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ART. I.—CHRISTIAN OBLIGATION WITH RESPECT TO  
THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD.

No creature of God was made for itself alone. The flower of the field, the oak of the forest, the sun in the firmament, and “the cattle upon a thousand hills,” were all formed that they might be instrumental in promoting the welfare and comfort of each other. To suppose, then, that MAN, who occupies so conspicuous a place in this great system; *man*, who is endowed with a rational as well as an active nature; who is made capable of acting upon a *plan*, and living to an *end*, was made, or is at liberty to act for himself alone; to make, each one, his own enjoyment and glory the ultimate purpose of his being;—would be to adopt a sentiment as unreasonable as it is degrading. The powers which God has given us; the relations which we bear to him; the benevolent activity of which we are obviously capable; and the rich and unremitting goodness of which we are the subjects, and of which we have ever been the subjects since we had a being;—all demonstrate that intellectual and moral action is our appropriate sphere; and that either indolence, or a course of action which does not embrace the good of

added to his certainty, thousands and tens of thousands, on every side, were loudly proclaiming their admiration of the miraculous deliverance of these young men. Now, supposing Daniel not to have been a witness of the transaction; but to have received the testimony just mentioned, will any candid man assert, that his persuasion of the truth of the facts was not as firm and as rational, as if he had seen them with his own eyes? And it will be to no purpose to allege, that few facts are ever attested by such evidence as this: there are thousands within the knowledge of every man, of the truth of which he is as fully convinced, as of those which are daily passing before his eyes. And as our object is, not to weigh the different kinds of testimony, and to ascertain their force, but to bring to the test the principle which has been so confidently laid down by this ingenious author; for if his principle was correct, it would make no difference how strong the testimony might be; for the evidence of the uniformity of causation, being an intuitive truth, and as certain as any thing can be, would be sufficient, completely to counterbalance, if it did not overpower, the highest testimony which can be imagined.

If the opinions which we have selected for examination had no intimate connexion with our religious belief, or the practical system of morality, we should have left them to find what acceptance they might, with speculative men; but believing, that the general adoption of the philosophical principles of this author would be subversive of divine revelation, and injurious to sound morality, we have judged it expedient to devote a portion of our pages to an examination and refutation of a theory, which is brought forward with much appearance of candor, and defended with much plausibility.

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#### ART. VI.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN LIVINGSTON.

THE conversion of five hundred souls through the instrumentality of a single sermon may seem incredible. Yet this took place in Scotland, two hundred years ago; and what is stranger still, under the preaching of one who, if he were now living, would be thought, by many good men among us, so antiquated a Calvinist, as to be shut out from all hope of usefulness.

In courts of law we often see pleadings, of which the va-

rious counts belie one another; and in religious debates we sometimes see the same thing. For instance: our brethren desire to alarm or shame us out of our old-fashioned modes of argument drawn from revivals. First: There are no revivals of religion where new divinity is not preached; witness all the congregations of old-school theologians; in none of them are there awakenings; witness the long dearth in the churches where ancient divinity has been resounding for two centuries. This argument we have seen and heard. Secondly: There have been revivals among those who are Presbyterians of the old stamp; but then it took place under new divinity. Livingston preached the new divinity, without knowing it. Whitefield, the Tennents, Davies, preached the new divinity. This argument we have also read and heard. These arguments neutralize one another, yet we have seen them in different pages of the same work.

Those are greatly in error who suppose the early Presbyterians of Scotland to have been mere contenders for orthodoxy or discipline. Yet such is the error of many who assume the Presbyterian name. Ignorant of the story of those eventful times, they take up the floating falsehoods respecting our fathers, which were put in motion by men who hated godliness wherever they saw it. With such persons, Knox is thought of only as a tawny-bearded fanatic, and the second generation of worthies as sticklers for mere order and mere creeds, without any intimacy with that fresh fountain of spiritual health, which forsooth has been sealed up till now. We shall try to show that specimens may be given of warm piety, of successful preaching, of remarkable conversions, and we shall use as the basis of our remarks the name of John Livingston; and as we wish to present this favoured preacher to the view of our readers, we shall, by way of elucidation, dwell a little upon the character of some who preceded him; and first of John Welsh, the son-in-law of Knox. Of this man an old Scotsman, who had seen him, once said to an inquirer, "O, sir, he was a type of Christ:" an expression, as is observed by the historian, more significant than proper. The gleanings we make from his memoirs are such as these, and no modern saints will contemn them: he gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises; he preached once every day; was unwearied in his studies, having abridged Suarez in his old age; his preaching may be estimated by his extant sermons, which ought to be republished. One of his hearers, himself afterwards a

minister, said, that it was all but impossible to refrain from tears when he preached. "Sometimes, before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to the pulpit, because he found himself sore deserted; and therefore desire one or more of them to pray; and then he would venture to the pulpit. But it was observed, that this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordinary assistance." "He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expressions, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes a loud voice; nor did he irk in that solitude, all the night over; which hath (it may be) occasioned the contemptible slander of some malicious enemies, who were so bold, as to call him no less than a wizard." (*Life*, p. 15.) "He wondered how a Christian could lie in a bed all night, and not rise to pray." After being long a prisoner in his native land, he went to France, where he lived about sixteen years, as pastor of a church in St. Jean de Angely. He returned to England, without being able however to obtain leave of James I. to revisit his beloved country. He died in London.

Among those ministers with whom Mr. Livingston was personally acquainted, is named Robert Bruce, of Edinburgh, second son of the "laird of Airth." His academical education was received in France; but he studied theology at St. Andrews. He began to preach in 1540. "No man," says Livingston, "had so many seals of his ministry; yea, many of his hearers thought no man since the days of the Apostles did speak with such power. He had a very majestic countenance, and whenever he did speak in public or private, yea, whenever he read the word, I thought it had such force as I never discerned in any other man. He had a notable faculty of searching the Scriptures, and explaining the most obscure mysteries in it. He was much exercised in conscience, whereby he was signally fitted to deal with others under troubles of mind." "I was his hearer there [at the parish of Larber] a great part of the summer 1627, and many others beside the parishioners attended on his ministry from different quarters. It was his custom after the first sermon, to retire by himself for prayer, and one day some noblemen who had far to ride, wearying at his long stay, sent the beadle to learn if there was any appearance of his coming; the man returned and told them *'I think he shall not come out this*

day, for I heard him constantly saying to some one, that he will not and cannot go without him, and I do not hear the other answer him a word at all.'” How this little incident may affect the generality of readers, we are unable to predict, but to us there is something so touching in this view of a minister’s wrestling with the God of Israel, that we hold the anecdote worthy of inscription in every pulpit and in every preacher’s closet. “He was (adds Livingston,) both in public and private *very short in prayers with others*; but then every sentence was *like a bolt shot up to heaven*. On a time I went to Edinburgh to see him, in the company of the tutor of Bonington. When we called on him about eight o’clock in the morning, he told us he was not for any company; and when we urged him to tell us the cause, suspecting some other thing than we soon learned was the case, he answered, that when he went to bed he had a good measure of the Lord’s presence, and that he had wrestled with Him an hour or two before we came in, and had not yet got access; so we left him. At another time, I went to his house, but saw him not till it was very late. When he came out of his closet his face was foul with weeping, and he told me that he had that day learned what torture and hardships Dr. Alexander Leighton,\* our countryman had been put to at London, and added *If I had been faithful, I might have had the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ, as well as he, but he hath got the crown from us all*. When he died, Anno 1631, and his sight failed him, I heard that he called for his household Bible, and desired to put his finger on the twenty-eighth verse of the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, (‘And we do know that all things work together for good,’ &c.) and then told those present, that he died in the faith that all things, even death itself work together for his good.”†

To return now to the principal subject of these commemorative hints, the Rev. John Livingston; we remark, that he was the ancestor of the late Rev. John H. Livingston, D.D., of New Brunswick, and of the Livingston family of the North River; and that he is known as the favoured instrument of the Holy Spirit in the awakening of five hundred souls by one sermon. We have obtained from a highly respected descen-

\* The father of Archbishop Leighton, a man of the same faith with his most celebrated son, but of far greater constancy and intrepidity in the defence of primitive order and discipline. He was pilloried, slit in the nose, and cropped.

† Livingston’s Memorable Characteristics, p. 74.

dant of this holy man, a “Brief Historical Relation of the Life of Mr. John Livington, Minister of the Gospel; first at Killinchie in Ireland, next at Stranrawer, and thereafter at Ancrum in Scotland, and at last at Rotterdam in Holland. Containing several observations of the Divine goodness manifested to him in the several occurrences thereof. Written by himself, during his banishment for the cause of Christ.” From this autobiography we propose to abstract some account of the man whom the Lord was pleased so signally to honour, in the humble hope that it may tend to open the eyes of some who find it to their interest to charge upon the theology of the old Scottish School, a total inefficiency as it regards the awakening of ministerial zeal, and the conversion of sinners. It ought by no means to avail such persons in argument to say, as is common, of every minister who preaches with success, that he is *ipso facto* a man of the new stamp. So pitiable an assumption of the point in question, so disingenuous a sleight in changing the meaning of terms in the debate, and so palpable a dereliction of the real ground of their defence, might be expected of a Loyolist; scarcely of a descendant of Presbyterians. And indeed those who take this unkind advantage, and claim every thing good as theirs, *because* it is good, are not the descendants of Presbyterians. Their lineaments betray no family likeness to the Melvils, Bruces, Welshs, Hamiltons, and Gillespies of our fathers’ land: *our* fathers’ land, for we are not slow to avow that we allege a theological descent from a race of reformers who bear comparison with the martyrs and confessors of any day: that the doctrines for which they contended, and the church order for which they bled, are those which we maintain; and this, not because they contended and bled for them, still less because they are *expedient*, or adapted to produce such and such effects—to reach the conscience—to precipitate the decision of the will—to multiply professors; but because we find them in that Bible which was the *vade mecum* of every genuine Presbyterian, at home and by the way,—in the cavern, upon the hill-side, and at the stake. Of such truth, of such men, God forbid that we should be ashamed!

John Livingston was born in Monybroch, (or Kilsyth) in Stirlingshire, on the 21st of June, 1603. His father William Livingston was settled as pastor, first at Kilsyth, where he was installed in 1600, and secondly at Lanerk, whither he was translated in 1614, and where he died, aged sixty-five years, in 1641. The great-grandfather of John Livingston was slain at Pinkiefield

in 1547. William Livingston was a zealous labourer and patient sufferer for reformation, and for his non-conformity was deprived of his ministry at both the places just named.

After some domestic training, John Livingston was entered in the university of Glasgow in 1617, and was graduated as master in 1621. While at this institution he had his ambition much fired with the hope of eminence as a classic and logician; but providence thwarted his designs, partly by means of the favouritism then prevailing, and partly by the chastisement of disease. We find him sitting down to the study of Hebrew immediately upon his enlargement from college rules. Agreeably to the almost universal custom of the reformed churches, he approached the Lord's Supper at a very early age; and it would seem from his brief hints, that his first confirmed hopes were called forth on the occasion of his first communion. His desire, nevertheless, was to be a physician, and he entreated his father to send him to France, to study medicine. As he found himself repelled from his chosen path by a concurrence of circumstances, he fell upon a method of resolving his doubts which may safely be recommended to all young men in similar circumstances: he 'sought the Lord.' "I resolved," says he, "that I would spend a day alone before God, and knowing of a secret cave, on the south side of Mousewater, a little above the house of Jerviswood, over against Cleghornwood, I went thither, and after many a to and fro, and much confusion, and fear about the state of my soul, I thought it was made out to me, that I behooved to preach Christ Jesus, which if I did not, I should have no assurance of salvation. Upon this I laid aside all thoughts of France and medicine and land, and betook me to the study of divinity." We need not wonder that after such a day, so spent, and with such results, his subsequent ministry was marked by striking tokens of divine favour.

In 1625 Mr. Livingston began to preach, and for more than eighteen months continued principally at his father's house in Lanerk. At this period of his ministry, he pursued the laborious method of writing his sermons in full, and committing them to memory, a slavish toil, which he was induced to abandon by a circumstance that shall be related with all the naïveté of the author: "One day (says he) being to preach after the communion of Quodquan, and having in readiness only a sermon which I had preached before in another kirk, and perceiving several to be at Quodquan, who had been at the other

kirk, I resolved to choose a new text, and having but little time, wrote only some notes of the heads I was to deliver, yet I found at that time more assistance in the enlarging of these points, and more motion in my own heart, than ever I had found before; and after that I never wrote all at length, but only notes."

In the year 1626, he was invited into Galloway, where he preached for some time, and received a joint call from the Presbytery of Linlithgow, and the parish of Torpichen to become pastor at the latter place. Here he would have been ordained, had it not been for Bishop Spottswood, who interposed his veto, on account of Mr. Livingston's non-conformity. Accordingly, in autumn of 1627, he departed, having found, says he, "the two or three last Sabbaths I preached there, the sweetest Sabbaths, although sorrowful, that I had seen in that place." From this time until his visit to Ireland in 1630, he spent his time between his father's house, and the house of the Earl of Wigtoun: preaching, as occasion offered, at Lanerk, Irvine, "the Shots" and other places.

Much has been said of a noted sermon of Mr. Livingston at the "Kirk of Shots." In noticing it, we have no desire to represent the instrumentality then used, as having any such efficiency (even by congruity) as would lead to the supposition that if we could preach just as Mr. Livingston then preached, we should witness the same results. We are not among the number of those who make apparent success a criterion of doctrine, nor do we limit the Holy One of Israel to any specific methods of operation: yet as we find ourselves charged with enmity to revivals of religion, and to the simultaneous conversion of multitudes, and as this our alleged enmity to every good word and work is furthermore charged as coming by lineal descent from our paternal creed, and unavoidably connected with our peculiarities of faith, we take our position of defence behind a line of facts. We deny the validity of the argument from supposed conversions to the truth of a system, we have ever denied it; it is not we who have fled to any such methods of ratiocination; but *ex confesso* the argument is good when retorted upon its originators, and we claim the right of so using it as to silence the battery of our "otherwise minded" brethren, while we rest the defence of the truth upon a "more sure word of prophecy."

"The parish of Shots (we quote Mr. Livingston's words) bor-



derdered on the parish of Torpichen, . . . . . and I was sometimes invited by Mr. John Hance, minister of Shots, to preach there. In that place I used to find more liberty in preaching than elsewhere; yea, the only day in all my life wherein I found most of the presence of God in preaching, was *on a Monday, after the communion, preaching* in the Church-yard of Shots, June 21, 1630. The night before, I had been with some Christians, who *spent the night in prayer and conference*. When I was alone in the fields, about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, before we were to go to sermon, there came such a misgiving spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere, and declined that day's preaching, but that I thought I durst not so far distrust God, and so went to sermon, and got good assistance about an hour and a half, upon the points which I had meditated on. *Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26.* "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh." And in the end, offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time, in a strain of exhortation and warning, with much liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my life-time."

Now from any thing which is said in Mr. Livingston's autobiography, no man would be led to suspect that even a single soul had been awakened by this sermon. Yet we learn from the best authority, that no less than five hundred persons were, as was believed, converted upon that occasion!\* Is this the manner of the present day? Is this silence respecting personal success a besetting sin of our leading preachers? We trow not.

We observe upon this narrative, that Mr. Livingston himself treats it as a rare instance of enlargement and divine assistance; not as part and parcel of a regular and unfailling

\* Speaking of these times of persecution, John Brown, of Haddington, says in his "Compendious History of the Church of Scotland," p. 98—"Meanwhile, faithful ministers were remarkably countenanced of God at their sacramental and other occasions. Multitudes crowded to their communions; and being eager to hear as much of the Gospel as they could, when they had an opportunity of it, they began to hear one sermon upon Saturday before, and another on the Monday after. Mr. John Livingston, a probationer, after having run so far off, that morning, preached a sermon at the kirk of Shots, on Monday, June 21, at which 500 were converted to Christ."

scheme of measures; that the appeal to that God, without whom even Paul would plant in vain, is mainly relied on; and that the modesty of the preacher so far from permitting him to blazon his own name as a successful preacher, even in these memorials written in exile, forbids his even mentioning that any considerable numbers were awakened.

We know two very convenient methods of evading this,— methods, by the bye, turned from the anvil to suit the emergency of a sturdy argument; and we doubt not that new ground can be taken upon every new assault of truth. The two which we intend are these: it is, first, alleged that all who have ever converted men to God have preached just as those who now claim to be the sole labourers in this glorious harvest: a position which we give over to the candid reader for examination. Or, secondly, it is maintained that divine truth, once deemed immutable, has its moonlike phases, conforming itself to various cycles of the Church, and that what was good and true in Scotland, in 1630, is deleterious and seductive in America, in 1832. We are serious in this statement, whatever some of our happily untaught readers may imagine: this is the gist of an argument which has been heard from pulpits and professor's chairs: *Once* it was right to preach dependence; *now* it is right to preach accountability; and the great art of the preacher is evinced in striking the balance between antagonizing principles, and hitting the invisible demarcation between two clashing schemes. O how unlike to this calculating, manœuvring, cold, and we must say worldly policy, is the high and holy disregard of consequences evinced by our forefathers! Hear again the reminiscences of the aged Livingstone, recorded in his *Patmos*: “I found that much studying did not so help me in preaching, as the getting of my heart brought to a spiritual disposition: yea, sometimes I thought the hunger of the hearers helped me more than my own preparation. Many a time I found that which was suggested to me in the delivery was more refreshful to myself, and edifying to the hearers, than what I had premeditated. I was often much deserted and cast down in preaching, and sometimes tolerably assisted. I never preached a sermon that I would be earnest to see again in writ but two. The one was at a communion on a Monday at the *Kirk of Shots*, and the other on a Monday after a communion in Holywood. *And both these times I had spent the whole night before with Christians* [in prayer and conference, as appears from the quotation next preceding]

*with any more than ordinary preparation.*” Be it observed then, that our remarks are not intended to assault any measures, however singular, however new: we freely accord to our brethren the principle that new emergencies demand measures somewhat diverse from those in common use; nay more, that novelty itself may at times be an important aid in thawing a congregation out of the icy fetters of immemorial precedents. We are therefore using no aggressive reasons, urging no expedencies against those who pursue their own plans, claiming to ourselves no *exclusive* prerogative of usefulness, flinging no taunts at those whose tender consciences cannot brook our modes and endeavours:—this warfare we resign to those who deem themselves to have an indefectible right to dictate measures, and denounce all who differ. One thing, however, we do assuredly crave—namely, that we be not thrust out of the harvest field, nor ranked with Socinians and Universalists, because our implements are those of our fathers, or because we cannot see through the glasses of some who have more nearly advanced towards perfection. We crave permission to dissent from any assumption, by any school or brotherhood, of exclusive usefulness, as pertaining to their sole exertions. Far be it from us to say, that they are not as much blessed in their labours as they report themselves to be; we rejoice at their success in the conversion of souls; but we ask of them to cease a warfare against the doctrine we maintain, which owes its strength to appeals to the popular ear, without scriptural argument; and no longer to stigmatize old Calvinists as men who have no seals of their ministry. Our argument in this place might be fully stated by our saying, with all humility, to every brother of all those who are so ready to denounce us: “if any man trust that he is Christ’s, let him of himself think this again, that as he is Christ’s, even so are we Christ’s.”

The men who were most useful in the church of Scotland in the early part of the seventeenth century, have not left us in doubt as to their method of interpreting the doctrines of grace. Welsh, Bullock, Rutherford, and Dickson may be seen in their printed works. It was with such men that Mr. Livingston associated; and with these he agreed. In August, 1630, he went over to Ireland, and took his place among those eminent servants of God who there founded Presbyterian institutions. These were Edward Brice of Braidisland, R. Cunningham of Holywood, John Ridge of Antrim, George Dunbar of Larne, Josiah Welsh of Templepatrick,

Robert Blair of Bangor, James Hamilton of Balleywalter, Andrew Stewart of Donagore, Henry Colwart of Oldstone, and some others.\* It need scarcely be said that the signature of articles under mental reservation had not as early as this been introduced into the Presbyterian Church: and these men had assented to the strictly Calvinistic confession which had been drawn up by Usher. "When this confession," says a writer in the excellent work to which we have alluded, "was, by the artifice and authority of Strafford, in 1634, exchanged for the thirty-nine articles of the English Church, they did not object to it; conceiving the new confession to be of the same tenor in point of doctrine as the former, though they loudly complained of the canons which were at the time introduced. And when they were obliged by the bishops to lay down their ministry and abandon the kingdom, this severity was distinctly stated to be owing, solely to their refusing to comply with the rites and government of the Church, and not to the slightest discrepancy between their doctrinal sentiments and those of the established confession. Such of these ministers as lived to reach Scotland, immediately joined the Presbyterian Church there; and rendered her most important assistance, in her successful struggles to cast off the yoke of prelacy, and return to the principles that were avowed and propagated by Knox. Several of them soon rose to be among her most influential members; and to be distinguished for their zeal and ability in vindicating the gospel from the doctrines of Arminianism, which, under the influence of the Scottish prelates, had made their way into that kingdom: and nearly all of them were members of that church when the solemn League and Covenant was drawn up and subscribed, and the Westminster Confession of Faith received and adopted, without a dissenting voice."

It was at Killinchie in Ireland that Mr. Livingston was ordained; and how truly he had the spirit of his station may appear from a statement of his own, a part of which is quoted by the Irish historian:

"That winter following I was often in great heaviness, for although the people were very teachable, yet they were generally very ignorant, and I saw no appearance of doing any good among them, yet it pleased the Lord that in a short time some of them began to understand somewhat of their condition. Not only had

\* The Orthodox Presbyterian, Vol. I. p. 26.

we public worship free of any inventions of men, but we had also a tolerable discipline; for after I had been some while among them, by the advice of the heads of families, some albeit for that charge were chosen elders, to oversee the measures of the rest, and some deacons to gather and distribute the collections. We met every week, and such as fell into notorious public scandals, we desired to come before us. Such as came were dealt with both in public and private to confess their scandal, in presence of the congregation, at the Saturday's sermon before the communion, which was celebrated twice in the year: such as would not come before us, or coming would not be convinced to acknowledge their fault before the congregation, upon the Saturday preceding the communion, their names, scandals, and impenitency were read out before the congregation, and they debarred from the communion: which proved such a terror that we found very few of that sort. We needed not to have the communion oftener, for there were nine or ten parishes within the bounds of twenty miles or little more, wherein there were godly and able ministers, and every one of these had the communion twice a year, at different times, and had two or three of the neighbouring ministers to help thereat; and most part of the religious people used to resort to the communion of the rest of the parishes. These ministers were Messrs. Robert Blair at Bangor, Robert Cunningham at Holywood, James Hamilton at Ballywater, John Ridge at Antrim, Henry Colwart at Old Stone, George Dunbar at Lern, Josiah Welsh at Temple Patriek, Andrew Stewart at Donagore; most of all these used ordinarily to meet the first Friday of every month at Antrim, where was a great and good congregation, and that day was spent in fasting and prayer, and public preaching: commonly two preached every forenoon, and two in the afternoon. We used to come together the Thursday's night before, and stayed the Friday's night after, and consulted about such things as concerned the carrying on of the work of God."—"I do not think there were more lively, and experienced Christians any where, than were there at that time in Ireland, and that in good numbers, and several of them persons of good outward condition in the world; but being lately brought in, the lively edge was not yet gone off them, and the perpetual fear that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them with great hunger wait on the ordinances. I have known them come several miles from their own houses, to communions to the Saturday's sermon; and [they] spent the whole Saturday night in several companies, sometimes a minister being with them, sometimes themselves alone, in conference and prayer, and waited on the public ordinances the whole Sabbath, and spent the Sabbath night likewise, and yet at the

Monday's sermon were not troubled with sleepiness, and so have not slept till they went home." *Life*, p. 15.

Before Mr. Livingston had been a year in his pastoral charge, he was suspended for nonconformity by the Bishop of Down. He was, however, shortly after restored, at the instance of Archbishop Usher, whom he describes as "a learned and godly man, although a bishop." In the spring of 1632 he was again suspended, and remained under this act of deposition for two years. During this period he endeavoured to minister to the spiritual wants of his people at Killinchie, but finding that even private labours could not be tolerated, he went over to Scotland, and employed himself in preaching from place to place, wherever he seemed to be called in providence. During his residence at Killinchie he informs us that his stipend never exceeded four pounds sterling a year. He paid several visits to the brethren in Ireland. In the last of these, in February 1634, he found many of the persecuted Presbyterians of Ulster disposed to emigrate to New England; and he consented to go himself as their fore-runner, in order to spy out the land. Providence hindered this by means of some delay in the arrival of his companion, so that the ship had sailed when they arrived at London. On returning to Ireland he found that he had been restored to the right of preaching, during his absence. About this same time died Josias Welsh, a grandson of Knox, and a preacher of righteousness so pungent and alarming, that he was called, in the expressive language of the day, *The cock of the conscience*. Mr. Livingston was called to witness his departure, and heard from his lips much that was edifying. Mr. Welsh was tried with sore conflicts in this hour, which led the eminent Robert Blair, whom we have named above, to say: "See how Satan nibbles at his heel, when he is going over the threshold of heaven." After a little time, when Mr. Livingston had made use of the expression VICTORY in his prayer, the dying man seized his hand, bade him pause, clapped his hands and cried out "VICTORY! VICTORY! VICTORY! *forevermore!*" and then expired.

Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingston were again deposed, within six months; but the latter continued to preach at Killinchie until the autumn of 1635. Shortly after he was excommunicated by order of the Bishop of Down. All hopes of religious liberty in Ireland having died away, he again turned his

thoughts towards America. A number of persons, among whom were several ministers, determined to set sail for New England, and having built a vessel of about 115 tons at Belfast, they held themselves in readiness to go in the spring of 1636. They did not actually sail until the month of September. The number of passengers for America was about a hundred and forty. The manner in which this design was disappointed will be best learned from the author's own words:—

“We set to sea, and for some space had a fair wind, till we were between three and four hundred leagues from Ireland, and so nearer the banks of Newfoundland, than any place of Europe; but if ever the Lord spake by his winds and dispensations, it was made evident to us, that it was not his will that we should go to New England. For we met with a mighty heavy rain out of the North-west, which did break our rudder, which we got mended, with much of our gallon head, and four cross-trees, and tore our foresail, five or six of our champlets made up a great beam under the gunner-room—door broke; seas came in over the round-house, and broke a plank or two in the deck, and wet all them that were between the decks; we sprung a-leak, that gave us seven hundred strokes in two pumps in the half-hour glass; yet we lay at hull a long time, to beat out that storm, yet we might be sure in that season of the year we would forgather with one or two more of that sort, before we could reach New England. After prayer, when we were consulting what to do, I propounded an overture, wherewith I was somewhat perplexed thereafter, viz: ‘That seeing we thought we had the Lord’s warrant for our intended voyage; howbeit it be presumption to propose a sign to him, yet we being in such a strait, and having stood out some days already; we might yet for twenty-four hours stand to it, and if in that time he were pleased to calm the storm, and send a fair wind, we might take it for his approbation of our advaneing; otherwise that he called us to return.’ To this we all agreed, but that day, and especially the night thereafter, we had the worst storm that we had seen; so that the next morning so soon as we saw day, we turned and made good way with a main course and a little of a foretopsail, and after some tossing we came at last on the third of November, to an anchor at Loeh-fergus. During all this time, amidst such fears and dangers, the most part of the passengers were very cheerful and confident. Mr. Blair was much of the time weakly, and lay in time of storm; I was sometimes sick, and then my brother M’Clellan only performed duty in the ship; several of those between the decks, being throng, weré siekly. An

aged person and one child died, and were buried in the sea. Mr. Blair was much affected with our returning, and fell in a swoon that day we turned back, and although we could not imagine what to make of that dispensation, yet we were confident that the Lord would let us see somewhat that would abundantly satisfy us. Our outward means were much impaired by this disappointment, for we had put most of our stocks in provision, and somewhat of merchandize, which we behoved to sell at low rates at our return, and had provided ourselves with some servants, for fishing and building of houses, whom we behoved to turn off. That which grieved us most was, that we were like to be a mocking to the wicked; but we found the contrary, that the prelates and their followers were much dismayed and feared at our return; but neither they nor we knew, that within a year the Lord would root the prelates out of Scotland, and after that out of England and Ireland.”—*Life*, p. 23, 24, 25.

In the year 1638 we find Mr. Livingston at London, whither he had been sent with copies of the National Covenant, and letters relating to this great and interesting transaction. Upon hearing that the king had threatened to imprison him, he hastily returned to Scotland.

“I was present (says he) at Lanerk, and at several other parishes, when on a Sabbath after the forenoon sermon, the covenant was read and sworn; and may truly say, that in all my lifetime, *except one day at the kirk of Shots*, I never saw such motions from the spirit of God; all the people generally, and most willingly concurring; where 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 of God, for reformation of religion, against prelates and ceremonies.”—p. 28.

Shortly after this he was called to the pastoral charge of Stranrawer, a parish in Galloway, a few miles from Portpatrick, and therefore conveniently near to his Irish friends. Here he remained until he was, in the summer of 1648, translated “by the sentence of the General Assembly” to Ancrum in Teviotdale. Great numbers used to come over from Ireland to communions; on one occasion five hundred such persons were present. Mr. Livingston was a member of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, which established the refor-



mation of religion, and of every following Assembly for twelve years, except that of 1640. In this year he was sent by order of Presbytery into England, with the earl of Cassil's regiment. His account of this enterprise assures us that "the committee of estates and general officers" were accustomed to convene with the ministers for special prayer; and he speaks of "the presbytery of the army:" so intimately was religion united with all the concerns of life.

"It was very refreshful to remark," observes Mr. Livingston, "that after we came to a quarter at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of the Scripture, by the soldiers in their several tents, and I was informed, there was large [much] more the year before, when the army lay at Dunse-law. And indeed in all our meetings and consultings, both within doors and without in the fields, always the nearer the beginning, there was so much the more of dependence upon God, and more tenderness in worship and walking, but through process of time, we still declined more and more."—p. 30.

The years following, until 1648, were years of spiritual dearth to Ireland. The rebellion and consequent disturbances laid waste many parts of that fruitful field. The ministers were deposed, banished, and superseded by hirelings: the abjuration oath was urged on the dissenters, and the sword of the rebels added new horror to their alarms. Various ministers were from time to time sent to Ireland by the Scots Assembly; and Mr. Livingston several times was one of the number. His labours were abundant, especially in 1648, and were such as nothing short of conscientious zeal could have prompted.

"For the most part of all these three months," he informs us, "I preached every day once, and twice on the Sabbath; the destitute parishes were many; the hunger of the people was become great, and the Lord was pleased to furnish otherwise than usually I went to get at home. I came ordinarily the night before to the place where I was to preach, and commonly lodged in some religious person's house; where we were often well refreshed at family exercise. Usually I desired no more before I went to bed, but to make sure the place of Scripture I was to preach on the next day. And rising in the morning, I read four or five hours myself alone, either in the chamber or in the fields; after that we went to

church, and then dined, and then rode five or six miles, more or less, to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places in three months' time."—*Life*, p. 34.

It has just been observed, by anticipation, that Mr. Livingston was, in 1648, translated to Ancrum. He found the people of his new charge tractable, but ignorant, and does not speak of his labours among them with any peculiar satisfaction. The parliament and the church of Scotland determined in the ensuing year to send a commission to treat with Charles II. at the Hague. The great intent of this transaction was to extort from Charles a promise that the reformation in Scotland should be untouched, and even to procure his adhesion to the covenant. Mr. Livingston was one of the clerical members of this commission. He entered upon the business with great misgivings, arising partly from a modest sense of his own incapacity for diplomatic arts, and partly because he had suspicions of the king's sincerity, and doubted his fidelity in relation to any engagement which he might make. At this time of day, it strikes us as wonderful that these suspicions should not have set the whole Scottish nation upon their guard against this false profligate. The ministers had frequent interviews with Charles, and he carried himself, as we might readily suppose a young gallant of his wiles and expectations would do towards a committee of guileless Presbyterians. They were always received kindly, and had free access at every hour. They often urged him to state his scruples respecting the Covenant, and other parts of the treaty, but he never expressed them. From time to time, however, there were words and occurrences which led these solicitous servants of the Church to fear all that was afterwards so lamentably realized. Even on the voyage to Scotland, Mr. Livingston was not without his fears that the whole Church was egregiously trifled with by their unprincipled monarch.

"All of a sudden," says he, "on the Friday before we came ashore in Scotland, Libbertoun comes from the king and tells, that the king was ready to swear and subscribe the Covenant. This was suspiciouslike to some of us, especially seeing some other things which should have been granted before that, were not then agreed to, and that the parliament in these last instructions, had not desired the king's subscribing and swearing the Covenant, but an obligation to do it. But these other things were afterwards grant-

ed that day. And because ere we came out of Scotland, it was desired, that if the king could be moved to swear the Covenant in Holland, it should be done, the commissioners resolved that they would accept of his swearing and subscription. It was laid on me to preach the next Sabbath, when he should swear it, and to read the National Covenant and Solemn League, and take his oath; the which day also we came to anchor at the mouth of the Spey. I would gladly have put it off till we had been in Scotland, or that some of the other two ministers should preach, but all the rest pressed most earnestly, urging what a great scandal it would be; and how far honest men would be dissatisfied, if the king's offer of swearing the Covenant should be rejected. According to my softness and silliness of disposition, I was moved to agree."

Before this sermon was preached Mr. Livingston was informed that the king intended to modify the oath by certain words added to the form at the time of swearing, such as to preclude any violation of the English laws. He accordingly laid this before the commissioners, and with them went to Charles and assured him that no engagement would be received from him other than the oath already submitted and agreed to. Mr. Livingston very plainly declares his conviction that the guilt of this unadvised admission of a wicked and faithless king was chargeable not only on the commission, but the state and the church at large. In all these affairs, the good man was beyond his element: and no sooner had they disembarked than he fell behind the king and court, and never afterwards saw Charles, except to take leave of him at Dundee; where, it should be observed, he used all plainness in urging him to save them from the assault of the English.

It better suited his temper and desires to preach the gospel. Amidst these shakings of kingdoms, he was most interested for that "kingdom which cannot be moved:" and although, in common with all his nation, he had erroneous ideas respecting the necessary connexion of secular and ecclesiastical power, yet the aspect of the Church which he most loved to contemplate was that of her beauty as the bride of Christ. Thus we find him, several years after the English invasion, rejoicing in a revival of the work of God in the land. In various parts numbers were converted by the ministry of the word, and the meetings at sacramental seasons were much frequented and highly cheering. It is agreeable to our ideas of a genuine revival of religion to find such a record as this: "A motion being made at one communion, about Christians' ho-

*nouring God with their substance, the gentlemen above-named* [Sir Andrew Ker, Sir William Scot and others] with most of the ministers before mentioned, and some few other professors, agreed among themselves and subscribed to give a certain portion yearly, which came in all to fifty pounds sterling a year, and was employed only upon distressed Christians, and breeding of hopeful youth in learning.”

Darker and darker was the prospect of the Scottish Church from this time forward. Our readers can scarcely expect of us a recital of the attempts made by Charles to revive prelacy, and introduce a liturgy. It requires a high measure, even of high-church zeal, to enable any one to excuse the base and unprincipled conduct of the head of the Anglican Church. The time chosen by him for his treacherous assault was that in which Scotland was worn out by the evils of Cromwell's usurpation, and the methods used were the progeny of a subtle genius. In 1662 Mr. Livingston attended his last communion at Ancrum, and entered upon the services with a deep impression of the impending trials. The subject of his discourse was chosen with reference to the expectation of persecution; and on the twelfth of November he received notice that upon the eighteenth day of the same month, he and more than a dozen other ministers were summoned before the council. On the eleventh of December he made his appearance. They tendered to him the oath of allegiance; which he peremptorily refused, upon the ground that he could not acknowledge the king to be “supreme governor over all persons, in all causes, both civil and ecclesiastic.” Hereupon they pronounced upon him sentence of banishment; that within forty-eight hours he should leave Edinburgh, and go to the north side of the Tay, and within two months depart out of the king's dominions. In April, 1663, he arrived at Rotterdam, where he found the rest of the exiled ministers. Here he frequently preached in Scotch Churches, until he was disabled by infirmities. His death took place upon the ninth day of August, 1672. Some of his last words were these: “I die in the faith that the truths of God which he hath helped the Church of Scotland to own, shall be owned by him as truths, so long as sun and moon endure: and that Independency, though there be good men and well-meaning professors that way, will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware of, for they evanish into vain opinions. I have had my own faults as other men, *but he made me always abhor shows.* I have,

I know, given offence to many, through my slackness and negligence, but I forgive and desire to be forgiven. I cannot say much of great services, yet if ever my heart was lifted up, it was in preaching Jesus Christ." After a pause, for he was not able to speak much at a time, he said, "I would not have people to forecast the worst, but there is a dark cloud above Reformed Churches, which prognosticates a storm coming." His wife, fearing what shortly followed, desired him to take leave of his friends; "I dare not," replied he, with an affectionate tenderness, "but it is like our parting will only be for a short time." And then he fell asleep in the Lord.

The subject of these remarks was a Presbyterian of the old school. He was a painful minister, a true-hearted patriot, and an humble believer. There is no trace of sternness nor of haughtiness in his whole history. His conscience was tender, perhaps scrupulous, yet he evinces no bitterness. Through all his life he was a valetudinarian, being afflicted from his earliest years with those nephritic complaints, which at last removed him. He tells us that he was "averse to debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and easy to be wrought upon." He "inclined rather to solitariness than to company," and both in private and public often experienced confirmations to his heart of the Lord's goodness. As a preacher he was considered second to none of his contemporaries: yet he speaks of his performances as hasty and inaccurate. His manner of preparation was to write a few notes, and leave the enlargement to the time of delivery. Although a laborious student, he found that "much study did not so much help in preaching, as getting the heart brought into a spiritual condition." "Many a time," to use words already cited, "I found that which was suggested to me in the delivery, was more refreshful to myself, and edifying to the hearers, than what I had premeditated: yea, sometimes I thought the hunger of the hearers helped me more than my own preparation."

As it regards his progress in learning, he speaks with a modesty not unlike that of President Edwards upon the same topic:

"My memory was but weak and waterish, yet had I improved it, I might have had better use of it; for after that I came from the college, I did with no great difficulty attain to some tolerable insight in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and somewhat also of the Syriac:

the Arabic I did essay, but the vastness of it made me give over. I got also so much of the French, the Italian, and after that of the Low Dutch, that I could make use of sundry of their books; and of the Spanish and High Dutch, that I could make use of their Bibles." "Now since I came to Holland, and so had more leisure than before, when I was advising how to employ my time to some advantage, I remembered that I had spent some of my former days in the study of the Hebrew language, and had a great desire that some means might be used, that the knowledge of the only true God might be yet more plentifully had, both by ministers and professors, out of the original text, and for that cause, in as small a volume as might be, the original text of the Bible might be printed in the one column, and the several vulgar translations thereof, in the other column in several Bibles. Therefore, when I thought what Latin translation would be fit to join with the original text for a Latin Bible, I found that for the Old Testament, Junius's version varies much from the native phrase and order of the Hebrew; and Pagnin's version, as Montanus hath helped it, comes indeed near the Hebrew, but if printed and read alone, in many places yields almost no sense; therefore I thought Pagnin's own translation would be fitter to put in a column over against the Hebrew, only that it were needful that in several places it might be amended out of the later and more accurate translations. For this cause much of my time in Holland I spent in comparing Pagnin's version with the original text, and with the later translations, such as Munster's, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodati, the English, but especially the Dutch, which is the latest and most accurate translation; being encouraged therein, and having the approbation of Voetius, Essénius, Nethenus, and Leusden; and so through the whole Old Testament wrote some emendations on Pagnin's translation."—Page 57.

In concluding this essay, we shall give some account of a discourse which we have mentioned above; and which was delivered upon the occasion of Mr. Livingston's last communion at Ancrum, on Monday, October 13th, 1662. All that we can here furnish is a sketch from the notes of an inaccurate stenographer. In this mere outline, however, we may observe the tenderness of his conscience, the ingenious tact with which he illustrates truth, and the courage with which he resists innovation.

After reading to them Matthew x. 32. "Whosoever shall confess me before men," &c., he adds,

“There are two main ways whereby Satan prevails over poor creatures; sometimes he allures, and at other times he terrifies them. There are the lusts of the flesh, and the love of the world and of honour. These engines have a kind of enticing quality, and if they fail, he bends up terrors and maketh them afraid. Now, as an antidote against all these, our Lord holds forth the words which we have used; and because many are ready to find out strange ways to save themselves, their means, and their life, he propones it very sharply, ‘Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny,’ &c. Now this is the most ticklish point in all divinity, and the rock on which many beat out their brains. Satan waylays people, and enticeth them to deny Jesus Christ; and alas that his influence is so great in the time wherein we live.

“Some think if it were Jesus Christ, and if it were a fundamental point they were called to confess, they would stand for it with life and estate; but it is thought that Christians now stand upon some things that are but fancies and nice scrupulosities, and if there be any thing in them, it is but a small matter. And shall a man venture his life and all upon a small thing? Well, if they be none of *Christ’s* small things, let them go: but if they be one of his truths, will ye call that a small thing? His small things are very great things. It might be proved to you, that there never was a controversy since the beginning of the world, even touching the most momentous truths, that was not accounted a small thing, while it was an occasion of trial; and that the thing which is now become an occasion of trial to many, is no less than the free exercise of the kingly office of Jesus Christ, in the discipline and government of his house. But some of you will say, This is but a matter of discipline and government, and why need we make so great ado about this? For silencing such objections let us use this comparison. A gardener is appointed to keep his master’s garden, and after a while he casts down the rails and hedges about the same. His master challenges him for doing so; the other answers, I have not meddled with your fruit trees, your flowers, nor your herbs; I have only cast down the fences, and that is but a small thing. You possibly reckon it so, says his master, but in doing that small thing, you open a gap for the beasts to come in and spoil all. Our blessed Lord Jesus was of another mind, when he said, The faithful servant is faithful in a little, and if it be a small thing, the servant that is faithful in it doth thereby testify his love to his master, as much as in a greater matter. Take another similitude. A tenant, in his master’s absence, doth, upon the entreaty of his neighbour tenant, give him a butt or a half a ridge of ground; and when, at his master’s return, he is challenged for suffering the other to change his march

stone, he answers, it is but a small thing, Sir, and ye have ground enough besides. Would his master accept that answer of his hand? Satan always shapes a trial, and puts it to such a frame as he can draw to a small point, and set it, as ye use to say, *in aciem novaculi*, 'like a razor's edge;' so that many think there is little between the two; and yet the one side is a denying of Christ, and the other a confessing him. It may be, you that are the people think the ministers too peremptory in these days, and that we might go on some length, that ye and we might abide together; it seems, say you, that we care little for you, when we will not yield somewhat. The Lord knows whether or not we have love to you, and that we could do any thing in our power for your welfare; but we dare not exceed our instructions.—But perhaps you will say, 'May not ministers be silent? What need have they to endanger their ministry, their family, and every thing else, by speaking things that they had better forbear? Can they not hold themselves satisfied with preaching faith and repentance?' In so far my friends you say well. Faith and repentance are very comprehensive duties; and I confess I never delighted to hear a man, the most of whose preaching is what they call, on the public, and meddling with state matters. But there are times and seasons wherein a man's silence may bring a curse upon his head. As suppose there is a besieged city, and a watchman with a guard set at the west port, with a commission to sound the trumpet whenever he seeth any danger; according as it is in Nehemiah iv. and in the third and thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel. Well, he seeth the enemy coming on; but instead of holding by his instructions, he marches all his force to the east port, which is the far stronger, and where there is no imminent danger. There he stands, where there is none to oppose him, and in the meantime the station he was placed in is deserted, and the enemy comes in as a flood. Just so it is with the man who will preach only against popery, and meddle with no other controversies; and it may be, if popery come along, as indeed we have reason to believe it will be the next trial, then he will preach you good moral doctrine. Now, can the man who believes so, be accounted faithful? *Or can he look for a glad sight of Jesus Christ on his death-bed?*'