge you, O prisoners of hope, to open your window and look out by faith. It is a broad river that faith will not look

over; it is a mighty and a broad sea that they of a lively hope cannot behold the farthest bank, and other shore thereof. Look over the water: your anchor is fixed within the vail: the one end of the cable is about the prisoner of Christ and the other is entered within the vail, whither the Forerunner is entered for you. They see no treason in you to your prince the King of Britain, albeit they say so; but it is heaven in you that earth is fighting against. Believe under a cloud and wait for Him when there is no mooonlight nor starlight. Hold fast Christ in the dark."

Rutherford cherished the liveliest interest in the persecuted Church in Ireland. A little before he left Anwoth he had written: "Your prisons, my brethren, have two keys. The Deputy, prelates, and officers keep but the iron keys of the prison wherein they put you; but He that hath created the smith, hath other keys in heaven; therefore ye shall not die in the prison. Other men's ploughs are labouring for your bread; your enemies are gathering in your rents. He that is kissing His bride on this side of the sea in Scotland, is beating her beyond the sea in Ireland, and feeding her with the bread of adversity and the water of affliction; and yet He is the same Lord to both."

But Rutherford's profound interest in the struggle between the Crown and the Kirk left him little leisure. The Assembly at Glasgow had brought ecclesiastical

matters in Scotland to a fresh crisis. Enraged at such sweeping contempt of his royal prerogative, Charles resolved "neither to think nor talk of treating with them till he should appear among them in a more formidable position." The Marquis of Hamilton forewarned him that "while the fire-edge was upon the Scottish spirits it would not prove an easy task to tame them."

An army was raised for the invasion of Scotland. The leaders of the Church of Scotland on their part were fully aware of the gravity of the situation. But the integrity of their cause sustained them. "Our dangers," writes Baillie, "were greater than we might let our people conceive; but the truth is, we lived by faith in God, we knew the goodness of our cause, and we were resolved to stand to it at all hazards whatsoever, knowing the worst to be a glorious death for the Cause of God and our dear country." In this spirit the Covenanting army, led by the veteran Alexander Lesley, took up its position at Dunse Law near the Border, in the beginning of June 1639. The picture of the Scottish army encamped there in defence of the liberties of Scotland has been photographed by the inimitable pen of Robert Baillie, and his description, suggestive of much, is too good to omit.

"It would have done you good to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy. For I was there among

the rest: being chosen preacher by the Gentlemen of our Shire. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried, myself, as the fashion was, a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle: but, I promise, for the offence of no man except a robber in the way: for it was our part to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did, to my power, most cheerfully. Our Hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and east, with our mounted cannon; well near to the number of forty great and small. Our regiments lay on the sides of the Hill almost round about; the place was not a mile in circle; a pretty round, rising in a declivity, without steepness, to the height of a bowshot; on the top somewhat plain; about a quarter of a mile in length, and as much in breadth; as I remember, capable of tents for forty thousand men. Our crowners (colonels) for the most part were noblemen; our captains were mostly barons, or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, almost all soldiers who had served over sea in good charges. Every company had flying, at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour, with the Scottish Arms, and this ditton, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant*, in golden letters.

"Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour, daily: everyone encouraged the other; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors daily

raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of Heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells: the remonstrances, very frequent of the goodness of their Cause, of their conduct (guidance) hitherto by a Hand clearly Divine; also Lesley his skill and fortune,—made them all so resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the fields; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old little crooked soldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solyman.

"But had ye lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing and cursing, and brawling in some quarters; but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all, of any fashion, did regret, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all the time frae I came from home, till my head was again homewards; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return."

The motto that Baillie saw stamped in gold on the

colours of the Scottish army—*For Christ's Crown and Covenant*—was henceforth the motto of Samuel Rutherford and the leading ministers and nobility of Scotland. The motto defines in the most precise manner the purport of a movement that otherwise would be characterised as open rebellion. It was emphatically a religious warfare, this struggle between Charles and his own subjects. To vindicate the rights of conscience, to defend institutions and privileges that were dear to them as life—that and that alone had brought the Scottish army to Dunse Law. The Scots themselves were never weary of protesting, in the very thick of the conflict, their unshaken loyalty to the throne. "Sire," said Lord Loudon to the King, "the people of Scotland will obey you in everything with the utmost cheerfulness, provided you do not touch their religion and conscience." There was not a man in the Covenanting army but would have subscribed heartily to the passionate words of Baillie, "Had we been ten times victorious in set battles, it was our conclusion to have laid down our army at his feet, and on our knees presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other end of our wars; we sought no crowns; we aimed at no lands and honours; we desired but to keep our own in the service of our Prince, as our ancestors had done; we loved no new masters. Had our throne been void, and our voices been sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we would

have died ere any had sat down on that fatal marble but Charles alone."

Charles perceived the temper of the Scots and his own inability to cope with them. A treaty was effected, the terms of which were favourable to the Covenanters. A General Assembly was named for the 6th of August, and a Parliament was to follow on the 20th of the month. At the General Assembly the King was represented by the Earl of Traquair. To the surprise of the Covenanters the Commissioner, acting with "consummate duplicity," granted practically all that they demanded. Episcopacy was abolished as thoroughly as it had been by the Glasgow Assembly, and the Commissioner undertook to get this ratified in Parliament. The Covenant was sanctioned, and ordered to be subscribed by all ranks in the kingdom. The Assembly was completely deceived. "The stern heroes of the Covenant were melted into tears, and the venerable patriarchs of the old Presbyterian Church, who had served at her altars for half a century, and who had mourned her degradation in silent sorrow or sad captivity, poured out their hearts in thanksgiving to God and the King in the most affecting terms."

It was an unworthy compromise. Traquair's diplomatic proceedings did not meet with his master's approval, and Parliament was indefinitely prorogued. An appeal to the sword once more became inevitable. The Scots determined to act on the offensive, and a

well-equipped force of twenty thousand men crossed the English border on the 20th August 1640. From sermons preached by Rutherford a day or two before, we learn the nature of the theocratic ideal that possessed Scotland at the time.

"What," asks Rutherford, "is the controversy that is this day between Christ's Kirk and the powers of the world? Nothing else is the controversy but because He is seeking His own from the powers of the world, because we are seeking to have the gospel established, and to have it established in purity and peace." Like the prophet of old with his "Fear not, thou worm Jacob," Rutherford believes that the Kirk of Scotland is to be made a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth, to thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and make the hills as chaff. "There were fourteen great mountains in the land [he means the deposed prelates], and there were enew who builded their nests under these mountains, doctors and deans and archdeans, but the Lord He has casten down all these mountains and all the nests that were bigged under these mountains." Where may not this great work which has begun in Scotland extend to, now that it is passing to England? Scotland indeed is but a worm in comparison of other nations, and a worm is a beast "that has as many enemies as there are feet going upon the ground ready to tramp upon it." But the Lord will make this worm Scotland a sharp threshing

instrument to beat Rome and the Pope and Antichrist to pieces. The Kirk may therefore rejoice beforehand, for there is a great difference between the Kirk's enemies and the Kirk. "The enemy knows not what will be the night year, and what the end of things will be, and therefore they are led to hell blindlings. They know not what is at the foot of the stair when they are coming down. But where faith is, it has the gift of prophesying."

Lesley defeated the English at Newburn, and forced a passage across the Tyne; "a trifle in the bloody annals of warfare," writes John Hill Burton, "yet so momentous that in critical interest it may well rival the famous passage of the Rubicon"; for it brought home to Charles the unwelcome fact that the Scots were again masters of the situation, and might dictate their own terms.

It was arranged that Commissioners should meet to draw up a fresh treaty by which the Northern Kirk might at least have security for its demands. The Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly were Henderson, Baillie, George Gillespie, and Robert Blair. Negotiations were begun at Ripon, but in a short time were transferred to London. By this adjournment, according to Hill Burton, "the destinies of the Scots nation were virtually thrown into the great game which was to be played over the whole empire."

The appearance of the Scottish Commissioners in London excited the intensest interest, and actually became a powerful factor in the subsequent development of events. "They were the representatives of a people who had been persecuted and who had vindicated their liberty. They were the members of a Church which had manifested principles of civil liberty and religious freedom superior to the age. They formed the deputation of an army to which victory seemed to be desirable only inasmuch as it enabled them to purchase peace." In the metropolis they witnessed great things. The indignation of the English people against the despotism of the King had found a voice in the Long Parliament; the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission were abolished, and Strafford sent to his doom. Have we not a picturesque account of it all in the pages of "that Ayrshire minister whose fortune it was to see so much of history"?

Far more important, however, was their intercourse with the leaders of English Puritanism, whereby a way was paved for an ecclesiastical union between the two nations. By an inevitable movement of thought the mind of England had become Puritan and largely Presbyterian. Never at any time was the question of Church government so keenly discussed. Baillie and his colleagues had an opportunity of expounding the nature and advantages of Presby-

tery. In this connection he writes significantly: "Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a Covenant cried up, and the Liturgy to be scorned. The town of London and a world of men minds to present a Petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their appurtenances. Huge things are here in working: the mighty Hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyful harvest of the tears that, these many years, have been sown in these kingdoms. All here are weary of bishops."

The opportunity for united action came very soon. The Commons of England were in conflict with the King on the great question of political liberty. Civil war was now inevitable. Which side would Scotland espouse in the struggle? Much, very much, hung upon that. The Scots for the moment held the destiny of the nation in their own hands. And the dilemma was a peculiarly painful one. For they loved monarchy, yet cherished an inveterate distrust of Charles. But their faith in the sacred cause of the Covenant swept everything before it.

And now it was that the imperial idea of a Presbyterian Britain took captive the heart and imagination of our Covenanting fathers. Says Dr. Rainy: "The temptation was of the very strongest kind. Scotland was still thrilling with the surprise of its awakening, its unity, its sudden resoluteness. Might not England's

action and Scotland's be brought into the same line? Might not the nations be bound to each other to achieve delivery? For so great an end ought not Scotland to offer to pledge every atom of manhood and resource that was in her? The place given to the Solemn League and Covenant very much represented this dead-lift effort to get Prelacy, and, as it was believed, Popery dislodged from influence in the three kingdoms by a great heave."

We may say, if we like, with Dr. John Cunningham, that the liberal spirit of the first Reformers had passed away, and that the Scots now believed that "theirs was to be the proud distinction of bringing back Prelatic England to the purity of apostolic times." All that may be true; but there are clear indications that England herself was ripe for such a movement. And it was the honest belief of the Covenanters that only in this way could peace be secured to a distracted realm.

Behold, then, at the General Assembly of August 1643, Commissioners from England to seek an alliance with the Scots. They brought great news. The English Parliament had abolished the Episcopate, deprived the Bishops of their seats in the House of Lords, and summoned an Assembly of Divines to meet at Westminster to consider the reformation of the English Church. They now craved the help of Scotland in this proposed ecclesiastical reform, and in

their struggle for liberty against the tyranny of the King.

The Commissioners from England preferred a union of forces on civil grounds alone. The Assembly, led by Henderson who was Moderator for the third time, determined that the basis of the alliance between the two kingdoms should be a religious one. "The enthusiastic Covenanters never doubted but that if the Church of England was reformed according to the word of God it must be made Presbyterian, and they fondly dreamt that the great work for which it was worth to have lived, and even to have died, was now accomplished." Henderson drew up and presented a sketch of what afterwards became the Solemn League and Covenant. "When the draft was read to the General Assembly," writes Blair, "our smoking desires for uniformity did break forth into a vehement flame, and it was so heartily embraced, and with such a torrent of affectionate expressions, as none but eye and ear witnesses can conceive."

The Solemn League and Covenant pledged its adherents to defend the authority of King and Parliament, and the liberties of the nation. Its essence lay in a threefold resolution, namely, to preserve the religion and Presbyterian polity of the Reformed Church of Scotland; to promote uniformity of Church doctrine, worship, discipline, and government in the three kingdoms; and to endeavour, without respect of

persons, "the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness." Like the National Covenant, it thrills with an impassioned ideal of life and duty, witness their "true and unfeigned purpose to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation."

In judging this document a strict regard must be had to the time and circumstances that gave it birth. The usual criticism has been admirably stated by Dr. P. M'Adam Muir in his St. Giles' Lecture. The Solemn League and Covenant was, he says, "an exhibition of intolerance almost as great as that from which its framers had ever suffered. It was not the work of down-trodden men, determined to die rather than forswear their principles. It was the work of men flushed with victory, determined that no principles but their own should be allowed to live. It was an attempt not so much to secure liberty of conscience for themselves as an attempt to deny liberty of conscience to others. It may have been a manifestation of apostolic zeal, but it was the zeal of the apostles who wished to call down fire from heaven on a hostile village."

This is simply beside the mark, or has only enough of truth to make it a caricature. On the other hand, it is almost equally absurd to characterise it with Hetherington as "the wisest, the sublimest, and the

most sacred document ever framed by uninspired men." It is not for a moment pretended that the Scots thoroughly understood the principle of toleration, or even understood it at all. Neither, for that matter, did their opponents. At that time the idea was slowly dawning in a few rare minds, and, as a matter of fact, its development even in those minds owed not a little to the determined struggle of the Covenanters.

But why should the toleration be all on one side? It is manifestly absurd to demand from the Covenanters at once the passion of patriots and the easy-going indifference to non-essentials (or perhaps sometimes to essentials) that characterises the modern arm-chair philosopher. Toleration is good; but, as Froude remarked, you cannot tolerate what will not tolerate you and is trying to cut your throat. Episcopacy in the Church may not necessarily involve absolutism in politics, nor, let us grant, must it necessarily lead the way to Romanism. Presbyterianism may have no more claim to a Divine Right than Episcopacy. But what are the facts? For half a century and more the Scots had been threatened with a despotism which, if successful, would have crushed the very life out of the nation—a despotism that in form meant the enforcement of an Episcopacy that to many seemed the first (or last) step to Popery. In defiance of this, Presbyterianism had

elicited and developed the higher life of Scotland, and had become the bulwark of her civil liberties. And now the decisive hour, the moment that is the "mother of centuries," had visibly come. Can it be matter of surprise that the nation resolved once for all to have done with the thing, and that they recognised in this providential summons to England a voice that was nothing if not divine?

Mark yet one further fact of great importance that must be taken into account. The conflict of the Prelatic and Presbyterian parties in Britain was but part of that wider conflict between Romanism and Protestantism that was being waged throughout Europe. It was more; it was in a sense the very heart of that conflict. Britain was the virtual head of the Protestant interest. The great Catholic schemers of the Continent—Urban, Richelieu, Mazarin, Olivarez—were eager to win back the Protestant nations, and especially England, to the bosom of the ancient Church. It was with eyes fully open to a possibility like this that our fathers swore the Solemn League and Covenant, when the course of events placed the destiny of Britain in their hands. That Covenant "will ever stand identified with the cause of Protestantism, the cause of civil and religious liberty in a great crisis of British history."

CHAPTER XI

TO BUILD THE WASTE PLACES OF ZION

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD is now about to be called to the chief public endeavour of his life. There is often a wide difference between the conscious ideal in a man's career and the unconscious realisation. For us the Letters will ever remain Rutherford's greatest achievement—the Letters and the wonderful self-revelation of character and personality that we have there. But the supreme conscious effort of Rutherford's life was undoubtedly the help he gave "to build the waste places of Zion in another Kingdom," the attempt to realise in Britain that fair vision of ecclesiastical uniformity that was now the inevitable outcome of the Covenanting and Puritan revolution.

The Westminster Assembly had been called by an ordinance of the English Parliament, to settle the government, worship, and doctrine of the Church of England. One hundred and fifty-one members, namely, one hundred and twenty-one ministers, ten Lords, and twenty from the House of Commons, were nominated

to meet on 1st July 1643. It is significant of the final trend of affairs that Parliament submitted the questions to be discussed, and reserved the right of final judgment. The Assembly constitutes a distinct epoch in the spiritual evolution of the British people. It marks the culmination of that Puritanism which had been the secret soul of the English Reformation from the very first. It was an age of great preachers and great theologians,—the age of Baxter and Owen, of Howe and Goodwin, of Burroughes and Greenhill and Manton; and the Westminster Assembly was representative of all that was most vital in the religious life and thought of England. Said Richard Baxter: "So far as I am able to judge by the information of all history, the Christian world since the days of the Apostles had never a synod of more excellent divines."

To an undertaking of such national importance the Church of Scotland sent her very best. The five ministers and the two laymen who travelled South, were, by their theological acquirements and statesmanlike ability, in every sense worthy to represent the Kirk of the North in the great Puritan Assembly.

Rutherford especially was possessed of a learning and a logical acumen that peculiarly qualified him to assist in the proper work of the Assembly; and to no one did the vision of ecclesiastical uniformity appear more attractive.

George Gillespie, his friend of earlier years and "an

excellent youth," was the youngest of the Commissioners, was indeed the youngest member of the Assembly. He had already distinguished himself by a work against Prelacy, and was to win still further renown in controversy with the theological masters of the South.

Robert Baillie was now Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, famous as a theological scholar and linguist; and though he was to be "ever silent in the debates," his presence there was indispensable for us, as the reader of his vividly realistic letters is fully aware.

Alexander Henderson had been the leader of the Church throughout this Second Reformation. He had drawn up the National Covenant, had been Moderator of the Glasgow Assembly, and is characterised by Baillie as "the fairest ornament, after Mr. John Knox of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy." In face of the tremendous difficulties of the time, he had proved himself "incomparably the ablest man of us all for all things." "In every strait and conflict," writes Professor Masson, "he had to be appealed to, and came in at the last as the man of supereminent composure, comprehensiveness, and breadth of brow."

The two laymen were also remarkable men, though strikingly different in temperament. Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, was the great lawyer of the Church. He had been almost as closely identified with the Covenant as Henderson himself. It was Warriston who had read the soul-moving document to the assembled

multitudes on that ever-memorable day in the churchyard of the Greyfriars. At the Glasgow Assembly he was "a Nonsuch for a clerk"; and is further described as a "canny lynx-eyed lawyer, and austere Presbyterian zealot; full of fire, of heavy energy and gloom; in fact a very notable character."

The other layman was John, Lord Maitland, at this time "a gracious youth" and a professedly faithful adherent of the Covenant, but who in after years, as Duke of Lauderdale, persecuted the cause he had once espoused: a strange man; a man who had won the affection of Richard Baxter; a man who in the midst of his persecuting zeal could admit "how sore against his heart he went the road now he was in," and who in the scant intervals of a profligate life could send for and study with evident relish "my little octavo Hebrew Bible without points."

On their appointment by the General Assembly "every man said something: but no man was gotten excused." Though the prospect must in some ways have been alluring to Rutherford, he wrote to a friend: "I am now called for to England: the government of the Lord's house in England and Ireland is to be handled. My heart beareth me witness, and the Lord who is greater knoweth, my faith was never prouder than to be a common rough country barrow-man in Anwoth; and that I could not look at the honour of being a mason to lay the foundation for many genera-

tions and to build the waste places of Zion in another Kingdom, or to have a hand or finger in that carved work in the cedar and almug trees in that new temple."

Henderson, Gillespie, and Maitland proceeded at once to London, and took their seats in the Assembly at Westminster. They were welcomed in a speech from the Prolocutor. Henderson replied, expressing the sympathy of the Scots with the English struggle for freedom. It was agreed that the Commissioners from Scotland should deliberate without voting, and so preserve their independence as representatives of another nation.

Ten days later, on the 25th of September, the members of the Assembly met with the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, for the purpose of subscribing the Solemn League and Covenant. The following is Lightfoot's contemporary account of the characteristic service on that occasion, when the alliance between the two nations was in this way constituted with such solemnity.

"After a psalm given by Mr. Wilson, picking several verses to suit the present occasion out of several psalms, Mr. White prayed near upon an hour. Then he came down out of the pulpit, and Mr. Nye went up and made an exhortation of another hour long. After he had done, Mr. Henderson, out of the seat where he sat did the like—all tending to forward

the Covenant. Then Mr. Nye, being in the pulpit still, reads the Covenant, and at every clause of it the House of Commons and we of the Assembly held up our hands, and gave our consent thereby to it, and then all went into the chancel and subscribed our hands. Afterwards we had a prayer by Dr. Gouge, and another psalm by Mr. Wilson, and departed to the Assembly again, and after prayer adjourned till Thursday morning because of the fast."

Rutherford and Baillie did not reach the Assembly till the 20th of November. They had come to London "in a strong ship," not without some evident apprehension, "for the weather is uncertain, the way dangerous, pirates and shoals not scant: yet, trusting in God, we must not stand on any hazard to serve God and our country." When they were brought in "Dr. Twisse had ane long harangue for our welcome, after so long and hazardous a voyage by sea and land, in so unseasonable a time of the year. When he ended we sat down in our places, which since we have keeped."

Ecclesiastical councils have at various times played a most important part in the history of Christianity; for all that their deliberations are not usually considered very interesting for the ordinary mind. It is admitted that the Westminster Assembly during the five and a half years of its existence was a real power in the contemporary life of the English nation. On this account, and for its subsequent historic influence, it

ought, according to Professor Masson, "to be more interesting to them still than the history of the Councils of Constance, Basle, Trent, or any other of the great ecclesiastical councils, more ancient and œcumenical, about which we still hear so much." Perhaps, then, my reader will not object to another quotation of considerable length from our indispensable Baillie. "Contemporaneous words by an eye-witness are like no other." The magic of Baillie's pen and ink makes the interior of the old Puritan Assembly visible to us once more. He writes—

"The like of that Assembly I did never see; and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere is shortly like to be. They did sit in Henry the VII.'s Chapel, in the place of the Convocation: but since the weather grew cold, they did go to the Jerusalem Chamber, a fair room in the Abbey of Westminster, about the size of the College front-hall, but wider. At the one end, nearest the door, and along both sides, are stages of seats, as in the New Assembly House at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there will be room but for five or six score. At the uppermost end there is a chair set on a frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Prolocutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it, on the ground, stand two chairs for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. White. Before these two chairs, through the length of the room, stands a table, at which sit the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr.

Roborough. The house is all well hung and has a good fire, which is some dainties at London. Foranent the table, upon the Prolocutor's right hand, there are three or four ranks of benches; on the lowest we five do sit. Upon the other at our backs, the Members of Parliament deputed to the Assembly. On the benches opposite us, on the Prolocutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house and back of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of benches, upon which their divines sit as they please; albeit commonly they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there are no seats but a void space for passage. The Lords of the Parliament used to sit on chairs, in that void, about the fire. We meet every day of the week but Saturday. We sit commonly from nine till one or two afternoon. The Prolocutor, at the beginning and end, has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish; not much, as it seems, acquainted with conceived prayer, and among the unfittest of all the company for any action: so after the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny convoyance of those who guide most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chair. Ordinarily there will be present above threescore of their divines. These are divided into three committees,

in one of which every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the Parliament gives order in writing to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assembly, sets down their minds in distinct propositions, backing their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures; whereupon the Assembly debates in a most grave and orderly way.

"No man is called up to speak; but whosoever stands up of his own accord, speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name whom they desire to hear first; on whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the Prolocutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They study the questions well beforehand, and prepare their speeches; but withal the men are exceeding prompt and well spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make. When, upon every proposition by itself, and on every text of Scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will has said his whole mind, and the replies, duplies, and triplies are heard, then the most part call, 'To the question.' Byfield, the scribe, rises from the table, and comes to the

Prolocutor's chair, who from the scribe's book reads the proposition, and says, 'As many as are of opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say, "Ay"'; when 'ay' is heard, he says, 'As many as think otherwise, say "No."' If the difference of 'Ayes' and 'Noes' be clear, as usually it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first scripture alleged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of 'Ay' and 'No' be near equal, then says the Prolocutor, 'As many as say "Ay," stand up'; while they stand the scribe and others number them in their minds; when they sit down, the 'Noes' are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a good deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter, but if a man will wander from the subject, he is quickly taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedly crying 'Speak to order, to order.' No man contradicts another expressly by name, but most discreetly speaks to the Prolocutor. I thought meet once for all to give you a taste of the outward form of this Assembly. Much of their way is good and worthy of our imitation; only their longsomeness is woful at this time, when their Church and kingdom lie under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new

platform of worship and discipline to their nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidly, and at leisure, they do not examine every point thereof."

There are two achievements of the Westminster Assembly that will ever have an interest for the Scottish student of British history and for the student of Rutherford. The first of these is its decision regarding Church order, government, and authority. It was this that brought out the rival elements of the Assembly, and the debates were both keen and prolonged. The Presbyterians already formed the majority. The Independents were few in number, yet headed by a man like Thomas Goodwin proved very formidable in argument. The Erastians, fewer still, were led by John Selden, the most learned man in England, and they were all-powerful in Parliament. The Commissioners from Scotland put forth their whole strength in the exposition and defence of the Presbyterian system. Baillie witnesses with evident satisfaction to their part in this intellectual warfare.

"Mr. Henderson, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Gillespie, all three spoke exceedingly well, with arguments unanswerable"; and again, "Had not God sent Mr. Henderson, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Gillespie among them, I see not that ever they could agree on any settled government." He is specially proud of Gillespie. "None in all the Assembly did reason more

pertinently than Mr. Gillespie; he is an excellent youth; my heart blesses God in his behalf. I admire his gifts, and bless God as for all my colleagues so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the Assembly." The story is told of his single-handed encounter with Selden, on the all-important problem of the autonomy of the Church. "Rise, George," said a friend, Rutherford presumably, "rise up and defend the right of the Lord Jesus Christ to govern the Church which He has purchased with His own blood." When Gillespie sat down again, Selden is reported to have said, "This young man by his single speech has swept away the learning and labours of ten years of my life." On the paper in front of him, which was supposed to contain his notes, Gillespie had written down the sentence, *Da lucem, Domine*: Give light, O Lord.

It is in this connection that some reference must now be made to the elaborate volumes which Rutherford published during those years, his written contribution to the ecclesiastical controversy of the day, and which won him so much contemporary fame. First of all had come, in 1642, *A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbytery in Scotland*; then in 1644, *The Due Right of Presbyteries*; in 1646, appeared *The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication*, and two years later his *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist.* Massive quartos they all are, quaint and sometimes highly metaphorical in style, and above all things

syllogistic. I suppose they fully entitle Rutherford to be considered "the most versatile genius, and the most subtle and adroit controversialist in the list of our Scottish theologians." But the modern reader refuses to open these books, or opens them only to close them at once and for ever. Here is the verdict of a very able student of Scottish theology, the late Rev. J. Macpherson: "The coarse, dull yellow paper, through which the heavy type on the back of the page can almost be read, making the reading of the page before us difficult; the dim faded ink increasing the difficulty and adding to the unpleasantness of the general effect; the profuse and often meaningless employment of italic printing imparting to the whole a strange and forbidding look; marginal notes so crowded as to come into immediate contact with the text, sometimes allowed to cross over the whole page and cut the leaf in two, even in the middle of a sentence—such drawbacks as these, especially when they are all illustrated in the one volume, do not certainly help to win readers for it."

And yet these old and forbidding volumes are the embodiment of an idea at that time most vital and powerful beyond all others. They were written to expound, defend, and preach the Divine Right of Presbytery: or more properly, to expound, defend, and preach the true nature of the Church of Christ, its membership, its unity, its purity, and its power.

Now this has always been specially characteristic

of Scottish theology. As Mr. Macpherson has remarked so admirably: "Those who made the history of Scotland by performing in her and on her behalf actions which have made her annals worthy of the name of history, whether the instrument by which these deeds were effected was the pen or the sword, set in the forefront of the battle and took as their battle-cry, Christ and His Kirk. To them the Church was as real, as essential, as important as Christ Himself. From their point of view Christ and the Church are mutually implicated ideas. It was their concern for the glory of Christ, and for the preserving inviolate all His prerogatives, that made them spend their strength and give their days to the unwearied vindication of that conception of the Church, in which alone, as they thought, Christ had scope to exercise His rights as their Head, their King."

The necessity for a clear idea of the Church at that time finds a rather curious illustration in a circumstance that had caused considerable annoyance a few years before, and in which Rutherford himself played a prominent part. During the Episcopal tyranny it had been the custom in the north of Ireland, and latterly in Scotland, for the people to assemble in private for prayer, reading of Scripture, and mutual exhortation, where they were denied the privilege of a lawful pastor. The meetings were found helpful, and they were encouraged by certain followers of Brown, the founder of the Independents. The practice

increased to a great extent, and some, like Rutherford, Dickson, and Blair, favoured it. By others it was considered an abuse, and the General Assembly of 1639 was forced to take note of it. Henderson, who feared the introduction of Independency, would have put it down with a strong hand; Rutherford and others pleaded for more latitude. It was agreed that the practice, though praiseworthy in a time of persecution, was now rendered superfluous by the regular ministry, and that it would tend to the harmony of the Church if it ceased altogether.

But the matter came up again in the Assembly of 1640, and was the occasion of a debate marked by such extreme violence as almost to threaten a schism in the Church. "In the midst of this jangling Rutherford cast in a syllogism, and required them all to answer it. What Scripture does warrant an Assembly may not discharge: but privy meetings for exercise of religion Scripture warrants: James v. 16, 'Confess your sins one to another, and pray one for another'; Malachi iii. 16, 'Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another': Ergo, thir things could not be done in public meetings." To some the argument appeared conclusive, others "would not have Mr. Samuel to trouble us with his logick syllogisms." In spite of this liberal protest, an Act was passed confining the public exposition of the Scriptures to ministers alone.

There were other and more important reasons,

however, why Rutherford should devote volume after volume to an exposition and defence of the doctrine of the Church. It was by no means a mere attempt to win a victory for one ecclesiastical theory over another. "When they argued about the Church, it was in order to exalt Christ." The historical crisis of the seventeenth century in Scotland involved on all sides a close scrutiny of the root principles of civil and ecclesiastical polity. Rutherford had to investigate the true doctrine of the Church, as in the *Lex Rex* we shall find him expounding the grounds of civil government, and, I may add, just as he was, in the supreme purpose of his life, ready to be a martyr for both.

One may say there was a further reason for this in the very nature and genesis of Scottish Protestantism. The Reformers had broken with Rome. This of necessity involved a new conception of the Church, both theoretical and practical. And in the theoretical as well as the practical aspect Rutherford and his fellow-Covenanters carried on the work of Knox and Melville. To use Rutherford's own words, they had to show how "Rome made the separation from the Reformed Churches and not we from them, as the rotten wall maketh the schism in the house, when the house standeth still, and the rotten wall falleth." It was no mere literary controversy, then, but one of vital importance. Protestantism was not yet a century old, and Presby-

terianism, the safeguard of Protestantism in Scotland, was struggling for its very life. Our fathers simply could not help themselves. Scripture being the recognised court of appeal, they had to show as well as they could that the Presbyterian polity had the sanction of Scripture; that in this respect it had the advantage over any rival system whatever. And it was because they believed firmly in their power to do this that Rutherford and his fellow-Commissioners had come all the way from Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, to advocate with all their might a system productive of so much blessing in the land of their birth.

The victory in the Assembly lay with the Presbyterians. Their system received the sanction of Parliament, and an attempt was made to bring it into operation in some parts of England. "The Church of Scotland had now attained the summit of its greatness. It had achieved the conquest of Prelatical England, and given a form of polity to the whole empire." But the victory was a purely theoretical one after all. There were other forces at work in the nation which forbade, and rightly forbade, such a fresh ecclesiastical ascendency.

In the words of Dr. Morrison, "The great struggle the nation was passing through, had roused too strong a passion for liberty in those who had felt the tyranny of the hierarchy, to allow them willingly to replace it

by any enforced uniformity in religion." The name of Cromwell is representative of much in this regard. It is one of the most striking features of the great Protector's character, that he was so far ahead of his age on the question of toleration. "The great shott of Cromwell and Vane," says Baillie, "is to have a libertie for all religions without exception." To the Scots this toleration was "detestable." And there remains of course the classic sonnet of Milton "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament," in which the name of the Saint of the Covenant is made to rhyme with the words "civil sword," as a protest to all time against the replacing of one ecclesiastical tyranny by another.

Are we to say, then, that because the heroic effort of Scotland to make the Solemn League and Covenant the law of the Empire failed in its immediate purpose, it failed of all good result whatever? Such an estimate would put a fool's cap on any attempt to trace the reign of a divine law in human affairs. In his magnificent vindication of God in History, the prince of modern English thinkers points out that the story of human things is by no means told when the scene has been physically described, and the actors have revealed their purposes and played out their game. "There is," to use Dr. Martineau's own felicitous language, "a deeper plot which wields their conscious aims, and combines them for unconscious

ends, and works out a catastrophe, dissipating and transcending all personal dreams. It is God that inspires for man to realise. The ideals are His; the actuals that come out of them or that fail to come out of them are ours." He maintains, therefore, that effects undesigned by men must be referred to the causality of God. "The illusions of men which disappoint their expectations and frustrate their purposes are influences of great power in human affairs, and work out results which cannot be foreign to the scheme of Providence in history. Our errors are controlled, our blindness disarmed by God's omniscience, and their erratic lines deflected into place within His diagram of universal good. Through some misdirection or infirmity most of the larger agencies in history have failed to reach their own ideal, yet have accomplished revolutions greater and more beneficent."

It would be impossible to characterise more accurately the historic position of the men whose conscious aim it was to realise the Solemn League and Covenant. They failed in that, and their failure was a bitter disappointment to many of them—to none more so than to Rutherford. But it is not too much to say that the Men of the Covenant saved the cause of liberty in Britain and, for a time at anyrate, the cause of Protestantism throughout Europe.

The other noteworthy fact in connection with the Westminster Assembly is that by it were elaborated

those theological treatises that became the symbolical books of the Church of Scotland. The interest as regards Rutherford attaches especially to that "ripest fruit of the Assembly's thought and experience," the Shorter Catechism. It has always been admired as a masterly compend of Calvinistic theology, and it has exercised a profound influence on the religious life of Scotland.

Dr. Mitchell draws attention to the fact that an enormous number of Puritan catechisms were published in England between 1600 and 1645, and often as many as twenty or thirty editions of the same catechism. For theologically, as otherwise, Protestanism was forced to define its position. There were at least a dozen members of the Westminster Assembly who had already published catechisms of their own. From their efforts to compile a uniform manual much might therefore be expected. In this, of course, the assistance of the Scotch Commissioners was necessary. And Rutherford himself is the author of a catechism which it is just possible he thought might be accepted right away by the Assembly's Committee.

From the fragmentary nature of the minutes of the Assembly it is exceedingly difficult to trace the history of the catechism. As early as December 1643 a committee was appointed to begin the work. It seemed at first an easy task, but it extended throughout the entire period of the Assembly. The ideal they

set before them was high enough, namely, "That the greatest care should be taken to frame the answer not according to the model of the knowledge the child hath, but according to that the child ought to have." Herbert Palmer, Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, who had a great reputation as a catechist, was requested to prepare a paper on the best method of catechising. As the result of his deliberations, Palmer advocated a plan in which "the principal answer is, by repetition of part of the question, made a complete and independent proposition, and these principal answers are broken down in a peculiar way into a series of subordinate questions, all capable of being answered by the monosyllables Ay or No." A single example from Palmer's own catechism will make this clear—

Q. What is it to believe in God?

A. To believe in God is to be persuaded that there is a God, and to trust in Him as my God at all times according to His word.

Is it not first to be persuaded that there is a God?—Yes.
And is that enough without trusting in Him as my God?—No.
Or is it enough to trust in Him at some time only?—No.
Or to trust in Him and not according to His word?—No.
Or is it to trust in Him as my God at all times according to His word?—Yes.

Though at first somewhat adverse to this method, the Scottish Commissioners ultimately became its strongest advocates, in fact almost Palmer's only supporters. Rutherford, who opened the very keen debate on that

occasion, spoke warmly in its favour, and suggested that the two sets of questions should be indicated by a difference of type. He maintained that the feeding of the lambs should be in the plainest and easiest way. He doubted whether every minister understood the most dexterous way to catechise. In this he was cordially supported by Gillespie. "One can hardly contemplate without a shudder," says Dr. Mitchell, "how near we were to missing the most concise, nervous, and severely logical catechism in our language, had Mr. Palmer and the Scotch Commissioners at that time carried their point, and got these subordinate questions and answers inserted in the catechism."

Ultimately the Assembly found it "very difficult to satisfy themselves or the world with one form of catechism, or to dress up milk and meat both in one dish," and recommended that there should be two forms of catechism, "one more exact and comprehensive, another more easie and short for new beginners."

And these two catechisms we accordingly have. But it would appear from a close scrutiny of the evidence before us that the Shorter Catechism was the one production of the Assembly with which the Commissioners from Scotland had after all least to do. Baillie and Gillespie had already left for home, and Henderson was dead. The beautiful tradition that the answer to the question *What is God?* consists of the

opening words of a prayer offered by Gillespie in a moment of transcendent perplexity must therefore be reluctantly abandoned. And though Rutherford was a member of the final committee of four, appointed on the 19th October 1647 to complete the Shorter Catechism, anyone who takes the trouble to compare the latter with his own catechism will corroborate Dr. Mitchell's verdict, that he does not seem to have left his distinctive mark on it. "Not the faintest trace of that wealth of homely imagery which enriches the MS. Catechism attributed to him is to be found in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism." Mr. Wm. Carruthers, F.R.S., takes a different view on some points from Dr. Mitchell. But, where the direct evidence is so scanty, the appeal must inevitably be to a comparison in detail of the catechisms in question.

Rutherford's own catechism has now for the first time been made accessible to all by the learned labours of Dr. Mitchell. The MS. is preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. David Laing, an expert in these things, believed the handwriting to be that of Rutherford himself. The title is *Ane Catechisme conteining the Soume of Christian Religion.* Dr. Mitchell speaks of it thus: "The spelling and diction are somewhat antique, but a careful perusal will satisfy most that it would be difficult to name anyone among the worthies of that age save the author of the Letters who could have drawn up a catechism

so rich in imagery, so full and practical in all that relates to the origin and progress of the divine life in the soul, containing so many of his favourite modes of expression, and so thoroughly moulded according to the system expanded in his larger theological works."

That my reader may within small compass be able to verify this, I quote here half a dozen samples of Rutherford's style of catechising. Familiar as we are with the strict logical method of the Shorter Catechism, it is interesting to see what Rutherford would have made of it. The quaintness of the theology is perhaps enhanced in this instance by retaining the quaint spelling.

Q. *Quhat is the use of the doctrine of conscience?*

A. Seeing wee earie our judge within us in our breist q[lk] wee tack ether to heaven or hell with us, and cannot putt on or off our conseience as wee doe our garments, wee should feare to sinne before our conscience and reverence ourself.

(He has just defined conscience as a "watchdoog in the soull that heireth the noyse of thiefes feet.")

Q. *Can Sathan force us against our will to sinne?*

A. No, he tempteth us and knocketh at the door without, bot our will and lust oppineth the doore. Sathan is midwiffe that helpeth forward the birth, bot our will and lust is father and mother to all our sinnes.

Q. *Then it is vain for us to hear the Word if nothing bot Godis mightie power maketh us new creatures?*

A. It is not a vain thing for the seaman to wait on, howbeit God onlie maketh tyd and wind, nor for the husbandman to till and harrow, howbeit God onlie maketh the corne to grow.

Q. Bot is not faith to beleeve quhat God saith is true?

A. Yea, that is not all; wee must beleeve also the goodnes of the promeis, as a condemned man upon the scaffold beleeveth in the king's clemencie and grace quhen he sees the sealed pardone, q^ras the hearts of other beholders ar not so touched and moved as his heart is.

Q. Quhat is the witnessing of our spirit?

A. It is the knowledge and feeling that my renued mynd and heart hes of Godis unchaingeable love to me in Christ, as the wiff amongst a thousand strangers knoweth hir husbandis voyce, howbeit shoe cannot mak otheris know it as shoe doth.

(And the soul filled with the Spirit of promise is "as a sealed and closed letter stamped with the image of Christ in all the power thereof.")

Q. Quhat is the sinne of those that refuseth to com to the Lordis table?

A. They refuse to marrie Christ, as the woman that refuseth a ring sent by hir wooer refuseth himself, and he that refuseth the king's seale to confirme ane inheritance refuseth the inheritance also.

One other incident connected with Rutherford's stay in London must be mentioned—his preaching before the Houses of Parliament. The historian refers pathetically to this function of the pulpit as a characteristic of that far-off seventeenth century, somewhat difficult for us to understand now. "The Fast-day Sermons of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in spite of printers, are all grown dumb! In long rows of little dumpy quartos, gathered from the bookstalls, they indeed stand here bodily before us; by human volition they can be

read, but not by any human memory remembered. We forget them as soon as read; they have become a weariness to the soul of man. They are dead and gone, they and what they shadowed; the human soul, got into other latitudes, cannot now give harbour to them. Alas, and did not the Honourable Houses of Parliament listen to them with rapt earnestness as to an indisputable message from Heaven itself?"

In these same dumpy quartos may still be read the two sermons for which Rutherford received the public thanks of Parliament when he was asked to print them. They are finished in the elaborate style of the age, and with much more care than is usual with him. The Sermon before the House of Commons on 31st January 1643 is from the text Daniel vi. 26. Rutherford expounds the sublime Hebrew thought of the everliving God ruling over nations and moulding people and kings after His own will. "It is the art of the deepest wisdom of Divine Providence to bring good out of the sins of His enemies, and the sufferings of His own," witness Joseph, Herod, Pilate, Darius. The Honourable Houses are to beware of the half reformation of Darius, as "nothing is more odious to God than a negative devotion."

In his subject to the Lords he is specially happy—the voyage across the Sea of Galilee. The Church of Christ as a ship in the storm; the sleeping and apparently forgetful Christ (albeit he is "Lord Admiral of

seas and winds"); the appeal of the affrighted disciples; the rebuke of unbelief preceding the rebuke of the winds; the final calm,—all are made to illustrate the present crisis, and to drive home such lessons as: Prayer awaketh a seeming sleeping God; God saveth not while the Church be between the sinking and the swimming; the unity and harmony of Christ's disciples in their trouble; a praying army must be a victorious army; we must be humbled ere we be delivered; it is proper only to omnipotence to make peace.

Notwithstanding his arduous labours in the Assembly, Rutherford found time to carry on a pretty extensive correspondence. Sixteen of the letters written from London remain to us, and there is not in the entire collection another consecutive sixteen that could so ill be spared. He laments in two of them the divisions in the Church and the difficulty of winning assent for the Presbyterian polity; and he is often in despair of the complete reformation of the land. He pays a high tribute to the character of the Independents, "who, of all that differ from us, come nearest to walkers with God." But he has evidently no great opinion of the religious life of the metropolis, and "if Jesus were unco, as His members are here, I should be in a sad and heavy condition." He is wearied, and hopes "to be delivered from this prison shortly." In another letter he complains bitterly that the very brethren in Christ misunderstand and hinder each other. "It is like that

the Lord will take a severe course with us to cause the children of the family to agree together. A doubt it is if we shall have fully one heart till we shall enjoy one heaven. Our star-light hideth us from ourselves, and hideth us from one another and Christ from us all."

But one half of the letters from London are letters of consolation. And that critic will assuredly be forgiven who puts Rutherford's letters of consolation at the very top of all that he has written. To write to a heart in bereavement, and keep clear of the trite, the conventional, and the commonplace, is of all things most difficult. Rutherford is a born master here. It is not the scholastic or the mystic that we have in these letters, but the large-souled, much experienced, suffering man, speaking with the tongue of the learned the word in season to the one who is weary.

From a reference in Wodrow it would appear that Rutherford's surpassing ability in this divine art impressed his contemporaries. "When told that Mr. Dickson had some children removed by death, Mr. S. Rutherford presently called for a pen and wrote a profitable letter to Mr. Dickson, 'for' (said he) 'when one arm is broken off and bleeds it makes the other bleed with it.'" "Reverend and Dear Brother," so runs the profitable letter, "I desire to suffer with you, if I could take a lift of your house-trial off you; but ye have preached it ere I knew anything of God. Your

Lord may gather His roses and shake His apples, at what season of the year He pleaseth. The child hath but changed a bed in the garden and is planted up higher, nearer the sun, where he shall thrive better than in this outfield muir-ground. I am content that Christ is so homely with my dear brother David Dickson as to borrow and lend, and take and give with him. Read and spell right, for He knoweth what He doeth. He is only lopping and snedding a fruitful tree that it may be more fruitful. Did not love to you compel me, I would not fetch water to the well, and speak to one who knoweth better than I can do what God is doing with him."

He writes now to another Christian brother who had lost a daughter: "Sown corn is not lost, there is more hope of that which is sown than of that which is eaten. As we do not take it ill if our children outrun us in the life of grace, why then are we sad if they outstrip us in the attainment of the life of glory? It would seem that there is more reason to grieve that children live behind us than that they are glorified and die before us."

It is, however, when he writes to comfort a bereaved mother that Samuel Rutherford excels himself. Years before he had written to Lady Kenmure, on the death of a little child: "I believe faith will teach you to kiss a striking Lord; and so acknowledge the Sovereignty of God (in the death of a child) to be above the power of

us mortal men, who may pluck up a flower in the bud and not be blamed for it. If our dear Lord pluck up one of His roses, and pull down sour and green fruit before harvest, who can challenge Him? For He sendeth us to His world, as men to a market, wherein some stay many hours, and eat and drink, and buy and sell, and pass through the Fair, till they be weary; and such are those who live long, and get a heavy fill of this life. And others again come slipping in to the morning market, and do neither sit nor stand, nor buy nor sell, but look about them a little, and pass presently home again; and these are infants and young ones who end their short market in the morning and get but a short view of the Fair. Our Lord, who hath numbered man's months, and set him bounds that he cannot pass, hath written the length of our market, and it is easier to complain of the decree than to change it."

And a year or two before he left for London he wrote to his sister-in-law, Agnes M'Math: "If ye will take the loan of a child and give him back again to our Lord laughing (as His borrowed goods should return to Him) believe that he is not gone away but sent before. A going down star is not annihilated but shall appear again. If he has casten his bloom and flower, the bloom is fallen in heaven into Christ's lap. The difference of your shipping and his to heaven and Christ's shore, the land of life, is only some few years which weareth every day shorter, and some

short and soon-reckoned summers will give you a meeting with him. Take kindly and heartsomely with His cross who never yet slew a child with the cross. He breweth your cup: therefore drink it patiently and with the better will."

And now, from the midst of his labours in London, Rutherford sends once more a letter of comfort to a mother who has lost a young son of promise: "I know that grace rooteth not out the affections of a mother, but putteth them on His wheel who maketh all things new, that they may be refined: therefore sorrow for a dead child is allowed to you, though by measure and ounce weights. 'For ye are not your own but bought with a price'; and your sorrow is not your own (*how finely that is said!*) Nor hath He redeemed you by halves; and therefore, ye are not to make Christ's cross no cross. He commandeth you to weep; and that princely One who took up to heaven with Him a man's heart, to be a compassionate High Priest, became your fellow and companion on earth by weeping for the dead." The "knot" of the mother's sorrow was, as Rutherford knew full well, not that her son had died, but that he died too soon, too young, in the morning of his life. "This is all; but sovereignty must silence your thoughts."

Ah! well might Rutherford write in a strain like this. Here as elsewhere he has to admit that it is a case of *expertus loquor* with him. "I was in your

condition: I had but two children, and both are dead since I came hither. The supreme and absolute Former of all things giveth not an account of any of His matters. The good Husbandman may pluck His roses, and gather in His lilies at mid-summer, and, for aught I dare say, in the beginning of the first summer month; and He may transplant young trees out of the lower ground to the higher, where they may have more of the sun, and a more free air, at any season of the year. What is that to you or me? The goods are His own. The Creator of time and winds did a merciful injury (if I dare borrow the word) to nature, in landing the passenger so early. They love the sea too well who complain of a fair wind, and a desirable tide, and a speedy coming ashore in that land where all the inhabitants have everlasting joy upon their heads. He cannot be too early in heaven."

The mother had been denied the privilege of being present at her son's deathbed, and Rutherford continues: "And dying in another land where his mother could not close his eyes, is not much. Who closed Moses' eyes? And who put on his winding-sheet? For aught I know, neither father, nor mother, nor friend, but God only. And there is as expeditious, fair, and easy a way betwixt Scotland and heaven, as if he had died in the very bed he was born in. The whole earth is his Father's; any corner of his Father's house is good enough to die in. . . . And withal if ye consider

this: had ye been at his bedside, and should have seen Christ coming to him, ye would not, ye could not, have adjourned Christ's free love, who would want him no longer." The concluding words are: "Ye are no loser, having Himself; and I persuade myself that if ye could prize Christ, nothing could be bitter to you." The entire letter from the first line to the last is ideal of its kind, worth volumes of much that might easily be written, and has often been written on such a theme.

And throughout these letters we trace the living fibre of a rich philosophy of consolation, thoroughly Christian in its expression, and rational to the very core. Quotation is indispensable here—and irresistible.

Sometimes he speaks in the briefer form of proverb, saying so little yet meaning so much, *e.g.*—

"Give the Lord time to work, His end is under ground."

"They see far into a millstone who can take up His ways."

"There is no mist over His eyes, who is 'wonderful in counsel.'"

"There is somewhat of God and Heaven in the rod."

"Christ's gain is not your loss."

"God the Founder never melteth in vain, howbeit to us He seemeth often to lose both fire and metal."

"It is faith's work to claim and challenge loving-kindness out of all the roughest strokes of God."

"That piece of service, believing in a smiting Redeemer, is a precious part of obedience."

Or he writes with special reference to the personal element in the sorrow, thus—

"Pay not your debts with grudging. Sorrow may diminish from the sweet fruit of righteousness; but quietness, silence, submission, and faith, put a crown upon your sad losses."

"It is not for nothing that ye have lost one on earth. There hath been too little of your love and heart in heaven, and therefore the jealousy of Christ hath done this."

"If the place she hath left were any other than a prison of sin, and the home she is gone to any other than where her Head and Saviour is King of the land, your grief had been more rational."

"It is safe for you to live upon the faith of His love whose arrows are over-watered (plated over) and pointed with love and mercy to His own, and who knoweth how to take you and yours out of the roll and book of the dead."

"The losses that I wrote of to your ladyship are but summer showers that will only wet your garments for an hour or two, and the sun of the New Jerusalem shall quickly dry the wet coat; especially, seeing rains of affliction cannot stain the image of God or cause grace to cast colour."

In this connection the two following paragraphs may

also be given, as they touch with rare beauty of style and thought on a still wider aspect of a perennial problem.

"He that made yesterday to go before this day, and the former generation in birth and life to have been before this present generation, and hath made some flowers to grow and die and wither in the month of May, and others in June, cannot be challenged in the order He hath made of things without souls; and some order He must keep also here, that one might bury another. Therefore I hope ye shall be dumb and silent, because the Lord hath done it."

"We see God's decrees when they bring forth their fruits, all actions, good and ill, sweet and sour, in their time; but we see not presently the after-birth of God's decree, namely, His blessed end, and the good that He bringeth out of the womb of His holy and spotless counsel. We see His working, and we sorrow; the end of His counsel and working lieth hidden and underneath the ground, and therefore we cannot believe. Even amongst men, we see hewn stones, timber, and an hundred scattered parcels and pieces of an house, all under-tools, hammers, and axes, and saws; yet the house, the beauty and use of so many lodgings and ease-rooms, we neither see nor understand for the present; these are but in the mind and head of the builder as yet. We see red earth, unbroken clods, furrows, and stones; but we see not summer, lilies, roses, the beauty of a garden."

On the 15th October 1647, after the Westminster Assembly had completed the Larger Catechism, it was moved by Rutherford "that it be recorded in the scribes' books that the Assembly hath enjoyed the assistance of the honourable, reverend, and learned Commissioners from the Church of Scotland in the work of the Assembly during all the time of the debating and perfecting the four things mentioned in the Covenant, viz. the Directory for Worship, the Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government and Catechism."

Rutherford took his leave of the Assembly on the 9th November, and was thanked by the Prolocutor for the assistance he had rendered. He was in fact heartily tired of his stay in the South. Several times he had asked permission to return. His colleagues had come North at various times, but Rutherford could not be spared. More than once Baillie had to write that "Mr. Samuel for the great parts God has given him, and special acquaintance with the subject in hand, is very necessary to be here." Baillie himself is forced to admit that they had many a perplexed night of it. "If our neighbours at Edinburgh tasted the sauce wherein we dip our venison, their teeth would not water so fast to be here as some of them do."

In a letter to the Commission of the Kirk in October 1646, signed by Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, they declare that "we are so weary with our exceeding long absence from our particular charges, that we humblie

entreat from you a permission to return so soon as you may think fitt." Rutherford's health had not been good, and in company with Gillespie he had paid a visit to Epsom for the benefit of the waters. And now at the end of five long years permission to return was granted.

He carried with him a letter to the Northern Kirk in which the Synod of the South speaks of the brotherly union between the two nations in the common cause of religion, and the help the Scotch Commissioners had given. It concludes in these words: "And now this reverend and learned professor of divinity, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, signifying to us that he is presently to returne to his particular station and employment among you, we cannot but restore him with ample testimony of his learning, godliness, faithfulness and diligence; and we humbly pray the Father of spirits to encrease the number of such burning and shining lights among you, and to returne all the labour of love which you have shewen to this afflicted Church and kingdom, a thousandfold into your bosomes."

CHAPTER XII

THE LAW AND THE PRINCE

AMONG the books that were published by Rutherford when in London, there is one that in respect of its subject stands quite by itself. It is the *Lex Rex*. In this book Rutherford enters the domain of political science, to which, in the opinion of the ablest judges, he makes a very distinct contribution. The book reveals to the full extent the speculative power of Rutherford's mind, and must be studied by everyone who would form a thorough estimate of his dialectic ability.

Lex Rex has, however, an interest for the student quite apart from its intrinsic speculative ingenuity. And for this reason. It was born out of the contest between King and people, in which Rutherford and his associates were engaged. It deals, therefore, with the burning political question of the day. We have recognised in Rutherford one of the makers of Scotland, and a link in the Evangelical Succession of Christendom. In the *Lex Rex* he becomes an exponent of those ideas

of philosophical and political liberalism which have accomplished so much in building up the true greatness of our nation. The book is really a delineation, from the highest point of view, of the principles that governed the Puritan Revolution, and issued for a time in the establishment of a military republic. It is therefore their best theoretical vindication. This becomes all the more remarkable when we remember that the patriotic Scots were utterly horrified when they beheld these principles carried to their legitimate result in the execution of Charles I. The significance of *Lex Rex*, as a contribution to the development of political liberalism in Britain, will become apparent as we grasp the historic crisis that produced it.

In studying the English Revolution of 1649 it is impossible to avoid comparison with the French Revolution of 1789. In different ways they mark stages in the evolution of European Protestantism. It is equally impossible to avoid reference to that historian who has made such a brilliant study of both. It has become the fashion in some quarters to disparage Carlyle's historic method, on the ground that while dramatic, realistic, and ethical, he fails conspicuously in that patient diagnosis of the secondary causes of a movement which we naturally expect from the philosophic historian. His *French Revolution*, it is said, "is precisely the kind of book Isaiah would have

written, had there been a like revolution in the Jewish kingdom," and as for his *Cromwell*, "he might as readily have written a Life of Moses as of Cromwell." There is, perhaps, a very considerable ground for this criticism, though, strictly considered, a superficial ground. Say what we will, the moral must ever take precedence of the material in the explanation of cause and effect in history, and it is here that Carlyle is supreme. Any other conception of human history logically involves a materialistic theory of human nature. For this reason I quote the following from the *French Revolution*, as it illustrates with startling reality and power what ultimately became the most vital and all-inclusive feature of the Puritan revolt, and raises the very problem that *Lex Rex* was written to solve—

"But the question more pressing than all on the Legislator, as yet, is this: What shall be done with King Louis?

"A king dethroned by insurrection is verily not easy to dispose of. Keep him prisoner, he is a secret centre for the Disaffected, for endless plots, attempts and hopes of theirs. Banish him, he is an open centre for them; his royal war-standard, with what of divinity it has, unrolls itself, summoning the world. Put him to death? A cruel, questionable extremity that too; and yet the likeliest in these extreme circumstances of insurrectionary men, whose own life and death lies staked; accordingly it is said,

from the last step of the throne to the first of the scaffold there is short distance.

"The French nation, in simultaneous, desperate dead pull, and as if by miracle of madness, has pulled down the most dread Goliath, huge with the growth of ten centuries; and cannot believe, though his giant bulk, covering acres, lies prostrate, bound with peg and packthread, that he will not rise again, man-devouring; that the victory is not partly a dream. Terror has its scepticism: miraculous victory its rage of vengeance.

"Lastly, consider this: that there is on record a Trial of Charles First! This printed *Trial of Charles First* is sold and read everywhere at present:—*Quel spectacle!* Thus did the English people judge their Tyrant, and become the first of Free Peoples: which feat, by the grace of Destiny, may not France now rival? Scepticism of terror, rage of miraculous victory, sublime spectacle to the universe,—all things point one fatal way."

From the same vivid pen I quote a statement of the various possible alternatives that confronted Oliver Cromwell.

"The small Governing Party in England during those early months of 1648, are in a position which might fill the bravest mind with misgivings. Elements of destruction everywhere under and around them; their lot either to conquer, or ignominiously to die. A King not to be bargained with; kept in Carisbrook, the centre of all factious hopes, of world-

wide intrigues: that is one element. A great Royalist Party, subdued with difficulty, and ready at all moments to rise again: that is another. A great Presbyterian Party, at the head of which is London City, 'the Purse-bearer of the Cause,' highly dissatisfied at the course things had taken, and looking desperately round for new combinations and a new struggle: reckon that for a third element. Add lastly a headlong Mutineer, Republican, or Levelling Party: and consider," etc.

It became evident to the "longest heads and the strongest hearts in England," met together for prayer at Windsor Castle, "that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's Cause and People in these poor Nations."

The result was inevitable, and Charles Stuart paid the penalty of his faith in the delusion of a "Divine Right of Kings" with his life. "I reckon it," continues our historian, "perhaps the most daring action any Body of Men to be met with in History ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do. 'Shedders of Blood?' Yes, blood is occasionally shed. The healing Surgeon, the sacrificial Priest, the august Judge, pronouncer of God's oracles to men, these and the atrocious Murderer are alike shedders of blood:

and it is an owl's eye, that, except for the *dresses* they wear, discerns no difference in these! Let us leave the owl to his hootings." "The question whether Charles deserved his death is," says Professor T. H. Green, "one which even debating societies are beginning to find unprofitable. His death was a necessary condition of the establishment of the Commonwealth, which again was a necessary result of the strife of forces, or more properly, the conflict of ideas, which the civil war involved." It was, in short, the victory of the nation over a monstrous political and religious absolutism.

The official and authoritative defence of this "killing of a king," is the *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* by John Milton. Considering the gravity of the theme, it is Milton's most unfortunate production. "The contending interests of the two great English parties, the wider issue between republic and absolutism, the speculative inquiry into the right of resistance were lost sight of. When he should have been justifying his clients from the charges of rebellion and regicide before the bar of Europe, Milton is bending all his invention upon personalities." What Milton omits, Samuel Rutherford supplies. The real exposition of the principles that underlay the revolution of 1649 is to be found in *Lex Rex.*

In his essay on the "Function of Criticism at the Present Time," Matthew Arnold claims for the French

Revolution a superiority in spiritual power to the English Revolution, on the ground that, though practically less successful, it appealed to an order of ideas which are universal, certain, permanent. "1789 asked of a thing, Is it rational? 1642 asked of a thing, Is it legal? or, when it went furthest, Is it according to Conscience?" In *Lex Rex* the principles of 1642 are shown to be not merely in harmony with Conscience, but in harmony also with the highest reason of man. The value of the book as a contribution to liberalism in Scotland at the time, and for all time, is enhanced when we call to mind the fierce struggle of the later Covenanting period. Appropriately, therefore, has *Lex Rex* been styled "the political text-book of the Covenanters, fitted even yet to be the text-book of the most advanced lovers of freedom."

The immediate occasion of the book was this. John Maxwell, sometime minister of Edinburgh, but now ex-Bishop of Ross, and a friend of Archbishop Laud, was a strong believer in the Divine Right of Kings, and the duty of passive obedience. Monarchy he considered of Divine appointment, and, in the elegant language of James VI., to agree with Scottish Presbytery as well as God with the devil. In defence of this position Maxwell published in 1644 a little book entitled, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas, or the Sacred and Royal Prerogative of Christian Kings.* The style, bitterness, and unreasoning dogmatism of Maxwell's argument

provokes a very decided protest even from the moderate Baillie. "Our Assemblies and Parliaments he lays absolutely under the feet of a king's mere pleasure, were he the greatest tyrant that ever was." If the argument of the book were sound, the Covenanters were manifestly rebels.

Rutherford, it would appear, had already for some time been working at a book on the principles of constitutional government. He submitted a large part of it to Robert Blair and asked for a criticism. "Brother," said Blair, "ye are happy in your other writings, and God has blessed you as His instrument, well-furnished and suited to do much good to souls, both by your practical pieces and disputes against sectaries; and there ye are in your own element: but as for this subject, it being proper for jurisconsults, lawyers, and politicians, it lies out of your road. My advice to you is, that ye let it lie by you seven years, and busy your pen in writing that which will be more for edification and good of souls, and thereafter, it may be ye will judge it not expedient to let it see the light." Rutherford promised to do so. But on the publication of Maxwell's book, and at the suggestion, it is said, of Lord Warriston, he attacked the subject again, and *Lex Rex* was given to the world within a year.

Its appearance produced little short of a sensation. In the General Assembly it awakened the deepest interest. We have the testimony of Bishop Guthrie

to this, and his notice of the book is significant in another way. It indicates that *Lex Rex* was at once recognised as carrying to a further stage of their development ideas that had already for long been disseminated in Scotland. Guthrie says that every member of the General Assembly "had in his hand that book lately published by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, which was so idolised, that whereas Buchanan's treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* was looked upon as an oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted as not anti-monarchial enough, and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* only thought authentic."

Rutherford, then, was by no means the first to expound principles in such harmony with the haughty and liberty-loving genius of the Scottish nation. It is this that gives such an additional interest to his book, marking, as it does, a distinct moment in the evolution of certain great ideas. The brilliant and accomplished tutor to that "royal failure" the father of Charles himself, had, nearly a century earlier, published several books, all of them, in the words of Dr. Robert Wallace, "motived by the idea which Buchanan seems to have regarded as constituting and directing his true mission in life, namely, the unspeakable value of liberty, the constant possibility and deadly evil of tyranny, and the corresponding and always pressing duty of forestalling this possibility and resisting this evil, by abundant proclamation and practice of the

doctrine that legitimate political sovereignty exists only for the good and by the will of the people." Dr. Wallace considers that Buchanan amply merits the title of Father of Liberalism, "since the principles which he successfully floated in unpropitious times undoubtedly produced the two great English, the American, and the first French Revolutions, with all their continuations and consequences." Hence, in tracing the rise and growth of liberalism in Scotland, we must take account of the work of Buchanan as well as that of Knox and Melville.

It is true there had been other influences at work. In his *George Buchanan: Humanist and Reformer*, Dr. P. Hume Brown points out what these influences were. From their study of classical antiquity Humanists like Buchanan had gained the idea of the paramount importance of liberty to the true growth and happiness of men. Mediæval thinkers had bequeathed an independent legacy of thought as to the claims of the people and the prerogatives of princes. Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, could quote with approval the dictum of Seneca, that there can be no more acceptable sacrifice to God than a tyrant. But, as Dr. Brown remarks, "these bold notions as to the inherent right of a people to govern itself, of necessity remained simple theory till the sixteenth century. So long as the Western nations owned universal allegiance to the Pope, the fundamental principles on which

society rests could never be the subject of practical discussion. It was the great Protestant revolt from Rome that brought to direct issue the question of the mutual relations of king and people. From the very beginning of that revolt, it was felt on both sides that the old relations could no longer hold if Luther should succeed."

In no European country did this become more apparent than in Scotland—witness the interview of Knox with Queen Mary and the political doctrine involved. "Do you maintain," asked Mary, "that subjects having power may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," answered Knox, "if princes exceed their bounds. God hath nowhere commanded higher reverence to be given to kings by their subjects than to parents by their children: yet if a father or mother be struck with madness and attempt to slay their children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the frenzy be overpast. It is even so, Madame, with princes that would murder the children of God, who may be their subjects. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy, and therefore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God."

This is the political theory that Buchanan defended in his *De Jure Regni*, or "The Rights of the Crown in

Scotland." It was published in 1579, and dedicated to King James VI. It takes the form of an imaginary dialogue between Buchanan and Thomas Maitland, a younger brother of "the cleverest man, as far as intellect went, in all Britain." It may be read in an English translation, along with *Lex Rex,* in vol. iii. of the *Presbyterian's Armoury.* Its teaching may be thus very briefly summarised. The king exists for the good of the people. He is like the physician whose aim is to preserve health and restore it when lost. Elected by choice of the people, he continues in office at their will. The physician has a body of principles for his guidance, and the king has the laws of the land. Of these laws the people are at once authors and interpreters, in this way safeguarding their interests. It is the glory of the true king to preserve and administer the law in its integrity. The tyrant, on the other hand, defies the will of the people, and attempts to make his own will the law. Kings in Scotland are hereditary and not elective. But the Scottish people have always retained the right of calling bad kings to their account. In virtue of their relation to the law, the people may deal with the king who breaks it. There is one law for king and private citizen. If the king refuse to submit to a trial, force may be applied, as in that case he has broken his compact with the people and become a tyrant.

Such is the argument of the book that was in the

hands of the General Assembly when it was abandoned for the more powerful if more intricate *Lex Rex.* Regarding the book itself, Dr. P. H. Brown says: "Its small bulk and the singular clearness and simplicity of its arguments give it the advantage over Milton's rambling and incoherent *Defence of the People of England,* and the tediously pedantic *Lex Rex* of Samuel Rutherford. In one respect all three are alike, in that they shared at different times a similar fate, or rather a very singular honour. By order of the Committee of Estates in 1660 the *Lex Rex* was publicly burned at Edinburgh and St. Andrews. And in 1683 the *De Jure* and the *Defensio* were treated in the same manner, by order of the University of Oxford.

It was, as we learn from the preface, this same passion for liberty that animated Rutherford in the composition of the *Lex Rex.* Amazed at the progress of arbitrary government in Britain, its sea over-swelling all banks of law, and approaching the farthest bounds of absolutism, he hastens to add a fresh testimony to what he knows has already been so well said on behalf of the glorious cause of freedom. Conscience towards God and credit with man cannot both go to heaven with the saints. He will rest satisfied with the one and forego the other, and write in the faith that truth to Christ can never be treason to Cæsar. The result is a treatise, elaborate and exhaustive to a degree.

The subject is a great one,—a dispute for the just

prerogative of king and people. But the treatment is in the unfortunate style of the times, minute, scholastic, "tediously pedantic." Through forty-four chapters, or "Questions," Rutherford pursues his argument with a painful investigation of details and an almost intolerable use of the syllogism. His fondness for the latter is sometimes amusing. "I defy him to make a syllogism of it," he says, as he triumphantly refutes some hasty assertion of the unfortunate Maxwell. Scripture is constantly quoted. The Bible was the final Court of Appeal for all, and the troubled annals of the kingdom of Israel, so dear to the Covenanter, supply Rutherford with all he requires in the way of historical illustration. This dry and scholastic treatment inevitably wearies the modern reader, if it does not repel him altogether. Did we not alight now and again on some pregnant aphorism of political wisdom that charms by its beauty of expression and thought, we would be tempted to close the book at once. The reader who can bring himself to persevere will nevertheless find it a work of real power. There is even, strange as it may seem, an undercurrent of genuine passion—the passion of a man who strikes on behalf of liberty, because liberty is the thing he most dearly loves.

I can but indicate here, in the briefest possible manner, Rutherford's standpoint and what it involves.

In the manner of his age, he begins at the beginning. Government as such, is, he says, from God, and must

be, for whatever is warranted by a law of nature has therefore the sanction of a divine law. God has made man a social creature. Domestic society springs from an instinct of nature, and so, therefore, with civil society. At the same time there is a certain difference. By a natural instinct we defend ourselves from violence, but it is rather by a secondary or artificial law of nature that we delegate power to another to defend us. A man may allow a physician to cut a vein or to cut off a limb, rather than the whole body and life perish by some disease; but this is reason in cold blood, and not a prompting of natural disposition. It is out of this secondary law that the necessity arises for civil society, government, empire. By no reason in nature hath a boar dominion over a boar, a lion over a lion, a dragon over a dragon, a bull over a bull. If all men are born equally free, there is no reason in nature why one man should be king and lord over another. King and beggar spring of one clay. All jurisdiction of man over man is therefore, according to Rutherford, artificial and positive, and inferreth some servitude whereof nature from the womb hath freed us.

Government, then, has a divine sanction; for man cannot but obey the dictates of the court of nature, which is the mind of God. So far all may be considered to agree. The real question at issue is not, however, abstract and speculative, but practical and

concrete. It concerns not the source and nature of government as such, but the authority of the man in whom the government is vested—the ruler or king. Granting that government is from God, because based on laws that are divine, whence does the king derive his special authority? Is it immediately from God, or from the people? Why is it, in short, that this man rather than that man is crowned king? The ministry of the gospel is divine, and has its sanction directly from Christ, but that John rather than Thomas is chosen pastor depends on the will of a congregation. Is it so with government in general, with all government whatsoever?

This is manifestly the crux of the whole problem between Rutherford and his opponent. It was more. The answer to this question was to solve in one direction or another the entire controversy of the age. Rutherford's reply—his distinctive contribution to liberal thought—is therefore one that is not to be mistaken. Though government be natural, and therefore inevitable, the special way and manner of it are, he maintains, purely voluntary. Royal power is vested in the people and in the people alone. They may give it to this man, and not to that man; they may measure it out by ounce-weight, so much royal power, no more, no less; they may limit, moderate, set banks and marches to its exercise; they may give it out on this or that condition, and may take it again to

themselves if the condition upon which they give it out be violated. And why? What ground is there for all this? Because of man's inalienable rights as man. So far as civil power is concerned, men are born alike.

No man, says Rutherford, cometh out of the womb with a diadem on his head or a sceptre in his hand. The power must therefore be virtually in the people as a community to give crown and sceptre to whomsoever they list. Cities have power to create and choose a magistrate, therefore cities united have power to create a still higher magistrate. Royal power is but the united and superlative power of inferior judges in one greater judge whom they call a king. The power of creating a man king is thus from the people alone. The power is no doubt ultimately divine. By the free suffrages of the people God creates a certain man king. Samuel although he had anointed Saul did not acknowledge him formally as king; but when Saul, by his victory over the Ammonites, "had conquered the affections of all the people fully," Samuel would have his "coronation and election by the Estates of Parliament" renewed at Gilgal by all the people.

Rutherford of course admits that the "heroic spirit," or faculty of governing, comes as the direct gift of God. But this maketh not a king, for then "many sitting on the throne should be no kings, and many

private persons should be kings." It is one thing to have the kingly faculty, another thing to be formally called to a kingdom. There is no calling or title on earth to tie the crown to any particular family and person but the consent and suffrages of the people. Conquest without the consent of the people is royal robbery. God hath indeed implanted in the hearts of all subjects a fear and reverence towards the king, upon supposition that they have made him king; but it follows not that he hath this authority immediately from God without the intervening consent of the people. A scholar naturally stands in awe of his teacher, yet a scholar may choose one teacher rather than another, though he willingly gives his teacher power over him. In like manner servants, soldiers, etc., voluntarily resign for the time being their liberty to masters, commanders, etc. Henee "a community transplanted to India or any place of the world not before inhabited, have a perfect liberty to choose either a monarchy or a democracy, or an aristocracy, for though nature incline them to government in general, yet they are not naturally determined to any one of these more than another."

Such, stripped of its scholastic form and minutiæ of argument, is Rutherford's essential position on this high and important matter. The essence of all that he has to say is really implicit here. That it is a very fruitful position becomes apparent as we follow

the further course of his argument. An example or two must suffice.

It is evident, for instance, if such a standpoint be sound, that Royal birth is not equivalent to Divine unction. No doubt as a person is chosen to be king, so a family may be chosen. The people may also tie themselves to choose the king's firstborn, but only by the same free exercise of their voluntary rights. They chose the father not as a man, but as a man gifted with a royal grace and princely faculty for ruling. Thus and no otherwise do they make choice of his firstborn. If the son be born an idiot or a fool they are not obliged to make him king. The obligation to the son can be no greater than the obligation to the father. Undoubtedly a hereditary king may have certain privileges in virtue of his birth. But no man is by nature born king of men, any more than an eagle is born king of eagles or a lion king of lions.

It is further evident that though sovereignty be from the people it still remaineth in them, in the sense that they may in case of necessity resume it. The king receives royal power to make good laws, but the community "keepeth to themselves a power to resist tyranny and to coerce it." The will of the prince can never become the measure of right and wrong. The command of no king could legitimate murder. The people are to suffer much before they resume their

power, but *extremis morbis extrema remedia.* "Our laws of Scotland will warrant any subject, if the King take from him his heritage or invade his possessions against law, to resist the invader." The king is made king conditionally, not absolutely. There is a covenant tying the king no less than his subjects. If a king, merely because he is a king, were privileged from all covenant obligation to his subjects, it would be impossible to call him to account for any contract violated by him. Though a king, he is still a reasonable creature; law and reason must regulate him as well as his subjects.

The authority of a king is, in short, according to Rutherford, strictly fiduciary,—not that of a lord or dominator. The trust is given to the king by the people. They do not give themselves to the king as a gift, for what is freely given cannot be taken again. The king is more properly a tutor than a father. For the pupil when he cometh of age may call the tutor to account for his administration. Only by metaphor, then, do we call the king the head of the commonwealth. The natural head and members live and die together. But the king may die, or otherwise cease to be king, and the commonwealth may live. As his power is fiduciary, a power of trust, the king cannot dispose of men as he pleaseth. My life and religion, and my very soul in some cases, are committed to the king as to a public guardian, even as a flock to the feeder, the city

to the watchman; and like them he may betray his trust. But the law is not the king's own, it is given him in trust. He is a fiduciary patron. It follows that a king ought not to forsake his calling upon any hazard, even of his life, as the pilot must not give over the helm in an extreme storm.

Is the king, then, in dignity and power above the people? Yes, answers Rutherford, in so far as he partaketh formally of royalty. A king as leader of an army may be worth more than a thousand of the people. But, simply and absolutely, the people is above and more excellent than the king, because he is ordained to serve them as shepherd, captain, leader. The pilot is less than the whole passengers, the tutor less than the children, the physician less than the patients, the master less than the scholars. He who by office is obliged to expend himself, and to give his life for the safety of the people, must be inferior to the people. The people are ever superior as the "fount of power." They give to the king a politic power for their own safety, and they keep to themselves a natural power that they cannot possibly give away.

From all this it will be apparent how Rutherford would solve the problem as to the right, in certain circumstances, of resistance to the king. He puts the problem thus. Hath the king any royal prerogative or power to dispense with law? That, in varied form, was the cardinal question in the Puritan as in the

French Revolution,—the question, says the historian, that absorbed all other interests, as Aaron's rod swallowed all the other serpents. It is a most instructive study to trace its development in both instances, a development surprising to the very revolutionists themselves. "A question emerges, so small at first; is put off, submerged; but always reëmerges bigger than before. It is a curious, indeed an indescribable, sort of growth which such things have."

The reader remembers the discussion of this problem in the National Convention, and the determined effort of seven hundred and forty-nine ingenious men—"To stretch out the old Formula and Law Phraseology, so that it may cover the new, contradictory, entirely *un*-coverable Thing"—with the historian's comment thereon: "Lawyer ingenuity is good: but what can it profit here? If the truth must be spoken, O august Senators, the only Law in this case is: *Vœ Victis*, The loser pays! Seldom did Robespierre say a wiser word, than the hint he gave to that effect in his oration, That it was needless to speak of Law; that here, if never elsewhere, our Right was Might."

Rutherford's answer to the question was penned in the face of a struggle that was to issue in a like dilemma, and it is this: "To be a king and an absolute master are to me contradictory. A king essentially is a living law; an absolute man is a creature that they call a tyrant and no lawful king." Or let him state

the problem in its most practical form—Who shall be judge between the king and the people when the people allege that the king is a tyrant? He replies in one of his most powerful aphorisms, which I had occasion to quote already: "There is a court of necessity no less than a court of justice; and the fundamental laws must then speak; and it is with the people in this extremity as if they had no ruler."

And so in this way the argument of the *Lex Rex* proceeds, investigating the relation of the king to the law, and whether he is to be considered its sole and final interpreter; discussing the lawfulness of a defensive war against a king by his own subjects; whether monarchy be the best of governments, etc.

Towards the close of the book Rutherford vindicates the recent action of the Scottish nation in entering into a political and religious alliance with the people of England. Many of the aphorisms are singularly fine, *e.g.*, "Power and absolute monarchy is tyranny: unmixed democracy is confusion: untempered aristocracy is factious dominion: and a limited monarchy hath from democracy respect to public good without confusion." The following may also be quoted: "A limited and mixed monarchy, such as is in Scotland and England, seems to me the best government, when parliaments, with the king, have the good of all the three. This government hath glory, order, unity from a monarch: from the government of the best and

wisest it hath safety of counsel, stability, and strength: from the influence of the Commons it hath liberty, privileges, promptitude of obedience."

"It is reported," so writes Howie, "that when King Charles saw *Lex Rex,* he said it would scarcely ever get an answer; nor did it ever get any, except what the Parliament in 1661 gave it, when they caused it to be burned at the Cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the hangman."

CHAPTER XIII

IN THE STRESS OF CONTROVERSY

DURING Rutherford's absence at Westminster the duties of St. Mary's College had been discharged by his colleagues. One of these was Alexander Colville, who had been Professor of Divinity in the Protestant University of Sedan, and had been inducted to the New College in 1642. The other was James Wood, who had been minister of Denino in the Presbytery of St. Andrews. Wood, like Rutherford, had declined to become a Professor unless he were allowed to continue his work in the pulpit. Both were thus associated with Robert Blair and Andrew Honeyman in the ministry of St. Andrews. Their labours were unremitting. During the Commonwealth every minister was expected to preach thrice a week, and to lecture and catechise once. In 1647 Rutherford was appointed Principal of the New College. Four years later he became Rector of the University. Now that Alexander Henderson was dead, Rutherford was by far the most eminent man in the Church of Scotland.

Shortly after he came to St. Andrews he married his second wife, Jean M'Math, a woman of much worth. Of their seven children, only one, a daughter, survived him. Not without difficulty had St. Andrews contrived to retain his services. A dispute arose over the election of a Mr. Andrew Auchinleck, minister at Largo, to be one of the ministers of St. Andrews. Rutherford and Blair at first approved of the translation, but ultimately agreed with the Presbytery, who objected to the appointment as Auchinleck's doctrine was not "so spiritual and powerful as the case of St. Andrews required." This enraged the people, who did much "affect" the object of their choice. The situation grew so unhappy that both Rutherford and Blair applied to the General Assembly of 1642 for what was termed an act of "transportability," or permission to accept a call to another charge should occasion offer.

"I helped Mr. Samuel to obtain it," writes Baillie on this occasion, "but to my great repentance if he make any use of it, as he is too much inclined of that his liberty." Possibly Rutherford did not feel at home in the city and still thought regretfully of Anwoth. In a few weeks he received a call from West Calder which he decided to accept. But the College authorities were fully alive to his worth. An appeal was addressed to the Commission of Assembly to induce Rutherford to forego his intention, or at anyrate to delay till the next meeting of the Supreme Court. Honeyman was

despatched to the Synod of Lothian "to show the great prejudice the Kirk of Scotland would receive by his transportation, and to desire them earnestly to join with them for retaining the said Mr. Samuel in his present charge at St. Andrews." This combination of entreaties prevailed, and Rutherford consented to stay.

In 1649 Rutherford was elected Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh, but the Assembly thinking this intention "absurd," the matter was dropped. In a letter to Sir James Stewart, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who had, according to George Gillespie, "more sterling religion in ready cash than any man ever I knew," Rutherford besought them to cast their thoughts upon some fitter man, as he was not "desyrous to be the subject of any din in the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland whoe have greater bussines to doe." But his fame was now European. In 1648 he received an invitation to the chair of Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Harderwyck, in Holland, and three years later he was asked to succeed Charles De Matius at Utrecht. These proposals were extremely flattering, and with regard to the second Rutherford hesitated for six months. But he could not bring himself to desert at such a critical time the cause of the Covenant in Scotland, for which he had already suffered and sacrificed so much.

Nor can we regret his decision. Scotland had many able men, but at that moment she required the help

of them all. Rutherford had now to face the bitterest controversy of his life, a controversy that estranged his dearest friends, broke his heart, and almost shattered the Kirk of Scotland to pieces. From one point of view it was a conflict of principle and expediency. In another sense it was an attempt to preserve at once the letter and the spirit of the Covenant, and that was found impossible. It is a controversy illustrative of certain great principles, notably the nature and limits of religious compromise or toleration; but it is not an inviting controversy, very much the reverse. And in spite of the fact that Rutherford was deeply involved in it, and is nowhere more surely the typical Covenanter, I shall study all possible brevity.

It began with the last patriotic effort of the Scots to save Charles from the fate that was gradually becoming inevitable. The King was a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, and Commissioners from the Scottish Estates entered into the secret compact with him known as the "Engagement." Charles promised that if the Scots helped to restore him to power he would sanction the Solemn League and Covenant, and provisionally endeavour to establish Presbyterianism in England. The Duke of Hamilton accordingly led an army into England, but was defeated by Cromwell at Preston. There remained, however, a powerful section of the Covenanters who had no faith whatever in the King's veracity, and through the General Assembly

they threatened with the highest censures all who had dared to countenance such an unholy alliance. They were especially strong in the West, and were led by the Marquis of Argyle. On the defeat of Hamilton the government virtually fell into their hands. Determined once for all to purify their ranks, and enforce adherence to the strict letter of the Covenant, they passed an "Act of Classes," by which all who were involved in compliance with the King were prohibited from civil and military functions. By this sincere but mistaken and suicidal policy their material strength was greatly weakened. In point of fact the nation and Kirk were cleft in twain.

When the news of the execution of Charles reached Edinburgh, the Estates proclaimed his son King, on condition that he would swear allegiance to the Covenant. Here was created a political situation beyond the control of any earthly statesmanship. The meaning of the Covenant was, says Carlyle, "that God's divine Law of the Bible should be put in practice in these nations. But then the Covenant says expressly, there is to be a Stuart king in the business; we cannot do without our Stuart king. Given a divine Law of the Bible on one hand, and a Stuart king, Charles First or Charles Second, on the other; alas, did History ever present a more irreducible case of equations in this world?"

One man there was who had an eye to see, who

could do and dare. And in a characteristic letter he sought to bring the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland to reason. "I beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken." But Oliver Cromwell was the last man in the world to convince them of such a possibility. At Dunbar on the 3rd September 1650 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Covenanting army—an army composed now, since the Act of Classes, "of ministers' sons, clerks, and other sanctified creatures who had hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the Spirit." This meant political ruin for the Covenanters. They had stood by the letter of the Covenant, fought for their Covenanted Stuart king as they could. "The letter of the Covenant will never rally again in this world. The spirit and substance of it, please God, will never die in this or in any world."

Meanwhile Charles II. had come to Scotland. He had given a reluctant consent to the Covenant, and was duly crowned at Scone on the 1st January 1651. Argyle placed the crown on his head. Robert Douglas preached the coronation sermon. "Sire," said Douglas, "destroyers are prepared for the injustice of the throne. I entreat you, execute righteous judgment. If you do not, your house will be a desolation." On his journey through Fife Charles had paid a visit to St. Andrews. At the gates of the city the magistrates presented him with silver keys, and Andrew

Honeyman delivered an address. "Comeing forward to the Newe Colledge, Mr. Samuell Rutherforde had a speche to him in Latin, running mutche upon what was the devotie of kings."

It now became evident that if the King's cause was to prosper, and an army be raised, the Act of Classes must be repealed, and those who were so deeply attached to Charles permitted to fight his battles. Repealed by the Parliament it accordingly was in June 1651. The General Assembly followed, and framed certain "Publick Resolutions" for the admission of the Royalists to places of trust and power. But the result was fatal, as, in words of Wodrow, "it always fares with churchmen when they side into parties, according to the different factions of politicians, and go beyond their line to please great men; they split, according to the two different parties at court, whereas hitherto they had been most united and harmonious." A determined minority of twenty-two ministers, led by Rutherford, tabled a protest, on the ground that the Assembly had not been legally summoned, and that under Royalist influence its constitution had been tampered with. The Assembly deposed three of the Protesters and confirmed the decision of the Parliament.

The attempt to save the King's cause failed. On the anniversary of Dunbar, Cromwell obtained his "crowning mercy" at Worcester, and Charles fled to

the Continent. But the threatened schism in the Church of Scotland was now an accomplished fact. On one side were the Resolutioners who, on the principle of expediency, were for King and Covenant if possible. Against them were ranged the Protesters, who were for the Covenant alone. To them the action of Parliament in supporting a King destitute of faith or principle was equivalent to a betrayal of the liberties of Scotland, and a virtual surrender of the sacred cause of Christ itself. But men of purest life and motive were found on both sides. The Resolutioners claimed Douglas, Dickson, Blair, and Baillie; in the minority were James Guthrie of Stirling, Rutherford, and Warriston.

It was natural that Rutherford should adopt the stricter view. From the very first he was a prominent figure in the controversy, opposing in the Synod of Fife any relaxation of the laws against the Royalists, and urging his point "with much more passion than reason." Along with Warriston and others he suggested a compromise at the General Assembly of 1652, but a compromise was impossible now. The breach became wider than ever. Cromwell dismissed the Assembly in 1653, and thereafter the dispute was continued with great bitterness throughout the inferior courts of the Church. The Resolutioners had been powerful in the Assembly, but the cause of the Protesters was the cause of the common people.

Neither party cared for the government of Cromwell, who was regarded as a usurper. They carried their dispute before him in 1656. But through the influence of Lord Broghill, President of the Council in Scotland, the Protesters were defeated. Cromwell, too, had made it very apparent that he distinctly understood the true principles of toleration, and it is rather significant that his action in this regard was peculiarly unwelcome to the Protesters themselves.

Rutherford's life at St. Andrews was greatly embittered through this unfortunate schism. It was a sore trial to be separated from friends like Dickson and Blair, with whom for years he had fought side by side in the mighty cause of the Covenant. There were others in his circle of friends who felt it as keenly. John Livingstone wrote to Blair: "Your and Mr. D. Dickson's accession to these Resolutions is the saddest thing I have seen in my time. My wife and I have had more bitterness in this respect, these several months, than ever we had since we knew what bitterness meant." In the Presbytery of St. Andrews Rutherford stood alone, and there were only "six like minded" in the Synod of Fife.

Baillie writes of it: "Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Wood kept St. Andrews and Fife pretty right, while Rutherford to the utmost of his power advanced the other party." Wood became "weary of his place

exceedingly," in consequence of "Rutherford's daily contention with him," and through the influence of his friends was made Principal of St. Salvator's. It did not help matters that his successor was James Sharp, Minister of Crail, whose appointment was strongly opposed by Rutherford, as he is said to have already discovered Sharp's "hollowness and hypocrisy."

Rutherford's fiery nature does not show to advantage here. Robert Wodrow, though a hero-worshipper, is nevertheless impartial. "Mr. Rutherford," he writes, "was naturally hot and fiery. In the time of the difference between the Resolutioners and Protesters, at a Communion at St. Andrews, he ran to a sad height and refused to serve a table with Messrs. Blair and Wood, after all the entreaty they could make. At length Mr. Blair was forced to serve it himself. He was exceedingly damped with Mr. Rutherford's carriage, and began to this purpose, 'We must have water in our wine while here: O to be above, where there will be no mistakes.' Yet Mr. Rutherford was to preach in the afternoon, after the tables, and did so, but was remarkably deserted." Wodrow adds that some people who were present at that Communion all the way from Galloway, remarked the "desertion" and its cause with sorrow. Perhaps they remembered the Communion table at Anwoth and Kirkcudbright.

What are we to say on behalf of Rutherford here

Without doubt he believed that the Protesting party were fighting for the truth of God and the cause of religion in Scotland. That Christ ought to be King in Scotland is, he said, "among fundamentals with me." It is admitted that the impassioned fervour and strict religious zeal of the Protesters, passed on the torch of Evangelical faith in the land. It is from them we date those elaborate services at seasons of Communion which have formed such a striking feature in our religious history. "Never," says James Kirkton, speaking of this very thing, "never was there greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was at this time." He believes that there were then more souls converted to Christ than in any season since the Reformation.

But dare we go further? As a controversialist Rutherford has been severely handled. It is here that the double aspect of his character becomes most apparent. He who is called by some "a most heavenly Christian" is described by others as "vindictive, unmerciful, uncharitable." "You have," says Dr. A. B. Grosart, "such assumption of personal infallibility, such fierceness of contradiction, such unmeasured vituperation, such extreme narrowness of sectarian orthodoxy, and such suspicion of all who differed from him, as is alike wonderful and sorrowful." Or, to quote Dr. W. M. Taylor: "With him (Rutherford) there was only one side to every

question, and that one his own and God's, to oppose which was flat blasphemy and impiety. He could make no distinction between essentials and non-essentials; the form of Church government was in his view of as much importance as the Deity of Christ; and what he judged to be right was so infallibly right, that all men were bound to conform thereto."

"A bitter and bigoted controversialist," writes Dr. Hanna, and Principal Tulloch agrees. This is strong enough in all conscience, and a look into some parts of Rutherford's controversial work would seem to furnish unmistakable ground for such criticism. It serves no purpose for the admirer of Rutherford to deny this. But a man, and especially a really original man, must be judged in connection with his age and environment, and in view of the consciously conceived purpose of his life. And in explanation at least, if not in defence, of this aspect of the Saint of the Covenant, one may be permitted to say something in regard to the bitterness, and perhaps a word also concerning the bigotry.

As to the bitterness, then. The usual apology offered for this is the admitted intolerance of the age in which Rutherford lived. "Even Milton, who attacked Rutherford, showed in his polemical treatises that in point of virulence a pamphleteer might be an enlarged

edition of a Presbyter." But this, though undoubtedly true, by no means represents the entire case. In his *History of Religious Thought in England* Dr. John Hunt points out that, so far as Rutherford is concerned, this intolerance is really connected with the very essence of his creed. The truth is, Protestantism was passing from the period of its first and freshest inspiration to the age of dogma. As a necessary consequence the difference between essential and non-essential was completely misunderstood. This is borne out by an examination of a book which Rutherford published in 1649, in which he endeavoured to define the nature and limits of toleration. It is, unhappily, borne out by its very title, *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience.*

It is impossible to compress Rutherford, but what he means is something like this. There is, he would maintain, a fallacy, a begging of the entire question in the very words "liberty of conscience." What is that, he asks, but to put conscience in place of God and the Bible, and to give a man a liberty of unlimited error? Conscience, though the voice of God, requires a guide, and the Church interpreting the word of God is such a guide. In this way the Church, while itself admittedly fallible, is nevertheless capable of deciding infallibly what is sound doctrine and what is heresy. And though the Church may not make use of the sword, it is her duty to instruct the civil

magistrate to punish the heretic as dangerous to society. A speculative conscience is no more freed from the magistrate than a practical conscience. Toleration of heresy saps the authority of Scripture, makes it a "nose of wax," and argues that what a man believes is a matter of utter indifference. This, I am afraid, shortens Rutherford's argument even to caricature. But let the reader who will not face the book itself glance down the table of contents, or the very illuminative marginal notes, and he will see for himself how Rutherford's argument develops the full-blown tyranny of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, and how he becomes the deliberate advocate of the rankest religious intolerance. The explanation of much of Rutherford's "bitterness" is found here. We may condemn if we like, provided we recollect the lesson that it still reads to our own age.

And now as to the bigotry. A bigot, say the etymologists (or they did say it once), is one who utters a very emphatic, By God, No! Well, then, if Rutherford and his fellow-Protesters believed that Scotland's dearest liberties, civil and spiritual, were being trampled upon by Charles Stuart, is it any wonder that their By God, No! was both a loud and prolonged one? But really in a matter of this kind the verdict of history must be considered of more value than any mere special pleading. And if there be anything that is certain, it is this, that the

Protesters were the immediate forerunners of those who a few years later gave life itself for all that Scotland held and still holds (or ought to hold) dear. The cause of Rutherford and Guthrie was the cause of Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick.

There were others besides Rutherford who were working at the problem of Religious Toleration—Jeremy Taylor, Chillingworth, Smith of Cambridge, Hales of Eton. Principal Tulloch has written a most fascinating account of this group of Liberal Theologians. He admits (and the admission is worth something here) that it shared the common fate of all middle parties in a period of revolution. "But the principles with which it was identified made a far more powerful impression on the national mind than has been commonly supposed. The clear evidence of this is the virtual triumph of these principles, rather than those of either of the extreme parties at the Revolution of 1688."

But is that so, at least in so far as Scotland was concerned? There, surely, the triumph of the principle of toleration was not due to its advocacy by any special school of divines. No, it was because brave men had suffered and bled and died, that Liberty was at last secured. Why, the verdict of history begins with the Restoration itself, and in the most astonishing way. David Dickson confessed on his deathbed that the Protesters had been the

truer prophets. Robert Douglas admitted that he and his fellows had been blind, as well he might after his dramatic parting with the quondam Resolutioner, James Sharp, that night when he convoyed him to the door and, passing him into the outer darkness, clapped him on the shoulder and said, in words of truest prophecy, "James, I see *you* will engage; I perceive you are clear; *you* will be the Bishop of St. Andrews. Take it, and the curse of God with it." Argyle on the scaffold said, "These times are like to be either very sinning or suffering times; and let Christians make their choice; there is a sad dilemma in the business, sin or suffer." And for a very instructive commentary on this we have the life of the saintly Leighton, regarding whom I shall quote the severe but just estimate of Dr. Hay Fleming: "He was not a strong man; and seems to have deliberately chosen the line of least resistance, hoping and trying to do good in that way. But it is not by men of his type that great victories are ever won, or great deliverances ever wrought."

It appeared to Dean Stanley, who considered the Church of Scotland eminently pugnacious, and its theology narrow, poverty-stricken, and Judaic, that churches in general might derive some useful lessons from that eleventh commandment of love which Archbishop Usher expounded so felicitously in the little kirk at Anwoth. These lessons are: a better mutual

appreciation, not attempting to absorb one Church into another; a larger and deeper theology, with temperance in theological argument; together with union for great objects. Let us hear the good Dean, and learn wisdom: "The age of the Crusades," he remarks, "for which Robert the Bruce sought to give his heart's blood, is past and gone. But there are causes of Christian charity far holier than that for which the Crusaders fought, and which might call forth more than the Crusaders' chivalry. The Solemn League and Covenant is dead and buried; but the New Commandment, which bids us unite instead of dividing, and build up instead of destroying, is a League far more sacred, a Covenant far more binding, than any which your forefathers ever signed with their blood, or followed to death or victory. The famous Confession of Faith, which issued from Westminster in the seventeenth century as the expression of the whole Church and nation of Great Britain,—noble and inspiring though it was, in some respects, beyond all the confessions of Protestant Europe,—is yet not to be compared with the unity and sanctifying force of the Christian English literature, which in the nineteenth century has become the real bond and school of the nation, beyond the power of educational or ecclesiastical agitation to exclude or to pervert."

As a mere statement of fact, this is as true as it is beautifully expressed. As a proposed reading of

history it is, in the very intensity of its utter shallowness, forgetful of all that makes history worth studying at all. For what is the greatest evidence of a divine will in human history but just this, that it is through the broken ideals and oft-foiled endeavours of our poor humanity that the Divine purpose is ultimately realised. To quote again the unapproachable language of Martineau: "If we acknowledge that birds and insects, without knowing what they do, could never alight on infallible provision for an unsuspected future, were not their activities directed by a foresight other than their own, how much more must we feel that when men, not simply blind to the right goal, but straying towards the wrong, are nevertheless secretly deflected into the curve of truth and beauty, and made involuntary instruments of an issue sublimer than their boldest dreams, it can only be through the controlling presence of a Reason and a Will transcendent and divine."

Whatever the result achieved in estimating its value, we are bound to consider the cost at which it has been won. When we are told of the triumph of the principle of toleration at the Revolution, and the lesson of the New Commandment, which, it seems, Rutherford and his fellows could never learn, one is reminded of Froude's reference to Napoleon and the revival of Romanism: "Is it not splendid?" he said to one of his marshals when the first High Mass was

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again celebrated in Notre Dame. "Very splendid!" growled the marshal, turning away in scorn. "It needs only the half million men to be here who have lost their lives to get rid of all that to make it perfect."

No. In our final reading of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Scotland we must refuse to belittle, or yet, with Stanley, to consider as "magnificent even if somewhat grotesque," the struggle of the men who counted their life not dear that they might win Scotland for Christ—the struggle of "apostolic Knox, courageous Melville, majestic Bruce, great Henderson, renowned Gillespie, heavenly-minded Rutherford," etc.

In the expressive words of Mr. Taylor Innes, we say: "All these Scotchmen, though they obtained a good report through faith, received *not* the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect! But they planted the strong roots of our liberties, and we at the best can but reap the harvest of a field which other men have tilled and sown. Those who come after us to the latest age will gather the fruit, not of the prayers only, but of the efforts of men who two hundred years ago passed away with unsatisfied eyes from their broken work, the hot heart stilled after the storms of life, and the seal of death upon the faithful brow." Or with Carlyle once more: "How many earnest rugged Cromwells, Knoxes, poor

Peasant Covenanters, wrestling, battling for very life, in rough miry places, have to struggle, and suffer, and fall, greatly censured, *bemired*,—before a beautiful Revolution of Eighty-eight can step over them in official pumps and silk-stockings, with universal three-times-three!" Or with the poet:

> "And I say again, Count you the cost
> Of this bridge? To what is it nailed?
> What are its bulwarks piled high—these
> You cross to the city of ease?
> Man, I tell you 'tis built on the failed—
> The fighters who lost.
>
> Dryshod reach your promised land now
> On their failure—on those the world railed—
> They the stuff of whom heroes are—
> Who saw its light gleam from valleys far,
> And fought for it—died for it—failed—
> No failure, I vow."

The vindication of Rutherford and the Covenant lies there.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SANDS OF TIME ARE SINKING

FROM the controversialist we turn once more to the saint. Again and again in those years of storm there break forth, in the lull of the conflict, coruscations of the old spiritual fire, the old ethereal tenderness. Rutherford appears to have been all along assiduously engaged in the work he loved best, the preaching of the gospel. His presence was evidently indispensable on Communion occasions, as we learn from frequent reference in Lamont's Diary. He delighted in occasional intercourse with those brethren in full sympathy with himself.

One little incident related by Wodrow reveals by its very simplicity this inner side of his life. He had a great liking for James Guthrie, and would frequent the manse at Stirling eight or ten days at a time. A servant woman at Mr. Guthrie's house at that time observed him in his chamber walking alone, in meditation and prayer. Three petitions she overheard, at some little distance, after one another.

First she heard him say, "Lord, make me believe in Thee!" Then he sat down and mused some time, rose again and walked, and she heard the words, "Lord, make me love Thee!" And after another short interval came the last petition, "Lord, make me keep all Thy commandments!"

A further testimony is more than welcome from that time of fierce controversy. "He shined in humility, and thought always meanly of himself and highly of other ministers. Though he was Principal of the New College and chief Professor, yet he would always endeavour to set worthy Mr. Robert Blair before him, who was then minister of the town of St. Andrews. If he had been sitting in the church or any other place, he would have risen to have given him the place, and Mr. Blair would have frowned on him to sit down and keep his own place, and that because Mr. Blair was the elder minister. He never used to call Mr. Blair 'Brother,' but only 'Sir,' when he spoke to him; he had such a high esteem of worthy Mr. Blair."

Nor is the following without value: A young man of great ability, a Mr. Alex. Jameson, competed with an acquaintance of Rutherford for the post of Regent in the College. They were equal in their trials, and "the matter came to the determination of a lot." The Principal (Howie), "who was a little suspected of his piety and principles," engaged in prayer, the lot

was cast, and the appointment fell to Jameson. "Mr. Rutherford was extremely stormy at this, and says, 'Sirs, the prayer was not right gone about, and therefore the determination is not to be sisted on.' And without any more he rises up and prays himself, and the lot was casten over again, and it fell upon Mr. Jameson again. This perfectly confounded Mr. Rutherford, and no doubt let him see his rashness and error, and immediately he turned to Mr. Jameson and said, 'Sir, put on your gown, you have a better right to it than I have to mine.' And after that Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Jameson on nearer acquaintance were extraordinarily intimate and bigg."

But the sands of time were sinking. Scattered up and down the letters of those years are indications that the great Covenanter was weary of it all and longed for release. Thus he writes to Colonel Gilbert Kerr as early as 1651: "I am broken and wasted with the wrath that is on the land, and have been much tempted with a design to have a pass from Christ, which, if I had, I would not stay to be a witness of our defection for any man's entreaty. But I know it is my softness and weakness who would ever be ashore when a fit of sea-sickness cometh on; though I know I shall come soon enough to that desirable country, and shall not be displaced: none shall take my lodging."

How "desirable" that country was to Rutherford

is evident from what he says of it in his next letter, namely, "to dwell in Immanuel's high and blessed land, and live in that sweetest air, where no wind bloweth but the breathings of the Holy Ghost, no seas nor floods flow but the pure water of life, that proceedeth from under the throne and from the Lamb! no planting but the Tree of Life that yieldeth twelve manner of fruits every month! What do we here but sin and suffer? Oh, when shall the night be gone, and the morning of that long long day, without cloud or night, dawn?" And yet it is characteristic of the man that a month or two later he writes to congratulate one on her recovery from severe sickness, "since I heard of your being so near the harbour," and to remind her that it is an additional honour "to come back and bear His reproach yet more," an advantage, he adds, "that is not to be had in heaven itself."

And he was alone. Old friends that he loved dearly had departed, some who had stood with him in the conflict and some that had ministered the comfort of a secret sympathy. George Gillespie had died in 1648. The brilliant intellectual gladiator had worn himself out with his labours. As he lay on a premature deathbed he was cheered by a letter from his friend at St. Andrews. "Reverend and Dear Brother: I cannot speak to you. The way ye know: the passage is free and not stopped: the print of the footsteps of

the Forerunner is clear and manifest: many have gone before you. The life of faith is now called for; *doing* was never reckoned in your accounts, though Christ in and by you hath done more than by twenty, yea a hundred grey-haired and godly pastors. Look to the east, the dawning of the glory is near. Your Guide is good company, and knoweth all the miles and the ups and downs in the way. The nearer the morning, the darker. Some travellers see the city twenty miles off, and at a distance; and yet within the eighth part of a mile they cannot see it. Let Christ tutor you as He thinketh good: ye cannot be marred, nor miscarry, in His hand."

Marion M'Naught had passed away in 1643, and Rutherford counselled her daughter, Grizzel Fullerton, to follow in the footsteps of a mother "now blessed and perfected with glory." "Your mother kept in life in that place and quickened many about her to the seeking of God. My desire to you is, that you should succeed her in that way, and be letting a word fall to your brethren and others that may encourage them to look toward the way of God."

"I hope to follow quickly," he had written in his letter to Gillespie. Already it was becoming evident that for him, too, the end was drawing near. "The declining of the sun and the lengthening of the shadow say that our journey is short and near the end. I speak it, because I have warning of my

removal." His health, never very good, was slowly undermined "with a daily menacing gravel," that caused him much suffering, and sometimes brought him very low. "Though I was lately knocking at death's gate, yet could I not get in, but was sent back for a time."

His chief cause of heart-break was the condition of the Kirk he loved. "Our darkness is great and thick, and there is much deadness: yet the Lord will be our light. The times are sad: yet I persuade myself that the vision will not tarry but will speak." To quote the beautiful words of Dr. Andrew Thomson, "He believed in the immortality of truth, and in its early resurrection, even when it seemed buried like the God of truth, in spite of the great stone, and the seal, and the Roman guard." For himself he had no fear. As he wrote to James Durham, he knew the way, and he had preached to others the skill of the Guide.

Samuel Rutherford lived to see the cause he loved, and for which he had toiled, literally trampled under foot, and the cloud of persecution break over the Kirk of Scotland.

The Republic collapsed on 3rd September 1658, for on that day there passed to his well-earned rest the "master-mind which had hitherto compelled the jarring elements in the nation to co-exist together, and chaos was let loose." The words are Mark Pattison's, and he continues: "Revolutions are of two kinds: they are

either progressive or reactionary. A revolution of progress is often destructive, sweeping away much which should have been preserved. But such a revolution has a regenerating force, it renews the youth of a nation, and gives free play to its vital powers. Lost limbs are replaced by new. A revolution of reaction, on the other hand, is a benumbing influence, paralysing effort and levelling character. In such a conservative revolution the mean, the selfish, and the corrupt come to the top: man seeks ease and enjoyment rather than duty; virtue, honour, disinterestedness disappear altogether from a society which has ceased to believe in them."

The Restoration of 1660 was, he thinks, such a revolution, such a moral catastrophe. "It was the deathblow to national aspiration, to all those aims which raise man above himself. The heroic age of England had passed away, not by gradual decay, by imperceptible degeneration, but in a year, in a single day like the winter's snow in Greece." From Bishop Burnet we learn that with the restoration of the King "a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought with it the throwing off the very profession of virtue and piety."

Scotland was nothing if not loyal, and the rejoicings in Edinburgh on that occasion are matters of history. "Such a loyal country deserved a loving king."

In the beginning of July 1660 the Marquis of Argyle hastened to London, like others of the Scottish

nobility, to pay his respects to the King. He was at once seized and thrown into the Tower. Rutherford wrote to comfort Lady Kenmure on her brother's imprisonment, but appears to have thought that a reconciliation with the King would be easily brought about.

The Committee of Estates met on the 23rd of August. That same day ten of the Protesting ministers, among them James Guthrie of Stirling and two laymen, met in a private house in Edinburgh to draw up an address to the King. They congratulate the King on his restoration to the throne, express their loyalty to his person, remind him of the Solemn Covenant he had entered into with the nation and the nation's God, and pray that his reign may be like that of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah. By order of the Committee of Estates their papers were seized as treasonable, and they were themselves imprisoned in the castle.

Rutherford had evidently been consulted in regard to this step, and his judgment on their petition remains, though he knows that "it is easy for such as are on the shore to throw a counsel to those that are tossed in the sea." But he wrote to Guthrie and his fellow-prisoners to remind them that "Christ was Captain of the Castle and Lord of the Keys; and that the cooling well-spring and refreshment from the promises are more than the frownings of the furnace."

Sharp had been sent to London to watch over the interests of the Church of Scotland. He returned by the end of August and brought a letter from the King. It was addressed to Douglas for the Presbytery of Edinburgh. "We do resolve—so Charles wrote—to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland *as it is settled by law*, without violence," etc. The Presbytery were delighted, and commanded that the royal letter should be preserved in a silver box. The Protesters smiled, and declared that he was a bad grammarian who mistook the infinitive mood for the indicative.

And now the inevitable blow fell at last on Rutherford himself. Prominent in many ways, he was specially obnoxious as the author of *Lex Rex.* About the middle of September the book was examined by the Committee of Estates, and in a few days they issued a proclamation against it. They condemned it as a book full of seditious and treasonable matter, animating his Majesty's good subjects to rise up in rebellion against their lawful Prince and Sovereign, and poisoning their hearts with many seditious and rebellious principles. It was decreed that no one ought to read it, and that everyone who possessed a copy should return the same to His Majesty's Solicitor before the 16th of October, on pain of being regarded an enemy to the King and the peace of the kingdom.

The proclamation was extensively obeyed. On the

date specified the book was burned at the Cross of Edinburgh by the hand of the public hangman, and a few days later at the Cross of St. Andrews. Rutherford was summoned before the Committee; "but the holy and learned man being at that present time very sick and infirm, three testificates were sent over to the Committee: one under the hands of the ministers and magistrates of the town; a second under the hands of some masters of the University; and the third under the hand of Dr. Burnet, his physician." The Committee deposed him from the ministry, declared his Professorship vacant, confiscated his stipend, ordered him to be confined to his own house, and commanded him to appear before the ensuing Parliament.

That Parliament, known afterwards as the "Drunken Parliament," met on the 1st January 1661, and sat for six and a half months. Its "great design and business was to make the King absolute," and in this it succeeded, making him "a sort of Pope." It strengthened the Royal Prerogative, and framed an oath of allegiance by which the King was acknowledged supreme over every person and in every cause. It poured contempt on the Covenant, and forbade it to be renewed. It went further than that. In a mad fit of drunkenness it passed, on the 28th of March, an Act Rescissory, destroying "at one fell swoop" the legislation of the previous twenty years. It thus cancelled the Presbyterian polity once more, and prepared the way for the restoration of

Episcopacy. And in addition to this it resolved to deal in its own peculiar way with the four most distinguished leaders of the Covenanting cause, namely, Argyle, Guthrie, Warriston, and Rutherford.

The great Marquis had been brought from London, and was placed at the bar of the House on the 15th of February to answer to a charge of high treason. Though the leading nobleman and counsellor of the Covenanters, he cherished the Scottish love for monarchy, and he had placed the crown on the King's head; but what would that count for now. He was considered by all "a gone man," and with great difficulty were advocates obtained to plead for him. Fourteen separate counts were preferred against him, but he so successfully defended himself that the Court was baffled, and the trial was prolonged till the month of May. He was condemned at last on evidence treacherously supplied by General Monk. Two days later he was executed. "I could die like a Roman," he said, "but I choose rather to die like a Christian." His last words were words of prayer. But he might have spoken like Strafford, "Put not your trust in Princes"; or with Danton, as the Titan of the Revolution awaited the sentence of a still more bloodthirsty tribunal, "O, it were better to be a poor fisherman than to meddle with governing of men!"

James Guthrie, who was still in prison, was brought up for trial on the 20th of February. He was a man

of splendid character and the most incorruptible integrity, described by Cromwell as "that short man who could not bow." He had signed the National Covenant, though, as he entered the town that ominous day, the public hangman had crossed his path. He had done nothing worthy of death, but a good deal that such a Parliament might construe as treason. A strong Protester, he had published a "seditious" book entitled *The Causes of God's Wrath*, which had been condemned along with *Lex Rex.* He had been a leading spirit in the Petition of 23rd of August, and, worst feature of all, he had once pronounced a sentence of excommunication on John, Earl of Middleton, now the Royal Commissioner. The courage and nobility of the man are conspicuous at the trial. "My Lords," he said, "my conscience I cannot submit, but this old crazy body and mortal flesh I do submit." On Saturday the 1st of June he was hanged at the Cross.

Five days before his trial Rutherford had written to him: "Think it not strange that men devise against you: whether it be to exile, the earth is the Lord's; or perpetual imprisonment, the Lord is your light and liberty; or a violent and public death, for the Kingdom of Heaven consisteth in a fair company of glorified martyrs and witnesses, of whom Jesus Christ is the chief witness, who for that cause was born, and came into the world." James Guthrie's last words were: "The Covenants, the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's

reviving!" Once during a severe illness he had burst into tears at the reading of the words in the ninth of Romans, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy.* "I have nothing else to lippen to," he explained; and that mercy did not fail him when he stepped from the scaffold into the presence of the Great King. "I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my integrity," he had said, "I did judge it better to suffer than to sin." And, as Rutherford once wrote, "They are blessed who suffer and sin not."

Warriston escaped for the time, having fled the country. He was condemned for treason nevertheless, his estates confiscated, and his offices declared vacant. Samuel Rutherford also escaped, but in another way. He was summoned to appear before a Court of a very different character, a tribunal "where his Judge was his friend."

CHAPTER XV

THE HIGHER SUMMONS: IMMANUEL'S LAND

IN one respect that last letter to James Guthrie is an echo at that precise moment of Rutherford's own deep heart. "And now, dear brother, much dependeth on the way and manner of suffering, especially that His precious truths be owned with all heavenly boldness, and a reason of our hope given in meekness and fear; and the royal crown and absolute supremacy of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of the kings of the earth, avouched as becometh."

It was a matter of sincere regret to Rutherford that he was denied "the more glorious way of going hence" by laying down his life for the cause at the Cross of Edinburgh or St. Andrews, "since his Master was dealing such favours amongst His followers." One thing he could do ere he was taken away, he could bear a testimony "to the Lord's work and Covenant." This he accordingly did, and the little document of eight or ten pages, his *Testimony to the Covenanted Work of Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, is, next

to his death itself, his last characteristic act. It fitly crowns the strenuous endeavours of an heroic life.

To this solemn act of testimony Rutherford attached great importance. In view of the spiritual apostacy in high places he felt it an urgent duty. "Though the Lord needeth not a testimony from such a wretched man as I—if I and all the world should be silent, the very stones would cry—it is more than debt that I should confess Christ before men and angels."

The declaration itself thrills with that intense Hebrew passion for a national religion which had regenerated Scotland and was the earthly goal of all Rutherford's personal toil. He begins with a profession of his faith as contained in the Protestant Confessions and Catechisms and in the two Covenants, with an elaborate appeal to the Old Testament in proof of the duty, propriety, and worth of such covenanting with God. He refers with pride to the glorious beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, and regrets the falling away to purely ecclesiastical methods of reform, rather than "spiritually to persuade and work upon the conscience with the meekness and gentleness of Christ." "It had been better had there been more days of humiliation and fasting in assemblies, synods, presbyteries, congregations, families, and far less adjourning of commissions, etc.; and if the meekness and gentleness of our Master had got so much place in our hearts that we might have waited on gain-sayers, and

parties contrary-minded." Thoroughly loyal he is, desiring only to preserve the "Crown Rights of the Redeemer." "We acknowledge all due obedience in the Lord to the King's Majesty: but we disown that ecclesiastical supremacy in and over the Church, which some ascribe to him; that power of commanding external worship not appointed in the Word, and laying bonds upon the consciences of men where Christ hath made them free."

"We are not," continues the patriotic but uncompromising author of *Lex Rex*, "we are not (our witness is in Heaven) against his Majesty's title by birth to the kingdom and the right of the Royal Family: but that the controversy of wrath against the Royal Family may be removed: that the huge guilt of the throne may be mourned for before the Lord; and that His Majesty may stand constantly all the days of his life to the Covenant of God: that so peace and the blessings of Heaven may follow his government." The great thing is that Christ should be acknowledged as King of His own Church, for He is "the sole ecclesiastical lawgiver." It is for this truth that "many precious saints have thought it their honour and dignity to suffer shame and reproach."

Rutherford knows that it is a sad day for Scotland, a day of darkness and rebuke and blasphemy. "Our souls rejoiced when His Majesty did swear the Covenant of God, and put thereto his seal and subscription, and

after confirmed it by his royal promise, so that the subjects' hearts blessed the Lord, and rested upon the healing word of a prince: but now, alas! the contrary is enacted by law, the carved work broken down, ordinances are defaced, and we are brought into the former bondage and chaos of prelatical confusion." He fears that Scotland shall be made to eat that book wherein is written lamentation and mourning and woe. But he rests in the faith "that Christ will not so depart from the Land but that a remnant shall be saved, and that He shall reign a victorious conquering King to the ends of the earth."

Most indisputable it is, then, that Samuel Rutherford was a martyr "in his own design and resolution." But he was likewise a martyr "by the design and determination of men." The Parliament, "such was their humanity when everybody knew he was a-dying," summoned him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason. The messengers found the Saint of the Covenant on his deathbed. "Tell them," he is reported to have said, "I have got a summons already before a superior Judge and judicatory, and it behoves me to answer my first summons, and ere your day arrive I shall be where few kings and great folks come."

When they returned and told that he was dying, the Parliament in its impotent rage voted that he should not be permitted to die in the College. Not without

protest however. Lord Burleigh rose and said, "Ye have voted that honest man out of the College, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven." "He would never win there," said some, "hell was too good for him." To which Burleigh replied, "I wish I were as sure of heaven as he is, I should think myself happy to get a grip of his sleeve to haul me in."

They say that the master passion of a man's life is strong in the hour of death. It is then that the heart of the exile of years instinctively seeks again the land and language of its nativity. The master passion of Samuel Rutherford's life was to see the King in His beauty, and the thought of that vision, so near now to complete realisation, lit up his dying hours with a heavenly radiance. He had attempted much, and in much that he attempted he had failed. And yet, to quote the fine sentence of Mr. Taylor Innes, "he does not fail, who, when earthly things are breaking and crumbling around him, finds himself suddenly in the centre and heart of all, and sees the Face which his whole life has sought to see."

The story of Rutherford's death is one of the most precious chapters in the classic page of our Scots Worthies, idealised perhaps by retrospective reverence and love, yet with an ideality that is almost the surest guarantee of truth. "For many days together before his death, he was filled with as much joy of the Holy Ghost as he could hold." He broke silence chiefly to

declare the hope set before him. "I shall shine; I shall see Him as He is; I shall see Him reign and all His fair company with Him: mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, these very eyes of mine." He often repeated the text, "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and Thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart."

Friends came, and he had a word for each. To one he said, "It is no easy thing to be a Christian; but for me, I have gotten the victory, and Christ is holding out both His arms to embrace me." He spoke of the troubled times in the Kirk, and the unfortunate division in the Presbytery and the New College, but protests his sincerity and singleness of purpose. "I have my record in heaven, that I had no particular end in view, but was seeking the honour of God, and the thriving of the gospel in this place." It had broken his heart, he said, but he endeavours to forgive as he hopes to be forgiven.

To four members of the Presbytery who came, he said, "My Lord and Master is the Chief of ten thousand of thousands; none is comparable to Him in heaven or in earth. Dear brethren, do all for Him: pray for Christ, preach for Christ; feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ: do all for Christ: beware of men-pleasing, there is too much of it among us."

To Robert Blair, "who loved to hear Christ commended with all his heart," he spoke much of the white

stone and the new name. "What think ye now of Christ?" queried Blair, and Rutherford replied, "I shall live and adore Him. Glory, glory to my Creator and to my Redeemer for ever! Glory shines in Immanuel's Land!" Though very weak he had often this expression, "O for arms to embrace Him: O for a well-tuned harp!" When some remarked his faithfulness in the work of God, he said, "I disclaim all that: the port I would be at is redemption and forgiveness through His blood."

On the afternoon of the 28th March, Rutherford said: "This night shall close the door and put my anchor within the vail, and I shall go away in a sleep by five o'clock in the morning." Over the Firth at Edinburgh the Drunken Parliament were busy that afternoon passing the Act Rescissory, that was to plunge the Kirk of Scotland in the blood and tears of a bitter persecution. But God "hid Samuel Rutherford with Himself from the wrangling and cruelty of wicked men." With the dawn of the 29th March "it was said unto him, 'Come up hither': and the renowned eagle took his flight unto the Mountain of Spices."

He was buried in the churchyard of the Chapel of St. Regulus. The inscription on his tombstone commemorates his learning, his true godliness, his zeal in the cause of the Covenant, and his "acquaintance with Emmanuel's love." Half a century later,

Thomas Halyburton, another of Scotland's famous sons, and a successor to Rutherford in the chair of Divinity at St. Andrews, requested when dying that he might lie beside the Saint of the Covenant, to await there the Resurrection Morn.

APPENDICES

I

WHAT I KNOW CONCERNING AN ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD IN MY POSSESSION

THE portrait was generously presented to me, some years ago now, by Alexander W. Inglis, Esq., of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, Royal Institution, Edinburgh. He bought it at a sale at Chapman's for a few pounds, with the view of presenting it to the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, should he be able to authenticate it. Previously it was in the possession of a Mrs. Auld, widow of a Dr. Auld, for many years headmaster of the Madras College, St. Andrews. On inquiry I found he obtained it in a somewhat curious manner. He was, although a Presbyterian himself, on very intimate terms with a Roman Catholic priest in Edinburgh who had a great many pictures in his house, and seems to have been somewhat of a connoisseur in art. Going through his rooms one day along with Dr. Auld, he, either with his foot or with something in his hand, turned over

the portrait now in my possession, laid on its face, and very much spoiled. He asked the Doctor who that was? "I do not know," was the reply. "That," said the priest, "is the arch-heretic, Samuel Rutherford." The Doctor said, that divine deserved better usage. "If you think so," said the priest, "take him with you, and use him as well as you choose." Dr. Auld appears to have made no apology for accepting the offer, and carried it triumphantly to his home in St. Andrews, where it hung for many years. I have made elaborate inquiries to find out who this priest was, but without success. How it came into his hands, and who possessed it before him, will ever, I am afraid, remain an impenetrable secret. A label on the back of the frame, written in a somewhat old-fashioned hand, intimates the portrait to be that of Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, who died 1661; and the painter, R. Walker. This, doubtless, is Robert Walker, the famous portrait-painter of Rutherford's time, who painted Cromwell (twice over, I think) and nearly all his officers. Several specimens of his work exist in the National Portrait Gallery of London to-day. The editor of the *Magazine of Art* (Cassell & Co.) kindly offered, if I sent him a photograph of the picture, to give me his opinion as to Walker being the painter of the portrait. His reply was "that the style of the picture is certainly that of the painter by whom the picture claims to be, and that the treatment greatly resembles that in the portrait of Robert Walker by himself, now in the National Gallery" (London). An artist whom I asked to take a copy of the picture,

before I had any idea I would obtain possession of the original, said that, although not particularly impressed with the painting just at first, when he proceeded with his work the conviction grew stronger and stronger upon him that it was painted by a celebrated artist. A picture-dealer in Liverpool, who at my request sent the portrait up to London to be cleaned and restored, obtained the opinion of an expert there that undoubtedly it was "a Walker." The one half of the statement on the label seems, therefore, to be true, which rather, *primâ facie*, points to the other half being also true. But now for the other half. The canvas is undoubtedly very old, and must be quite the age the label indicates. The skull-cap, the gown and bands, all point to one in Rutherford's position. A contemporary describes Rutherford as "a little fair man," which description the portrait bears out. That Rutherford should have his portrait painted by Walker when in London attending the Assembly of Divines seems not unlikely or improbable. Any artist or picture-dealer contemplating a fraud on the public would be unlikely to select Rutherford for that purpose, as he might have chosen others much more popular and known to a larger circle of admirers, and therefore more saleable. A strong tradition has been handed down that my mother, whose name was Rutherford, was descended from a near relative of the divine. Her ancestors lived for centuries in the parish where he was born, and their tombstones can be seen to this day. The resemblance of the portrait, not only to herself but to her brothers and sisters as well, is

very striking, and was noticed and commented on by nearly everyone who saw it. A Presbyterian clergyman, having heard of the portrait, and who called one day to inspect it, informed me that when he saw it hanging directly above the chair where my mother was sitting at the time, the resemblance between the portrait and my mother so struck him that he could scarcely suppress his astonishment. It was, however, considered to resemble still more a sister of my mother whom the clergyman referred to had not seen. If it be objected that the distance in time renders such a circumstance of no real value, it has to be remembered that my mother was born only about one hundred and fifty years after Rutherford's death, which does not represent very many generations; moreover, both her great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather married their full cousins, which must have had the effect of confirming, or drawing in, the line of hereditary tendencies, to the exclusion, so to speak, of foreign elements. But perhaps the most striking fact of all remains to be told. The picture-dealer in Liverpool, to whom I have already referred, had the portrait for a good while, both before and after it was sent to London, exposed to view in his gallery, and it attracted the notice of a good many callers, some of whom declared that there was not the slightest doubt it was a genuine portrait of Rutherford, as they had seen an engraving of it exactly the same as the painting. If this statement can be relied upon, it practically settles the matter. Some of the London dealers in engravings admit there is an engraving of

Rutherford going about, but it turns up, they say, very rarely, and not easily obtainable.

This is all I know of the portrait, and how far the evidence is satisfactory must be left to the individual judgment of the reader.

J. R. B.

LIVERPOOL, *August* 1904.

II

THE illustration at page 98 is a section of the picture by W. Hole, R.S.A., "Signing of the National Covenant in Greyfriars Churchyard," 28th February 1638, reproduced by permission of the Corporation of Edinburgh for Dr. Hay Fleming's *Story of the Scottish Covenants.* The picture in this volume represents Samuel Rutherford witnessing the signature of Lord Rothes.

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Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited *Edinburgh*